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# IV UNIT

## Comparative Political Analysis

### Approaches to the study of comparative politics

approach	methodology
What should be the subject of study and how the problem is decided (investigated), both these are studied.	In this, only how to investigate the presented topic is studied.
<b>Example:</b> Comparative method, deductive method etc.	

#### approach

1. traditional study approach
2. modern study approach
3. Contemporary study approach

#### Books related to modern approach:

1. The Study of Comparative Government (1966) - Roy Macridis
2. A Perspective on Comparative Politics, A Critical Review - Harry Eckstein
3. Comparative Government and Politics (1968) - Michael Curtis

#### ➤ **Traditional study methods and approaches**

1. **Philosophical Methodology:**Plato, Rousseau, Kant, Bosanquet, Green, Hegel, Bradley, Thomas Moore, Sidgwick, Mill.
2. **Historical Method:**Machiavelli, Bodin, Montesquieu, Burke, Marx, Seeley, Freeman.
3. **Legal Constitutional Approach:**Bodin, Hobbes, Bentham, Austin.
4. **Comparative Approach:**Aristotle, Lord Bryce, Montesquieu, D. Tocqueville.
5. **Institutional Approach:**Sartori, Duverger, Lord Bryce, Lowell, Finer.

#### ➤ **Modern methods and approaches**

1. Scientific method
2. experiential
3. interdisciplinary approach
4. behaviourist approach
5. Psychological Approach - Graham Wallas
6. Group Approach - Arthur Bentley
7. Systems Approach - David Easton
8. Structural Functional Approach - Almond
9. Decision-Making Approach - Herbert Simon
10. Communication Approach - Carl Deutsch
11. Economic Approach - Anthony Downs
12. Neo-institutional approach – James March and Johan Olsen

#### ➤ **contemporary approach**

##### ✓ **Emerging major streams in political science and other disciplines:**

1. **Historical Perspective:**(George H. Sabine)
2. **Sociological Approach:**(George E.G. Catlin)
3. **Philosophical approach:**(Leo Strauss)
4. **A Coordinative Approach:**(Carl J. Friedrich)
5. **Autonomy of Political Science:**(Norman Jacobson)

➤ **Contemporary Approach**

**1. Historical Perspective - George H. Sabine**

- (i) The Modern Idea of The State (1919)
- (ii) A History of Political Theory (1937)

✓ **Sabine: Every political theory has three elements: (i) factual, (ii) causal, (iii) evaluative.**

**2. Sociological Approach - George Catlin**

- (i) The Science and Method of Politics - 1927
- (ii) A Study of The Principles of Politics - 1930
- (iii) A Story of The Political Philosophers – 1939
- (iv) A History of the Political Philosophers - 1939
- (v) Political and Sociological Theory and its Applications - 1964

✓ **Catlin: "has tried to broaden the scope of political science to include not only the state but also society."**

**3. Philosophical Approach - Leo Strauss**

- (i) Natural Right and History (1953)
- (ii) What is Political Philosophy? (1957)
- (iii) Thoughts on Machiavelli - 1958
- (iv) History of Political Philosophy - 1963
- (v) The City and Man - 1964
- (vi) The Political Philosophy of Hobbes
- (vii) On Tyranny

✓ **Three Waves of Modernity**

- 1. Liberal
- 2. Socialism/Communism
- 3. Fascism

**4. A Coordinative Approach - Carl J. Frederick**

- (i) The Pathology of Politics - 1940
- (ii) Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy – 1956
- (iii) Man and His Government: An Empirical Theory of Politics - 1963

✓ **There are two approaches to the study of politics – Friedrich:**

- (i) Historical and philosophical perspectives
- (ii) Sociological and scientific perspectives

**5. The Autonomy of Political Science - Norman Jacobson**

✓ **Jacobson:** Political science is neither pure scientism nor pure moralism. It cannot be completely identified with either science or morality. It has its own independent existence, distinct from both.

<b>Comparison of traditional studies and modern studies</b>	
<b>traditional study</b>	<b>recent study</b>
Study of State and Government	Study of party system, economic development, political system and socialization
Comparison between Western Europe and democratic countries	Comparison of all countries
Study of state, government, constitution	Study of political systems
Emphasis on formal institutions	Behavioral studies
critical and explanatory	

- 
- ✓ A political system is an autonomous system that has the legitimate, binding power to maintain order in human society within a specific territory and to make authoritative decisions on any issue arising within it.
  - ✓ Systems theory is a product of the behavioural revolution. It is an empiricist approach.
  - ✓ Due to the behavioural revolution, the term political system was used in place of state in political science.
  - ✓ The term political system encompasses all the political interactions that take place within a society and drive the political process forward.
  - ✓ The term political system is a gift of the modern approach to political science.

### **Development of systems theory**

- Systems theory was first used in biology.
- Systems theory was first proposed by biologist Burton Lanphy (1920). Von Burton Lanphy stated that "the body is a system and its various parts are interdependent."
- But the systems theory spread after the Second World War.
- Systems theory was first used in the social sciences in anthropology, where it was used by Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski.
- **Robert K. Merton and Talcott Parsons** applied this theory to sociology. Homans, Ruthlisberger, and Dixon also applied this theory to sociology.
- **Public Administration** Chester Bernard was the first to use systems theory in the field of
- **Political Science** Systems theory was first adopted by David Easton.
- **International politics** The system theory was first adopted by McClelland in 1958, after which the system theory was given a scientific form in international politics by Martin Kaplan.
- **Maarten Kaplan considered Aristotle** to be the first systematist.
- **comparative Politics** The theory of systems analysis is the contribution of American political scientists, and Almond used the system theory in comparative politics.
- **Note:** Systems theory is a product of the behavioural revolution or the interdisciplinary approach.

### **Reasons for the origin of systems theory**

1. Dissatisfaction with traditional methods or approaches.
2. The need for a comprehensive framework for political analysis and study.
3. Need for ideology-free and value-free approach.
4. The need for an interdisciplinary, realistic, scientific approach.

### **Definitions of systems theory**

- **Robert Dahl:** "A political system is a stable form of human relations within which a significant amount of power, rule and authority is inherent."
- **Burton Lenphy:** "A system is a group of interacting elements."
- **Hall and Fagan:** "A system is a set of objects including the relationships between the objects and between their attributes."
- **Collin Cherry:** "A system is a unit of specific characteristics or a compound whole of several parts."
- **David Easton:** "A system is a set of interrelationships."
- **David Easton:** "Political system is a persistent pattern of human relations."
- **David Easton:** "The system of interactions in a society that results in binding or authoritative policy decisions is called a political system."
- **David Easton:** "Political system is the system of official allocation of values."

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- **Lasswell and Kaplan:** "Political system is a process that involves the actual use of harsh punishment, influence, finance and power."
  - **Lasswell and Kaplan** Severe deprivations are considered the foundation of political systems.
  - **Gabriel A. Almond:** "Political order is a system of interactions found in all free societies that performs the functions of integration and adaptation through the use or threat of use of legal and material coercion to a greater or lesser extent."
  - **Almond and Powell:** "A political system implies some sense of interdependence of its parts and some kind of limitation to its environment."
  - **Almond:** "Political system is a legitimate system for maintaining order and transforming demands in society."
  - **Parsons:** "Social system is a continuous set of repetitive, interrelated social activities."
  - **Ross Ashby:** "A system is a set of interrelated variables, distinct from the environment, that maintains itself in various ways despite environmental constraints."
  - **Caitlin:** "Order is the control of desires."
  - **David Easton** has suggested using systems theory as a conceptual framework for the integration, development and guidance of political science.
  - **David Easton:** "A political system is a set of interactions within which inputs are transformed into outputs."

### **Scholars concerned with political systems theory**

1. **David Easton:** input-output model
2. **Almond:** Structural procedural model
3. **Michels:** Exchange theory, book- The American Polity 1962, influenced by economics

### **Almond has given three properties of system.**

1. **Prevalence:** All interactions are included within the system.
2. **Interdependence:** When there is a change in the properties of one part of the system, it automatically affects the other components as well.
3. **Limitations:** Every system starts from a certain point and ends at a certain place.

### **Almond and Powell have given the following characteristics of political system.**

1. **Interdependence or interrelated activities of parts:** When there is a change in the properties of one part of the system, it automatically affects the other components as well.
2. **Limitations of the Political System:** Every system starts from a certain point and ends at a certain place, that is, the political system has a definite demarcation.
3. **Environment of the Political System:** The political system has a definite environment.
4. **Legitimate binding power:** The political system has legitimate binding power, which is why the political system commands and becomes supreme over other systems.
  - ✓ Due to this characteristic, Lasswell and Kaplan have termed the political system as having severe deprivations.
  - ✓ **Almond and Powell:** "Legitimate power is the general current that flows through the functioning of the political system, giving it its distinctive character and significance and coherence as a system."
  - ✓ Society itself is a system, which is formed by other sub-systems like economic, cultural, educational, religious and biological systems besides the political system.
  - ✓ Political system is a subsystem like other subsystems.

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## **According to David Easton, there are three components of political system.**

1. **First:** Political systems are the allocation of values through policies.
2. **Second:** Its allocation is official.
3. **Third:** Its authoritative allocation is externally imposed on society.

## **Two approaches to the concept of systems**

- **Arrangement** The concept can be expressed in two approaches from the point of view of empirical operationalization or use:
  1. **First approach:**
    - According to the first approach, systems should be used only when the objects are significantly interrelated and their level of interdependence is quite high.
  2. **Second approach:**
    - The second type of approach adopts the creative aspect of the system.
    - Like David Easton (A Framework for Political Analysis 1965).
    - They consider the first approach to be false and unattainable.
    - They use the system as a guide and aid in data collection and preliminary analysis for research purposes.

## **Development of systems theory in political science**

- **David Easton has** used systems theory as a conceptual framework.
- **David Easton has** considered systems theory as an experimental form of functionalism.
- **Meehan has** considered systems theory to be integral to general systems theory and functionalism.
- **Leviathan** Hobbes mentions the concept of system in Chapter 22 of
- **Almond and Powell** (Comparative Politics: A Development Approach 1973) acknowledged the influence of theories from sociology, anthropology and communication science on the concept of system.
- **David Easton and Carl Deutsch** The concept of system has emerged from sociology and communication science.
- **Almond and Powell** The system theory of is related to the separation of powers of the Federalist Papers.
- **Maarten A. Kaplan has** used systems theory in the analysis of international politics.
- Systems theory has been used for empirical research by Almond, Apter, Coleman, Eckstein, Kaplan etc.

## **Features of the polity**

- Society itself is a system, which is formed by other sub-systems like economic, cultural, educational, religious and biological systems besides the political system.
- Political system is a subsystem like other subsystems.
- **According to Almond:** "Political system is a just, order-maintaining or transforming system in society."
- **According to Wiseman:** "Politics includes political structures, individual actions performed by actors or agents, self-actions, existing patterns of interaction between individuals or groups, and political processes."
- **Kaplan's state system** Like other systems, there are diverse identifiable interests, and these interests are not contradictory but complementary to each other.

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## David Easton's system theory

➤ **Other names for Easton's systems theory:**

1. Input-Output model
2. Black box model
3. Flow model

➤ **Books:**

1. The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science 1953
2. A Framework for Political Analysis 1965 (In this book, David Easton calls political life a system of behavior)
3. A System Analysis of Political Life 1965
4. The Analysis of Political Structure 1990

➤ David Easton has had a profound influence on the broader applications of systems theory in political science.

➤ In his 1953 book, Political System – An Inquiry into the State of Political Science, American political scientist David Easton sought to create a theory that would encompass all the social sciences.

➤ David Easton, in his book "Political System and Inquiry into the Status of Political Science" (1953), explained that politics is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values. According to this concept, a political system is defined as a set of elements that:

1. Be related to each other.
2. Be dependent on each other.
3. Interact with each other.

➤ **In Easton's words:** "Political system is the system of interactions within a society through which compulsory or authoritative allocations are made."

➤ **According to David Easton** The political system is not a collection of its members but a collection of their actions.

➤ **According to David Easton** Political life is a process of behavior that continues within the political system.

➤ **Easton's system theory** It is interdisciplinary. David Easton borrowed the concept of systems from biology, input, output, and feedback from communication theory, and allocation terminology from economics.

➤ **Note:** David Easton presented his creative concept of systems research in 1953 in The Political System and elaborated his conceptual framework in the following two books in 1965:

1. A Framework for Political Analysis
2. A System Analysis of Political Life

➤ **Meehan:** "David Easton is the most consistent and systematic functionalist in political science."

➤ **Note:** In his book The Analysis of Political Structure (1990), Easton places the most central place in political structures on the structure of the state rather than on its functions.

➤ Easton, in his work 'A Framework for Political Analysis' (1965), has expressed the model of the political system in the form of the following diagram.

➤ **David Easton's basic unit of systems analysis** There is interaction. Interaction arises from the behaviour of the members of the system.

➤ When interactions become a set of interrelationships in the eyes of the investigator, it is called a system.

## Four concepts or foundations or foundations of David Easton's systems theory

- |                |             |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1. System      | 3. Response |
| 2. Environment | 4. Feedback |

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## 1. System

- ✓ **According to David Easton** The political system is the set of structures, processes and institutions that interact with the environment and interact with each other across the boundaries of the general system.
- ✓ The system is open, adaptable and dynamic.
- ✓ The system interacts with the environment.
- ✓ The system includes all types of formal and informal processes, interactions, functions, structures, values, ethics, behaviour etc.
- ✓ The system may be concrete or abstract, empirical or para-empirical, and observable or conceptual.
- ✓ The nature of some systems may be mixed or semi-tangible and semi-intangible.

## 2. Environment

- ✓ Every system has an environment.
- ✓ Environment refers to the social system.
- ✓ **According to David Easton** Demands and support from the environment come as inputs. The political system, i.e., the government, transforms these inputs into outputs (policies and decisions). The outputs are then returned to the environment for feedback, from which demands arise again. This process continues, maintaining the political system.

## 3. Response or political system/transformation process

- ✓ Every polity responds to its environment.
- ✓ She faces the crises, pressures etc. coming towards her, apart from this she has to do some work on her own, like maintaining order in the society and maintaining her identity continuously and consistently.
- ✓ All these actions are called reactions.
- ✓ **A polity performs two types of functions:**
  1. The division of values in society.
  2. To induce a majority of its members to accept this division as binding.
- ✓ Both these functions are essential parts of political life. Without them, neither the polity nor society can exist.
- ✓ In response, the political system transforms inputs (demands and support) into outputs (decisions and policies), and releases these outputs into the environment.

### I. Input

- ✓ The elements that the political system receives from the environment (society) are called inputs.
- ✓ The political system receives demands and support from the environment as inputs.
- ✓ The political system allocates values because it receives demands from the environment, and allocations become authoritative because they receive support from the environment.

### **Demands - David Easton identified four types of demands:**

1. Demands for allocation of goods and services.
2. Demands for regulation of behavior.
3. Demands related to participation in political life.
4. Demands related to communication and information.

### **Support – David Easton also identifies four types of support:**

1. Material Support
2. support for law enforcement
3. participatory support
4. Support for the tendency to pay attention to cooperative information.
  - ✓ This means that the political system transforms inputs (demands and support) into outputs (decisions and policies), and these flow to the environment as outputs.

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## II. Output

- ✓ Outputs include decisions and policies.
- ✓ These policies and decisions form the basis for official allocation.

### ➤ **There are also four types of output:**

1. harness
2. Regulation of behavior
3. distribution of goods, services, opportunities, respect, etc.
4. symbolic output

## 4. Feedback

- ✓ Outputs enter the environment and interact with its elements, giving rise to new inputs. These new inputs return to the political system through reinvestment, thus completing a complex cycle and beginning a new one.

### ➤ **regulatory mechanisms**

- ✓ According to David Easton, adjustments between inputs and outputs are necessary. However, if demands become too high, tensions will arise within the political system.
- ✓ Hence, regulatory mechanisms are needed to control demands, i.e., what David Easton has termed gatekeeping or control mechanisms to prevent the political system from being overloaded.

### ➤ **David Easton has identified four types of regulatory mechanisms:**

1. **Structural Mechanisms or Pressure Groups and Political Parties:** They act as gatekeepers, checking every request before allowing it into the system.
2. **Cultural Mechanism:** They have strict control over their demands, they examine the demands on the basis of whether they are right or wrong.
3. **Communication Channels:** Demands reach the political system through them.
4. **Reduction Process:** The government can control these demands during the conversion process.

- The structural-functional theory of systems analysis is either an evolution of Easton's input-output analysis or has come into existence due to dissatisfaction with it.
- This approach is rooted in functionalism, which studies the activities, conditions, or effects of a system in order to maintain it. It also studies the structures associated with functionalism.
- Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Parsons, Merton, Levy etc. have contributed in developing this approach.
- The structural functional approach first appeared in anthropology.
- **Radcliffe Brown** gave the structural functionalist theory in anthropology and Malinowski gave the integrated functionalist theory in anthropology.
- Radcliffe and Malinowski used this approach to study tribal communities.
- From anthropology it came to sociology, in sociology it was used by Durkheim, Parsons, Robert K. Merton, Merriam Levy.
- Social scientist Talcott Parsons is credited with developing such a theoretical framework for the study of civil society in sociology.
- The structural-functional approach to social science aimed to identify the functions that play a role in maintaining social order. There are four major functions:
  1. **Achievement of the goal:** This is the main function of the state system.
  2. **Customization:** Under this, the required resources are gathered to maintain the social system.
  3. **Integration:** Its purpose is to keep the social system intact.
  4. **Pattern Maintenance:** Its objective is to communicate values and manage tensions so that the majority of members of society maintain faith in social values.
- From sociology it came into political science, where it was used by Almond and Coleman.

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- It was first used in political science by Almond and Coleman to study the politics of developing countries.
  - But Almond himself considered the approach incomplete because it was limited to developing countries and Almond, along with Powell, developed a development approach for all countries and periods.
  - The use of structural-functional approach in comparative politics was inspired by Gabriel Almond from Radcliffe Brown and B. Malinowski.
  - Radcliffe Brown had a great influence on Almond.
  - Almond borrowed the terminology of his structural process theory from Talcott Parsons.
  - The structural-functional approach in political science was first used by Gabriel Almond and Coleman in their 1960 book *The Politics of Developing Areas*.
  - Almond considered Easton's theory incomplete and propounded this theory as an improvement.
  - This theory was elaborated/formulated as the development approach in the work of Gabriel Almond and G. B. Powell in *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach* (1966).
  - Almond considered Easton's input and output elements as functions of the political system, and each of these functions also has its own structures.
  - Almond's description gives a detailed classification of functions and their related structures, hence it is called structural functional analysis.
  - **Other names for structural functional:**
    1. performance approach
    2. developmental approach
  - **The structural-functional approach includes two terms:**
    1. functionalism
    2. structural

## Functionalism Approach

- **Functionalism means:** Study of the activities that maintain the system, i.e., the functions.
- Until the 1960s, it was considered the most important approach to the development of general theory.
- **Major exponents of functionalism:** There are almonds.
- This approach looks at society as a whole or as a whole rather than looking at it in separate parts.
- It analyses the dynamic interrelationships between the parts that maintain the social system.
- **Foundations of Functionalism** Or the basic unit is the notion of order.
- **According to Cohn:** "Functionalism views society as a system of 'functionally interrelated variables' or 'a boundary conditioner'."
- **According to Johns:** "The essence of functionalism is order-maintaining activities."
- **According to Young:** "Functionalism is an approach derived from general theory, which studies systems from the point of view of function."
- **Robert Brown:** "It is easier to use functionalist language than to offer a truly functionalist explanation."
- **According to Merton:** "The function is the observed result."
- **Radcliffe Brown** Recurring actions are called functions.
- **Levy:** "Function is a state resulting from the action of an entity, with reference to the structures under consideration."
- Ancient Greek thinkers like Montesquieu, Kant, Spencer etc. have studied the functions of governance systems, that is, they have used functionalism.
- **Major functionalist thinkers:** Durkheim, Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Talcott Parsons, R. K. Merton, Meriam J. Levy, Gabriel Almond, James Coleman.

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## Structural concept

- Most functionalists later insisted on giving importance to structures to keep functionalist analysis empirical.
- According to him, many functionalists have reduced the role of structure by giving more emphasis on functions, this has led to ambiguity in analysis and many inequalities have arisen in comparative studies.
- **WF Rigs:** "If structures are not emphasized against functions, the analysis can be misleading and unreliable."
- **Joseph La Palombara:** "Many confusions and difficulties can be removed if as much attention is paid to the structures of political systems as we pay to their functional aspects."
- **David Easton** In his book *The Analysis of Political Structure* (1990), he has considered structures to be very important in developing empirical theories for all political systems and while developing the theory of political structures, he has not only analyzed the formal and informal political structures, but also, considering the state as a structural component, has described it as influenced, determined and limited by higher level structures.
- **David Easton:** "Political structure is the invisible force operating in the background of the political system."
- Structure is a relatively stable pattern of action, operation, or well-ordered relationships.
- Structures arise as a result of repeatedly occurring functions, activities or processes or ongoing conditions.
- **Parsons:** "Structures are systems of patterned expectations."
- **Levy:** "Structure and function are closely related."

## Structural-functional Approach

- Structural-functionalism studies all components, functions and structures.
- In this, the characteristics of structuralist approach like totality, comparativeness, deductivity etc. and the characteristics of functionalism like individuality, inductivity, extreme generality, idea dominance etc. get combined.

## Almond and Coleman's use of structural-functionalism

### Books:

1. **The Politics of Developing Areas 1960 - Almond and Coleman**
  - ✓ It has a structural-process theory, limited to developing countries, and emphasizes stability rather than change.
2. **Comparative Politics- A Development Approach 1966 - Almond and Powell**
  - ✓ It offers a development approach that applies to all countries and times. It emphasizes interdependence.
  - **Note:** Dissatisfied with the structural-processual approach (Almond and Coleman) described in *The Politics of Developing Areas* (1960), Almond and Powell developed a development approach in *Comparative Politics - A Development Approach* in 1966. This is also called the System Structural-Functional Approach. In the development approach, interdependence is more important than equilibrium.

### Effect on Almonds:

- Radcliffe Brown, Malinowski, Parsons, K. Merton, David Easton, Arthur Bentley, David Tubman, Robert Dahl, etc.
- Almond borrowed much of his terminology from Parsons. He borrowed informal groups from Arthur Bentley and Truman, and drew inspiration from David Easton. Max Weber influenced his concept of political system.

- Almond and Coleman have used structural-functionalism for comparative analysis of developing countries.
- Apart from this, Lucian Pye has used the structural-functional approach to study South-East Asia, Myron Weiner to South Asia, James S. Coleman to the Sahara region of Africa (Nigeria), George I. Blankstein to the Latin American countries, Leonard Winder to Pakistan and Iran.

### **Goals of structural functional analysis**

- Structural functional analysis has two goals:
  1. To develop a theory of development or change that can explain how state systems transform from traditional to modern.
  2. To classify polities meaningfully on the scale of efficiency and capacity.
- Every polity must perform certain functions, activities or actions to maintain itself; these are called by Almond the 'functional requirements' of the polity, and these are grouped into seven categories.
- Almond and Coleman have developed 7 functional categories and a probability theory based on them for comparative study of developing countries.
- These 7 categories have been further divided into two major categories, which are as follows:
  1. input function
  2. output function
- In the 7 functional categories, Almond has described four types of input functions (tasks) and three types of output functions and the structures associated with the functions.
- Almond calls the input functions as political functions and the output functions as governance functions.
- **7 Functional Cadre or Functional Requirements**
  1. Political socialization and recruitment
  2. Interest Clarification
  3. interest grouping
  4. political communication
  5. rule making
  6. rule-of-thumb
  7. rules and regulations

### **Incoming action (political action)**

- According to Almond, the four input functions and their associated structures are as follows:

<b>act</b>	<b>Structures</b>
(1) Political socialization and recruitment	Family, friends, educational and religious organizations
(2) Clarification of Interest	interest groups
(3) Interest grouping	Political parties
(4) Political communication	means of mass communication

### **Outgoing Functions (Government Functions)**

- According to Almond, there are three output functions and their associated structures:

<b>act</b>	<b>structure</b>
Rule Making	Legislature
Rule Application	executive
Rule Adjudication	Judiciary

- Output functions are the traditional functions of the government.
- Thus, in the political system, the output functions are handled by the government subsystems, while the input functions are handled by the non-government subsystems.
- **David Easton** It gives equal importance to both input and output acts, whereas Almond gives more importance to input acts.

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- According to Almond, input acts are concerned with the informal institutions of politics, which have not been given attention in the traditional study of comparative politics, hence it is necessary to pay attention to them in the modern approach.
  - Almond called the structural-functional approach a developmental approach because Almond provided a model of a developed political system. By comparing the political system of a developing country to this model, the level of political development in that country can be measured.
  - The structures that contribute to the stability of the political system are called functional, and those that hinder it are called dysfunctional, in structural-functional analysis.

### **Characteristics of political system according to Almond**

1. Universality of political systems.
  2. Universality of political structures.
  3. Universality of political actions.
  4. Multifunctionality of political structures, meaning the performance of multiple functions by a single structure. For example, political parties, in addition to running the government, also perform public awareness tasks.
  5. Political systems have a mixed culture, that is, traditional and modern qualities coexist.
- **Note:**David Easton's model applies only to Western liberal democratic systems, whereas Almond's model applies to developing and backward countries.

### **Classification of polities**

- Almond and Coleman have accepted five types or models of polities, which are as follows:
  1. **Political Democracies:**
    - ✓ **Example:**Japan, Israel, India etc.
  2. **Tutelary Democracy:**
    - ✓ In this, despite the formal structures of democracy, powers are concentrated only in the executive and the service class (bureaucracy).
    - ✓ The position of the legislature and judiciary is weak.
    - ✓ **Example:**Ghana, Nigeria etc.
  3. **Modernizing Oligarchy:**
    - ✓ In this, the democratic constitution remains suspended and the influence of the service class or the army remains.
    - ✓ They boast of bringing democracy and modernity.
    - ✓ **Example:**Pakistan, Myanmar, Turkey, Sudan etc.
  4. **Totalitarian Oligarchy:**
    - ✓ **Example:**North Korea, former Nazi Germany and fascist Italy etc.
  5. **Traditional Oligarchy:**
    - ✓ These are usually monarchical, hereditary and tradition-based.
    - ✓ In this, the basis of political recruitment is status and blood lineage.
    - ✓ **Example:**Nepal, Saudi Arabia etc.

### **Probability theory of politics**

- ✓ **Exponent:**Almond and Coleman
- ✓ Almond and Coleman believe that formal logic and mathematics can be used to analyze political systems through the structural-functional approach.
- ✓ This can bring authenticity, precision, certainty and accuracy to the study.
- ✓ Almond and Coleman have described the probabilities of specific functions being produced by specific structures and have described the different styles of possible functions and probabilistic descriptions can be given about their relationships.

- ✓ In their opinion, now so much amount of elements and data is available that on their basis various probability statements are possible and from them hypothetical lists can be developed and they can be tested empirically.
- ✓ **Note:** This is what David Tuman has done in his analysis of groups and V.O. Key in his analysis of political parties.

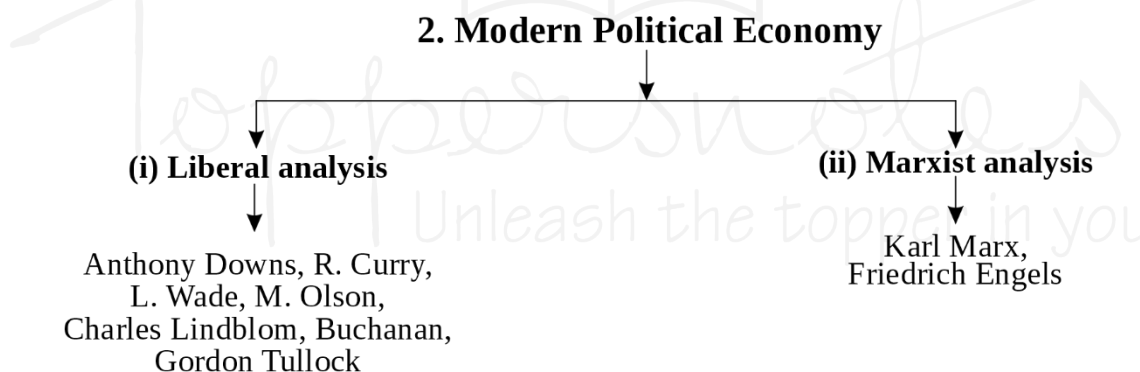
### Comparison of David Easton and Almond

1. **David Easton** considers both input and output important, whereas Almond considers input important.
2. **Almond** The focus of this approach is on non-governmental, or informal, institutions that provide inputs. Almond downplays the importance of governmental or formal structures that provide outputs.
3. **David Easton** considers functions to be important, whereas Almond gives importance to both functions and structures.
4. **Almond** Considers feedback and environment as part of the input, not described separately.
5. **Easton** The model of is applicable to Western liberal democratic systems, whereas the model of Almond is applicable to developing and backward countries.

**Note:** The characteristics of Almond's political system are similar to those of the USA.

### Political Economy Approach

- A way of understanding political, social, and economic change where politics and the economy are not seen as separate spheres.
- Mainly it is divided into two parts.
  1. **Classical Political Economy**
    - **Supporter:** Adam Smith, J. S. Mill, Karl Marx, Robert Malthus, David Ricardo, Friedrich List, Edward Bernstein.



### Classical Political Economy

#### 1. Adam Smith

- ✓ **Book:** An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations - 1776
- ✓ Smith has called freedom of commerce and trade as natural freedom.
- ✓ The state should perform the following functions: (i) justice, (ii) security, (iii) public works.

#### 2. J. S. Mill

- ✓ **Book:** Principles of Political Economy - 1848

#### 3. David Ricardo

- ✓ **Book:** The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation - 1817
- ✓ **Two main principles:** (i) Labour-based theory of value, (ii) Theory of surplus.

#### 4. Robert Malthus

- ✓ **Book:** An Essay on the Principle of Population - 1798 (Population Geometry).

#### 5. Friedrich List (mercantilist)

- ✓ **Book:** National System of Political Economy - 1841

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## 6. Edward Bernstein

- ✓ **Book:** Evolutionary Socialism (1899)
- ✓ Economic equality can be achieved through democratic participation.

## Modern political economy

- Came in the 1960s.
- Interdisciplinary approach was promoted in the study of politics and economics.

### 1. Liberal analysis

- (a) **Anthony Downs: An Economic Theory of Democracy (1957)**
- (b) **Mankier Olson: The Logic of Collective Action (1965)**
- (c) **James Buchanan and Tullock: The Calculus of Consent (1962)**
- (d) **RL Curry and LL Wade: A Theory of Political Exchange (1968)**
- (e) **Charles Lindblom: Politics and Markets (1977)**

## Political Sociology Approach

- Development of this approach Aristotle's book "Politics" is considered the initial work of political-sociological approach.
- **Charles Merriam** in his book "New Aspects of Politics (1925)" and Harold Lasswell in his work "Politics: Who Gets What, When, How" (1936) have analysed political power from a sociological perspective.

## Nationalism – European and non-European

- **Nationalism:** It is the belief that a group of people unifies themselves based on history, tradition, language, ethnicity, and culture.
- **Snyder:** Identifying nationalism is indeed a challenging task.
- **Exponents of Nationalism:** Johann Gottfried Herder.
- **First time using the word:** In Germany in the 18th century.
  1. **Father of Cultural Nationalism:** Johann Gottfried Herder (German poet).
    - In German, the word nation means Volksgeist.
    - **Anthony Smith called** the nation "Ethnies".
    - Anthony Smith stated in "The Ethnic Origins of Nations (1986)" that "the idea of nation exists in cultural heritage and language."
  2. **Father of Political Nationalism:** Rousseau.
    - **Ernest Gellner** in "Nations and Nationalism (1983)" he said that the idea of nation is the result of industrialization.
- **Eric Hobsbawm**
  - ✓ **Book:** Nations and Nationalism since 1780
  - ✓ Said: Nation is an invented concept.
- **Anderson:** Nation is an imagined community.
- **L. Billing:** Simple nationalism.

## European nationalism

- Nationalism is a modern concept. It first developed in Western Europe. The French Revolution of 1789 was the first strong and clear expression of nationalism.
- It developed in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. Romantic (cultural) nationalism flourished in Germany in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Nationalism in Europe flourished after World War I with Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of Peace and his support for the right to self-determination, which gave nationalism a new direction.

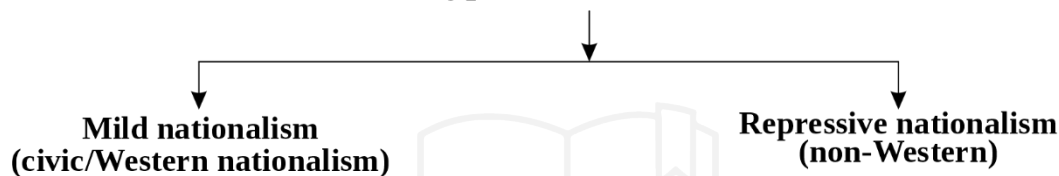
## Non-European nationalism

- They wanted freedom from slavery.
- Trade and colonialism played a significant role in the spread of this nationalism. During this process, countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America began to understand the concept of nationalism and launched liberation struggles.

## Nationalism and other facts

- **Nation** The word "nationalism" is derived from the Latin word "nation" which means "to be born."
- **"Nationalism is a disease, the pox of mankind."** - Albert Einstein.
- **Father of modern nationalism-** Rousseau.
- **"A nation is a collection of emotions"** - Max Weber.
- **"Nationality, like religion, is related to consciousness."** - Zimmern.
- **"Nationalism is a state of mind"** - Hans Cohen.
- **Good and bad nationalism-** Hans Cohen.

### John Plemnetz Two Types of Nationalism



- **Carl Walfeng Deutsch**
  - ✓ Nationalism and Social Communication (1962) considered nationalism as an expression of "cultural and social relations".
- **Friedrich Meinecke:** Has talked about the overlapping of cultural and political nationalism.

Types of nationalism	
Type	Country
Melting Pot	USA
rainbow	South Africa
social or composite	India

- **Benedict Anderson:** Portrayed the modern nation as a work of art.
- **Anderson** Three types of nationalism as imagined community are described:
  - Creole nationalism – in Latin America
  - Linguistic nationalism – Europe
  - Russified nationalism

## Types of nationalism

- Liberal Nationalism:** Supporters - Giuseppe Mazzini, Woodrow Wilson, Simon Bolivar.
- Conservative Nationalism:** Disraeli, Bismarck, Czar Alexander III, Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, Donald Trump.
- Expansionist Nationalism:** Mussolini, Hitler.
- Black Nationalism:** Martin Robison Delaney.
- Anti-colonial nationalism:** Mahatma Gandhi, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Ho-Chi Minh.

## Criticism of nationalism

- **Lord Acton:** "There could be no instrument of change or no more important invention of the political imagination than nationalism."

## Important Vocabulary

<b>thinker</b>	<b>vocabulary</b>
Johann Herder	Father of cultural nationalism
Jean Jacques Rousseau	Father of Political Nationalism / Father of Modern Nationalism
Eric Hobsbawm	Nation is an Invented Tradition
Hans Kohn	Nationalism is a state of mind
Karl Deutsch	Nation is an expression of cultural and social relations
Anthony Smith	Ethnic nationalism (nationalism based on ethnicity)
Benedict Anderson	Imagined Community
L-Billing	Banal Nationalism
guiseppe mazzini	Every nation a state, only one state for the entire nation.
Charles Meir	Integral National
Martin Robinson Delaney	Internal colonialism

## Important Books

<b>Author</b>	<b>Book</b>
Karl Deutsch	Nationalism and Social Communication (1962)
Anthony Smith	The Ethnic Origins of Nations (1986)
Stalin	Marxism and the National Question
Ernest Gellner	Nation and Nationalism (1983)
Eric Hobsbawm	Nations and Nationalism Since 1789 (1989)
Anderson	Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (1983)
L-Billing	Banal Nationalism (1997)
Rabindranath Tagore	Nationalism
Kedourie Illy	Nationalism and Liberty
Hans Kohn	The Idea of Nationalism
Byawah C. Shaffer	Nationalism Myth and Reality

- A permanent political organization.
- Controls society and population within a specific territory.
- **Sovereign:** Self-governing and supreme power.
- Enforces rules through laws and regulations.
- The traditional definition of a state in international law is found in the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of the State (1933). Article 1 of this Convention defines a state as having four key characteristics:
  1. a certain territory
  2. a stable population
  3. an effective government
  4. Ability to build relationships with other states
- **Treaty of Westphalia (1648)**— which occurred at the end of the Thirty Years' War — established the principle of territorial sovereignty and formalized the modern state concept.
- **Charles Tilly (1990)** According to Tilly (1975), the development of the modern state was linked to its capacity to wage war. As Tilly (1975) put it: "War made the state, and the state made war."
- **Marxist ideology** He explains the emergence of the state in terms of economic structure. According to him, the state is the result of the transition from feudalism to capitalism and is an instrument of the emerging bourgeoisie.
- **Michael Mann (1993)** explained the emergence of the state as a combination of ideological, economic, military and political powers, which he called the IEMP model.

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➤ **Salient features of the state:**

1. **The state is sovereign:** It is above all other organizations and groups in society.
2. **State institutions are considered public,** Whereas other organizations of the society like family, business etc. are private institutions.
3. **The State exercises legality:** Its decisions are accepted by the members of the society and are considered representative of collective interests.
4. **The state is a dominating instrument:** The authority of the state is supported by the use of force. According to Max Weber, the state is the institution that holds the monopoly of legitimate violence.
5. **State is a territorial organization:** Its jurisdiction extends to a specific territory, encompassing all residents – whether citizens or not.

**Capitalist State:**

- There is no single definition of the state in the capitalist tradition. It has been interpreted differently from different perspectives.
- **Marxist perspective** The state cannot be understood in isolation from the economic structure of society. According to him, the state is an instrument of class exploitation.
- **According to Marx** The state is part of a 'superstructure', which is founded on an economic 'base.' "The executive of the modern state is merely a committee managing the general interests of the entire bourgeoisie." (Communist Manifesto, 1848)

**Features of capitalist states:**

1. **State as a provider of public goods:**

- ✓ Provides services such as national security, law and order, infrastructure (roads, bridges), education and health.
- ✓ These goods are non-excludable and non-rival, which the market cannot provide alone.
- ✓ Adam Smith also accepted that such public goods should be provided by the state.

2. **State as Regulator and Facilitator:**

- ✓ The capitalist state creates and enforces the rules of the market: protecting property rights, enforcing contracts, maintaining competition, and so on.
- ✓ It promotes investment, trade and entrepreneurship for smooth circulation of capital.
- ✓ John Locke considered the protection of property rights to be the primary role of the state.

3. **The State is a Social Engineer:**

- ✓ The capitalist state also influences society through education, welfare and development policies.
- ✓ It adopts policies to reduce inequalities and invest in human resources.
- ✓ This approach is associated with Keynesian economics, where John Maynard Keynes considered the role of the state essential for social and economic stability.

4. **The State is an arbiter:**

- ✓ It acts as a neutral arbiter between opposing interests such as capital and labour.
- ✓ Creates labour laws, minimum wages, dispute redressal mechanisms.
- ✓ Pluralist theorists such as Robert Dahl view the state as a neutral umpire balancing diverse interest groups.

5. **Minimalist State:**

- ✓ This is the classical liberal view, where the role of the state is limited to maintaining law and order, enforcing contracts and protecting property.
- ✓ The market is considered self-regulating and state intervention is considered detrimental to freedom and efficiency.
- ✓ Robert Nozick, in Anarchy, State, and Utopia (1974), advocated a night watchman state that protects only individual rights and does not interfere with economic activity.