POLITICAL THEORY

MA [Political Science]

Second Semester

POLS 804C

[ENGLISH EDITION]

Directorate of Distance Education

TRIPURA UNIVERSITY

Reviewer

Dr Nivedita Giri
Assistant Professor, Jesus & Mary College, University of Delhi

Authors:

Dr Biswaranjan Mohanty: Units (1.2-1.2.4) © Dr Biswaranjan Mohanty, 2016

Mr Rukmana Meher: Units (1.2.5-1.5, 2.2-2.6, 3.3-3.4, 4.2-4.4.2) © Mr Rukmana Meher, 2016

Neeru Sood: Units (3.5, 4.4.3-4.4.4) © Reserved, 2016

Vikas Publishing House: Units (1.0-1.1, 1.6-1.10, 2.0-2.1, 2.7-2.11,3.0-3.2, 3.6-3.11, 4.0-4.1, 4.5-4.9) © Reserved, 2016

Books are developed, printed and published on behalf of **Directorate of Distance Education, Tripura University** by Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Vikas® is the registered trademark of Vikas® Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

VIKAS® PUBLISHING HOUSE PVT. LTD.
E-28, Sector-8, Noida - 201301 (UP)
Phone: 0120-4078900 • Fax: 0120-4078999
Regd. Office: 7361, Ravindra Mansion, Ram Nagar, New Delhi – 110 055
• Website: www.vikaspublishing.com • Email: helpline@vikaspublishing.com

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Political Theory

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit - I *Different Interpretations of Political Theory:* The Classical Tradition of Political Theory; Importance and Limitations of Classical Tradition Moves towards a Science of Politics – Positivism and Logical Positivism Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism Debate on the 'Decline'/'Revival' of Political Theory	**Unit 1:** Different Interpretations of Political Theory **(Pages: 3-59)**
Unit - II *Impact of Positivism on Political Science:* Use of Rational Actors Models Public Choice Approach Influence of General Systems Theory: Input-Output Analysis (David Easton) Structural-Functionalism (Almond and Powell) Communication Model	**Unit 2:** Impact of Positivism on Political Science **(Pages: 61-101)**
Unit - III *Contemporary Liberalism:* Contemporary Liberalism Libertarianism Communitarianism Multiculturalism Feminism	**Unit 3:** Contemporary Liberalism **(Pages: 103-160)**
Unit - IV *Marxist View of Science and Approach:* Analysis of Political Economy – Structuralist and Marxist *Neo-Marxist Political Theory:* Analysis of Mode of Production – Key Debates Nature of State – Theory of Relative Autonomy and Authoritarian Statism Critical Theory Post-Colonial Political Theory	**Unit 4:** Marxist View of Science and Approach **(Pages: 161-204)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

UNIT 1 DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY 3-59

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Introduction to Political Theory
  1.2.1 Evolution of Political Theory
  1.2.2 Meaning of Political Theory
  1.2.3 Nature and Scope
  1.2.4 Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives
  1.2.5 Classical Tradition of Political Theory
  1.2.6 Limitations of Classical Tradition
  1.2.7 Traditional Approaches to Political Theory
1.3 Moves towards a Science of Politics: Positivism and Logical Positivism
  1.3.1 Positivism
  1.3.2 Logical Positivism or Neo-positivism
1.4 Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism: An Overview
  1.4.1 Behaviouralism
  1.4.2 Post-Behaviouralism
1.5 Debate on the 'Decline'/'Revival' of Political Theory
1.6 Summary
1.7 Key Terms
1.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.9 Questions and Exercises
1.10 Further Reading

UNIT 2 IMPACT OF POSITIVISM ON POLITICAL SCIENCE 61-101

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 Use of Rational Actors Models
2.3 Public Choice Approach
2.4 Influence of General Systems Theory
  2.4.1 David Easton's Systems Analysis
2.5 Structural-Functionalism
  2.5.1 Almond-Powell Model
2.6 Communication Model
2.7 Summary
2.8 Key Terms
2.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.10 Questions and Exercises
2.11 Further Reading

UNIT 3 CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM 103-160

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives

3.2 Contemporary Liberalism
3.2.1 Neo-Liberalism
3.3 Libertarianism
3.4 Communitarianism
3.4.1 East Asian Arguments for Cultural Particularism
3.4.2 The Debate Over the Self
3.5 Multiculturalism
3.5.1 Response to Multiculturalism
3.6 Feminism
3.6.1 Feminist Movements and Ideologies
3.6.2 Impact of the Society
3.6.3 Relationship to Political Movements
3.6.4 Reactions to Feminism
3.7 Summary
3.8 Key Terms
3.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.10 Questions and Exercises
3.11 Further Reading

UNIT 4 MARXIST VIEW OF SCIENCE AND APPROACH 161-204

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Marx's Views on Science
4.3 Analysis of Political Economy: Marxist and Structuralist
4.3.1 Marxist Approach to Political Economy
4.3.2 Structuralist Approach to Political Economy
4.4 Neo-Marxist Political Theory
4.4.1 Analysis of Mode of Production: Key Debates
4.4.2 Nature of State: Theory of Relative Autonomy and Authoritarian Statism
4.4.3 Critical Theory
4.4.4 Post-Colonial Political Theory
4.5 Summary
4.6 Key Terms
4.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.8 Questions and Exercises
4.9 Further Reading

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

Politics plays a defining role in the society. It not only lays the foundation of our social life but also is the building block of the civil society. It performs the legal and administrative function of the society protecting states from complete anarchy. This title, *Political Theory* presents a comprehensive study of various political theories and their interpretation.

Political theory as a subject teaches us how to live together, collectively. A political theorist attempts to explain or define precisely ideas such as freedom, equality, democracy and justice. Ideas that may have a sound foundation or be backed by reasoned arguments or may even be based on misguided premises.

According to John Dunn (1990) in *Reconceiving the Content and Character of Modern Political Community,* the purpose of political theory is to diagnose practical predicaments and show how best they can be confronted. He also believes that this can be done by developing the following three skills:

· Ascertaining how one gets to know where one is and understanding why things are the way they are

· Deliberating about the kind of world one wishes to live in

· Judging how far, and through what actions, and at what risk, one can hope to move this world as it exists today towards the way one wishes it to be

Study of political theory helps you to differentiate between legitimate functions of government and the arbitrary use of power.

Unit 1 introduces the meaning of political theory, the classical tradition of political theory and the science of politics. It also, delves into the concept of behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism. Unit 2 analyses the role of positivism in political science constituting the application of Rational Actors Model, Public Choice Approach, General System Theory, Structural-Functionalism and communication model. Unit 3 explores the different facets of contemporary liberalism including the perspectives put forth by John Rawls and Robert Nozick. Unit 4 explains the Marxist approach to political theory constituting of a thorough evaluation of the mode of production and nature of state.

This book, *Political Theory*, is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into four units. Each unit begins with an Introduction to the topic followed by an outline of the Unit objectives. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The Summary and Key Terms section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

UNIT 1 DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY

Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Introduction to Political Theory
  1.2.1 Evolution of Political Theory
  1.2.2 Meaning of Political Theory
  1.2.3 Nature and Scope
  1.2.4 Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives
  1.2.5 Classical Tradition of Political Theory
  1.2.6 Limitations of Classical Tradition
  1.2.7 Traditional Approaches to Political Theory
1.3 Moves towards a Science of Politics: Positivism and Logical Positivism
  1.3.1 Positivism
  1.3.2 Logical Positivism or Neo-positivism
1.4 Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism: An Overview
  1.4.1 Behaviouralism
  1.4.2 Post-Behaviouralism
1.5 Debate on the 'Decline'/'Revival' of Political Theory
1.6 Summary
1.7 Key Terms
1.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.9 Questions and Exercises
1.10 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Political theory, described as the invention of the Greeks, is a very wide and comprehensive subject. It is defined as an orientation that characterizes the thinking of a group or a nation. It basically studies the problems, activities, aims and objectives of the state and the government. It also explains the origin, nature, structure and functions of the state. A major branch of political theory is political science, which is a social science discipline concerned with the study of the state, government and politics. Defined by Aristotle as the study of the state, it extensively deals with the theory and practice of politics, and the analysis of political systems and political behaviour. Political science formulates the definitions and concepts of democracy, liberty, equality, etc. on the basis of political ideas or thoughts of political thinkers.

The field of political theory also includes the study of political institutions, the nature of relationship between the individual and the state, and international relations. The discipline of political theory is divided into three categories, namely orthodox

NOTES

political theory, liberal (broad-minded) political theory and Marxist political theory. Political theory is also closely related to other social sciences, including sociology, history, economics, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, geography, statistics, jurisprudence and public administration.

Political theory is studied in a systematic and scientific manner. In order to study the subject in this way, political theorists follow various approaches, which are grouped under two broad categories, namely traditional approaches and modern approaches. The traditional approaches include philosophical, historical, institutional and legal approaches. These approaches are largely normative and put stress on the values of politics. Emphasis is on the study of different political structures.

In this unit, you will study about the classical tradition of political theory; politics as a science with a focus on behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism, and positivism and logical positivism. Aristotle studied constitutions and practices in Greek city-states, and contrasted them with politics in the so-called 'barbarian' states. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski also made significant contributions to a comparative study of institutions and by implication to the evolution of comparative governments as a distinct branch of study. In the 1950s, 'system theorists' like David Easton and Macridis heavily criticized the institutional approach as they emphasized more on the building of overarching models having a general global application.

Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism are the two contemporary approaches to the study of politics. In contemporary social science, the behavioural approach has shown increasing concern with solving the prevailing problem of the society. In this way, it has significantly absorbed the 'post-behavioural' orientation within its scope. Positivism refers to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science which hold that the scientific method is the best approach to uncover the processes by which both physical and human events occur.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of political theory
- Describe the classical tradition of political theory
- Discuss the role of positivism and logical positivism to understand political theory
- Comprehend the significance of behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism approaches in the study of political theory
- Evaluate the decline and revival of political theory, with a focus on the contribution of political thinkers

1.2 INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THEORY

NOTES

Political theory plays a vital role in explaining the history of political thought, use of technique of analysis, conceptual clarification and formal model building. It is scientific, philosophical and dynamic with a clear objective of achieving a better social order.

1.2.1 Evolution of Political Theory

The English word 'theory' originates from the Greek word 'theoria', which suggests a well-focused mental look. It means 'looking at', 'gazing at', or 'being aware of'. Political theory was initially formulated in Greece —the land of enlightenment and knowledge in ancient times. Emphasizing on the contribution of the Greeks to the realm of knowledge, it is often said that 'excepting the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin'. While in the Eastern countries, political philosophy intermingled with religion and mythology, it were the Greeks who, for the first time, separated politics from the fetters of religion and superstition by giving it the character of an independent science. They differentiated politics from mythology, theology and ethics. For this reason, political theory is described as the invention of the Greeks.

Political theory is concerned with three types of statements—empirical statement, logical statement and evaluative statement. Its major characteristics are as follows:

- It is concerned with the field of politics only.
- Its methods include description, explanation and investigation.
- It aims at building a good state in a healthy society.
- It is descriptive and explanatory, and therefore attempts to explain, evaluate and predict political phenomena.

Political theory is a very wide and comprehensive subject. There is no agreement among the political scientists with regard to the scope of political theory. There are various political theories, such as orthodox political theory, liberal political theory and Marxist political theory. Political theory is also closely related to other social sciences.

Some writers treat the history of political ideas as a contribution to political education and attempt to trace the evolution of political science from the time of the Greeks. Others seek to discover the principles of political science that would provide knowledge of political phenomena and a basis for sound political decision. Frederick Pollock, a late nineteenth century writer, presented the history of political theory as the history of the science of politics. In his view, one of its principal functions was that of critical expositions. Its chief purpose was not to revive the corpus of past erudition but to make today's life more vivid and to help us envisage its problems with a more accurate perspective.

NOTES

Dunning's Contribution

William A. Dunning's three volume study, *A History of Political Theories*, was published between 1902 and 1920. Dunning's contribution did a great deal to establish the tradition of political theory as a distinct discipline. In a way, it shaped the basic concerns and assumptions that would dominate for the next few decades. Dunning's work was indeed the prototype of a genre that promoted the analysis of classic works, explaining them in their historical contexts from Plato to the present. For Dunning and his followers, research in the history of political theory and the practice of empirical political science were complementary efforts. Despite fundamental differences among scholars with regard to what constituted proper historical data, inductive history was seen as a key to a science of politics. The history of political theory was seen to be at the heart of this enterprise.

Dunning, while acknowledging his debt to his predecessors, lamented that inadequate attention had been given to the history of political theories. He described them as the successive transformations through which the political consciousness of men had passed. He argued that these transformations pointed toward a science of political society. He was convinced that an in-depth study would yield both contemplative and manipulative political knowledge. He ended his long study with a consideration of the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer. He also praised Auguste Comte for having generalized from the past, the elements of progress in civilization and in specifying the method and utility of history.

According to Dunning, political theory consisted not only of political literature but also of the operative ideas. He found such ideas implicit in the legal institutions of the state and the political consciousness of a society. He envisaged a pretty definite and clearly discernible relationship between any given author's work and the current institutional development. He emphasized an interpretation of the development of political theory in its relation to political fact. He attempted to demonstrate that modern political institutions and political science in the West were the culmination of an evolutionary process that began with the Ancient Greeks.

Dunning believed that political theory as well as political consciousness began with the Greek masters. The Greeks had explored the entire height and depth of human political capacity and were the first to outline the principles, which at all times and circumstances, must determine the general features of political life. Moreover, the Greek thought on political authority contained substantially all the solutions ever suggested. Despite some gaps, in its concrete expression, there is an evidence of progress in theory since the time of the classical Greeks. This progress is apparent in areas like the views about slavery, representative democracy, a clear distinction between state and society and modern concept of sovereignty.

Since the turn of this century, there has been a visible consensus on the role of political theory. It is to develop the concepts and principles of a scientific political science. In this respect, the history of political theories is closely related to political fact. They are not only dependent upon and evoked by objective conditions, but they also reflect the actuating motives of political events and scientific understanding. In

Dunning's view, the historical method require no defence. Both Dunning and Willoughby stressed the various ways in which political theories and political facts were related and were mutually explanatory.

NOTES

Merriam's Contribution

In the 1920s, Charles Merriam and many other writers came to reject the historical method. They saw political science moving into the new stage of empirical science. They welcomed the new emphasis on quantitative techniques and approaches. These had come to be closely identified with sociology and psychology. However, the rejection of the historical method did not amount to a rejection of the history of political theory as irrelevant to the discipline of political science. Like Dunning, Merriam too, in many respects, attempted to establish a close relationship between political ideas and their social ambience. Above all, the history of political theory, more or less, was treated as the history of political science.

Gettel's Contribution

In 1924, Raymond G. Gettel attempted to trace the development of political thought in relation to its historical, institutional and intellectual background. Gettel saw no conflict between the two beliefs that political ideas do not embody absolute and demonstrable truths, but are relative to historical circumstances, and that in both ideas and institutions, there was a movement towards democracy. He saw in the history of political theory a scope of practical application. However, he emphasized that it contributed to clarity and precision in political thought. Besides, he underlined its relevance to contemporary politics. He treated it as a basis for rational action in democratic society. He assumed that the theory of politics was the peculiar product of Western thought and that there existed not a single controversy of our day without a pedigree that did not stretch into the distant ages.

Mcllwain's Contribution

Similar themes were evident in the work of C. H. Mcllwain. He noted the close tie between political ideas and institutions. The history of political theory served to illumine the development of our ideas about the state and government. He also explained the growth of thought about the basic problems of political obligation.

Politics and Political Theory

Modern writers make a distinction between 'politics' and 'political theory'. Sir Frederick Pollock, for the first time, broke up the subject into two parts such as: (i) theoretical politics and (ii) practical or applied politics. The first portion covers the theory of the state and government, theory of legislation and theory of the state as an artificial person. The subject under the first category deals with the features of the state and the basic principles of the government, and do not study actual working of any particular government. The second part covers the study of the state and actual forms of government, working of government and administration, political actions and elections.

NOTES

Table 1.1 demonstrates the distinction between the types of political theory.

Table 1.1 *Theoretical and Applied Formulations of Political Theory*

Theoretical Formulations of Political Theory	Applied Formulations of Political Theory
(a) It should deal with the theory of the state. (b) It should deal with the various theories of government. (c) It should deal with theory of legislation. (d) It should deal with the theory of the state as an artificial person.	(a) It should deal with the actual forms of government. (b) It should deal with the working of the government, administration, etc. (c) It should deal with the actual law, their procedure and courts. (d) It should deal with the state personified i.e., diplomatic relations during war, peace and other international dealings.

Though the terms theoretical and applied formulations of political theory are quite significant, yet a majority of the writers accept political theory as the appropriate title of the subject.

1.2.2 Meaning of Political Theory

According to Robert E. Goodin, the author of *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* (2009), political theory is an interdisciplinary endeavour whose centre of gravity lies at the humanities—its tradition, approaches and styles vary but the feel is united by a commitment to theorize, criticize and diagnose the norms, practices and organization of political action in the past and present, in our own places and elsewhere. The twentieth-century use of the terms 'Philosophy', 'Science' and 'Theories' is not definitely settled. It could not be precise because the interrelation between philosophy, science and theory is one of the fundamental problems in the present crisis of scientific thinking. This is not to say that there is complete disagreement about the use of the three terms.

The term 'theory' has been derived from the Greek word 'theoria', which means a well-focussed mental look taken at something in a state of contemplation with the intention to grasp or understand it. Karl Deutsch in his famous book *The Nerves of Government* (1963) defines a theory as an attempt to explain, order and relate disjointed data; identifies what is relevant; and points out what is missing in any phenomenon predicted on the basis of observable facts. 'Theory' is always used to designate attempts to explain phenomena, especially when that is done in general and abstract terms. The theory may be 'scientific' or 'non-scientific' according to whether or not scientific rules are followed. In explaining phenomena, a theory may refer to some general 'law', in the sense of 'regularity', or to several such laws. These laws may have been discovered earlier; the theory may be referring to them as known.

The theory may consist of the suggestion that some previously hidden general law explains the respective events. New theories often combine references to long-established laws with the suggestion of some additional law. Therefore, a 'theory' is

NOTES

never a 'law'; it refers to laws and may suggest the existence of additional laws, but it is not itself a law. It may try to 'explain' a law, of course; but if that is the intention, the theory must refer to some more general law. A law can never be deduced directly from a theory; it can be deduced only from a more general law offered in a theory. Conversely, a 'law' is not a 'theory'; it is, rather, a 'fact' namely, the fact that certain constituent facts or factors are always associated or, in a less strict sense of the term 'law', that they are associated 'as a rule' or 'generally'.

According to Arnold Brecht, who authored, *Political Theory* (1965), the term may be meant to refer to a legal, moral, aesthetic or procedural 'norm'. The theory implies both science and philosophy. The theory not merely is, it also discovers, determines, explains, frames and argues over a phenomenon. There is also difference between theory and thought. Theory can be termed as a thought about thought and not entire thought itself. Theory is also different from hypothesis which lacks definiteness. Theory and philosophy are different in the sense that while the former talks about 'something', the latter talks about 'everything'.

Michael Oakeshott writes in his book, *What is History and Other Essays*, the word theory is Greek; and in the Greek language it belongs to a short vocabulary of the following five words which is worth considering:

Thea: something seen, a 'spectacle', an occurrence

Theorein: to look at, to observe what is going on

Theoros: an intelligent observer; one who looks at what is going on, asks himself questions about it and tries to understand it

Theoria: the act or procedure of seeking to understand what is going on: 'theorizing'

Theorema: what may emerge from 'theorizing', a conclusion reached by a *theoros*; 'an understanding' of what is going on; a 'theorem'

The term 'theory' should be reserved for collections of statements that propose causal explanations of phenomena and meet the following three criteria:

- Most political scientists would agree that the statements that compose a theory should be internally consistent.
- Political scientists would also agree that theories should be logically complete (i.e., the hypotheses deduced from the theory should follow logically from the assumptions of the theory).
- Political scientists would agree that the set of statements must have falsifiable implications.

The term 'theory' stands for a systematic knowledge. Thus, 'political theory' denotes a systematic knowledge of political phenomena. Political theory may be defined as the discipline which aims to explain, justify or criticize the disposition of power in society. It delineates the balance of power between states, groups and individuals. 'Power' is used broadly here: even 'obedience' is an aspect of power, for it connotes deliberate self-restraint by citizens who might otherwise resist the

NOTES

government. Essentially, power lies where there are resources (personal, economic, moral, ideological, etc.) and operates through inducements as much as through threats and through the withholding as well as the deployment of resources.

Sociologists often analyse power in terms of individual interaction, as A's capacity to get B to comply with her (A's) desires; political theory sets these familiar, everyday machinations in a formal power structure. However, even theorists observing the same phenomena may conceptualize the power structure differently (where liberals saw equality and social harmony, Marx saw conflict and oppression). Different conclusions result: for example, a constitutionalist, who views politics in terms of institutions, might consider that unions should not be politically active, while someone viewing politics as pressure group activity would think it inevitable that they should be. According to Michael Oakeshott, diverse conceptualizations of power, therefore, generate diverse political ideals and problems.

Political theory is a theory about what is 'political'. It can be termed as a science and philosophy of what is political. George H. Sabine in his celebrated work *A History of Political Theory* has termed it as anything about politics or relevant to politics. In a narrow sense, he also called it 'the disciplined investigation of political problems'. Political theory is not only a theory of or about politics; it is also the science of politics and the philosophy of politics. Bluhen in his classic work *Theories of Political System* (1981) pointed out that 'political theory stands for an abstract model of the political order . . . . a guide to the systematic collection and analysis of political data'. Another political scientist, Andrew Hacker, says in his famous book *Political Theory: Philosophy, Ideology, Science* (1961) that political theory as a theory, in ideal terms, is dispassionate and disinterested. As science, it will describe political reality without trying to pass judgement on what is being depicted, either implicitly or explicitly. As philosophy, it will describe rules of conduct which will secure good life for all of society. Political theory by nature is a formal, logical and systematic analysis of processes and consequences of political activity. The method of the political theory is analytical, expository and explanatory. Broadly speaking, political theory is concerned with three types of statements:

- Empirical statement, which is based on observation, through sense-experience alone
- Logical statement, which is based on reasoning (e.g., two plus two is four)
- Evaluative statement, which is based on value-judgment (e.g., 'men are born free and equal')

Sheldon Wolin, in his famous book *Politics and Vision* (1960), identifies three contents of political theory:

- It is a form of activity centring around the quest for competitive advantage between groups, individuals or societies
- It is a form of activity conditioned by the fact that it occurs within a situation of change and relative scarcity

NOTES

- A form of activity in which the pursuits of advantage produce consequences of such magnitude that they affect in a significant way the whole society or a substantial portion of it

One of the tasks of political theory must be to dispel popular delusions of the kinds just described and to expose misleading ideas. In this connection, it is relevant to consider briefly the other misleading idea which is so often accorded final authority in political arguments. Often, in debate, an insubstantial hypothesis about human nature is invoked to refute a theory or ideology. How often is it argued that socialism is impossible because people are greedy by nature? In common with other social science subjects, political theory itself must make suppositions about people's character or motivation, or, at least, minimal assumptions about regularities in their behaviour. This is necessary for a consistent explanation of political life. But such assumptions, whether covert or explicit, hypothetical or well grounded, in fact, determine from the start which form a theory will take.

Exponents of 'logical positivism' argue that evaluative statements have no empirical contempt or logical structure. They are expression of subjective reflection or emotional preference. Likewise, champions of scientific method for the study of politics insist on a 'value-free' or 'value-neutral' approach. In any case, political theory cannot be confined to the so-called scientific knowledge. It is equally concerned with determining values which come within the scope of philosophy. The view that values are based on individual or group preferences cannot be accepted. On the contrary, values do have a sound logical structure, unless we mistake them for biased statement. Determination of values is the basis of a sound public policy or decision. If we renounce this responsibility, it may fall in irresponsible hands, with disaster consequences. Hence, political theory must comprehend both political science and political philosophy. The major characteristics of political theory are the following:

- It is concerned with the arena of politics only. However, it attempts to understand politics in relation to social, psychological, economic, moral and ecological, etc.
- Its methods include description, explanation and investigation.
- Its objective is to build a good state in a healthy society.
- It is not only descriptive but also explanatory.
- It attempts to explain, evaluate and predict political phenomena.

The term political theory is often confused with the terms like political philosophy, political ideology and political thought. It needs a proper understanding of these related terms. Dwelling on the nature of political theory, George Catlin (*Political Quarterly*, March 1957) significantly observed: 'The theory (of politics) itself is divided into political science and political philosophy.' Political science and political philosophy play complementary role in the realm of political theory. Significance of political theory may, therefore, be sought in both of these areas. According to D. D. Raphael the author of book, *Problems of Political Philosophy*, the term political theory and political philosophy are often used interchangeably, but there is a

NOTES

recognizable difference between the theoretical work of political scientists and that of political philosophers.

Political theory helps in the control of social life. The knowledge of political science enables us to secure development of society from our human resources. Political theory also guides us to find remedies of political instability and various types of social crisis. Political theory helps in social criticism and reconstruction. Various political paradigms given by political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, Mill and Macpherson give us ample insights into the possible ills of social life and their remedies. We can draw our own scheme of social reconstruction on the basis of these insights. The political theory also helps in the clarification of concepts. The tradition of political theory encourages a dignified debate between upholders of different points of view. It thereby encourages mutual respect and toleration.

Political philosophy provides general answers to general questions. It explains concepts and theories, such as justice and right as well as the distinction between them. It also provides answers to questions relating to the larger issues of politics. Political philosophy is a part of normative political theory, for its attempt to establish the inter-relationships between the concepts. According to Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy, who co-authored *A History of Political Thought: Plato to Marx* (2007), it would not be wrong to say that every political philosopher is a theorist, though every political theorist is not a political philosopher.

Political thought can be termed as the thought of the whole community. The writings and speeches of the articulate sections like professional politicians, political commentators, social reformers and ordinary persons of a community can be included in this category. It can also be in the form of political treaties, scholarly articles, speeches, government policies and decisions, and poems and prose. In a nutshell, political thought includes theory that attempts to explain political behaviour and values to evaluate it and methods to control it. On the other hand, political theory refers to the speculations by a single individual usually articulated in treatise(s) as modes of explanations. It consists of theories of institutions, including those of the state, of law, of representation, of election. It relies on the comparative and explanatory mode of enquiry. It attempts to explain the attitudes and actions arising from ordinary political life and to generalize about them in a particular context. Thus, political theory is concerned about/with the relationship between concepts and circumstances. B. Krick states in his book, *Political Theory and Practice* (1973) that political philosophy attempts to resolve or to understand conflicts between political theories which might appear equally acceptable in given circumstances.

Political ideology is also somewhat different from political theory. It is a systematic and all-embracing doctrine which attempts to give a complete and universally applicable theory of human nature and society, with a detail programme of attaining it. John Locke (1632–1704) has often been described as the father of modern ideologies. Marxism is a classical example of an ideology summed up in a statement that the purpose of philosophy is to change and not merely interpret the

NOTES

world. All political ideology is political philosophy, though the reverse is not true. The twentieth century has seen many ideologies like fascism, Nazism, communism and liberalism. A distinctive trait of political ideology is its dogmatism which, unlike political philosophy, recruits and discourages critical appraisal because of its aim of realizing the perfect society. Political ideology, according to Germino and Sabine, is a negation of political theory. An ideology is of recent origin, and under the influence of positivism is based on subjective, unverifiable value preferences.

Broadly speaking, political theory consists of political science and political philosophy. These two branches of political theory taken together perform three functions which are recognized as the functions of political theory: (a) description, (b) criticism and (c) reconstruction. Political science mainly relies on empirical method, that is, the knowledge based on our practical experience which is supposed to be most reliable. Hence, it specializes in description. Political philosophy being concerned with value-judgment specializes in 'criticism' and 'reconstruction'.

Advocates of positivism, new-positivism (logical positivism) and behaviouralism wish to confine political theory to the sphere of political science. They argue that the question of value-judgment should be dropped from the purview of political theory all together. However, since the advent of post-behaviouralism (1969) and the consequent revival of political philosophy in the 1970s and 1980s, there has been a renewed emphasis on values in the realm of political theory. It is now argued that value-judgment serves as an essential guide to social policy. Indifference to value-judgment will leave society in the dark. The emerging concerns of environmentalism, feminism, human rights and social justice for the subaltern groups, etc., have called for exploring the new horizons of value-judgment. Thus, all the functions of political theory have now become very important and urgent in the present day world where most of our problems are assuming a global dimension and there being recognized as the problems of humanity as such.

According to George H. Sabine who authored, *What is Political Theory*? (1939), every political theory could be scrutinized from two points of view: as social philosophy and as ideology. As ideology, theories were psychological phenomena, precluding truth or falsity. Theories were beliefs, 'events in peoples mind and factors in their conduct', irrespective of their validity or verifiability. Theories played an influential role in history, and therefore the task of a historian was to ascertain the extent to which the theories help in shaping the course of history. A theory had to be examined for its meaning, rather than for its impact on human actions. Viewed in this perspective, a theory comprised two kind of propositions: factual and moral. Sabine focused on factual rather than moral statements, for the latter precluded description of truth or falsity. He says the moral element characterized political theory which was why it was primarily a moral enterprise.

Political theory is a close relation of moral philosophy. Both are normative and evaluative and, although not all political values have moral origins ('tradition', which Burke valued, and 'efficiency' seem to be non-moral), they rely on moral language, since a value is something we would consider good, and would prefer to

NOTES

have more, rather than less, of. Although an ideal such as democracy is primarily political, its supporting values, freedom and equality, are as pervasive in moral as in political philosophising. This shared area of concern and similarity of language is appropriate, since both moral and political philosophy attempt to define the 'Good Life', the first on an individual level, the second for the community at large. So the importation of moral terms into political theory is both permissible and necessary.

Is there a necessary connection between political theory and ideology? Ideology, as will be argued, is crucial in forming the political theorist's own view of the world. It would be convenient if we could distinguish clearly between ideology and theory—if we could label theory 'ideological' whenever values and prescriptive or persuasive elements are visible. But many ideological influences affect theory invisibly, pre-selecting which data the theory will explain, and dictating its conceptual vocabulary from the start. Likewise, much theory contains ideological bias without having ideology's express aim of persuasion. All political theory and theorizing is susceptible to greater or lesser ideological bias, and that a necessary task for commentators and students is to identify and evaluate that bias, and, of course, their own bias.

Political theory is an umbrella term. It comprehends the persuasive and normative doctrines called ideologies; it also embraces the analytical activity known as political philosophy, which styles itself 'value-free'. Rather than propounding grandiose theses about the nature of political society and the 'Good Life', this examines the units of which political theory, including ideology, is composed, the concepts. Hence, it is sometimes called 'conceptual analysis'. It has been held that its main endeavour is to 'clear up confusions' which result from non-clarity or inconsistency in the use of concepts such as freedom and equality by providing a clear and coherent account of their proper use. This activity often employs the methods established by the school of philosophy called 'linguistic analysis', which flourished for several decades after Second World War but has more recently been generally rejected as too narrow and barren. A more normative and engaged kind of philosophy is now favoured. The other task of political philosophy is said to provide generally acceptable definitions of central political terms. These self-ascribed functions also rest on the conviction that even value-laden concepts are capable of a constant and definite meaning.

Political theory is a personal endeavour to understand and experience as the present political reality and also to evolve a mechanism in order to transcend the present imperfect society leading to perfection and a more just order. This includes a study of the evolution, nature, composition, need and purpose of the governmental apparatus, and also an understanding of human perception and nature, and its relationship with the larger community. The golden age of political theory was from Plato (428/27–347 BC) to Hegel (1770–1831 AD). Political theory is one of the core ideas of political science. Political theory as an academic discipline has emerged recently. Before its emergence, those engaged in enterprise were known as philosophers or scientists.

The term political science, political theory and political philosophy are not exactly identical and a distinction can be made among them. This differentiation were emerged because of the rise of modern science that brought about a general shift in intellectual perceptions. While political science tries to provide plausible generalization and laws about politics and political behaviour, political theory reflects upon political phenomena and actual political behaviour by subjecting them to philosophical or ethical criteria. It considers the question of the best political order, which is the part of a larger and more fundamental question, namely the ideal form of life that an individual should lead in a larger community.

But it should be kept in mind that there is no tension between political theory and political science as they differ in terms of their boundaries and jurisdiction but not in their aim. Political theory supplies idea, concepts and theories for purpose of analysis, descriptions, explanation and criticism, which in turn are incorporated in political science. Political theory helps in explaining the history of political thought, use of technique of analysis, conceptual clarification and formal model building, and thereby can be termed as theoretical political science. In a nutshell, it can be said that political theory is theoretical, scientific as well as philosophical and at the same time dynamic with a clear objective of attaining a better social order. It is a unique synthesis of the elements of 'theory', 'science', 'philosophy', 'ideology' and 'thought'.

1.2.3 Nature and Scope

The jurisdiction of political theory can be understood by identifying its nature and concerns. Political theory is a very wide and comprehensive subject. There is no agreement among the political scientists with regard to the scope of political theory. A conference of political scientists, held under the auspices of the International Political Science Association in Paris in the year 1948, demarcated the scope of political theory into different areas, such as political institution, political dynamics (parties, public-opinion, etc.) and international relations. But this demarcation of the International Political Science Association rather delimits the scope of political theory within the bounds of different areas. As the importance of political theory is increasing day-by-day, its scope is also increasing and becoming wide. Despite this difficulty, you may make an attempt to define the scope of political theory as follows.

A Study of the State and Government

Political theory primarily studies the problems of the state and the government. The state is defined as a group of people organized for law within a definite territory. The state possesses four characteristics, viz., population, territory, government and sovereignty. Government is an agent of the state. Political theory studies the activities of the state and explains the aims and objectives of the state and the government.

If we carefully study political theory, we come to know that despite the differences found between the state and the government, the scope of one cannot be separated from that of the other. The state is the institution under which the government functions. The state is imaginary and it is the government that gives it a

NOTES

concrete shape. Therefore, one is the complement of the other. The existence of the state is not possible without the government. This is the reason why Laski, Garner, Gettell, Gilchrist and others have included the study of both the state and the government in the scope of political theory.

A Study of Political Science

Political science is a major branch of political theory. On the basis of the political ideas or thoughts of political thinkers, political science formulates definitions of concepts like democracy, liberty, equality, grounds of political obligations, etc. A student of political theory must start his lessons with political science. Political science explains the rudimentary concepts of political theory. It also includes the study of political philosophy. Political speculations of political philosophers and some ideologies such as individualism, anarchism, communism and so on are put together in one volume which is given the title of 'political science'. Here, the underlying assumption is that other parts of political theory on governmental organization, political parties and pressure groups, international relations, etc., are distinct from political theory. The danger of viewing political theory in such a way is that a special meaning is being attached to the word 'theory' and this will rule out the possibility of the existence of any theory in other segments of political science. One should be cautious about it.

A Study of Political Institutions

The field of political theory is rather vast. It includes the study of political institutions. This covers a study of constitutions and comparative government. It deals with the nature of different political institutions including the government, explains their merits and demerits, their structure and working, and arrives at different conclusions by making a comparative study. Besides, the study of public administration and local government may be included in this area. However, the study of public administration has emerged as an independent subject in recent times.

A Study of Political Dynamics

The study of political dynamics became significant in the twentieth century. It has acquired more significance in the twenty-first century. It means the current forces at work in government and politics. It covers a wide range and includes the study of political parties, public opinion, pressure groups, lobbies, etc. A scientific study to the working of these political dynamics helps to explain the political behaviour of individuals and different groups.

A Study of Adjustment of the Individual with the State

The scope of political theory also includes a study of the nature of relationship between the individual and the state. It examines how man should adjust himself with the society. Man is the root of politics. The process of adjustment of men with the society is an important aspect of political theory. The state guarantees certain rights and liberties to the citizens and at the same time imposes certain reasonable restrictions on them.

NOTES

A Study of International Relations and International Law

Lastly, the scope of political theory includes a study of international relations which has become significant since the first quarter of this century. It covers a wide range of subjects and includes diplomacy, international politics, international law, international organizations like the United Nations, etc. Because of scientific inventions and discoveries, the cooperation'ss and contacts among the different nations of the world have become easier and the whole world turns to be a family. The above contents show the wide range of subjects that come under the fold of political theory.

Knowledge of the State

The primary aim of the study of political theory is to inculcate knowledge of the state, its origin, nature, structure and functions. Knowledge about the state is of great significance to modern man. Further, in democratic states, the citizens must possess at least rudimentary knowledge about political theory and its principles. This will make them conscious of the state. They will be able to keep a vigilant eye over the rulers and assert their supremacy over them. They will try to check misuse of power.

Knowledge of Government and Administration

The administrators, statesmen and diplomats, who conduct the affairs of the state, also require sound knowledge of political theory in order to perform their functions with efficiency. An administrator who has no knowledge of political theory is bound to be a failure. Consequently, all new entrants to the Indian Administrative Service have to undergo a course in political theory at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.

Knowledge about the World

Apart from the utilitarian considerations, the acquisition of knowledge of political theory enriches one's mind and widens one's intellectual horizon. In order to know what is happening in the world around us, at least an elementary knowledge of political science is necessary. In the modern age, an individual cannot lead an isolated life. Each country has to maintain relations with other countries of the world. Those who specialize in the various fields of political science conduct researches to discover hitherto unknown principles underlying political phenomena and make a rich contribution to the realm of knowledge. In the ultimate philosophy, if human life is to enrich knowledge, then political science makes a major contribution to the storehouse of knowledge. Its study helps us a lot in understanding international relations. It explains the governmental system of the other countries. Sidwick observes, 'What, as students of political theory, we are primarily concerned to ascertain is not the structure or functions of the government in any particular historical community, but in the distinctive characteristics of different forms of government in respect of their structure or their functions; not the particular processes of political change in Athens or England but the general laws or tendencies of change exemplified by such particular processes.'

NOTES

Knowledge of Political Dynamics

Thus, political theory lays down principles which are to be followed in the conduct of public affairs. One who has no knowledge of politics is at a great disadvantage, and in one's own interests and in the larger interest of the society as a whole, it is advisable to have adequate knowledge of political theory. To know the national and international affairs, the condition of the various institutions, the nature and conduct of the government, the programmes and policies of political parties, pressure groups, lobbies and various other matters, a knowledge of political theory is indispensable.

Creation of Democratic Values

The study of political theory has assumed special importance in modern times in all democratic countries. The success of democracy depends upon the political consciousness of its people. The study of political theory makes people conscious of their rights and duties. It also makes them vigilant. Unless the citizens of a country are vigilant, alert, intelligent and patriotic, their is no possibility of successful working of democracy in that country. It is rightly said that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty'.

Creation of Good Citizenship

The study of political theory is valuable for creating good citizenship and securing unity of the nation. It makes citizens conscious of national objectives and goals. Laski said that good citizenship implies 'the contribution of one's instructed judgement to public good'. It can be developed by the study of political theory. Political theory teaches the lessons and virtues of good citizenship. It preaches the maxim, 'united we prosper, divided we fall'. A nation is destined to suffer, if there is no unity. The study of political theory helps to bring unity among the people. It makes the citizens aware of their rights, responsibilities and duties towards the society.

Lesson of Cooperation and Toleration

Political theory also teaches the lesson of cooperation, adjustment and toleration. Society cannot prosper without cooperation. Man should learn how to cooperate and adjust him with his fellow-beings. The study of political theory makes people conscious of the social objectives.

Knowledge of Political Theory Indispensable

Thus, the study of political theory has special importance in all countries. Its study helps us to understand the mechanism and constitutional systems of modern government. The principles of government, the domestic and foreign policies of the nation, the legislature, executive and judiciary of different countries, etc., are studied in political science. The principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are also made clear by the study of political science. Hence, the study of political theory has immense practical utility.

NOTES

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is political theory?
2. State the contents of political theory as identified by Sheldon Wolin?
3. Name the philosopher who is regarded as the father of modern ideologies?
4. Why is political theory also termed as theoretical political science?
5. State the four characteristics of a state.
6. What are the range of subjects under the purview of International Relations covered under the scope of political theory?
7. What according to Harold Joseph Laski implies good citizenship?

1.2.4 Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives

The perspective of political theory can be divided into various categories, which have been discussed here.

Orthodox Perspective

Orthodox political theory has positive explicit uniqueness. First, it was dominated by philosophy. Great philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle were notable because of the comprehensiveness and scope of their thought. The digressions of political theory included description, explanation, prescription and evaluation. Second, there was no clear distinction between philosophical, theological and political issues. Political theory was not an autonomous subject as it is today. Third, political theory was concerned with probing into issues, asking important questions and serving as a sort of conscience keeper of politics. Fourth, classical tradition believed that political theory dealt with the political whole—the theory must be all-comprehensive and all-inclusive.

Liberal (Broad-minded) Perspective

The long spell of Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Cicero and other thinkers of the classical age was broken in a variety of ways after the twin revolutions of Renaissance and Reformation in Europe since the fifteenth century, coupled with the Industrial Revolution later on. The Renaissance produced a new intellectual climate which gave birth to modern science and modern philosophy and a new political theory known as liberalism. This new political theory found classical expression in the writings of Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer and a host of other writers. While classical political theory considered the moral development of individual and the evolution of the community as co-terminus, the liberal political theory developed the concept of sovereign individual. The central theme of this political theory was individualism. The liberal theory declared that state is not a natural institution but comes into existence by mutual consent for the sole purpose of preserving and protecting the individual rights. The new liberal political theory dismissed the idea of common good and an organic community.

NOTES

Marxist Perspective

Marxist political theory focuses on social change and revolutionary reconstitution of society. In this context, Marxism consists of three interrelated elements:

- An examination and critique of the present and past societies. This is known as *dialectical materialism* and *historical materialism*.
- The notion of an alternative model against a society based upon exploitation and divided among classes. The new society is based on the common ownership of the means of production on which human potential will be allowed to freely develop its manifold facets. Such a society will be classless and stateless.
- Though there was a general agreement that capitalist system was unstable and crisis-ridden, the advent of socialism required a revolutionary action by the proletariat, whose growing impoverishment will lead to revolution, and establishment of a socialist state and society.

The central themes of Marxist political theory are modes of production, class division, class, struggle, property relations, revolution and state as an instrument of class domination. Marxism also examines the nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice and democracy but came to the conclusion that in a class divided society, they are the prerogatives of the propertied class. Real liberty and equality can be achieved only in a classless and stateless society. Thus, Marxist political theory preoccupied itself with the establishment of a socialist state through revolutionary action.

Marxism as the economic, social and political theory has been enriched by a number of revolutionaries, philosophers, academicians and politicians. It has also been subject to a variety of interpretations. In the twentieth century, the prominent contributions to Marxist thought were made by Lenin, Bukharin, Stalin, Rose Luxemburg, Gramsci, Lukacs, Austro-Marxists, the Frankfurt school, Herbert Marcuse, the New Left theorists, Euro-communists, Mao Tse Tung and various other people. Up to the First World War, Marxism was highly deterministic and represented a philosophy of socio-political changes which culminated in the Russian revolution. However, during the inter-War period and the post-Second World War, Marxism developed more as a critique of present socio-economic and cultural conditions than a philosophy of revolutionary action. Known as contemporary Marxism, it has been more concerned with the problems of superstructure, culture, art aesthetics, ideology, alienation, etc.

Other than the aforementioned perspectives of political theories, there are some other perspectives also which explain political theory in detail, such as the empirical-scientific perspective of political theory and the contemporary perspective of political theory.

Empirical Enquiry

There is another kind of political theory developed in America which is popularly known as the empirical enquiry in political theory. The study of political theory through

NOTES

scientific method (instead of philosophical) and based upon facts (rather than on values) has a long history but the credit for making significant development in this connection goes to American social scientists. In the early twentieth century, Max Weber, Graham Wallas and Bentley gave an empirical dimension to the study of political theory and advocated that its study should be based upon 'facts' only. Another writer, George Catlin emphasized that the study of political theory should be integrated with other social sciences such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, etc. However, it was during the inter-war period and after the Second World War that a new theory was developed by the political scientists of Chicago University (known as the Chicago School) such as Charles Merrium, Harold Lasswell, Gosnell, and others like David Easton, Stuart Rice, V.O. Key and David Apter. The new political theory shifted emphasis from the study of political ideals, values and institutions to the examination of politics in the context of individual and group behaviour.

Broadly speaking, political theory contains the topics dealing with both empirical facts and value preferences. Questions of facts are concerned with those dealing with value preferences and are concerned with what should be. The contents of political theory fall in either of those two broad categories. Recently, dissatisfaction with the contents of the subject and its long indulgence in value judgements have led to interesting controversies about the scope of political theory and the proper methods for its study. In the United States of America, in particular efforts are being made to develop a kind of empirically oriented and value-free scientific politics which seeks to be at par with the natural sciences. There are some difficulties in the development of scientific politics.

Empirical-scientific theory is different from the classical tradition in many respects. First, the scientific theory believes that the political theory should order, explain and predict the phenomena and not evaluate it. Nor is it concerned with the creation of grand political utopia. What is worth noting is that the relation with philosophy is completely served. Political theory is meaningful to the point or degree it is verifiable. Second, the study of political theory should be value free. It should concern itself with 'facts' only.

The task of empirical enquiry is to analyse the present political phenomena and not evaluate what is happening and what should happen. The concern of political theory should not be with 'who rules, who should rule or why?' but with only 'who does rule and how'. It should focus attention on the study of political behaviour of man, group and institutions, irrespective of their good or bad character. Third, practical theory is not only concerned with the study of the state but also with the political process. Fourth, scientific theory does not believe in critical function, that is, it should not question the basis of the state but should be concerned with maintaining the status quo, stability, equilibrium and harmony in the society. Fifth, it should develop many new concepts borrowed from other social sciences such as power elite, decision

NOTES

making, policy making, functioning of structures, political system, political culture, etc.

Due to too much stress on science, value-free politics, methods and its failure to study the pressing social and political issues, empirical political theory began to attract critics after 1960s. The 'Behavioural Revolution' announced by David Easton laid less emphasis on scientific method and technique and showed greater concern for the public responsibilities of political theory. The debates in 1970s resulted in the frank admission that there are segments of human life relating to values or purposes embodied in any political structure that were either ignored or overlooked by the behavioural studies. The core issues of political theory such as liberty, equality and justice were taken up once again by John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Habermas and others, which signaled once again the revival of normative political theory. This new revival is termed as contemporary political theory.

1.2.5 Classical Tradition of Political Theory

The growth and evolution of political theory can be elaborated in three major streams. These are:

(i) Classical political theory

(ii) Modern political theory

(iii) Contemporary political theory

Here, under this section we will discuss the characteristics of the classical tradition of political theory.

The principal element which divides the classical or the traditional political theory from the modern political theory is 'science'. Philosophy dominates the classical tradition of political theory whereas science and its methodology dominate the modernist. The classical tradition can be traced back to the ancient Greek period. It flourished in the writings of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The classical tradition from these days lasted up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. A distinctive aspect of the history of political theory is the large number of classics known for their comprehensiveness, logical consistency and clarity. These works, rightly described as 'classics', address both local issues and contain principles of universal significance. They offer rival conceptual frameworks which enable us to choose and state our preference. The principal subjects of these classics deal with the characteristics of human nature, functions and organization of political authority, political change and stability. During the periods of acute crisis or great transition, the classics in political theory generally emerge. They usually flourish in an age of transition from one era to another when a great churning occurs and issues are debated and discussed. The crisis by itself does not produce; instead it acts as a catalyst. However, there may be exceptions, for example, Indian society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed tumultuous changes marked by crisis. Therefore, a crisis has to be understood in the context of a framework of political values and institutional arrangements. The quest for a good life and good society,

optimism and hope are the major inputs in a worthwhile project in political theory so far as the classical tradition is concerned.

The text of a political theory has also to be understood with reference to a specific situation in order to comprehend the contents of the political philosophy of that period. A political theorist turns to the past with a view to analysing the present and foreseeing the future. It is this defining element that makes a political tract of a particular period a masterpiece. Though there may be different reactions to a particular situation, one could also find similarities in the response patterns. The greatest political theories are those that have dealt with the immediate situation and issues effectively, while suggesting lessons which are valid for other times as well. Thus, the relevance of classical works is perennial.

NOTES

The Classics

The great classics were composed by political exiles or by failed politicians like Plato, Machiavelli, Hugo Grotius, Sir John Fortescue, Hobbes and Locke. Sometimes political theory emerged out of a revolution or indication of an impending one. Plato and Aristotle sought to recreate the magic and pre-eminence of the Greek city state which were fast fading into the past. Besides Italian unification, Machiavelli focussed on the various dimensions of the newly emerging commercial society. Hobbes and Locke addressed questions relating to the crisis of political authority in times of civil war.

Sheldon Wolin identifies some principal characteristics of the classical tradition which can be mentioned as follows:

- It sought to identify politics with the public.
- It aimed at acquiring reliable knowledge about matters concerning the people.
- It laid emphasis on order, balance, equilibrium, harmony and stability.
- It tried to project an ideal form of government.
- It laid stress on comparative studies and dealt with concepts like law, citizenship, justice and participation.
- It was largely ethical in perspective.

The classics in political theory explain politics, its meaning and value. Besides being influential, a classic in political theory contains a wealth of information, ideas and values that cumulatively enriches human thought and action. A great theorist is one who articulates logically with rigger, insight and subtle nuances of the dilemma of his age, and dissects the problems that confront the generation to which he belongs. Every age is characterized by its own problems and dilemmas, and classical works deal with these situations. But such localism should not be considered as a hindrance to the essential richness of a classic as demonstrated by Aristotle politics. It justified the prejudices of its time (like slavery), but was able to offer brilliant insights into the basic issues of politics, like stability, revolutionary change, and the importance of family and property in sustaining the state.

NOTES

George H. Sabine identifies two major periods when classical tradition of political theory flourished. The first period was during Plato and Aristotle in the fifth century BC and the second during the English Civil War of 1641 till the glorious revolution of 1688 in the seventeenth century when Hobbes and Locke were the two outstanding theorists who contributed to political theory. Sabine links fundamental developments in political theory to the shifts that take place from one set of formation to another. In other words, innovation in political theory occurs when the older institution becomes inoperative and a newer one emerges. Crisis and tumultuous changes have a catalytic effect on political theory. Germino pointed out that there are certain characteristics of an authentic political theory which are common to all classics from Plato to Hegel. These are openness, theoretical intention, focus on universal perennial problems, realism, acknowledging the limits of knowledge, and intellectual honesty and integrity.

Another political thinker, Andrew Hacker, points out that great classical works in political theory should be preserved. These great books, according to him, are relevant not only to the period in which they are written but also into the contemporary times. He has given a classification of the great classical books into ten categories which can be mentioned below:

- Capital and carbuncles: Essentially biographical in nature
- Hero worshippers: Takes into account all the writings of a single author
- Intellectual plagiarism: Tells us of the indebtedness of a theorist to his predecessors and contemporaries
- Who said it first: For example, Aristotle was the father of political science
- The mind readers: Gives us an idea of what the theorist really desired to convey
- The camera eye: Offers us the thoughts some had during certain historical periods
- Influencing the intelligentsia: Is similar to intellectual plagiarism, with the difference that some theorists like Bosanquet become important because of Hegel and Greens' influence on his writings
- Influencing the masses: Directly linked to political events
- The logic book: Logical in nature
- Timelessness: Explains the continuing relevance of the classics

1.2.6 Limitations of Classical Tradition

However, the classical tradition is not free from its limitations. Hegel rightly pointed out that every thinker is a child of his time and this is reflected in their perception too. For instance, Plato and Aristotle addressed the situations in which they lived. Their contribution was forgotten in the immediate context of the post-Aristotelian philosophies of stoicism, epicureanism and cynicism. Machiavelli's prescription could not anticipate the reformation in the Christian church. Thomas Hobbes' portrait of the human nature to be universal was not correct. Hegel glorified the state at the cost of civil society. Marx's criticism of capitalism has its limitations also. J. S. Mill

also miscalculated that representative democracy will be successful everywhere except backward and/or heterogeneous societies. Thus, every thinker and classical work has its own shortcomings.

The classical tradition is also criticized for its gender biasness. Many of the great political scientists have either ignored or dismissed the position and status of women. Many of them have retreated, justified and defended women's subordination on the alleged natural and biological differences between the sexes, and have also pointed to the inherent physical and mental superiority of the male. For example, the philosophers like Aristotle, Rousseau and Hegel believed that a woman's rightful place is her home, and that being burdened with household chores, she did not have sufficient time for politics, philosophy, art or science. In a nutshell, they portrayed and reinforced the stereotype image of the woman. Another criticism of the great classical tradition is its eurocentricism. Many of the political scientists of the great classical tradition were also Eurocentric and dismissed non-western civilization as unchanging and unhistorical.

Once David Easton pointed out that there has been no outstanding political philosopher after Marx and J. S. Mill. However, since the seventies, there have been a resurgence in political theory largely due to the efforts of Habermas, Nozick and Rawls. The themes that figure prominently since its revival are broadly social justice and welfare rights theory within a deontological perspective, utilitarianism, democratic theory and pluralism, feminism, post modernism, new social movements and civil society, and the liberalism-communitarian debate.

1.2.7 Traditional Approaches to Political Theory

The traditional approaches to the study of political theory have been described in the following sections.

1. Deductive Approach

To study the concepts of state, government and law, Plato and Aristotle adopted the deductive and inductive approaches respectively. Plato laid emphasis on universal values and reasoning. He had his own concept of the ideal state which was the embodiment of morality, justice and truth. He drew his conclusions on the basis of the first major premise. In other words, Plato proceeded from the universal to the particular which is the main characteristic of the deductive approach. Aristotle, on the other hand, used the inductive approach in the study of political theory. He preferred to proceed from a particular to a general conclusion. First of all, he observed, analysed and compared different constitutions of city-states and then drew the model of an ideal constitution. In this case, the general conclusion was established from particular facts. This is the inductive approach.

Aristotle was the first political philosopher who adopted this approach in the study of political science. Since the early days, both deductive and inductive approaches are being popularly used in the field of the study of political theory. Besides these two approaches, the other approaches used for the study of political theory are

NOTES

historical, comparative, philosophical, observational, experimental, psychological, statistical, sociological and juridical methods. These are known as the traditional approaches used for the study of political theory.

In the deductive approach, one proceeds from a more general proposition to an equally general or less general proposition. The deductive approach is concerned with implication, and here, one may proceed from the general to the particular. All valid reasoning and universal truth are arrived at by deductive method. Here, the conclusion only makes explicit what is implied by the premise and one does not bother about the material truth or falsity of the premise or the conclusion. In the deductive approach, the formal truth is accepted and it is applied to different political situations. Political action is considered as right or wrong on the basis of the general conclusion. This approach puts emphasis on universal values and reasoning.

2. Inductive Approach

When one proceeds from a particular to a general conclusion or from a less general proposition to a more general proposition, the approach is called inductive. Here, a scholar arrives at a conclusion by a process known as generalization from the particular fact observed within the range of his experience. The inductive approach is defined as 'the legitimate derivation of universal laws from individual cases'. In political science, the inductive approach is used to draw general principles from particular experiences. One examines here various facts, experiences and findings. Political science is such a vast subject that the problems of various individuals, groups and the states may be studied and certain generalizations can be made.

The inductive approach is scientific and rational as it establishes a general truth of principle by observation, experimentation or reasoning from particular examples. Its findings are mostly correct and it takes reality into consideration. While the deductive method is said to be dogmatic, the inductive approach is pragmatic.

The inductive approach takes into consideration various complex factors in actual life. While advocating empirical investigation, it studies different factors or variables causing such complexities. Its approach is dynamic as it takes changing factors into consideration. In the modern age, Bacon is a great advocate of the inductive approach. The inductive method of study of political theory has given rise to the behavioural approach in recent times. According to the behavioural approach, the unit of analysis is the individual person in a political situation. A behaviouralist studies the behaviour of persons whose interactions influence group actions and he arrives at conclusions on the basis of actual findings. The inductive approach also suffers from some defects. It is a difficult method because collection of data is time taking. It is also expensive. Lot of time and money are wasted in observation and collection of data.

There are certain limitations while applying the inductive method in the study of political phenomena. The primary limitation is that the subject of study, that is, human beings, are unpredictable.

3. Historical Approach

The historical approach is a very popular method to study social science. Political theory is also studied through this method. Every political idea or institution has its birth, growth and decay. Historically, one can study the origin, growth and decay of an institution. It is through the study of the past history of political institutions that the political scientists try to understand the present political situations. Political scientists cannot neglect the past. The past has its influence over the present and the future. The study of political theory aims not to repeat the mistakes of the past. Only the study of history will enable men to avoid the mistakes of the past. Thus, the historical method is a very popular method in the study of political theory.

The common method of studying political phenomena is historical. Montesquieu, Burke, Seeley, Maine, Freeman and Laski are some of the eminent exponents of this method. Professor Gilchrist has very aptly observed, 'The source of the experiment of political science is history; they rest on observation and experience'. The study of political science, according to Laski, 'must be an effort to codify the results of experience in the history of states'. It is correct to say that history serves as a guide to the present and future. History provides the best kind of laboratory for political science. It is the store house of events pertaining to human life. This is the reason why one should seek the aid of history, when one studies the origin, development and the present nature of such important political institutions as the state and the government. The chief method of experimentation in political science, writes Professor Gilchrist, 'is the historical method'. To understand political institutions properly, one must study them in their origin, their growth and development. History not only explains institutions but it also helps us to make certain deductions for future guidance. It is the pivot around which both the inductive and deductive processes of political science work. Sir Frederic Pollock supports this method. 'The historical method', says Sir Frederic Pollock, 'seeks an explanation of what institutions are and are tending to be more in the knowledge of what they have been and how they have been and how they come to be, what they are, than in the analysis of them as they stand.'

4. Comparative Approach

The comparative approach is a popular one in social science. Political systems and institutions can be compared with different political institutions of different countries. Different political institutions in different countries are related to one another. These institutions can be compared and their utilities can be studied from the comparative point of view. It is by the comparative study of the existing political institutions that the principles of political theory can be formulated with a good deal of precision. A political scientist may derive his conclusion by comparing various ideas and institutions of different countries. The comparative approach is therefore, a popular approach in the study of political theory.

Aristotle, the father of political science, used this approach. Garner cautioned us against the danger of the comparative approach. 'The danger of the comparative

NOTES

approach' writes Garner, 'lies in the liability to error to which it is susceptible in practice since the effort to discover general principles, the diversity of conditions and circumstances such as differences of temperament and genius of the people, economic and social conditions, moral and legal standards, political training and experience are apt to be ignored or minimized.' A comparison of America and India with regard to democracy would be useless. Herbert Spencer compared the state to a living organism and arrived at certain conclusions. His conclusions were erroneous because while considering a living organism, he tried to establish an analogy between the functions of the state and those of a living organism. In spite of all these limitations, the comparative approach has proved to be a very useful method to study political theory, provided it is employed with great care and caution.

5. Philosophical Approach

In this approach, the study of state, government, power and man as a political being is inextricably linked with the pursuit of certain goals, morals, truths or principles which is supposed to be underlying all knowledge and reality. Rousseau and Hegel used this method in their studies. This method implies that principles should be deduced from a series of general truths or assumptions. It admits 'an abstract ideal and draws deductions from it concerning the nature functions and aims of the State'. A certain view of human nature is taken for granted and deduction about the nature of political institutions are made. This approach is not strictly realistic because a political philosopher may lose sight of actual facts and may roam in darkness. *The Republic* by Plato and *Utopia* by Moore are the products of philosophical imagination. Philosophy deals with the ideals and aspirations of a society. An accurate knowledge of the political life of people can, as a matter of fact, be acquired with the help of a combination of the actuals and ideals in life.

6. Observation Approach

The next approach of dealing with the political phenomena is the method of observation. This approach was first adopted by Plato and Aristotle, and afterwards by Montesquieu and Lord Bryce. Lord Bryce emphasised the use of this method. He used this approach in the preparation of his two great books: *The American Commonwealth* and *Modern Democracies*. He travelled several countries and collected the data after having studied personally the psychology of the political institutions. Lowell is also of the view that 'politics is an observational and an experimental science'. The main laboratory for the actual working of political institutions, writes Lowell, 'is not library but outside world of political life'. One may observe the behaviour of the human beings and deduce conclusions. This can be done either through deductive or inductive method. When one proceeds from a particular to the general, it is the inductive method. But when one proceeds from the general to the particular, it is known as deductive method. Thus, both inductive and deductive methods are included in the method of observation, which is becoming more popular. Political scientists are studying the behaviour of human beings and arriving at different conclusions.

7. Experimental Approach

Experimental approach is usually used in the study of physical science. A scientist in the laboratory arrives at different conclusions through experiments. This approach can also be used in the study of social sciences. Often this approach is used in the study of political theory. A change in administration or in government may be made on an experimental basis. New ideas and institutions can be introduced for the sake of experiment. Panchayati Raj in India had been introduced on an experimental basis. Sometimes different administrative reforms are also introduced on an experimental basis. It is said that governments are always making experiments on the community. Through the process of experiment, government may adopt new policies and approaches. It is true that social conditions cannot be artificially created and experiments as in the physical sciences are not possible in approaches. However, even with handicaps, experiments in political theory can be conducted. 'Every change in the form of government, every new legislation passed in a year, is an experiment in political theory. These are materials for political theory, just as, say carbon, is material for chemistry.' If the laboratory is the field of activity of the researchers in the natural science, the entire world consisting of the states or political associations is the laboratory of the political scientists. The government can adopt a new line of action or policy or administrative method on an experimental rather than a permanent basis. Only if the experimental line of action is successful, it can be put on a permanent basis.

8. Psychological Approach

Psychological approach helps to deal with the role of emotions, habits, sentiments, instincts, ego, etc., which constitute the essential elements of human personality. This approach is a new approach which is adopted in studying political theory. A branch of psychology, which is known as social psychology, helps to explain the political behaviour of individuals. The leaders behave in certain ways and manners. Their behaviour and actions can be studied from the psychological point of view. Thus, psychologically, the actions and political motivations of the leaders and politicians can be studied. That is why this method is becoming popular in recent times.

9. Statistical Approach

In the modern age, statistics occupies an important place in the study of social sciences including political science. The statistical method believes in collection of data, compilation of figures and analysis of political events and facts, on the basis of those data or figures. This approach helps very much in the study of general elections and public opinion. The government makes out plans to improve the conditions of the people on the basis of various facts and figures. The statistical method is becoming more popular in recent times and it makes the study of political science scientific and definite.

NOTES

10. Sociological Approach

Sociological approach is comprehensive in nature because it studies society in all its aspects and then seeks to link politics with those sociological forces. Thus, this approach emphasizes that social context is necessary for the understanding and explanation of political behaviour of the members of a community. It regards the state as a social organism and individuals are considered to be the component parts of this organism. The method observes that the state possesses the same qualities and attributes of individuals who compose it. The students, guided by this method, study the state organs and institutions by applying the theory of evolution. This method is also becoming increasingly popular in modern times and it has given birth to a new subject known as political sociology.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. What is the principal element that divides the classical or the traditional political theory from the modern political theory?
9. By whom were the great classics composed?
10. State the limitations of the classical tradition of political theory.
11. What does the psychological approach towards political theory help to deal with?

1.3 MOVES TOWARDS A SCIENCE OF POLITICS: POSITIVISM AND LOGICAL POSITIVISM

Political science is the study of political institutions, constitutions and policy processes. It aims at an accurate description and explanation of these features of politics. It is an empirical (positive) science in terms that it seeks to collect data and analyses it much as a natural scientist would collect a sample and put it under the microscope. The empirical study of institutions and laws is a vital part of any study of politics. If political science asks 'what are the key building blocks of politics?', political theory may ask 'why are these the key building blocks of politics?' If political science identifies human-rights legislation as a key feature of contemporary politics, political theory might ask 'is this just?' The scholars like Arthur Bentley (*The Process of Government*), George Catlin (*The Science and Method of Politics*), David Easton (*The Political System*), Robert Dahl (*Modern Political Analysis*) and others have treated political theory as a science. However, all science is not political theory, just as all political theory is not science. Political theory is not an exact science like natural or physical science.

In political theory, unlike natural science, there are no universally recognized principles, no clear cause-effect relationships, no laboratories and no prediction can be made. It can only be termed as a science so far as it admits concepts and norms which are both observable and testable, and in so far as it responds to the requirements

NOTES

of reason and rationalism. In the 1950s onwards, the American political scientists in general and behaviourists in particular sought to create a science of politics and indulged in the process of reductionism. Political theory can be termed as a science so far as it can be applied to a social gathering and the definitive rules of the exact sciences are applicable within the limitations as in any social science. So far as its methodology and its analysis is concerned it can be called a science. Colin Hay in his work *Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction* rightly points out that political theory admits objectivity in association with subjectivity, facts in relation to values, research together with theory. Political theory as science generates neutral, dispassionate and objective knowledge.

Present-day scientific method is fundamentally a product of empirical and logical approaches to knowledge. The story of its genesis is, therefore, at least until the end of the nineteenth century, identical with the general history of logic and empiricism. The empirical approach has never been entirely absent from the struggle for knowledge. But it was often grossly neglected, especially in the Middle Ages, and always had to fight for recognition against tradition, superstitions, the dogmatic influences of religion and the pseudo-authority of allegedly self-evident principles. Only after a long period of co-existence did the empirical approach begin to crowd out all others from the field for which the name 'science' was claimed.

In the political field, however, this development gained momentum under the influence of Locke and Hume, of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason,* and later, of the positivist and pragmatist schools.

Scientific objectivity is a standard we are all familiar with (at least in principle). The idea is that we can establish, through the application of scientific methods of data collection and analysis, the verifiable truth. Between the 1920s and 1970s, the scientific paradigm, the belief that all that counted as knowledge had to be scientific, came to be imposed upon the social sciences and humanities. The claims popular around this time were that we had left our religious and metaphysical infancy and developed science. Thus, two thousand years of philosophical and normative thought were dismissed. This quirk of intellectual history went beyond empirical study to make claims about the very nature and possibility of knowledge. These debates, called epistemological debates (from the Greek episteme, meaning knowledge) are key to political theory.

1.3.1 Positivism

The meaning of the term positivism in matters of law and justice differs from that associated with the same term in science, general philosophy and sociology. Political theory is caught between these two vocabularies. Auguste Comte (1798–1857) introduced the term in a sociological sense. He used it to distinguish the 'scientific' approach in the 'positivistic' era from 'metaphysical' and 'theological' speculations in the two preceding epochs. His ideas about what constituted a scientific approach were in many respects similar to those of present day scientific method, but not identical.

NOTES

Auguste Comte absolutized progress and science. According to him, progress or progressive evolution was an ultimate law governing historic phenomena, and science a human activity able to solve all social problems, not excluding moral ones.

Positivism refers to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science which hold that the scientific method is the best approach to uncover the processes by which both physical and human events occur. Though the positivist approach has been a recurrent theme in the history of Western thought from the Ancient Greeks to the present day, the concept was developed in the early nineteenth century by Auguste Comte.

Auguste Comte first described the epistemological perspective of positivism in *The Course in Positive Philosophy*, a series of texts published between 1830 and 1842. These texts were followed by the 1844 work, *A General View of Positivism* (published in English in 1865). The first three volumes of the course dealt chiefly with the physical sciences already in existence (mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology), whereas the latter two emphasised the inevitable coming of social science. Observing the circular dependence of theory and observation in science, and classifying the sciences in this way, Comte may be regarded as the first philosopher of science in the modern sense of the term. For him, the physical sciences had to arrive first, before humanity could adequately channel its efforts into the most challenging and complex 'Queen Science' of human society itself. His *View of Positivism* therefore set out to define the empirical goals of sociological method.

Comte offered an account of social evolution, proposing that society undergoes three phases in its quest for the truth according to a general 'law of three stages'. The idea bears some similarity to Marx's view that human society would progress toward a communist peak. This is perhaps unsurprising as both were profoundly influenced by the early Utopian socialist, Henri de Saint-Simon, who was at one time Comte's mentor. Both Comte and Marx intended to develop secular-scientific ideologies in the wake of European secularization. Comte's stages were: (1) the theological, (2) the metaphysical, and (3) the positive. The theological phase of man was based on whole-hearted belief in all things with reference to God. It deals with mankind accepting the doctrines of the Church (or place of worship) rather than relying on its rational powers to explore basic questions about existence. It dealt with the restrictions put in place by the religious organization at the time and the total acceptance of any 'fact' adduced for society to believe. Comte described the metaphysical phase of humanity as the time since the enlightenment, a time steeped in logical rationalism, to the time right after the French Revolution. This second phase states that the universal rights of humanity are most important. The central idea is that humanity is invested with certain rights that must be respected. In this phase, democracies and dictators rose and fell in attempts to maintain the innate rights of humanity.

The final stage of the trilogy of Comte's universal law is the scientific or positive stage. The central idea of this phase is that individual rights are more important than the rule of any one person. Comte stated that the idea of man's ability to govern

NOTES

himself makes this stage innately different from the rest. There is no higher power governing the masses and the intrigue of any one person can achieve anything based on that individual's free will and authority. The third principle is most important in the positive stage. Comte called these three phases the universal rule in relation to society and its development. Neither the second nor the third phase can be reached without the completion and understanding of the preceding stage. All stages must be completed in progress.

Comte believed that the appreciation of the past and the ability to build on it towards the future was a key in transitioning from the theological and metaphysical phases. The idea of progress was central to Comte's new science, sociology. Sociology would 'lead to the historical consideration of every science' because 'the history of one science, including pure political history, would make no sense unless it was attached to the study of the general progress of all of humanity'. As Comte would say, 'from science comes prediction; from prediction comes action'. It is a philosophy of human intellectual development that culminated in science. The irony of this series of phases is that though Comte attempted to prove that human development has to go through these three stages, it seems that the positivist stage is far from becoming a realization. This is due to two truths. The positivist phase requires having complete understanding of the universe and world around us, and requires that society should never know if it is in this positivist phase. Anthony Giddens argues that since humanity constantly uses science to discover and research new things, humanity never progresses beyond the second metaphysical phase. In this view, Comte's positivism appears circular.

As an approach to the philosophy of history, positivism was appropriated by historians such as Hippolyte Taine. Many of Comte's writings were translated into English by the Whig writer, Harriet Martineau, regarded by some as the first female sociologist. Debates continue to rage as to how much Comte appropriated from the work of his mentor, Saint-Simon. Brazilian thinkers turned to Comte's ideas about training scientific elite in order to flourish in the industrialization process. Brazil's national motto, *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress) was taken from Comte's positivism, which was also influential in Poland.

In later life, Comte developed a 'religion of humanity' for positivist societies in order to fulfil the cohesive function once held by traditional worship. In 1849, he proposed a calendar reform called the 'positivist calendar'. Although Comte's English followers, including George Eliot and Harriet Martineau, for the most part rejected the full gloomy panoply of his system, they liked the idea of a religion of humanity and his injunction to 'vivre pour autrui' ('live for others', from which comes the word 'altruism'.)

The early ideas of Herbert Spencer about sociology came as a reaction of Comte's ideas. After writing about various developments in evolutionary biology, Spencer attempted (in vain) to reformulate the discipline in what we might now describe as socially Darwinistic terms. (Spencer was in actual fact a proponent of Lamarckism rather than Darwinism).

NOTES

Comte is regarded as the father of positivism. His main contribution is the positivization of the social sciences. According to him, positivism gives emphasis on precision, constructive power and relativism. Comte also spoke at length about the term 'relativity' many times. According to him, all concepts which had been regarded as absolute under theological and metaphysical theories had become relative under the positivistic approach.

By 1900, under the leadership of Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), French sociologists adhered more strictly now to scientific method than Comte and his immediate disciples had done. But they did not, as a rule, engage in original inquiries into the basic philosophical and methodological problem of whether it was possible to establish moral judgments with scientific means. Their primary interest was the descriptive investigation of sociological facts and their secondary interest was the explanation of these facts by tracing them to scientifically determinable sociological and psychological causes. These inquires led them, of course, to a relativistic emphasis on local and temporal differences in ethical systems. Positivism with the help of three tools of analysis, namely empiricism, unity of science and control focused itself on society in general, in the hope of overcoming the existing malaise and realizing a better future.

Positivism asserts that the only authentic knowledge is that which is based on sense, experience and positive verification. Sociological positivism was later reformulated by Emile Durkheim as a foundation to social research. At the turn of the twentieth century, the first wave of German sociologists, including Max Weber and Georg Simmel, rejected the doctrine, thus founding the antipositivist tradition in sociology. Later, anti-positivists and critical theorists have associated positivism with 'scientism'; science *as* ideology.

The key features of positivism as of the 1950s, as defined in the 'received view', are:

- A focus on science as a product, a linguistic or numerical set of statements
- A concern with axiomatization, that is, with demonstrating the logical structure and coherence of these statements
- The belief that science is markedly cumulative
- The belief that science is predominantly transcultural
- The belief that science rests on specific results that are dissociated from the personality and social position of the investigator
- The belief that science contains theories or research traditions that are largely commensurable
- The belief that science sometimes incorporates new ideas that are discontinuous from old ones
- The belief that science involves the idea of the unity of science, that there is, underlying the various scientific disciplines, basically one science about one real world

Positivism is elsewhere defined as 'the view that all true knowledge is scientific,' and that all things are ultimately measurable. Positivism is closely related to

NOTES

reductionism, in that both involve the view that 'entities of one kind . . . are reducible to entities of another,' such as societies to configurations of individuals, or mental events to neural phenomena. It also involves the contention that 'processes are reducible to physiological, physical or chemical events', and even that 'social processes are reducible to relationships between and actions of individuals', or that 'biological organisms are reducible to physical systems'.

The supporters of positivism divide the analytical statements about the physical or social world into three categories:

(a) Such statements can be useful tautologies, meaning repeating the same things through different words and purely definitional statements that give specific meaning to a particular concept or phenomena

(b) Statements are to be empirically tested by observation to access their truth or falsity

(c) Statements that did not fall into the afforest categories and lacked analytic content had to be dropped

In a nutshell, the positivist argues that meaningful analysis is possible only through useful tautologies and empirical statements. This rules out metaphysics, theology, aesthetics and ethics because they merely introduced obscurity into the process of enquiry. The principle aim of positivism is to be 'value free' or 'ethically neutral'. In this regard, it patterns itself on the natural sciences in deciding about the right and wrong of issues. Positivism gives emphasis on empiricism which believed that observation and experience as sources of knowledge.

Positivism relies on scientific method as the only source of true knowledge. It rejects superstition, religion and metaphysics as pre-scientific forms of thought. It holds that all knowledge is ultimately based on sense-experience. Hence, empirical method must be adopted for any genuine inquiry in the field of social sciences as well as physical sciences.

In contemporary social science, strong accounts of positivism have long since fallen out of favour. Practitioners of positivism today acknowledge in far greater detail observer bias and structural limitations. Modern positivists generally eschew metaphysical concerns in favour of methodological debates concerning clarity, replicability, reliability and validity. This positivism is generally equated with 'quantitative research' and thus carries no explicit theoretical or philosophical commitments.

Historically, positivism has been criticized for its universalism, i.e., for contending that all 'processes are reducible to physiological, physical or chemical events', 'social processes are reducible to relationships between and actions of individuals', and that 'biological organisms are reducible to physical systems'.

Max Horkheimer and other critical theorists criticized the classic formulation of positivism on two grounds. First, they claimed that it falsely represented human social action. The first criticism argued that positivism systematically failed to appreciate the extent to which the so-called social facts it yielded did not exist 'out

NOTES

there' in the objective world but were themselves a product of socially and historically mediated human consciousness. Positivism ignored the role of the 'observer' in the constitution of social reality, and thereby failed to consider the historical and social conditions affecting the representation of social ideas. Positivism falsely represented the object of study by reifying social reality as existing objectively and independently, and labour actually produced those conditions. Secondly, he argued, representation of social reality produced by positivism was inherently and artificially conservative, helping to support the status quo, rather than challenging it. This character may also explain the popularity of positivism in certain political circles. Horkheimer argued, in contrast, that critical theory possessed a reflexive element lacking in the positivistic traditional theory.

Few scholars today hold the views critiqued in Horkheimer's work. Since the time of his writing, critiques of positivism, especially from philosophy of science, have led to the development of post-positivism. This philosophy greatly relaxes the epistemological commitments of logical positivism, and no longer asserts the separation of the knower and the known. Rather than dismissing the scientific project outright, post-positivists seek to transform and amend it, though the exact extent of their affinity for science varies vastly. For example, some post-positivists accept the critique that observation is always value-laden, but argue that the best values to adopt for sociological observation are those of science: skepticism, rigour and modesty. Just as some critical theorists see their position as a moral commitment to egalitarian values, these post-positivists see their methods as driven by a moral commitment to these scientific values. Such scholars may see themselves as either positivists or anti-positivists.

Positivism has also come under fire on religious and philosophical grounds whose proponents assert that truth begins in sense experience but does not end there. Positivism fails to prove that there are not abstract ideas, laws, and principles beyond particular observable facts and relationships and necessary principles or that we cannot know them. Nor does it prove that material and corporeal things constitute the whole order of existing beings and that our knowledge is limited to them. According to positivism, our abstract concepts or general ideas are mere collective representations of the experimental order—for example, the idea of 'man' is a kind of blended image of all the men observed in our experience. This runs contrary to a Platonic or Christian ideal, where an idea can be abstracted from any concrete determination, and may be applied identically to an indefinite number of objects of the same class. From the idea's perspective, the latter is more precise as collective images are more or less confused, become more so as the collection represented increases; an idea by definition remains always clear.

Echoes of the positivist and anti-positivist debate persist today, though this conflict is hard to define. Authors writing in different epistemological perspectives do not phrase their disagreements in the same terms and rarely speak directly to each other. To complicate the issues further, few practising scholars explicitly state their epistemological commitments, and their epistemological position thus has to be

NOTES

guessed from other sources, such as choice of methodology or theory. However, no perfect correspondence between these categories exists, and many scholars critiqued as positivists actually hold post-positivist views. One scholar has described this debate in terms of the social construction of the 'other', with each side defining the 'other' by what it is *not* rather than what it *is*, and then proceeding to attribute far greater homogeneity to their opponents than actually exists. Thus, it is better to understand this not as a debate but as two different arguments: the anti-positivist articulation of a social meta-theory which includes a philosophical critique of scientism and positivist development of a scientific research methodology for sociology with accompanying critiques of the reliability and validity of work that they see as violating such standards.

Anti-positivism (also non-positivist or interpretive sociology) is the view in social science that academics must necessarily reject empiricism and the scientific method in the conduct of social theory and research. Anti-positivism relates to various historical debates in the philosophy and sociology of science. In modern practice, however, non-positivism may be equated with qualitative research methods, while positivist research is more quantitative. Positivists typically use research methods such as experiments and statistical surveys, while anti-positivists use research methods which rely more on unstructured interviews or participant observation. Currently, positivist and non-positivist methods are often combined.

In the early nineteenth century, various intellectuals, perhaps most notably the Hegelians, began to question the prospect of empirical social analysis. Karl Marx died before the establishment of formal social science but nonetheless fiercely rejected Comtean sociological positivism (despite himself attempting to establish a historical materialist 'science of society'). The enhanced positivism presented by Durkheim would serve to find modern academic sociology and social research yet retained many of the mechanical elements of its predecessor. Edmund Husserl, meanwhile, negated positivism through the rubric of phenomenology. At the turn of the twentieth century, the first wave of German sociologists formally introduced *verstehende* sociological anti-positivism, proposing that research should concentrate on human cultural norms, values, symbols and social processes viewed from a resolutely subjective perspective. Max Weber argued sociology may be loosely described as a 'science' as it is able to methodologically identify causal relationships of human 'social action'—especially among ideal types, or hypothetical simplifications of complex social phenomena. As a non-positivist, however, one seeks relationships that are not as 'historical, invariant or generalizable' as those pursued by natural scientists.

One of the first thinkers to critique positivism was Sir Karl Popper. He advanced falsification, a critique to the logical positivist idea of verifiability. Falsificationism argues that it is impossible to verify that a belief is true, though it is possible to reject false beliefs if they are phrased in a way amenable to falsification. Thomas Kuhn's idea of paradigm shifts offers a stronger critique of positivism, arguing that it is not simply individual theories but whole worldviews that must occasionally shift in response to evidence. Post-positivism is an amendment to

NOTES

positivism that recognizes these and other critiques against logical positivism. It is not a rejection of the scientific method but rather its reformation to meet these critiques. It preserves the basic assumptions of positivism: ontological realism, the possibility and desirability of objective truth, and the use of experimental methodology. Post-positivism of this type is common in the social sciences (especially sociology) for both practical and conceptual reasons.

1.3.2 Logical Positivism or Neo-positivism

Logical positivism is a school of philosophy that combines empiricism, the idea that observational evidence is indispensable from knowledge of the world with a version of rationalism, the idea that our knowledge includes a component that is not derived from observation.

Logical positivism (also known as logical empiricism or logical neo-positivism) was a philosophical movement risen in Austria and Germany in 1920s, primarily concerned with the logical analysis of scientific knowledge which affirmed that statements about metaphysics, religion and ethics are void of cognitive meaning, and thus nothing but expression of feelings or desires; only statements about mathematics, logic and natural sciences have a definite meaning. Its members included Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970), considered the leading figure of logical positivism, Herbert Feigl (1902–88), Philipp Frank (1884–1966), Kurt Grelling (1886–1942), Hans Hahn (1879–1934), Carl Gustav Hempel (1905–97), Victor Kraft (1880–1975), Otto Neurath (1882–1945), Hans Reichenbach (1891–1953), Moritz Schlick (1882–1936) and Friedrich Waismann (1896–1959).

Einstein's theory of relativity exerted a great influence over the origin of logical positivism. Logical positivists were very interested in clarifying the philosophical significance of the theory of relativity. Another influence over logical positivism was exerted by the development of formal logic. Logical positivism had extensive contacts with the group of Polish logicians (mainly Jan Lukasiewicz, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Alfred Tarski) which developed several branches of contemporary logic like the algebra of logic, many-valued propositional calculus and the semantics for logic. In 1930s, logical positivism was a prominent philosophical movement known in the USA and Europe, very active in advertising its new philosophical ideas. The political attitudes of logical positivists were progressive, democratic and sometimes socialist, and aroused the hostility from Nazism.

Logical positivism grew from the discussions of a group called the 'First Vienna Circle' which gathered at the Café Central before First World War. The most prominent proponents of logical positivism emigrated to the United Kingdom and to the United States where they considerably influenced American philosophy. Until the 1950s, logical positivism was the leading school in the philosophy of science. After moving to the United States, Carnap proposed a replacement for the earlier doctrines in his *Logical Syntax of Language*. This change of direction and the somewhat differing views of Reichenbach and others led to a consensus that the English name for the shared doctrinal platform, in its American exile from the late 1930s, should be 'logical empiricism'.

NOTES

In the early twentieth century, logical positivism—a descendant of Comte's basic thesis but an independent movement—sprang up in Vienna and grew to become one of the dominant schools in Anglo-American philosophy and the analytic tradition. Logical positivists (or 'neo positivists') reject metaphysical speculation and attempt to reduce statements and propositions to pure logic. Critiques of this approach by philosophers such as Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn have been highly influential and led to the development of post positivism. In psychology, the positivist movement was influential in the development of behaviouralism and operationalism. In economics, practising researchers tend to emulate the methodological assumptions of classical positivism but only in a de-facto fashion: the majority of economists do not explicitly concern themselves with matters of epistemology. In jurisprudence, 'legal positivism' essentially refers to the rejection of natural law; thus, its common meaning with philosophical positivism is somewhat attenuated, and in recent generations generally emphasizes the authority of human political structures as opposed to a 'scientific' view of law.

According to logical positivism, all meaningful statements can be divided in two classes, one containing the statements that are true or false in virtue of their logical forms or in virtue of their meaning (these statements are called analytic a priori), the other containing the statements whose truth or falsity can be ascertained only by means of the experience (called synthetic a posteriori).

The early logical positivism believed that all theoretical terms were definable with the help of the observational terms. Further researches, performed by Carnap and Hempel, showed that theoretical terms cannot be defined by observational ones, and thus, theoretical terms are indispensable in a scientific theory. Pragmatic aspects of scientific research were not considered by logical positivism which was not interested in the real process of discovering but was concerned with the rational reconstruction of scientific knowledge that is the study of the logical (formal) relationships between statements, hypothesis and empirical evidence.

The advocates of logical positivism reject traditional metaphysics' cognitive status. They point out that scientific propositions are of two kinds, namely analytic and synthetic. They argue that an analytical statement is logical or mathematical in nature whereas it is synthetic when 'propositions add something to the meaning of a given term'. Therefore, logical positivists rejected the traditional political theory as meaningless and unverifiable. They also dwell upon a more radical form of empiricism, namely phenomenalism. Phenomenalism argues that the basis of science is the restricting experience of sensations. Logical positivists give wider emphasis on logical analysis and their aim is to unify the sciences. They point out that experience supplies the subject of all science and helps in formulating laws and theories.

The radical wing of the neo-positivists or logical positivists recognizes only sense experiences in the process of scientific verification. Beginning with the second half of the 1930s, some neo-positivists have abandoned one or another of their original positions. Thus, Moritz Schlick in one of his last papers 'Meaning and Verification' modified the requirement of verifiability for meaningful sentences by interpreting it as requiring only a 'logical' not an empirical possibility of verification.

NOTES

The empirical circumstances, he wrote, are all-important when you want to know if a proposition is true, but they can have no influence on the meaning of the proposition. The only thing necessary for a process of verification to be 'logically' possible, Schlick argued, is that it 'can be described'. Logical possibility or impossibility of verification, therefore, is 'always self-imposed'.

Neo-positivism or logical positivism got a thrust in the wake of efforts made by Ernst Mach (1838–1936) to establish the unity of all sciences through the radical elimination of metaphysics in every scientific work and through common recognition that all scientific authority must be ultimately based on perception.

Logical positivism holds that reliable and valid knowledge in any field of inquiry can be obtained only by empirical method (i.e., observation based on sense-experience). The questions concerning values are beyond the scope of scientific knowledge; hence, it is not possible to obtain reliable knowledge about them. Between the 1920s and the 1970s, the belief that scientific knowledge was the only true form of knowledge gained huge support. Empiricism became the main stay of logical positivism through the work of the Vienna circle in the 1920s and 1930s as earlier stated. Positivism became further refined in the behaviouralist movements of the 1950s. These hyper-empirical schools of thought argued that scientific verifiability was the sole criterion of knowledge. Finally, there were normative utterances which were dismissed as 'ejaculations' or as 'nonsense'. They were treated derisively as they could not be subjected to empirical verification or falsification.

The logical positivism has impacted political science in a significant way. The first and foremost impact is by its principle of verification. It views politics as metaphysical beyond science, essentially non-rational and arbitrary. They say it is concerned with what would happen rather than what should happen. This distinguished them from the positivist who attempted to make politics scientific. Another impact of logical positivism is that adopting the various aspects of science. Logical positivists argue that to be scientific means adopting those aspects of science that logical positivism identified as science.

Check Your Progress

12. What is the idea behind scientific objectivity?
13. How did Comte use the term 'positivism' in a sociological sense?
14. State the principle aim of positivism.
15. What is logical positivism?

1.4 BEHAVIOURALISM AND POST-BEHAVIOURALISM: AN OVERVIEW

Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism are the two contemporary approaches to the study of politics. The development of the contemporary approaches signifies a departure from traditional approaches in two aspects: (i) they attempt to establish a separate identity of political science by focusing on the real character of politics;

and (ii) they try to understand politics in totality, transcending its formal aspects and looking for those aspects of social life which influence and are influenced by it. Here, we will begin the discussion with behaviouralism.

NOTES

1.4.1 Behaviouralism

Until the middle of the twentieth century, the discipline of political science was primarily qualitative-philosophical, descriptive, legalistic and typically reliant on case studies that failed to probe causation in any measurable way. The word 'science' was not entirely apt.

In the 1950s, the discipline was transformed by the behavioural revolution spearheaded by advocates of a more social scientific empirical approach. Even though experimentation was the sine qua non of research in the hard sciences and in psychology, the method remained a mere curiosity among political scientists. For behaviouralists interested in individual-level political behaviour, survey research was the methodology of choice on the grounds that experimentation could not be used to investigate real-world politics (for more detailed accounts of the history of experimental methods in political science).

David Easton, an American political scientist, was the first to differentiate behaviouralism from behaviourism in the 1950s. In the early 1940s, behaviourism itself was referred to as a behavioural science and later referred to as behaviourism. However, Easton sought to differentiate between the two disciplines.

Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modelled after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism seeks to examine the behaviour, actions and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatives, executives, and judiciaries, and groups in different social settings and explain this behaviour as it relates to the political system.

Prior to the 'behaviouralist revolution', political science being a science at all was disputed. Critics saw the study of politics as being primarily qualitative and normative, and claimed that it lacked a scientific method necessary to be deemed a science. Behaviouralists would use strict methodology and empirical research to validate their study as a social science. The behaviouralist approach was innovative because it changed the attitude of the purpose of inquiry, moving toward research supported by verifiable facts. During its rise in popularity in the 1960s and the 1970s, behaviouralism challenged the realist and liberal approaches, which the behaviouralists called 'traditionalism', and other studies of political behaviour that were not based on fact. To understand political behaviour, behaviouralism uses the following methods: **sampling, interviewing, scoring and scaling, and statistical analysis**.

According to David Easton, behaviouralism sought to be 'analytic not substantive, general rather than particular, and explanatory rather than ethical'. In this, the theory seeks to evaluate political behaviour without 'introducing any ethical

NOTES

evaluations'. Rodger Beehler cites this as 'their insistence on distinguishing between facts and values'.

Behaviouralism is the belief that social theory should be constructed only on the basis of observable behaviour. The behavioural approach to political analysis developed out of positivism, adopting its assertion that scientific knowledge can be developed only on the basis of explanatory theories that are verifiable and falsifiable. Behavioural analysis typically involves the collection of quantifiable data through research surveys, statistical analysis and the construction of empirical theory that have predictive capacity.

Behaviouralism is an approach to the analysis and explanation of political phenomena. It is particularly associated with the works of American political scientists after the Second World War (1939–45). David Easton, in his book *Political System: An Enquiry into the State of Political Science* (1953), appealed for building up a behavioural political science. It has to be closer to other social sciences and would take part in the decision-making process. However, the origins of the behaviouralist approach can be stressed back to the works of Graham Wallas and Arthur Bentley who wrote two famous books *Human Nature in Politics* and *The Process of Government,* respectively, which was published as early as 1908. In their works, they laid great emphasis on the informal process of politics and less on political institutions alone.

Graham Wallas in his book *Human Nature in Politics* tried to introduce a new realism in political studies in the light of the new findings of contemporary psychology. He was influenced by the new psychology teachings which revealed that man was not a rational creature following his self-interest and his political actions were not totally guided by self-interest as stated by classical economists and laissez–faire theorists. It is very difficult to explain the human nature in utilitarian perspective. Graham Wallas, to overcome this problem, insisted on exploring facts and evidence for understanding human nature and its manifestations in human behaviour. The gist of his argument was that the political process could be understood only by analysing as to how people actually behaved in a political situation and not merely by speculating on how they should or would behave. On the other hand, Arthur Bentley who is pioneer of 'group approach' to politics, says that only the description of political activity is not enough. He sought to provide for new tools of investigation. He laid emphasis on the study of informal groups. He almost completely ignored the formal political institution. Unlike Graham Wallas who is influenced by psychology, Arthur Bentley was inspired by sociology. In his study, the roles of pressure groups, political parties, elections and public opinion in the political process are highlighted.

Another prominent advocate of the behaviouralist approach was Charles E. Merriam (1874–1953). He was the president of the American Political Science Association in 1925 when he exhorted political scientists to look at political behaviour as one of the essential objects of enquiry in his presidential address. Thus, Merriam was an exponent of the scientific method for the study of politics. At the same time,

NOTES

he was a champion of democracy. He called for employing the science into the service of democratic principle. Thus, he believed that democracy and science can be promoted together, and hence were complementary to each other. The school has done pioneer works in the development of the behavioural approach. Merriam was a vehement critic of contemporary political science. In his book *New Aspects of Politics* (1925) and in his article 'The Present State of the Study of Politics', which was published in *American Political Science Review*, argued that contemporary political science lacked scientific rigour. He criticized the work of historians for ignoring the role of psychological, sociological and economic factors in human affairs. He advised that the student of politics should take the help of recent advances in social sciences in the study of politics. He argued that this will help to build an interdisciplinary and scientific character of the political science. He called for the use of the scientific approach in the study of politics. He sought to develop a 'Policy Science' by using quantitative techniques already developed in the fields of sociology and psychology. In this way, Charles Merriam contributed at length to the evolution of the behavioural approach.

Behaviouralism in political science was systematically developed only after the Second World War. The behaviouralism had its philosophical origins in the writings of Auguste Comte in the nineteenth century and in the logical positivism of the Vienna Circle in the 1920s. However, behaviouralism did not accept all the philosophical arguments of the positivists. The contribution of American political scientists in this regard was quite significant. Some of the works of these American political scientists is worth mentioning here, such as *The Impact on Political Science of the Revolution in the Behavioural Sciences* (1955), *The Behavioural Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest* by Robert Dahl which was published in the *American Political Science Review* in 1961, *The Impact of the Behavioural Approach on Traditional Political Science* (1962) by Evron M. Krikpatrick, *The Correct Meaning of Behaviouralism in Political Science* (1967) by David Easton and Heinz Eulau's article on 'Political Behaviour' in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, which was published in 1968. It can be said that behaviouralism stood for a shift of focus in the study of politics from the formalism and normative orientations of the legalistic and philosophical schools to political behaviour, that is, the behaviour of articulators in the political field, such as, power-holders, power-seekers as well as voters. Thus, behaviouralism is understood as more than the mere study of political behaviour, though it was its main focus.

The growing importance of behaviouralism sought to account for the psychological and social influences on the behaviour of the individual in a political situation. It called for the study of such processes and factors as political–socializations, ideologies, culture, participation, communication, leadership, decision making, political violence, etc. These processes involve interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary research. Behaviouralism as a movement in political science did not

NOTES

remain confined to the study of individual–based political behaviour but developed into a set of orientations, procedures and methods of analysis. In practice, it embraced all that lends a scientific character to the modern political science. A behaviourist like a positivist ascertains the correctness of an explanatory theory. It is the stress on empirical observation and testing that characterize the behavioural approach. A behaviouralist systematically compiles all the relevant facts, quantitative and qualitative, for an evaluation of a theoretical statement. Furthermore, behavioural analysis asserts that all scientific theories and/or explanation must in principle be capable of being falsified.

David Easton outlined eight major tenants of behaviouralism which are as follows:

- *Regularities* or uniformity in behaviour which can be expressed in generalizations or theory
- *Verification* or the testing of the validity of such generalizations or theories
- *Techniques* for seeking and interpreting data
- *Quantification* and measurement in the recording of data
- *Values* as distinguished between propositions, relating to ethical evaluation and those relating to empirical
- *Systematization* of research
- *Pure science* or the seeking of understanding and explanation of behaviour, before utilization of the knowledge for solution of societal problems
- *Integration* of political research with that of other social sciences

Behaviouralism came to accord primacy to higher degree of reliability vis-à-vis higher degree of generality. It, therefore, focuses on questions that could be answered on the basis of the methods available. In a nutshell, behaviouralism focused on the micro-level situations rather than attempting macro-level generalizations as a whole.

The approach has come under fire from both conservatives and radicals for the purported value-neutrality. Conservatives see the distinction between values and facts as a way of undermining the possibility of political philosophy. Neal Riemer believes behaviouralism dismisses 'the task of ethical recommendation' because behaviouralists believe 'truth or falsity of values (democracy, equality, and freedom, etc.) cannot be established scientifically and are beyond the scope of legitimate inquiry'. Christian Bay believed behaviouralism was a pseudo political science and that it did not represent 'genuine' political research. Bay objected to empirical consideration taking precedence over normative and moral examination of politics. Behaviouralism initially represented a movement away from 'naive empiricism', but has been criticized as an approach for 'naive scientism'. Additionally, radical critics believe that the separation of fact from value makes the empirical study of politics impossible.

Behaviouralism, like positivism, has been criticized for its mindless empiricism. Behaviouralism proclaimed to offer a 'value free' and 'scientific' theory steering clear of ethical and political bias. They over emphasize on the fact that a theory is considered good if it was consistent with observation. David Easton himself has enumerated the shortcomings of behaviouralism which are mentioned below:

NOTES

- Behaviouralism pursued fundamental rather than applied knowledge. Hence, it distances itself from immediate political reality. It also neglects the special responsibilities of an intellectual.
- It tends towards a subjectless, non-humane discipline, one in which human intentions and purposes played little creative part.
- It is wrongly assumed that behavioural political science alone was free of ideological presuppositions.
- It accepts a pristine, positivist interpretation of the nature of science uncritically.
- It remains indifferent to the resulting fragmentation of knowledge.
- It is not able to deal with value concerns and to describe the nature of the good society.

1.4.2 Post-Behaviouralism

Behaviouralism rose to be prominent during mid-1960s as a dominant approach in the methodology of political science. However, it was not free from criticism. One of its prominent critics Leo Strauss in his article 'What is Political Philosophy?', published in *Journal of Politics* (1957), argued that the rise of behaviouralism was symptomatic of a crisis in political theory because of its failure to come to grips with normative issues. Another political scientist Sheldon Wolin in the article 'Political Theory as a Vocation', which was published in *American Political Science Review* (1969), pointed out that preoccupation of political science with method signified or abdication of true vocation of political theory. Another prominent thinker Thomas Kuhn in his celebrated work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962), outlined that significance of scientific methods lies in its capacity of problem solving and crisis-management, and not in methodological sophistication. Gradually after 1960s, even the exponents of behaviouralism realized the drawbacks of behaviouralism. They realized that behaviouralism's strict adherence to 'pure science' was responsible for its failure to attempt to the pressing social and political issues of the period.

David Easton, in 1969, in his presidential address to the American Political Science Association announced a new revolution in political science, a post-behavioural revolution that represented a shift of focus from strict methodological issues to a greater concern with public responsibilities of the discipline and with political problems. Thus, post–behaviouralism is concerned with the reality of human life. The post-behaviouralism gave two slogans: relevance and action. However, it did not completely depart from behaviouralism; rather it stood for consolidating its gain and applying them from problem-solving crisis management. Easton lamented the over-reliance of behaviouralists on methodology. He says that intellectuals have a great role to play in protecting the human value of civilization. He emphasized that behaviouralists should not ignore this role. He reminded them of their responsibility to reshape society. He argued that scientists could adopt a rational interest in value construction and application without denying the validity of their science. It placed less emphasis on the scientific method and empirical theory, and laid more stress on the public responsibilities of the discipline. In a nutshell, post-behaviouralism seeks to reintroduce a concern for values in the behavioural approach itself.

NOTES

Post-behaviouralism challenged the idea that academic research had to be value neutral and argued that values should not be neglected. Post-behaviouralism claimed that behaviouralisms' bias towards observable and measurable phenomena meant that too much emphasis was being placed on easily studied trivial issues at the expense of more important topics. Research should be more relevant to society and intellectuals have a positive role to play in society.

The cardinal features of the post-behaviouralism can be enumerated as following:

- Substance preceded technique, which meant the pressing problems of society became tools of investigation.
- Behaviouralism itself was seen as ideologically conservative and limited to abstraction rather than to the reality at the time of crisis.
- Science could be evaluatively neutral, for facts were inseparable from values, and value premises had to be related to knowledge.
- Intellectuals had to shoulder the responsibilities of their society, defend human values of civilization and not become mere technicians insular to social problems.
- The intellectual had to put knowledge to work and engage in reshaping society.
- The intellectual must actively participate in the politicization of the professions and academic institutions.

For the post-behaviouralists, a theory, in order to be treated as an explanatory theory, in the first place has to be evaluated, i.e., tested empirically. Easton pointed out that dissatisfaction with behaviouralism led to revisions in the method and content, favouring a revival of interpretive understanding and historical analysis, and a complete rejection of systematic methodology, while at the same time emphasizing the need to introduce formal modelling and rational actor deductivism. He announced the beginning of neo-behaviouralism in order to bring about a new unity in the theoretical focus of the discipline.

In the contemporary social science, the behavioural approach has shown increasing concern with solving the prevailing problem of society. In this way, it has largely absorbed the 'post-behavioural' orientation within its scope.

System Theory

The system theory approach of international relations is engaged in developing theories of the international system. It was introduced in the late 1950s with the basic assumptions that international relations follow an order or a system. The most prominent of the system theory approach are scholars such as Karl W. Deutsch and Raymond Aron.

The system is a set of interacting variables or a collection of functionally interdependent parts. In other words, a system is 'a set of variables in interaction which makes a unified whole affecting each other's actions'. Generally speaking, a system may be either natural, such as the solar system; or mechanical, such as a clock, computer or a car; or social in nature, such as a family.

The system theory approach conceives nations to be in contact in a complicated framework of relationships that result from the process of interaction. They emphasize

the significance of the interaction of behaviour of states. Each nation is involved to some degree in participation in the international environment. Therefore, it is possible to find out that there are certain regular modes of behaviour which could be generalized within the structure of the political organization.

Characteristics of the System Approach

The system approach, developed under the general system theory, seeks to analyse the international relations as a system of interactions, which are independent and interrelated. It views the international relations as a pattern of behaviour of the international actors. Therefore, in order to develop a scientific study of politics, it has to be treated as a system of action. The process of exchange in politics is fairly continuous, regular and patterned, and can be studied as a system of behaviour.

The system consists of a set of units in interaction and is possible to conceive relations among nations as constituting a kind of system. That is why the system consists of a known set of variables such as the political machinery, attitude, interests and political activities along with the values as a parameter to study.

The system approach in international relations is based upon the following main assumptions:

(i) **International system is not an international political system:** The concept of system is used in the context of international politics; it is taken to mean the international political system. The international system is not international political system as it does not allocate authoritative values over them.

(ii) **International and national actors:** The international actors are basically the national actors who act in the international environment.

(iii) **Classification of national and supra-national actors:** The international actors can be classified into the following two types:

  (a) The national actors who act in the international environment

  (b) The supra-national actors, such as UN, regional organizations and other international agencies

The supra-national actors can be further classified as bloc actors and universal actors.

From these fundamental assumptions, the system theory assumes that the international system is constituted by a set of interactions among the actors or entities, such as national interests. There is a continuous process of interactions among the actors and entities, which occur at a regular interval in the international environment. These mutual exchanges occur due to the participation in the international environment, which occur in a certain identifiable pattern and describable patterns, as an interaction among nations. The concept of system can enrich the understanding of the phenomena which will help in theory building of international relations. That is why the system distinguishes the units or actors, structural processes and the context, i.e., the environment as major elements in every system.

Morton Kaplan's Models of International System

Prof. Morton Kaplan is considered as one of the most influential thinkers associated with developing system theories of international relations. He presented a number

NOTES

of real and hypothetical models of global political organizations. His six well known models are as follows:

- Balance of power system
- Loose bipolar system
- Tight bipolar system
- Universal actor system
- Hierarchical system
- Unit Veto system

The first two models are historical realities, while the remaining four are hypothetical models.

Functional Approach

Several approaches have been used for proper study of politics. One of these is the structural functional approach which was developed by Gabriel Almond. The aim of this approach is to find out which political structures perform what basic function in the political system as a whole. The whole concept revolves around two things, namely 'structure' and 'function'. In the words of Robert T. Halt, 'Structural functional analysis is a distinguishable approach primarily because of the selective aspects of social reality that it seeks to describe, explain and predict'. It describes social reality largely in terms of structures, processes mechanisms and functions.

Power Approach

Recently, the idea of power has become very important in the realm of political theory. Earlier, politics was defined as the study of state and government. Today, it is defined as the study of power. The significance of power was highlighted by Machiavelli in the Medieval Age and later by Hobbes and Nietzsche. In the modern times, Max Weber, Catlin, Merriam, Lasswell, Kaplan, Treitschke and Morgenthau have brought out the importance of this concept. The 'Power Theory State' was first advocated in Germany in the nineteenth century by historians like Heinrich Von Treitschke and philosophers like Friedrich Nietzsche. Power is the primary objective of foreign policy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

16. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
    (a) In the _____, the discipline of political science was transformed by the behavioural revolution led by the advocates of a more social scientific empirical approach.
    (b) Behaviouralism rose to be prominent during mid _____ as a dominant approach in the methodology of political science.
17. State whether the following statements are true or false.
    (a) Prior to the 'behaviouralist revolution', political science being a science at all was disputed.
    (b) The structural functional approach was developed by Davis Easton.

1.5 DEBATE ON THE 'DECLINE'/'REVIVAL' OF POLITICAL THEORY

NOTES

During the middle of the twentieth century, many observers talked about the decline of the political theory. Some of the observers even discussed about its death. Some of the observers declared political theory as the dog house. These discourses emerged because of the pessimistic and cynical view that the classical tradition in political theory was filled with value judgments and was devoid of empiricism. The logical positivism which emerged during 1930s, criticized the normative theory for its value judgment. Later on, the behaviouralists attacked the classical tradition of which David Easton was most prominent. According to David Easton, political theory is concerned with some kind of historical form. He argued that political theory had lost its constructive roles. He outlined that political theory, as practised by William Dunning, Charles H. Mcwain and George Holland Sabine, had decline into historicism.

There are two schools of thought about the development of political theory in the contemporary period. One school argues that there is decline of political theory and another school argues against it. In mid twentieth century, the exponents of new political science began to question the continued relevance of the traditional political theory. David Easton, in his *Political System: An Enquiry into the State of Political Science* (1953), asserted that the traditional political theory was based on mere speculation. It was devoid of acute observation of the political reality. In order to lay scientific foundations of the study of politics, it was necessary to rescue it from the study of classics and the history of political ideas. He argued that the traditional political theory was the product of the turmoil that characterize the past ages.

According to him, it particularly flourished in Greece in pre-Plato days, Italy in the fifteenth century, England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and France in the eighteenth century which were the days of widespread social and political upheaval. It had no relevance in contemporary society. He also pointed out that there has been no outstanding political philosopher after Marx (1818–83) and J. S. Mill (1806–73). Easton argued that while economists and sociologists had produced a systematic study of human behaviour in their respective spheres of investigation, political scientists had lagged behind. They failed to acquire suitable research to account for the rise of fascism or communism and their continuance. Again, during the Second World War (1939–45), economists, sociologists and psychologists had played an active role in the decision-making process but political scientists were ignored. He, therefore, appealed for building of a behavioural political science, closer to other social sciences, to take its due place in the decision-making process. He argued that the contemporary society would evolve its own value system from its own experience and insight. Political scientists would only focus on building causal theory to explain political behaviour. However, Easton changed his view after one and a half decade. In his presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 1969, he launched his 'post-behavioural' revolution. In fact,

NOTES

Easton was trying to convert political science from a pure science to 'applied science'. He insisted that scientific investigation should enable the contemporary societies to tide over the prevailing crisis. This also involved a renewed concern with values which were sought to be excluded in the earlier behavioural approach.

The debate on the decline of political theory which appeared in 1950s was also joined by some other prominent writers. Thus, Alfred Cobban in his paper on 'The Decline of Political Theory', published in *Political Science Quarterly* (1953), argued that political theory had lost its significance in capitalist as well as communist systems. Capitalist systems were inspired by the idea of 'libertarian democracy', whereas there was no political theorist of democracy. It was also characterized by an overwhelming role of bureaucracy and the creation of a huge military machine. Political theory had practically no role to play in sustaining this system. While communist systems were characterized by a new form of political organization and the rule of a small oligarchy, political theory had taken a back seat under these systems. However, Cobban came to the conclusion that all was yet not lost. Political science has to answer questions which the methodology of social science may not be able to answer. It must evolve criteria of judgment which will revive the relevance of political science.

Then Seymour Martin Lipset in his *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (1960) argued that the values of the contemporary society had already been decided. In the United States, the age-old search for 'good society' had come to an end because they had already achieved it. The prevailing form of democracy in that country was 'the closest approximation to the good society itself in operation'. Thus, Lipset too questioned the continued relevance of political theory in those days. Another political scientist, Leo Strauss, in his famous paper 'What is Political Philosophy?', published in *Journal of Politics* (1957) and in *An Epilogue to Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics*, argued that the new science of politics was in fact a symptom of the alleged decline of political theory by adopting positivist approach and it had ignored the challenge of normative issues.

Another political scientist, Dante Jermino, in his *Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory* (1967), argued that in most of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there were two major causes of the decline of political theory: (i) rise of positivism which led to the craze for science; and (ii) the prevalence of political ideologies culminating in Marxism. But now it was again in ascendancy, particularly in the political thought of Michael Oakeshott, Hannah Arendt, Bertrand de Jouvenal, Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin.

This list was expanded by Jermino in a subsequent paper so as to include John Rawls, C. B. Macpherson, Christian Bay, Robert Nozick, Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas, Alasdaire MacIntyre and Michael Walzer. The works of these writers had revived the grand tradition of political philosophy. Jermino suggested that in order to understand the new role of political theory, it was imperative to identify it with political philosophy. Political philosophy is a critical study of the principles of the right order in human social existence, involving enquiry into right and wrong.

NOTES

Jermino argued that political philosophy deals with perennial problems confronting man in his social existence. He pointed out that detachment is not ethical neutrality. A political philosopher cannot remain indifferent to the political struggle of his times as a behaviouralist would claim. In short, behavioural political science concentrates on facts and remains neutral to values. Political philosophy cannot grow along with positivism, which abstained from a critical examination of any social situation. The gulf between traditionalist and behaviouralist components of political theory is so wide that they cannot be reunited. Any theory separated from the perennial concerns of political philosophy will prove to be irrelevant. Jermino laments that the behavioural political theory has often implicitly or uncritically endorsed the policies and practices of the established order instead of performing the Socratic function of 'speaking truth to power'. He wants that full recovery of critical political theory cannot be achieved within the positivist universe of discourse.

However, since 1970s, the dispute between political science and political philosophy has largely subsided. While David Easton had shown a renewed concern with values in his post-behavioural approach, the exponents of political philosophy did not hesitate in testing there assumptions by empirical method. Karl Popper (1902–94) proceeded to draw conclusion regarding social values. John Rawls (1921–2002) adopted empirical method for arriving at his principles of justice. C. B. Macpherson (1911–87) attacked the empirical theory of democracy propounded by Joseph Schumpeter (1883–1950), and Robert Dahl advanced his own radical theory of democracy. Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas have shown a strong empirical insight in their critical analysis of the contemporary capitalism. It is now held that political science, like other social and natural sciences, enables us to strengthen our means but we will have to resort to political philosophy to determine our ends. As means and ends are interdependent, political science and political philosophy play complementary role in our social life.

Revival

Political theory is considered as a study of the history of ideas during the third decade of the twentieth century, particularly with the purpose to define the totalitarian communism and defend the liberal democracy. Charles Marriam and Lasswell Kaplan tried to establish a scientific political theory. They developed it with the eventual purpose of controlling human behaviour. Their method of enquiry was description rather then prescription. On the other hand, in the traditional sense, political theory was revived in the works of some famous political scientists like Arendt, Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), Leo Strauss (1899–1973), Oakeshott, Bertrand de Jouvenal and Eric Voegelin (1901–1985). These political scientists were in opposition of the commitment to liberal democracy, faith in science and a faith in historical progress. They were also against political messianism and utopianism in politics. Hannah Arendt criticized behaviouralism and stressed on the uniqueness and responsibility of the individual human being. She argued in her book *The Human Condition* (1958) that search for uniformities in human nature by the

NOTES

behaviouralists would only contribute towards stereotyping the human being. She rejected the idea of hidden and anonymous forces in history. She pointed to the essential incompatibility between ideology and political theory. She illustrated the difference between responsible action and efficient automatic behaviour.

Like Hannah Arendt, Michael Oakeshott also contributed to the revival of political theory through his writings. He emphasized on the philosophical analysis of experience. He understood experience to be a concrete whole on different kinds of 'modes'. According to him, the modes constituted 'arrests' in experience. In his book *Experience and its Modes* (1933), he outlined four principle modes of experience, such as history, science, practice and poetry. He pointed out that science concerned itself with measurement and quantification, history with the past, practice with an act of desiring and obtaining, and poetry with imagination and contemplation. He did not distinguish between subject and object, fact and value. He rejected the contention that philosophy could learn from method of science. He also ruled out political ideology and empiricism in an understanding of politics. Like Arendt, Oakeshott described politics as 'the activity of attending to the general arrangements of a collection of people, who, in respect of their common recognition of a manner of attending to its arrangements, compose a single community'.

Similarly, Juvenal opposed the modern trend of converting politics into administration, depriving it for the potentiality for creativity in the public sphere. He opposed ideological sloganeering and utopianism. He outlined that politics essentially involves moral choice with the purpose of building and consolidating individuals. Leo Strauss reaffirmed the importance of classical political theory to provide remedy to the crisis of modern times. He said that a political philosopher is primarily interested in truth. Strauss scrutinized the methods and purposes of the 'new' political science and concluded that it was defective when compared with classical political theory, particularly that of Aristotle. Strauss countered David Easton's charge of historicism by alleging that it was the new science that was responsible for the decline in political theory, for it pointed it to an abetted general political crisis of the West because of its overall neglect of normative issues. He equated behaviouralism's value-free approach with 'dogmatic atheism' and 'permissive egalitarianism'. Eric Voegelin pointed out the inseparableness of political science and political theory. He argued that without the latter, the former was not possible. According to him, political theory was not ideology, utopian or scientific methodology; rather it is an experimental science of the right order for both the individual and society. He said that it dissected critically and empirically the problem of order.

The Frankfurt school also contributed towards the revival of political theory. The school represented by the political thinkers like Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse emerged in Germany in the 1920s. It was directly associated with 'an anti-Bolshevik radicalism and open-ended or critical Marxism'. The school of thought was critical of both capitalism as well as socialism practiced in Soviet Union. One of the famous political theorists of the school was Jurgen Habermas who critically

examined the advanced capitalism and communicative action. He was also a critic of post modernism. He expressed his faith in the power of reason and progress. In a nutshell, it can be concluded that political theory is still relevant and alive as a result of some of the great modern political thinkers in last few decades.

NOTES

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

18. What do the two schools of thought arque regarding the development of political theory?
19. When did Easton launch his 'post-behavioural' revolution?
20. How did the Frankfurt school contribute towards the revival of political theory?

1.6 SUMMARY

- Political theory is recognized as the invention of the Greeks, who differentiated politics from mythology, theology and ethics.
- The English word 'theory' originates from the Greek word 'theoria', which suggests a well-focused mental look. It means 'looking at', 'gazing at', or 'being aware of'.
- The term 'theory' stands for systematic knowledge, and therefore 'political theory' represents a systematic knowledge of political phenomena.
- The primary objective of political theory is to study the problems, activities, aims and objectives of the state and the government, with a particular focus on the origin, nature, structure and functions of the state.
- The field of political theory includes the study of political institutions, political dynamics, adjustment of the individual with the state, international relations and international law, knowledge of the state, government and administration, and creation of democratic values and good citizenship.
- Political theory is divided under the disciplines of orthodox political theory, liberal political theory and Marxist political theory.
- William A. Dunning's three volume study, *A History of Political Theories*, was published between 1902 and 1920. Dunning's contribution did a great deal to establish the tradition of political theory as a distinct discipline.
- The term 'theory' stands for a systematic knowledge. Thus, 'political theory' denotes a systematic knowledge of political phenomena. Political theory may be defined as the discipline which aims to explain, justify or criticize the disposition of power in society.
- According to George H. Sabine who authored, *What is Political Theory*? (1939), every political theory could be scrutinized from two points of view: as social philosophy and as ideology.

NOTES

- Political theory is an umbrella term. It comprehends the persuasive and normative doctrines called ideologies; it also embraces the analytical activity known as political philosophy, which styles itself 'value-free'.
- Political theory primarily studies the problems of the state and the government. The state is defined as a group of people organized for law within a definite territory.
- Classical tradition believed that political theory dealt with the political whole—the theory must be all-comprehensive and all-inclusive.
- Marxist political theory majorly focuses on the modes of production, class division, class struggle, property relations, revolution and state as an instrument of class domination.
- The principal element which divides the classical or the traditional political theory from the modern political theory is 'science'.
- The great classics were composed by political exiles or by failed politicians like Plato, Machiavelli, Hugo Grotius, Sir John Fortescue, Hobbes and Locke.
- The classical tradition is criticized for its gender biasness. Many of the great political scientists have either ignored or dismissed the position and status of women.
- The comparative approach is a popular one in social science. Political systems and institutions can be compared with different political institutions of different countries. Different political institutions in different countries are related to one another.
- Experimental approach is usually used in the study of physical science. A scientist in the laboratory arrives at different conclusions through experiments. This approach can also be used in the study of social sciences.
- Auguste Comte introduced the term positivism into the social sciences. Positivism refers to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science, which believes that the scientific method is the best approach to uncover the processes by which both physical and human events take place.
- Anti-positivism (also known as non-positivist or interpretive sociology) is the view in social science that academics must necessarily reject empiricism and the scientific method in the conduct of social theory and research.
- Logical positivism (also known as logical empiricism or logical neo-positivism) was a philosophical movement risen in Austria and Germany in 1920s, primarily concerned with the logical analysis of scientific knowledge which affirmed that statements about metaphysics, religion and ethics are void of cognitive meaning, and thus nothing but expression of feelings or desires; only statements about mathematics, logic and natural sciences have a definite meaning.
- Neo-positivism or logical positivism got a thrust in the wake of efforts made by Ernst Mach to establish the unity of all sciences through the radical

elimination of metaphysics in every scientific work and through common recognition that all scientific authority must be ultimately based on perception.

- Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism are the two contemporary approaches to the study of politics. In the 1950s, the discipline of political science was transformed by the behavioural revolution led by the advocates of a more social scientific empirical approach.
- In the early 1940s, behaviourism itself was referred to as a behavioural science and later referred to as behaviourism. David Easton was the first to differentiate between behaviouralism and behaviourism in the 1950s.
- To understand political behaviour, behaviouralism uses the following methods: sampling, interviewing, scoring and scaling, and statistical analysis.
- Post-behaviouralism seeks to introduce a concern for values in the behavioural approach itself. It challenged that academic research had to be value neutral and argued that values should not be neglected.
- The system theory approach of international relations was introduced in the late 1950s. The approach is engaged in developing theories of the international system. It was introduced with the basic assumptions that international relations follow an order or a system.
- The structural functional approach, developed by Gabriel Almond, aims to find out which political structures perform what basic function in the political system as a whole.
- Currently, it is believed that political science, like other social and natural sciences, enables us to strengthen our means but we will have to resort to political philosophy to determine our ends.
- Political theory is considered as a study of the history of ideas during the third decade of the twentieth century, particularly with the purpose to define the totalitarian communism and defend the liberal democracy.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Political science:** It is a social science discipline concerned with the study of the state, government and politics.
- **Renaissance:** It is a cultural movement that spanned roughly from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, beginning in Italy in the Late Middle Ages and later spreading to the rest of Europe.
- **Stoicism:** It is a school of Hellenistic philosophy founded in Athens by Zeno of Citium in the early 3rd century BC.
- **Epicureanism:** It is a system of philosophy based upon the teachings of Epicurus, founded around 307 BC.

NOTES

- **Cynicism:** In its original form, it refers to the beliefs of an ancient school of Greek philosophers known as the Cynics.
- **Eurocentricism:** It is the practice of viewing the world from a European perspective and with an implied belief, either consciously or subconsciously, in the pre-eminence of European culture.
- **Utilitarianism:** It is an ethical theory holding that the proper course of action is the one that maximizes the overall 'happiness', by whatever means necessary.
- **Liberalism:** It is the belief in the importance of liberty and equal rights.
- **Traditionalism:** It refers to the adherence to tradition, especially in cultural or religious practice.
- **Formalism:** It is a school of literary criticism and literary theory having mainly to do with structural purposes of a particular text.
- **Industrialization:** It is the process of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society into an industrial one.
- **Scientism:** It is the belief in the universal applicability of the systematic methods and approach of science, especially the view that empirical science constitutes the most authoritative worldview or most valuable part of human learning to the exclusion of other viewpoints.
- **Postmodernism:** It is a philosophical movement evolved in reaction to modernism, which is the tendency in contemporary culture to accept only objective truth and to be inherently suspicious towards a global cultural narrative or meta-narrative.

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Political theory may be defined as the discipline which aims to explain, justify or criticize the disposition of power in society. It delineates the balance of power between states, groups and individuals.
2. Sheldon Wolin in his famous book *Politics and Vision* (1960) identifies three contents of political theory:
   (i) It is a form of activity centring around the quest for competitive advantage between groups, individuals, or societies
   (ii) It is a form of activity conditioned by the fact that it occurs within a situation of change and relative scarcity
   (iii) A form of activity in which the pursuits of advantage produce consequences of such magnitude that they affect in a significant way the whole society or a substantial portion of it
3. John Locke (1632–1704) has often been described as the father of modern ideologies.

4. Political theory helps in explaining the history of political thought, use of technique of analysis, conceptual clarification and formal model building and thereby can be termed as theoretical political science.
5. The state possesses four characteristics, viz., population, territory, government and sovereignty.
6. The scope of political theory covers a wide range of subjects and includes diplomacy, international politics, international law, international organizations like the United Nations, etc.
7. Harold Joseph Laski said that good citizenship implies 'the contribution of one's instructed judgement to public good'.
8. The principal element that divides the classical or the traditional political theory from the modern political theory is 'science'. Philosophy dominates the classical tradition of political theory whereas science and its methodology dominate the modernist.
9. The great classics were composed by political exiles or by failed politicians like Plato, Machiavelli, Hugo Grotius, Sir John Fortescue, Hobbes and Locke.
10. The classical tradition is not free from its limitations. Hegel rightly pointed out that every thinker is a child of his time and this is reflected in their perception too. For instance, Plato and Aristotle addressed the situations in which they lived. Their contribution was forgotten in the immediate context of the post-Aristotelian philosophies of stoicism, epicureanism and cynicism.
11. The psychological approach helps to deal with the role of emotions, habits, sentiments, instincts, ego, etc., which constitute the essential elements of human personality.
12. Scientific objectivity is a standard we are all familiar with (at least in principle). The idea is that we can establish, through the application of scientific methods of data collection and analysis, the verifiable truth.
13. Auguste Comte used the term positivism to distinguish the 'scientific' approach in the 'positivistic' era from 'metaphysical' and 'theological' speculations in the two preceding epochs.
14. The principle aim of positivism is to be 'value free' or 'ethically neutral'. In this regard, it patterns itself on the natural sciences in deciding about the right and wrong of issues. Positivism gives emphasis on empiricism which believed that observation and experience as sources of knowledge.
15. Logical positivism (also known as logical empiricism or logical neo-positivism) was a philosophical movement risen in Austria and Germany in 1920s, primarily concerned with the logical analysis of scientific knowledge which affirmed that statements about metaphysics, religion and ethics are void of cognitive meaning, and thus nothing but expression of feelings or desires; only statements about mathematics, logic and natural sciences have a definite meaning.
16. (a) David Easton (b) 1950s
17. (a) True (b) False

NOTES

18. There are two schools of thought about the development of political theory in the contemporary period. One school argues that there is decline of political theory and another school argues against it.
19. In his presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 1969, Easton launched his 'post-behavioural' revolution.
20. The Frankfurt school represented by the political thinkers like Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse emerged in Germany in the 1920s. It was directly associated with 'an anti-Bolshevik radicalism and open-ended or critical Marxism'.

1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the major characteristics of political theory.
2. How has Karl Deutsch defined theory?
3. How does theory differ from philosophy, hypothesis and law?
4. Differentiate between political theory and political philosophy.
5. What are the limitations of the classical tradition of political theory?
6. What is the role of the experimental approach in the study of political theory?
7. Why are the psychological and statistical approaches becoming popular in recent times?
8. How has logical positivism impacted political science in a significant way?
9. What are the characteristics of system approach in terms of international relations?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss William A. Dunning's view on political theory.
2. Explain the nature and scope of political theory.
3. How are the state and the government related to political theory?
4. Discuss the role of the classical tradition in the growth and evolution of political theory.
5. Explain the significance of the inductive and deductive approaches to the study of political theory.
6. Discuss Auguste Comte's views on positivism.
7. Explain the role of behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism in the study of politics.
8. Explain the impact of structural functional approach and power approach for the study of politics.
9. Analyse the contributions of great political thinkers towards the revival of political theory.

1.10 FURTHER READING

NOTES

Pruthi, R.K. 2005. *The Political Theory*. Delhi: Sarup & Sons.

Freeden, Michael. 1996. *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach.* Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press.

Lively, Jack. 1989. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*. Alingdon, Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Arora, N.D. and S. S. Awasthy. 2007. *Political Theory and Political Thought*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

Morgan, Michael L. (ed.). 2011. *Classics of Moral and Political Theory* (fifth ed.). USA: Hackett Publishing Company Ltd.

Varma, S.P. 2008. *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Bhargava, Rajeev. 2008. 'What is Political Theory?' in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya, eds., 2008, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, New Delhi: Pearson Longman.

Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. 1983. *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Horowitz, I.L. 1972. *Foundations of Political Sociology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1996, 'The Centrality of Classics' in Stephen Turner, ed., *Social Theory and Sociology: The Classics and Beyond*, Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers.

UNIT 2 IMPACT OF POSITIVISM ON POLITICAL SCIENCE

Structure

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 Use of Rational Actors Models
2.3 Public Choice Approach
2.4 Influence of General Systems Theory
  2.4.1 David Easton's Systems Analysis
2.5 Structural-Functionalism
  2.5.1 Almond-Powell Model
2.6 Communication Model
2.7 Summary
2.8 Key Terms
2.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.10 Questions and Exercises
2.11 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit dealt with positivism and logical positivism. This unit will deal with the impact of positivism on political science. Positivism is a philosophical theory stating that positive knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations. Thus, information derived from sensory experience, interpreted through reason and logic, forms the exclusive source of all authoritative knowledge.

In this unit, you will be acquainted with the use of rational actor models and rational choice theory. You will be made familiar with the concept of the public choice approach and its different interpretations. The unit also discusses conceptual aspects of general system theory and the input-output model as outlined by David Easton. The concept of structural functionalism as developed and defined by Almond and Powell is also discussed here. Further, you will also learn about the communication model devised by Karl Deutsch.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of rational choice theory and the use of rational actor model
- Explain the concept of public choice approach and its contribution to political analysis
- Understand the general system theory and explain the input-output analysis as advocated by David Easton

- Define the structural-functionalism approach developed by Almond and Powell
- Comprehend the communication model of Karl Deutsch

NOTES

2.2 USE OF RATIONAL ACTORS MODELS

The rational actor model is based on rational choice theory. The state is the primary unit of analysis of the rational actor model and inter-state relations (or international relations) are its context for analysis. The model envisages the state as a monolithic unitary actor, capable of making rational decisions based on preference ranking and value maximization. Rational actor model advocates that a rational decision making process is used by a state. This process includes: (i) Goal setting and ranking; (ii) Consideration of options; (iii) Assessment of consequences, (iv) Profit maximization.

Before going into the details of the rational actors models we must have a look into the rational choice theory.

Rational choice theory, also known as choice theory or rational action theory is a framework for understanding and often formally modeling social and economic behaviour. It is the main theoretical paradigm in the currently dominant school of microeconomics. Rationality (wanting more rather than less of a good) is widely used as an assumption of the behaviour of individuals in microeconomic models and analysis and appears in almost all economics textbook treatments of human decision-making. It is also central to some of the modern political sciences and is used by some scholars in other disciplines such as sociology and philosophy.[1] It is the same as instrumental rationality which involves seeking the most cost-effective means to achieve a specific goal without reflecting on the worthiness of that goal. Gary Becker was an early proponent of applying rational actor models more widely.[2] He won the 1992 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his studies on discrimination, crime, and human capital.

The 'rationality' described by rational choice theory is different from the colloquial and most philosophical uses of the word. For most people, 'rationality' means 'sane', 'in a thoughtful clear-headed manner', or knowing and doing what is healthy in the long term. Rational choice theory uses a specific and narrower definition of 'rationality' simply to mean that an individual acts as if balancing costs against benefits to arrive at action that maximizes personal advantage. For example, this may involve kissing someone, cheating on a test, using cocaine, or murdering someone. In rational choice theory, all decisions, crazy or sane, are postulated as mimicking such a 'rational' process.[3]

Rational choice is primarily a normative theory and assumes that all individuals can be rational. Around 1950, economist James Buchanan, began to focus on decision making in government institutions, and in articles and books Gordon Tullock (1962) carved out a niche around public or rational-choice theory. They argued that an analysis of the market should be based on rational individuals who pursue their own-interests. Further, they were concerned with how efficiently government institutions function to shape individual preferences about public goods and policies. Subsequent

works stemmed largely from James Buchanan (1975), Anthony Downs (1957), Mancur Olsen (1965), William Riker (1962), and Gordon Tullock (1965) and were based on the models of rational choice theory and methodological individualism in which benefits and costs are considered before taking action. In tracing the evolution of rational choice theory, Almond alluded to the metaphor of the 'indivisible hand' in the thought of Adam Smith as a means of expressing the ideal of democratic politics and the competitive struggle for power and the metaphor of markets in descriptions of democratic politics in the thought of Pendleton Herring and Joseph Schumpeter. Rational choice political scientists in the 1960s and 1970s turned towards economics and the formal model describes political behaviour.[4] Almond warned that reducing politics to a market or game, however, may result in exaggerated claims: rational choice analysis may lead to empirical and normative distortions, unless it is used in combination with historical, sociological, anthropological, and psychological sciences, which deal with the values and utilities of people, cross-culturally, cross nationally, across the social strata, and over time.[5] Almond illustrated these propositions through the work of Robert Bates on Africa and Third World political economy, who discovered that conventional economics provided a weak foundation for the study of agrarian questions; likewise, radical economy fails to provide analysis of a peasantry whose class action is problematic, and Almond recognized the need to combine the rational choice tradition with cultural study. He expressed despair that the rational choice school has neglected social science, literatures that display the varieties of values, preferences and goals in time and space in different historical periods, in different cultures and societies, and among different social groupings. This failure of rational choice theorist leaves them with theories that cannot travel very far in space and time and cannot deal effectively with political change.[6] Some rational choice theorists, most notably William Riker and Peter Ordeshook, reconcile a utilitarian account of human beings as cost-benefit calculators with the incongruous evidence of widespread voting by assuming that citizens obtain benefi ts from voting, which can be formally expressed in utilities or informally as a satisfaction gained in living up to the democratic ethic of voting. The satisfaction we gain from living up to out moral duty is then factored into the equation of costs and benefits that determines whether it is rational for us to vote to any given election.

There can be little doubt that Rational Choice Theory (RCT) with its emphasis on the 'instrumentally rational' individual as the foundation of the political process has significantly enhanced the scope of political science. RCT in political science raises the same questions that it does in economics. These essentially stem from the fact that for RCT, whether in economics or in political science, choice and preference are regarded as synonymous. It is worth pointing out that the RCT literature also travels under a variety of other names: *inter alia* public choice theory; social choice theory; game theory; rational actor models; positive political economy; the economic approach to politics. However, regardless of the *nom-de-guerre* adopted by RCT, it always builds on the assumption that people choose, within the limits of their knowledge, the best available means to achieve their goals. They are presumed to be 'instrumentally rational', meaning that they take actions not for their own sake, but only in so far as they secure desired ends.[7]

NOTES

NOTES

More specifically, Green and Shapiro (1994) identify four salient features of RCT:

- RCT involves utility maximization or under conditions of uncertainty, expected utility maximization, which is to say that confronted with an array of options, the rational actor chooses the one which affords (or is likely to afford) him (her) the greatest welfare.
- RCT requires that certain consistency requirements must be satisfied: Each individual must be capable of ranking options in terms of the welfare they offer him (or her) and preferences must be transitive.
- The relevant unit for the study of the political process is the individual: It is the individual and not groups of individuals which is the basic building block for the study of politics.
- RCT claims universality in the sense that it applies to all persons at all times.

The rationale for RCT begins with the observation that in politics, as in economics, individuals compete for scarce resources and that, therefore, the same methods of analyses used by economists might also serve well in political science. As Tullock observed, 'voters and customers are essentially the same people. Mr. Smith buys and votes; he is the same man in the supermarket and in the voting booth'. Although the incursion of the analytical methods of economics into political science—which is the hallmark of RCT—began in the 1950s, it was not until at least three decades later that the trickle became a flood.[9] Today, not only is RCT disproportionately represented in the pages of leading political science journals but it has also expanded beyond political theory into new fields like international relations and comparative politics.

This application of economic principles to non-market areas, be they in politics or elsewhere, may be viewed in a 'thin' sense, meaning an inclination on the part of individuals to satisfy their preferences; alternatively, it may be viewed in a 'thick' sense, meaning that whatever the ends people pursue-deciding on a party for which to vote, deciding on whether or not to start a family-they do so through instrumentally rational behaviour by choosing a course of action which is 'utility-maximizing'.[10] The point is that, as Friedman reminds us, the possibility that people's political behaviour may be underpinned by considerations of self-interest is often transformed into the assumption that their political behaviour is determined by self-interest. For example, one of the founders of public choice theory argued that 'the burden of proof should rest with those who claim that wholly different models of behaviour apply in the political and economic realms of behaviour'.[11]

Some Marxist scholars have also given their version of rational choice theory as an alternative to conservative rational choice theory. They are called rational choice Marxists. Jon Elster and Adam Przeworski are prominent among them. Their work resembles neo-classical economics in its emphasis on equilibrium analysis and rational decision-making. Marxist rational choice theory focuses on the utility of individual choice in attaining goals and on the principle that all people act rationally to achieve their preferences. Elster in his book *Making Sense of Marz* (1985) tried to

NOTES

show that Marx himself was a founder of rational choice theory. Przeworski placed more emphasis on structurally determined positions that influence individuals decision making parameters. For example, in *Capitalism and Social Democracy* his analysis of the failures of social democracy, emphasized the lack of choice as an evolutionary, structural determined phenomena. According to Przeworski choice exists but is structurally determined by limits outside the realm of individual choice. He also emphasized problems of unity but focused more on the empirical realities of contemporary life than on philosophical propositions.

In a nutshell, this form of Marxism suggests the possibility of a political culture in which individual choice is the norm. Social classes and class struggle are not determinant, the approach is appealing to academics not only because it fits well with analysis of advanced capitalist societies seeking reform along social democratic lines but also because it approximates positivist theory and the emphasis of mainstream social science on quantitative analysis, statistical application, and mathematical formal models.[12]

The rational actor model is linchpin of foreign policy decision-making process. Paul MacDonald contends that many see it as the most plausible candidate for a universal theory of political and social behaviour whose simple and intuitively plausible assumptions hold the promise of unifying the diverse subfields of political science. A rational approach exclusively used in foreign policy analysis today, and the expected utility theory sprang from the work of Von Neumann and Morgenstern in the 1940s. The approach has its roots in micro economics. The decision maker is assumed to be able to rank preferences according to the degree of satisfaction achieving these goals and objectives. The rational actor is also expected to be able to identify alternatives and their consequences and to select from these alternatives in an effort to maximize satisfaction. In this setting, the rational economic decision maker is expected to be able to access a set of objectives and goals.[13]

Allison Graham defines rationality as a 'consistent, value-maximizing choice within specified constraints'. According to Allison, the rational decision maker chooses the alternative that provides the consequence that is most preferred.[14] The brevity of this definition belies the strength of the model. The rational actor model is parsimonious. This means that a few rather straightforward assumptions, taken together, can explain a wide range of foreign policy decisions and actions.[15] The model is primarily useful in explanations of economic behaviour. Macdonald summarizes the three parts of the rationality assumption: (i) Actors are assumed to employ 'purposive action' motivated by goal oriented behaviour and not simply by habit or social expectations. The decision maker must be able to identify a priori goal more with the intention of reaching that objective. An unemployed person looking for a job is behaving purposively if he or she actively searches for work, (ii) Actors display 'consistent preferences' as manifested in the ability to rank the preferences in transitive order. Transitivity means that if outcome 1 is preferred over outcome 2, and 2 is preferred to 3, then 1 is preferred to 3, for example, if diplomacy is preferred to sanctions and sanctions are preferred to use of force, then diplomacy is preferred

NOTES

over the use of force.[16] Invariance means that a decision maker's preference holds steady in the face of various means of information presentation.[17] William Riker observes that preference ordering is a hallmark of purposive behaviour so that taken together these first two assumptions mean that actors must know what they want and be able to rank outcomes in relation to the goal.[18] In other words, you need to know your destination if you have to get there. (iii) As noted by Allison 'utility maximization' means that actors will select the alternative that provides the greatest amount of net benefits.

Greg Cashman provides a useful set of steps in the rational model:[19]

- Identify problem
- Identify and rank goals
- Gather information (this can be ongoing)
- Identify alternatives for reaching goals
- Analyse alternatives by considering consequences and effectiveness (costs and befits) of each alternative and probabilities associated with success
- Select alternative that maximizes chances of selecting best alternative as determined in the above
- Implement decision
- Monitor and evaluate

A careful consideration of policy alternatives using the rational actor model does not automatically ensure a sound outcome. Experts and advisory groups often analyse policy dilemmas thoroughly but arrive at a suboptimal outcome. In general, the analytic process of the rational model should lead to better decisions, although not always to better outcomes.

Scholars distinguish between 'thin' and 'thick' rationality. Thin rationality simply denotes the strategic pursuit of stable and ordered preferences. Such preferences can be of any kind: selfish, self-destructive, or other. Thick rationality assumes, in contrast, that actors have specific preferences, in practice mostly material self-interest of the preservation or augmentation of power; for politicians typically perpetuation in office. Consequently, thin rationality can be applied in the study of much wider range of human behaviour and decision.[20]

Criticism

The rational choice model of both traditional and structural Marxism has been criticized on various grounds. Critics call both the approach dogmatic and unacceptable. They heavily criticized the Marxist conception of exploitation and class. They alleged that structural Marxists seek to reorient Marxist epistemology, abandon the old assumptions and premises and convert Marxism to the realm of subjective social analysis. In their 1994 work, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*, Green and Shapiro argue that the empirical outputs of rational choice theory have been limited. They contend that much of the applicable literature, at least in political science, was done with weak statistical methods and that when corrected many of the empirical outcomes

NOTES

no longer hold. When taken in this perspective, RCT has provided very little to the overall understanding of political interaction and is an amount certainly disproportionately weak relative to its appearance in the literature. Yet, they concede that cutting edge research, by scholars well-versed in the general scholarship of their fields (such as work on the US Congress by Keith Krehbiel, Gary Cox, and Mat McCubbins) has generated valuable scientific progress.[21] Schram and Caterino (2006) contain a fundamental methodological criticism of rational choice theory for promoting the view that the natural science model is the only appropriate methodology in social science and that political science should follow this model with its emphasis on quantification and mathematization. Schram and Caterino argue instead for methodological pluralism. The same argument is made by William E. Connolly, who in his work *Neuropolitics* shows that advances in neuroscience further illuminate some of the problematic practices of rational choice theory.

The rational actor model has been subject to criticism. The model tends to neglect a range of political variables of which Michael Clarke includes 'political decisions, non-political decisions, bureaucratic procedures, continuations of previous policy, and sheer accident'.[22] Although the rational actor model is parsimonious and elegant, its assumptions are often construed as unrealistic.[23] Nevertheless, the model has pioneered a new interest in the study of politics, economics, psychology and several other fields. It is attractive because of its parsimony and predictive power. That is, it relies on only a few relatively straightforward assumptions to explain and predict a wide variety of decisions. Among other models, the rational model is the basis of game theory and expected utility theory. For all of its merits, the model continues to attract criticisms.

Both the assumptions and the behavioural predictions of rational choice theory have sparked criticism from various camps. As mentioned above, some economists have developed models of bounded rationality, which hope to be more psychologically plausible without completely abandoning the idea that reason underlies decision-making processes. Other economists have developed more theories of human decision-making that allow for the roles of uncertainty, institutions, and determination of individual tastes by their socio-economic environment.

In presenting their critique, Green and Shapiro were quick to concede the many achievements that have emanated from the application of RCT to political science. But, in terms of its consonance with reality RCT contains a number of pathologies. These have been succinctly summarised by Friedman and his summary is reproduced here:[24]

- RCT scholars engage in 'post hoc theory development': first they look at the facts and devise a theory to fit them fail to formulate empirically testable hypotheses.
- If data contrary to the theory later appears, the theory is modified to fit the new facts.
- RCT theories often rely on unobservable entities which make them empirically untestable.

NOTES

- RCT theorists engage in arbitrary 'domain restriction': the theory is applicable whenever it seems to work and not otherwise.
- RCT theories are vague about the magnitude of the effects being predicted.
- RCT theories often search for confirming, rather than falsifying, evidence.

Describing the decisions made by individuals as rational and utility maximizing may seem to be a tautological explanation of their behaviour that provides very little new information. While there may be many reasons for a rational choice theory approach, two are important for the social sciences. First, assuming humans make decisions in a rational, rather than a stochastic manner implies that their behaviour can be modelled and thus predictions can be made about future actions. Second, the mathematical formality of rational choice theory models allow social scientists to derive results from their models that may have otherwise not been seen, and submit these theoretical results for empirical verification. Despite these benefits, there is nothing about rational choice theory that tells scholars that they should reject other methods of investigating questions about the economy and society, such as the sociological determination of individual tastes.

There can be little doubt that RCT with its emphasis on the 'instrumentally rational' individual as the foundation of the political process has significantly enhanced the scope of political science. To list some of its achievements:

- RCT has raised the possibility that democratic institutions might be dysfunctional in ways not hitherto imagined.
- RCT has 'explained' the cyclical nature of the economy in terms of electoral exigencies.
- RCT has 'explained' the tendency for party platforms to converge.
- RCT has refined our understanding of the basis on which people vote. RCT has drawn attention to the wasteful nature of activities to which government involvement in the economy gives rise.
- RCT has 'explained' the tendency of governments to get ever larger in terms of the behaviour, and the manipulation, of democratic institutions.
- RCT has brought a fresh look to behaviour of bureaucracies and bureaucrats. RCT has refined our understanding of coalition formation in government through the use of new methods of analysis like game theory.[25]

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What does the rational actor model advocate?
2. Name any two prominent rational choice Marxists.
3. How does Allison Graham define rationality?

2.3 PUBLIC CHOICE APPROACH

NOTES

In economics, public choice theory is the use of modern economic tools to study problems that are traditionally in the province of political science. From the perspective of political science, it may be seen as the subset of positive political theory which deals with subjects in which *material* interests are assumed to predominate. In particular, public choice theory studies the behaviour of politicians and government officials as mostly self-interested agents and their interactions in the social system either as such or under alternative constitutional rules. These can be represented in a number of ways, including standard constrained utility maximization, game theory, or decision theory. Public choice analysis has roots in positive analysis ('what is') but is often used for normative purposes ('what ought to be'), to identify a problem or suggest how a system could be improved by changes in constitutional rules.

The modern literature in 'Public Choice' began with Duncan Black, who in 1948 identified the underlying concepts of what would become median voter theory. He also wrote *The Theory of Committees and Elections* in 1958. Gordon Tullock refers to him as the 'father of public choice theory'. James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock co-authored *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (1962), considered one of the landmark works that founded the discipline of public choice theory. In particular, the book is about the political organization of a free society. But its method, conceptual apparatus, and analytics are derived, essentially, from the discipline that has as its subject the economic organization of such a society. The book focuses on positive economic analysis as to the development of constitutional democracy but in an ethical context of consent. The consent takes the form of a compensation principle like Pareto efficiency for making a policy change and unanimity at least no opposition as a point of departure for social choice. In public choice theory, politics is considered as a kind of transaction among people and agents. For example, policies presented to the ballot by competing political parties are assumed to give a particular pay-off to each group of voters in the construction of the model. Voters adopt these alleged outcomes as their bases of decision. Then voters choose an alternative according to their preference order. In the game theoretical framework of politics, political parties propose their policies as strategies of the game to be taken simultaneously. Then, the winner or the loser is revealed through voters' calculation of their pay-offs.[26]

Public choice derives its rationale from the fact that, in many areas, 'political' and 'economic' considerations interact so that a proper understanding of issues in one field requires a complementary understanding of issues in the other. Much of economic activity is carried out in a market environment where the protagonists are households on one hand and firms on the other. Both sides, according to the rules of economic analysis have clear objectives: households want to consume goods in quantities that will maximize their utility and firms want to produce goods in quantities that will maximize their profits. The market allows households to reveal their preferences to firms and for firms to meet these preferences in such a way that the

NOTES

separate decisions of millions of economic agents, acting independently of one another, are reconciled. However, a significant part of economic activity involves the state and is, therefore, carried out in a non-market environment. One reason for the existence of such non-market activities is the existence of 'public goods' or goods supplied by government to its citizens. Of course, the scope of non-market activity depends on the country being considered: in Sweden, a range of services like provision of child-care facilities, health, education are provided by government; in the USA these services are provided by the market. Another reason for government involvement in the economy is due to the fact that markets do not always operate efficiently. When they do not, because of 'market imperfections' leading to 'market failure', then governments have to step in to correct such inefficiencies. These interventions may take the form of corrective taxes and subsidies and/or it may take the form of regulation and directives. At the macroeconomic level, governments are responsible for stabilizing and promoting its performance with respect to a number of economic variables: unemployment, inflation, the exchange rate, national income etc. But, whatever the nature, and degree, of governmental intervention in the economy, the basic problem that democratically elected governments face is of acting in a manner consistent with what its citizen's desire. People express their demands through their votes; if there is a mismatch between the demand for, and supply of, outcomes then the political market will take 'corrective action' analogous to the corrective action that economic markets take when the demand for, and supply of, goods and services is not in harmony.

It was dissatisfaction with the inability and failure of traditional political science methods to address basic issues in political economy that led to the emergence of the new discipline of 'public choice'. These basic issues were *inter alia*: what factors influence votes? What is the 'best' system of voting for ensuring a correct revelation of preferences? Can the actions of individuals be made more effective when they act collectively? What is the role of re-election concerns in determining the supply of government output? Is there the possibility of conflict between different departments of government? The new discipline of public choice explicitly addressed these issues and its analysis of was explicitly predicated on the assumption that the behaviour of individuals and institutions was motivated by self-interest. In so doing, public choice theory forcefully reminds political scientists of the view held by Machiavelli and Hobbes that many, ostensibly public-spirited, policies may be motivated by self-interest; with similar force it reminds economists of the unreality of basing analysis of economic policy on the assumption that the state is a 'benevolent dictator' acting so as to do 'the greatest good for the greatest number'.

More generally, the arrival of public choice signaled a shift from a 'normative' to a 'positive' analysis of the political process: The subject matter of public choice was what political actors actually do, not what they should do. A major contribution of public choice theory has been to expand our knowledge and understanding of voting procedures. The voting problem is one of selecting on the basis of the declared preferences of the electorate, one out of an available

NOTES

set of options. Stated in this manner, the voting problem is akin to the problem of social choice where individual preferences are to be aggregated to arrive at a notion of 'social welfare'. For example, every individual in society may rank different 'projects' according to the net benefits that they expect to obtain. The problem is that such a ranking by individuals may not lead to a social ranking that is to a ranking to which all individuals in society would subscribe.[27]

Kenneth Arrow's *Social Choice and Individual Values* (1951) influenced the formulation of the theory. Among other important works which deals with this approach are Anthony Downs's *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957) and Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965). In 1970 the median voter theory was accepted without question in public choice, but by 1980 it had been assaulted on so many fronts that it was almost abandoned. Works by Romer and Rosenthal (1979) and McKelvey (1976) showed that when political issues are considered multidimensional rather than single dimensional, an agenda setter could start at any point in the issue space and by strategically selecting issues end up at any other point in the issue space so that there is no unique and stable majority rule outcome. During the same decade, the probabilistic voting theory started to replace the median voter theory, since it also clearly showed how it was able to find Nash Equilibrium in multidimensional space. The theory was later completely formalized by Peter Coughlin.[28]

Public choice theory is often used to explain how political decision-making results in outcomes that conflict with the preferences of the general public. For example, many advocacy group and pork barrel projects are not the desire of the overall democracy. However, it makes sense for politicians to support these projects. It may make them feel powerful and important. It can also benefit them financially by opening the door to future wealth as lobbyists. The project may be of interest to the politician's local constituency, increasing district votes or campaign contributions. The politician pays little or no cost to gain these benefits, as he is spending public money. Special-interest lobbyists are also behaving rationally. They can gain government favours worth millions or billions for relatively small investments. They face a risk of losing out to their competitors if they do not seek these favours. The taxpayer is also behaving rationally. The cost of defeating any one government give-away is very high while the benefits to the individual taxpayer are very small. Each citizen pays only a few pennies or a few dollars for any given government favour while the costs of ending that favour would be many times higher. Everyone involved has rational incentives to do exactly what they are doing, even though the desire of the general constituency is opposite. It is notable that the political system considered here is very much that of the United States, with 'pork' a main aim of individual legislators; in countries such as Britain with strong party systems the issues would differ somewhat. Costs are diffused, while benefits are concentrated. The voices of vocal minorities with much to gain are heard over those of indifferent majorities with little to lose.

NOTES

Public choice approach is based on the normative theory of government—on the appropriate policies that the government should follow to increase the welfare of the population. But economists are not starry-eyed about the government any more than they are about the market. Government can make bad decisions or carry out good ideas badly, indeed, just as there are market failures such as monopoly and pollution, so are there 'governmental failures' in which government interventions lead to waste or distribute income in an undesirable fashion. These issues are the domain of public choice theory which is the branch of economics and political science that studies the way the government makes decisions. Public choice theory examines the different voting mechanisms and shows that there are no ideal mechanisms to sum up individual preferences into social choices. This approach also analyses government failures which arises when state actions fail to improve economic efficiency or when the government redistributes income unfairly. Public choice theory points to the issues such as the short time horizons of elected representative, the lack of a hard budget constraint, and the role of money in financing elections as a source of government failures. A careful study of government failure is crucial for understanding the limits of government and ensuring that government programmes are not excessively inclusive or wasteful.[29]

Public choice theory attempts to look at governments from the perspective of the bureaucrats and politicians who compose them, and makes the assumption that they act based on budget-maximizing model in a self-interested way for the purpose of maximizing their own economic benefits (e.g. their personal wealth). The theory aims to apply economic analysis (usually decision theory and game theory) to the political decision-making process in order to reveal certain systematic trends towards inefficient government policies. There are also Austrian variants of public choice theory (suggested by Mises, Hayek, Kirzner, Lopez, and Boettke) in which it is assumed that bureaucrats and politicians may be benevolent but have access to limited information.

The assumption that such benevolent political agents possess limited information for making decisions often results in conclusions similar to those generated separately by means of the rational self-interest assumptions. Randall Holcombe and Richard Wagner have also developed the notion of 'Political Entrepreneurship'. Public choice economists have concentrated on those pieces of political apparatus that seem most significant in concentrating the behaviour of political agents. Within the democratic context the primary piece is electoral competition. As public choice scholars see it as the requirement that candidate/parties and the policies they submit to periodic popular election is the primary mechanism ensuring that those candidates/parties have derived interest in the interests of the citizens. To the economist eye, all other possible pieces of democratic apparatus—freedom of the press, bi-cameral legislature, even the separation of powers or the rule of law are either of second-order significance or parasitic upon electoral constrain. In the sense at least, public choice

NOTES

economists are democrats to the core. That is, the presence of electoral constrains, with full freedom of entry into electoral races, is a characteristic feature of democracy and without those constrain the likely hood that citizens interest would figure in the conduct if politics is seen to be minimal. Hence, although 'Public Choice' scholarship has been critical of democratic political process in terms of its capacity to achieve Pareto optimality and critical of democratic politics vis-à-vis the market place in those cases whose goods are private, democracy is never the less seen to be the best form of political organization. And it is that question the constraining properties of electoral competition in ensuring outcomes in accord with those that citizen want that has been the main item on the public choice agenda.

Criticism

In their book, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory* (1994), political scientists Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro argue that rational choice theory (of which public choice theory is a branch) has contributed less to the field than its popularity suggests. They wrote 'the discrepancy between the faith that practitioners place in rational choice theory and its failure to deliver empirically warrants closer inspection of rational choice theorizing as a scientific enterprise'. James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock outline the limitations of their methodology 'even if the model [with its rational self-interest assumptions] proves to be useful in explaining an important element of politics, it does not imply that all individuals act in accordance with the behavioural assumption made or that any one individual acts in this way at all times… the theory of collective choice can explain only some undetermined fraction of collective action. However, so long as some part of all individual behaviour . . . is, in fact, motivated by utility maximization, and so long as the identification of the individual with the group does not extend to the point of making all individual utility functions identical, an economic-individualist model of political activity should be of some positive worth'.[32]

Public choice theorists have been criticized for failure to explain human actions motivated by non-rational or non-economic considerations. They respond, however, that the theory explains a broad variety of actions since humanitarian or even a madman's actions are also rational. This way public choice accounts for a much broader variety of actions than any other approach. Schram and Caterino (2006) contains a fundamental methodological criticism of public choice theory for promoting the view that the natural science model is the only appropriate methodology in social science and that political science should follow this model, with its emphasis on quantification and mathematization.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What does the public choice theory study?
5. What led to the emergence of the new discipline of 'public choice'?
6. State a major contribution of public choice theory.

NOTES

2.4 INFLUENCE OF GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY

The systems theory or approach refers to the trans-disciplinary study of systems, in general, with the objective of explaining beliefs and standards that are applicable to all system types in all research fields. The term does not possess a properly established, accurate meaning. However, the systems approach can be considered a 'specialization of systems thinking and a generalization of systems science'. The term is born from Bertalanffy's General System Theory (GST) and is employed later, in other fields, like the action theory of Talcott Parsons and the system theory of Niklas Luhmann. In this regard, the term 'systems' refers in particular to self-regulating systems capable of correcting themselves based on feedback. In nature too, there are several examples of self-regulating systems, such as those found in the physiological systems of our body, local and global ecosystems, and even in climate.

The systems theory, therefore, facilitates interaction among disciplines not merely within autonomous areas of study but also within the field of systems science itself. In this regard, as misinterpretations were more likely, von Bertalanffy was of the opinion that a general theory of systems could act as an agent of regulation in science protecting against artificial comparisons that are hardly of any use in science. In fact, practically speaking, their results can be more harmful. Others favour the direct systems concepts cultivated by the original propagators of the theory. For instance, Ilya Prigogine, from the Center for Complex Quantum Systems at University of Texas, Austin, who analysed emergent properties, suggested that they offer analogues for living systems. Francisco Varela and Humberto Maturana's theories of autopoiesis are built up on this very field. Notable names in modern systems science include Russell Ackoff, Béla H. Bánáthy, Anthony Stafford Beer, Peter Checkland, Robert L. Flood, Fritjof Capra, Michael C. Jackson, Edgar Morin and Werner Ulrich among others.

With the modern bases for a general theory of systems post-World Wars, Ervin Laszlo, mentions in the preface to *Perspectives on General System Theory*, authored by Bertalanffy that by translating the 'general system theory' from German to English, much harm has been done to the theory. He goes on to explain that originally a general system theory was *Allgemeine System theorie* (or Lehre), drawing attention to the fact that 'Theorie' (or Lehre) similar to 'Wissenschaft' (or Scholarship), has quite a broad meaning in German than the English terms 'theory' and 'science', which have the closest meanings. These ideas referred to a systematic body of knowledge and an organized group of concepts, either experiential, axiomatic or philosophical. '*Lehre*', therefore, is linked with theory and science in the etymology of general systems but its translation from German has not been successful. The term that gets closest to it is 'teaching' but that is not quite accurate and appears rather inflexible too. Many of the root meanings for 'general systems theory' may have vanished in the process of translation, 'systems theory' came to be commonly used by early investigators to explain the manner in which relationships in an organization were interdependent. They explained this by coming up with a definition of a novel thought about science and scientific paradigms.

NOTES

From this reference structure, a system comprises interrelated sets of activities that indulge in regular interactions. For example, while trying to note the impact on organizational psychology as it developed and grew from being an industrial psychology revolving around individuals to an organizational psychology revolving around systems and development. It was realized that organizations are very complex social systems, which reduce the parts from the whole, and decrease the general and overall effectiveness of organizations. This is dissimilar to conventional approaches which are centred around individuals, structures, departments and units, all considered partly separate from the whole. The fact that these parts are interdependent and that the groups of individuals, structures, units and processes are interdependent are overlooked or not recognized even though they facilitate the smooth functioning of the organization.

According to Laszlo, the new systems perspective of organized complexity goes beyond Newton's perspective of organized simplicity which reduces the parts from the whole, or comprehends the whole or 'totality' without any link to the parts. The link between organizations and their surroundings received recognition or acceptance as the most significant source of complexity and interdependence. Usually, the whole possesses properties that are unrecognizable or cannot be distinguished by analysing, in isolation, the elements that constitute the whole. Béla H. Bánáthy as well as the promoters of the systems society, present the argument that 'the benefit of humankind' is the objective of science. This purpose has led to important and significant contributions to the field of systems theory. Bánáthys definition reinforces this viewpoint.

The systems perspective is a world-view formed on the basis of system inquiry. The core of the systems inquiry is the idea of system. Generally speaking, the word 'system' implies a configuration of parts interlinked by a network of relationships. According to the Primer group, system can be defined as a group of relationships among group members who pose as a unified whole. Von Bertalanffy referred to 'system' as 'elements in standing relationship'.

Related or comparable concepts exist in the learning theories that were cultivated from similar basic concepts, focusing on the comprehension or interpretation of results that come from the knowledge of concepts, in part as well as a whole. Actually, Bertalanffy's organismic psychology was corresponded to the learning theory of Jean Piaget. Interdisciplinary views are crucial in finding a new path away from the approaches of the industrial age, where history and math were separate and the arts and sciences were specialized and separate; where teaching was considered to be behaviourist conditioning. The modern work that was most impactful was of Peter Senge who assessed in detail the educational systems based on traditional assumptions about learning, including the issues related to fragmented knowledge and lack of holistic learning from the 'machine-age thinking' that became a 'model of school separated from daily life'. In this manner, the supporters of the systems theory tried to come up with options and an evolved ideation from orthodox theories with individuals, such as Max Weber, Émile Durkheim in sociology and Frederick Winslow Taylor in scientific management were strongly rooted in classical/

NOTES

traditional assumptions. The theorists turned to holistic techniques by developing systems concepts whose integration was possible with various fields.

The way in which reductionism contradicts conventional or traditional theory, wherein a single part is the subject, is merely an example of altering assumptions. With the systems theory, the focus shifts from the parts to the manner in which the parts are organized. In other words, it recognizes the manner in which the parts interact and their characteristic of not being constant or static. It accepts the dynamism of the interactions/processes. Conventional systems, which were 'closed', were challenged when the perspective of open systems came to be developed. There was a marked shift in focus from knowledge which was characteristically absolute and comprised universal authoritative principles to knowledge, which was relative, general, conceptual and perceptual.

Yet, they were traditional in that they attempted to offer means by which human life could be organized. Simply put, the ideas that came before were pondered and thought over instead of being discarded altogether. There was thorough assessment and evaluation of mechanistic thought—the industrial age mechanistic metaphor of the mind derived from the way in which Newtonian mechanics were interpreted, by philosophers and psychologists. These interpretations form the bases of modern organization theory and management by the end of the nineteenth century. Classical or traditional science had not vanished. In fact, the main assumptions were questioned, impacting the organized systems that existed in the social and technical sciences.

Systems thinking started in ancient times as is clear from the first systems of written communication with Sumerian cuneiform or the Mayan numerals or the engineering marvels in the form of the Egyptian pyramids.

C. West Churchman, who distinguished between Western rationalist traditions of philosophy, was in favour of the I Ching as a systems approach, which made him appear to share a philosophy similar to that of the philosophy before Socrates and Heraclitus. According to Von Bertalanffy, the roots of the systems concepts were embedded in the philosophy of G.W. von Leibniz and Nicholas of Cusa's *coincidentia oppositorum*.

Clearly, modern systems are a lot more complicated but they have their roots firmly in history. A significant step to introduce the *systems approach*, into the hard sciences, that is the rational sciences of the 19th century, was the transformation of energy by notable figures, such as James Joule and Sadi Carnot. Also, this century's thermodynamics with Rudolf Clausius, Josiah Gibbs and others built, as a formal scientific object, the *system* reference model.

The systems theory is a field of study, which was particularly developed after the World Wars, on the basis of the works of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth E. Boulding, William Ross Ashby, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, C. West Churchman and others in the 1950s. Their efforts received impetus from the Society for General Systems Research. Bertalanffy recognized scientific advancement, which challenged the classical assumptions made in the organizational sciences, in the interwar period itself. His efforts to come up with a theory of systems

NOTES

began that early, with the publication of his work, 'An Outline for General Systems Theory' in the *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, Vol 1, No. 2, 1950. While the assumptions in Western science, from Plato and Aristotle of Greece to Newton's *Principia* have been a strong historical influence in all fields, that is, the hard and social sciences, the traditional theorists attempted to find out the implications of the advancements made in the 20th century, in terms of systems. Several subjects were studied in the 1940s and 1950s, including the following:

- Complexity
- Self-organization
- Connectionism
- Adaptive systems

In areas such as cybernetics, researchers like Norbert Wiener, William Ross Ashby, John von Neumann and Heinz von Foerster studied complex systems through mathematics. The discovery of cellular automata and self-producing systems was made by John von Neumann, using merely pencil and paper. The basics of the chaos theory were constructed by Aleksandr Lyapunov and Jules Henri Poincaré without any assistance from computers. Also, the radiation ecologist, Howard T. Odum, accepted the need for a language capable of depicting energetics, thermodynamics and kinetics, in order to study general systems, at any system scale. Odum cultivated a general systems, or universal language, which had its basis in the circuit language of electronics to meet this requirement. It was called the Energy Systems Language. Between 1929 and1951, Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago had tried to support not just innovation but also interdisciplinary research in the social sciences, with the help of Ford Foundation, which set up the interdisciplinary division of the Social Sciences in 1931.

Many scholars were actively involved in concepts before (for example, *Tectology* by Alexander Bogdanov, in 1912–1917). However, in 1937, von Bertalanffy came up with the general theory of systems at a conference at the University of Chicago. This systems view was founded on several fundamental concepts:

(i) It is possible to view all phenomena as a network of relationships among elements, or a system.

(ii) Any system, irrespective of being electrical, biological, or social, will have a common pattern, behaviour as well as properties. These can all be comprehended and used to better understand the behaviour of complex phenomena and get nearer to a unity of science. System philosophy, methodology and application complement this science.

By 1956, the 'Society for General Systems Research' was set up. In 1988, it was renamed the 'International Society for Systems Science'. The Cold War impacted the research project for systems theory in manners that were disappointing to most of the original theorists. Many started believing that theories defined in association with the systems theory had moved away from the initial General Systems Theory (GST) perspective. Economist Kenneth Boulding, who was an early researcher in the systems theory, was concerned about the way systems concepts were

NOTES

manipulated. From the impact of the Cold War, he came to the conclusion that power abuse definitely was consequential and that systems theory could offer solutions to such issues. Following the conclusion of the Cold War, interest in the systems theory was renewed and efforts were made to make a stronger ethical perspective.

Several of the early systems theorists tried to find a general systems theory capable of explaining all systems in all fields of science. The term probably originated in Bertalanffy's book, *General System theory: Foundations, Development, Applications* (1968). Von Bertalanffy's 'Allgemeine Systemlehre' (general systems teachings) was first developed through lectures which began in 1937 and later through published works in 1946. Von Bertalanffy aimed to unite organismic science, which he had studied as a biologist, under a single heading. He wished to use the term 'system' to refer to all the principles common to systems, in general. In his book he states that there are models, laws and principles applicable to generalized systems or subsystems, whatever be their type, or the elements that comprise them or the relationships that exist among them. Therefore, it is appropriate to demand a theory of universal principles applicable to all systems in general instead of a theory of systems of a specialized type.

'Çybernetics' is a term that originates from a Greek word meaning 'steersman'. This Greek word is also the parent of the English word 'govern'. Cybernetics refers to the study of feedback and derived concepts, like communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations. The emphasis is on how information is processed (digitally, mechanically or biologically); how things react to information and alterations or how things can be altered to process information and react to it in a better way. 'Systems theory' as well as 'cybernetics' are terms that are considered synonymous. There are authors who use the term *cybernetic* systems' to refer to a subclass of general systems, comprising feedback loops.

Gordon Pask, however, pointed out differences of eternal interacting actor loops (loops producing limited products) making general systems a proper subset of cybernetics. As per Jackson, Von Bertalanffy advocated a very young form of general system theory (GST) in the 1920s and 1930s, which was probably just born. However, in the early 1950s this theory became quite popular in scientific circles. Talk of cybernetics spread in the late 1800s leading to various researched and influential publications, such as *Cybernetics* by Wiener in 1948 and *General Systems Theory* by Von Bertalanffy in 1968. Cybernetics had its roots in engineering fields while GST was born from biology. Von Bertalanffy particularly points out the difference between the areas while mentioning the effect of cybernetics. He felt it was wrong to identify the 'systems theory' with cybernetics and control theory. Cybernetics is the theory of control mechanisms in technology and nature, which has its basis in the concepts of information and feedback.

However, as part of a general theory of systems, this approach is widely applicable but cannot be identified with a generalized 'systems theory'. He feels that a warning is essential to check unbridled expansion into the fields where its concepts are irrelevant. Jackson (2000) also felt that von Bertalanffy received information from Alexander Bogdanov's *Tectology*, a three volume series published

in Russia in the period 1912 to1917. The German translation of this work was published in 1928. He clearly states to Gorelik (1975) that the 'conceptual part' of the general system theory (GST) had at first been established by Bogdanov. Mattessich (1978) and Capra (1996) also hold similar positions.

NOTES

Much to the surprise of Capra (1996), Ludwig von Bertalanffy failed to mention Bogdanov in his titles. The goal of explaining complex systems comprising innumerable mutually interacting and interrelated components is common to the following:

- Cybernetics
- Catastrophe theory
- Chaos theory
- Complexity theory

Cellular automata (CA), neural networks (NN), artificial intelligence (AI), and artificial life (ALife) are interrelated fields. However, they do not attempt to explain general (universal) complex (singular) systems. The best method of comparing various 'C'-Theories related to complex systems is historical, as it focusses on various tools and techniques, including pure mathematics and even pure computer science in the modern age. Since the start of the chaos theory when Edward Lorenz serendipitously chanced upon an unusual attractor with his computer, computers have come to be a source of information that cannot be dispensed with. Today, it is impossible to even think of studying complex systems in the absence of computers.

American writers, David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan did not favour the traditional way of making compartments in disciplines, such as economics, politics, psychology, sociology or other social sciences. They reacted by stating that this compartmentalization only caused a reduction of the crow-flows between various related fields of study. Therefore, the idea of systems analysis germinates from the views of these writers.

The new crop of social scientists was inspired by the contributions of natural scientists, such as Ludwig Von Bertallanfy, who led the movement aimed at unifying all natural sciences. Many significant conferences took place, which drove American educational institutions to find out whether scientific research could be conducted to try and establish a unified theory of human behaviour. Establishment of the Society for the Advancement of the General System Research in 1956, was a notable event following which annual year books started paying special attention to the fields of general system theory. Therefore, it became fashionable to study the general system theory. As per O. R. Young, the core or guiding principle which was developed in this search was the idea of 'system', which has ever since become the fundamental conceptual asset of the general system theory.

Various writers have employed and defined the term 'system' in various ways. Ludwig Von Bertallanfy, described a 'system' as a group of interacting elements. Hall and Fagen called 'system' a set of objects, their relations and also the relation between their attitudes. According to Collin Cherry, a system is a whole comprising several component parts; a collection of attitudes. Kaplan wrote: 'A brief and non-technical description of the object of systems analysis would include; the study of a set of inter-related variables, as distinguished from the environment of the set, and

NOTES

of the ways in which this set is maintained under the impact of environmental disturbances.'

The characteristic features of systems, as listed by David Apter are as follows:

- Systems comprise boundaries containing functional interrelationships, which are primarily based on some of the communications.
- Systems also contain subclasses or subsystems, which have exchanges between the sub-systems.
- Systems are capable of coding. They accept inputs in the form of information and are able to learn from these inputs. They then end up translating these inputs into some sort of output.

To summarize, a system is based on a relationship between information and the use of energy. The link between coding and the use of energy outputs is transformational. This results in general systems paradigm which is applicable to various system levels, each having its individual boundary: cells, organs, individuals, groups, and societies. The general system approach, employs energy, information input control mechanism, memory banks, checking instruments, and outputs to generate new energy and information.

A 'system' is not merely a random collection of elements. It comprises interdependent elements, which can be precisely identified in time as well as space. A system may contain two constructs as follows:

- Homological construct
- Interlocking construct

The homological construct or isomorphism, consists of 'one to one correspondence' between objects, in various systems, preserving the relationship existing between two objects.

The interlocking construct directly refers to scale effects and to the vertical or hierarchical association of systems.

An examination or assessment of 'system analysis' is an important part of interdisciplinary approach. Systems theory has a basic difference that sets it apart from the general theory of all systems: it is related to the natural sciences, such as physics and biology. The general systems try to outline a framework, which has its basis in specific hypotheses and concepts, which can be applied to different branches of social sciences. Those who promote system analysis follow the belief that there exist many theories common to different disciplines. Considering the fact that they can be placed only in an abstract way, a general theory can be derived which could be useful in each discipline as a broad concept, in a general perspective, before embarking into detailed analysis or research.

The fundamental concept for elaborating the general system theory may classified as follows:

Category 1: Descriptive concepts, which can be employed as devices of classificatory variables

NOTES

Category 2: Concepts related to the regulation and maintenance of a system

Category 3: Concepts that enunciate the forces responsible for changing the system.

The first category consists of concepts that differentiate between different types of systems, such as democratic (open) and non-democratic (closed system), or organismic and non-organismic system. The second category comprise the crucial ingredient of the general system theory. The main focus of this theory is on the regulation and maintenance of the system. Here, many significant concepts are found having their relationship with the forces playing their role in the regulation or maintenance of a system. The third category stresses on the fact that change is the law of nature. However, this change is disruptive as well as non-disruptive.

2.4.1 David Easton's Systems Analysis

David Easton is probably the most notable among the names of those who subscribe to systems analysis. Easton's monumental work *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, which was published in 1965,received praise from famous writers on contemporary empirical political theory for providing an original set of concepts that could help arrange and organize at the level of theory. It also interpreted political phenomena in a novel fashion. Easton's attempts to construct an empirically-oriented political theory were spread over three phases, with each phase being represented by a major published work:

(i) *The Political System* (1953)—promoted general theory in political science

(ii) *A Frame Work for Political Analysis* (1965)—set for the major concepts for the development of such a general theory

(iii) *A System Analysis of Political Life* (1965)—tried to explain the concepts hoping that they would be applied in an empirical way

In fact, Easton later tried to shift his theory to an empirical situation. Simply put, Easton's behavioural model of politics, suggested that a political system could be considered a delimited (with all political systems having specific boundaries) and fluid (changing) system of decision-making steps. His approach can be simplified in the following manner:

- **The first step is to change** the social or physical environment surrounding a political system producing 'demands' and 'supports' for action or the status quo directed as 'inputs' towards the political system, through political behaviour.
- **The second step is stimulating competition in a political system** through these demands and supporting groups, resulting in decisions or 'outputs' aimed at some aspect of the surrounding social or physical environment.
- **The third step is that after a decision or output is made** (e.g., a specific policy), it interacts with its environment, and in case any change is produced in the environment, there are 'results'.

NOTES

- **The fourth step is that a new policy interacts with its environment,** generating new demands or supports and groups in support or against the policy ('feedback') or a new policy on some related matter.
- **The fifth step is that of 'feedback'**, which leads back to Step 1.

This goes on endlessly. If the system functions as stated, then it will be a 'stable political system' but if it breaks down, we encounter a 'dysfunctional political system'.

Political Analysis

Easton's aspiration was to make a science out of politics. He worked with abstract approaches describing the regular patterns and processes in politics, in general. According to his viewpoint, the greatest degree of abstraction could lead to scientific generalizations about politics. In a nutshell, politics should be considered as a whole, and not as an aggregation of various issues that need solutions.

His primary model was based on an organic perspective of politics, considering it an object breathing life. His theory describes the elements that make political systems adapt and survive.

According to him, politics is in a constant flux, and therefore, he denounces the idea of 'equilibrium', which widely exists in other political theories. Also, he does not approve the concept that politics could be studied by simply observing different levels of analysis. His abstractions could account for any group and demand at any point of time. That is, interest group theory and elite theory can be incorporated in the analysis of political systems. His theory was and is highly influential in the pluralist tradition in political science.

Initially, Easton argued that scientific knowledge is theoretical and based on facts but facts alone do not explain events and must be ordered in some way. Further, the study of political life involves the political system as a whole rather than solution for particular problems. Theory must be combined with reliable knowledge and empirical data; psychological data on personalities and motivation of participants and situational data saved by environmental influences. Easton's quest for theory involved the formulation of a general framework, a focus on the whole system rather than merely on its parts, an awareness of environmental influences upon the system, and recognitions of the differences between political life in equilibrium and in disequilibrium. Easton rejected the concept of the state by referring to the confusion and variety of meanings; system for him permits clear conceptualization.

Likewise, power is understood as only one of many significant concepts useful in the study of political life. Power, however, relates to the shaping and carrying out of authoritative politics in society.

Easton identified some attributes of political system in an attempt to move in the direction of a general political theory. These attributes were: (i) properties of identification in the form of units and boundaries, (ii) inputs and outputs, (iii) differentiation within a system, and (iv) integration within a system. Each attribute was described and illustrated through a 'primitive' diagram which is produced in the Figure 2.1. This diagram shows that the 'political system' receives 'inputs' from the

'environment' in the form of 'demands' and 'supports'; it produces 'output' in the form of 'policies and decisions'. The 'output' flows back into the environment through a feedback mechanism. According to Easton, demands are the raw materials out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured. He has characterized supports as the energy in the form of actions for orientations enabling the political system to convert the demand into authoritative decisions and policies. Demand may arise from any source—the people, politicians, administrators, opinion leaders and so on—depending on the nature of the regime. The extent of support is bound to vary depending on the expectation of the people from their political system.

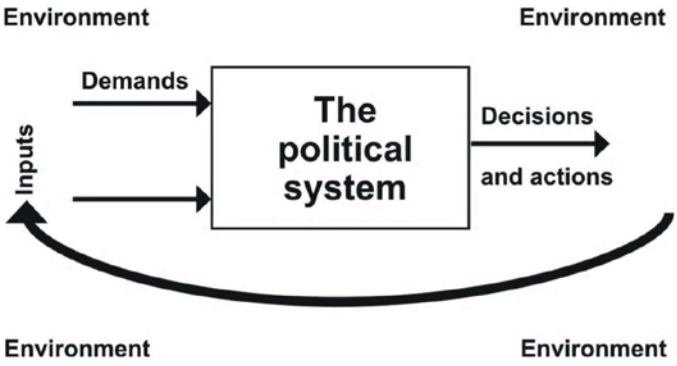

Fig. 2.1 *David Easton Diagram of a Political System*

Source: *David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, Wiley, New York, 1965.*

Variability of support is bound to affect the destinies of the political authorities (upon called governments), the regime (democratic, authoritarian, and the like), and the political community. Outputs are produced by the political system through special processes that ensure their acceptance as binding by members of the society most of the time.

Criticism

Easton is concerned with clarifying and simplifying concepts related to an excessive pre-occupation with stability, maintenance, persistence, and equilibrium, a tendency derived from biology. For example, Easton refers to 'authoritative allocation of values' as the 'life processes' of the political system. Yet this idea can lead to some 'misleading assumption on which to construct adequate theory of politics'.

According to Thorson, Easton was unable to deal with particular changes. In his words 'We can in no sense then regard Easton's theory as a theory of political science; as a theory which answers questions concerning why any particular political change occurred'.

Another criticism against Easton's framework is that he posted some generalizations, but his framework yielded few, any, testable hypotheses. According to Eugene Miller, the ideological underpinnings of the framework pose a problem. He noted that early in his writings Easton was concerned with an intellectual crisis and the imminent waning of democratic liberalism. In his assessment, Miller concluded that Easton failed to identify 'the object of political inquiry', and he questioned 'if

NOTES

system analysis, as a kind of political biology, is concerned with questions that are, properly speaking, political in nature'.

Theodore J. Lowi noted that when Easton turned empirical within the system context, they literally stepped outside the political system and studied political socialization. It is also criticized that Easton's definition of terms like 'politics' and 'political system' based on the ingredient of 'essay top interactions' are so broad that one fails to apply the line of distinction between an abstract and a concrete political system.

According to S. P. Verma, 'Easton in his serious effort to move away from the institutional to the behavioural approach found himself hanging somewhere in the middle'.

Systems analysis deals with the life processes of all political systems instead of with particular structures or processes that play a role in making a specific type of command viable. We should find out whether systems analysis as a type of political biology deals with political questions.

Human beings tend to differentiate between biological issues related to the manner in which life is sustained and the ethical issues related to the lifestyle men should opt for. Ethically speaking, the primary phenomenon does not deal with the life processes of a man but his character. It is insignificant that men have common life processes. What is significant is that they all have different characters. A man has to stay alive to be able to possess identity. However, what determines his identity is his character and lifestyle and not his vital processes. Political things need to be comprehended by comparing with ethics and not biology. It is essential for a political society to exist in order for its members to select a rule/system and accordingly a lifestyle. The identity of the society comes from the type of system/regime and way of life selected and not from the processes that are responsible for the sustenance of any type of system. Studying the identity and change in political life is based on alterations in systems and not on the loss of authoritative decision-making. If political change is studied in order to intelligently distinguish between changes that are beneficial and those that are harmful, the study will have to be guided by an understanding of the good and just regime. In the past, there was always reason to doubt the fact that Easton's concept of knowledge allows an answer that can be relied on, in response to the question of appropriate political order.

What we now realize is that the question does not arise in his conceptual framework as he moves away from the regime as the core of political inquiry. This is not just by accident that Easton has not succeeded in developing the 'value theory', which he has been promoting for a long time. His theory does not support the revival of serious inquiry related to the ends of political life. In spite of these points of criticism, there is no denying the fact that the proper general system theory has been used very little in the social sciences. Therefore, it is not easy to judge how useful it is in a precise way at this point. This theory may be upheld as a model or system of political analysis but it is still too early to make a clear and definite judgment on this question. But it can be surely admitted that the outline of system analysis has been discovered to be quite useful for comparatively analysing the various political units, like, modernized and developing polities.

It is widely utilized to analyse the international political system. The model of political system has also offered a solution as a foundation for Gabriel Almond's approach of structural-functional analysis, just like for Karl Dutsch's communication theory approach.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. State the objective of the systems theory or approach.
8. Define cybernetics.
9. List some attributes of the political system as identified by Easton.

2.5 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONALISM

Structural–functionalism is a broad perspective in sociology and anthropology, established in order to understand society as a structure comprising interrelated parts. Functionalism looks at society as a whole, based on the functions of the customs, norms, institutions and traditions that comprise it. According to Herbert Spencer, these components of the society are like 'órgans' working to facilitate the smooth functioning of the body as a whole. Basically, the emphasis is on the effort to attribute to every element (custom, practice, feature etc.), its impact or influence on the functioning of a system that is supposed to be stable and cohesive.

Talcott Parsons, described 'structural-functionalism' as a specific stage in the systematic development of social science, rather than a particular school of thought. Parsons named his own theory, the 'action theory' arguing repeatedly that the 'structural-functionalism' is a name that tends to mislead.

The tendency to make biological comparisons and the notions of social evolutionism are the characteristic features of classical functionalist theories. You may consider functionalism as a logical extension of the organic analogies for society by political philosophers like Rousseau. However, sociology tends to attract more focussed attention towards the institutions that are unique to industrialized capitalist society (or *modernity*). The foundation of functionalism is also anthropological, in that, it is based on the works of Marcel Mauss, Bronislaw Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and other theorists. Radcliffe-Brown was the first to specifically use the prefix 'structural'. Durkheim suggested that most stateless and 'primitive' societies, where powerful centralized institutions are missing, have their basis in an association of corporate-descent groups. In addition, structural functionalism built on Malinowski's argument saying that the nuclear family is the basic building block of society, of which the clan is an outgrowth, and not the other way around. Durkheim wished to know how some societies managed to remain internally stable and survived over time. He suggested that such societies show a tendency for segmentation, where equivalent parts are linked by shared values and common symbols or as according to his nephew Marcel Mauss, systems of exchanges. In contemporary societies, which are riddled with complexities, members are busy doing different types of

NOTES

work, and end up being interdependent. On the basis of the metaphor of an 'organism' used earlier, where several components worked together as a unified whole, it was Durkheim's argument that organic solidarity binds together complex societies.

Radcliffe-Brown not only supported but upheld these views. Like Comte, his belief was that society comprises a different degree of reality, as distinguished from both biological and inorganic matter. Therefore, social phenomena had to be built within this level, with individuals being merely transient occupants of stable social roles. The key issue concerning structural functionalism is a continuation of the Durkheimian job of enunciating the fact that societies need to be internally stable and cohesive so as to survive over time. Societies are considered coherent, linked together by constructs that are related, just like organisms, with their various components or social institutions, unconsciously working together in quasi-automatic manner in order to attain social equilibrium on the whole. Thus, all social and cultural phenomena are seen as functional in the sense of working together, and are considered to possess 'lives' of their own. They are mainly analysed on the basis of this function. The significance of the individual comes from his status, the way he is placed in terms of social relations, and his behaviour with regard to his status. The social structure, then, is the web of statuses linked by associated roles. It is simple to equate the view point directly with political conservatism. Emphasis on 'cohesive systems' results in functionalist theories that need to be contrasted with 'conflict theories', which, in turn, focus on social issues and inequalities.

2.5.1 Almond-Powell Model

Political scientists, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, came up with a new structural-functionalist model in the 1970s that compared political systems. Their argument was that a political system can be understood only if its institutions (structures) and the functions of each institution are understood. They believed that these institutions were not understood well enough and that they should be put in historical context, dynamic and full of meaning. The concept was in sharp contrast to the prevailing models in the area of comparative politics, that is, the state-society theory and the dependency theory. These theories had descended from David Easton's system theory in international relations, and upheld a mechanistic viewpoint considering all political systems as being similar, following identical laws of 'stimulus and response'—or inputs and outputs—and at the same time, giving very little attention to special or unique characteristics. The structural-functional model has its basis on the perspective that a political system comprises several essential parts, such as interest groups, political parties and branches of government.

Along with structures, Almond and Powell proved that a political system was composed of different functions, the main ones being political socialization, recruitment and communication: socialization implies the manner in which societies convey their values and beliefs to the generations that succeed, and in terms of politics, they describe the process used by society to instill civic virtues, or the traditions of effective citizenship; recruitment indicates the process used by a political system to cultivate interest, willingness to engage and participate in the citizens.

NOTES

'Communication implies the manner in which a system propagates its values and information. Like system analysis, structural functional analysis is also based on the concept of political system. This model of political analysis has been more widely used in the sphere of comparative politics because it provides for standard categories for different types of political systems. The concept of structural functional analysis originated in the sphere of social anthropology in the writings of Radcliff -Brown and B. Malinowski. Then it was developed in the field of sociology by Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton and Marion Levy. Gabriel Almond and his associates developed it into a tool of political analysis. In the introduction to a collective work co-edited with James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (1960) Almond renovated the concept of comparative politics. Political system replaced the state and the legal and institutional apparatus employed by traditional political scientists. Function substituted for power, role for office, and structure for institution. They identified four characteristics of the political system:

- All political systems have political structures.
- The same functions are performed in all political systems with different frequencies and by different kinds of structures.
- All political structures are multi-functional
- All political systems are 'mist' systems in the cultural sense, i.e. they are based on a culture which is always the mixture of the modern and the traditional.

Instead of focusing on such concepts as institutions, organization or group, Almond turned to role and structures. Roles being the interacting units of the political system and structures representing the patterns of interaction. He also introduced the concept of political culture, which he conceived of as embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action with these patterns usually extending beyond the boundaries of the political system.

Gabriel Almond and G. B. Powell in their book *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (1966), further developed this approach. They argued that all political systems regardless of their type must perform a specific set of tasks if they are to remain in existence as systems in working order or in equilibrium, i.e. as 'ongoing systems'. These are the functional requirements of the system. With this assumption they sought to modify David Easton's model of the political system, suggesting that 'inputs' and 'outputs' recognized by Easton can be understood as 'functions' or ' functional requisites' of political system. They sought to redefine these inputs and outputs with a deeper understanding of political processes and proceeded to identify various structures corresponding to these functions, in order to evolve a 'structural-functional' framework.

According to them, in various political systems these functions may be performed by different kinds of political structures and, sometimes, even by structures which are not overtly recognized as being, primarily, 'political'. Almond presents a seven-fold classification of the functional variables in his input-output model. He mentions four input functions and three output functions. Input functions are:

NOTES

- Political socialization and recruitment
- Interest articulation
- Interest aggregation
- Political communication.

He also mentions three variables in his category of output functions.

They are:

- Rule making
- Rule application
- Rule adjudication

Output functions are correspondent to conventional governmental functions, which are performed by formal governmental organs like legislature (rule making), executive (rule application) and judiciary (rule adjudication). According to Almond, input functions are performed by non-governmental structures or institutions. He further said that all structures are multi-functional, yet some structures are especially suited for specific purposes.

Almond elaborates his input functions further. The first function, political socialization, is the process whereby an individual acquires attitudes and orientations towards political phenomena. It also implies the process whereby society transmits political norms and believes from one generation to the next.

Recruitment stands for the process whereby political groups obtained members for various important roles in the political process, either in addition to the existing members or as replacement for other members. Since political socialization prepares the individual to assume various important roles in the social structure it is instrumental to recruitment also. The main institutions which perform these functions are family, school and other primary groups. The second input function, interest articulation, implies the processes whereby opinions, attitudes, beliefs preferences are converted into coherent demands on the political system. This function may be performed by various structures, but interest groups are most suited to perform this function. The third input function, interest aggregation, is the process whereby various divergent interests are collated and translated into concrete demands of a very large section of a society, policy proposals and programmes of action etc. This function can be performed best by political parties. The last input function, political communication, is the process whereby components of a political system, such as, individuals, groups and institutions, transmit and receive information regarding the functioning of the political system. This function can be best performed by mass media or the organizations controlling the media of mass communication. Further, Almond and Powell have identified three chief characteristics of development of political system that is 'political development'. These are:

(i) Structural differentiation
(ii) Secularization of culture
(iii) Expansion of capabilities

According to Almond, a principal aspect of the development or transformation of the political system is role differentiation or structural differentiation. By

NOTES

differentiation they refer to the process whereby roles change and become more specialized or more autonomous or whereby new types of roles are established or are created. The underlying propensities of a political system, representing its psychological dimension, have been described as political culture. Secularization of culture concerns with this aspect of political system. The secularization of culture, to Almond and Powell is the process whereby traditional orientations and attitudes give way to more dynamic decision making processes involving the gathering of information, the evaluation of information, the laying out of alternative course of action, the selection of a course of action from among these possible courses, and the means whereby one tests whether or not a given course of action is producing the consequences which were intended.

Expansion of capabilities implies an increase in four types of capabilities of political system:

- Regulative capability (the capability of legitimate coercion to control the behaviour of individuals and groups)
- Extractive capability (the capability to appropriate the natural and human resources of society and international environment)
- Distributive capability (the capability to distribute various benefits to individuals and groups)
- Responsive capability (the capability to respond to the demands coming from society and international environment).

A balanced development required that regulative and extractive capabilities of political system are suitably matched with its distributive and responsive capabilities.

Despite the fact that structural-functional approach has occupied a very important place in the realm of comparative politics, it cannot be denied that it has some serious shortcomings. It has been criticized on various grounds. First, the structural-functional analysis tends to focus primarily on static relationships rather than on dynamics. The approach is concerned, above all is the problems of systemic survival, with the requirements of the stable adaptation, and the operation of various functions and structures oriented towards system maintenance. Therefore, this approach is accused of being anti-change. This approach has the serious flow of being concerned with the present and having no perspective of the future.

The functionalists defeat the very purpose of their approach by wrongly applying their tools of empirical investigation while studying the political systems of the Third World. It failed to provide empirically validated answers to what is happening in the Third World. According to Marion Levy, this approach suffers from the 'fallacy of functional teleology'. It means it suffers from the tendency to explain the origins of a condition or pattern of action in terms of it being a functional necessity for the survival of the system. It is also alleged that the structural-functional approach is nothing else than an exercise to defend and justify the status quo.

The real pursuit of the functionalist is to save a political system from changing towards socialism. The functionalists are accused of being the defenders of the bourgeoisie at home and of imperialism abroad. It is also further criticized that while

NOTES

Easton and Parsons present and elaborate the scheme of their 'system', Almond talks of functions without referring to a system in which functions have a meaning that is, he is more concerned with his own sub-sets without first explaining and clarifying the premises of his main set. Moreover, whatever he says about his political system and its structural-functional mechanism is applicable to a Western country.

According to Meehan, 'It seems clear that the search for a general theory, functionalist or not, or for an all-encompassing model of politics is a false and misleading trail that leads to conceptual difficulties that are virtually insoluble.' It is also alleged that the structural-functional approach is not suited to analysis of power relations in society. However, structural-functional analysis signifies a significant advance in the sphere of political analysis. It has its advantages limited to the study of selected affluent Western democratic countries where alone it may look quite attractive for a comparative analysis of political systems. It may also be added in its favour that it deals for the most part with a manageable collection of variables; and it provides a set of standardized categories that can be applied successfully over widely disparate political systems.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

10. How does Talcott Parsons describe structural-functionalism?
11. List the input functions as presented by Almond.
12. What does expansion of capabilities imply?

2.6 COMMUNICATION MODEL

The political communication approach is a relatively recent and fast-moving development in the field of scientific analysis. It leans heavily on the fundamental orientations of cybernetics—the science of control and communication system. It has received a great impetus from the revolutionary developments that occurred after the Second World War in the spheres of engineering and technology. Some scholars, chief among them was Karl W. Deutsch who developed a new approach in the sphere of comparative politics whereby the analysis of political phenomena is made on the basis of communication and control system. The main purpose of the social theorists subscribing to this approach is that the developments in the new science of communications have led to a diminution in importance of the differences of analytical purposes, between the behaviour of living things and that of social organizations.[30] Karl Deutsch sees that the new sciences can now, without fear of being misleading, is used in states as well as other types of political systems.[31] The term 'communication' refers to a body of basic concepts underlying several contemporary approaches to human behaviour including the interactions of nation states.[32] Used in a wider sense, the term 'communication' involves not only oral speech but all human behaviour. In an even broader sense, it may be used with

NOTES

reference to the ways in which the physical environment excites signals in the central nervous system—together with the ways in which the human being operates upon the physical environment. In this term the organism and the environment form a single system: the organism affects the environment and the environment affects the organism.[33] It is for this reason, that the approach of political communications is also known by the name of political cybernetics. According to this approach, politics and government 'appear in essence as processes of steering and coordinating human efforts towards the attainment of some set of goals'.[34] In this framework, this approach refers to the basic mechanism through which these processes manifest themselves in the decision.

The study of political communication approach is integrally related to the study of political systems. It is the communication that gives dynamics to the political system. The communication approach adopted by Karl Deutsch may be set to have three main characteristics:

(i) It no longer has six powers as the key variable in the key explanation of the political phenomena. Power is neither the centre nor the essence of politics. Instead the essence of politics becomes the dependable coordination of human efforts and expectation for the attainment of the goals of the society.

(ii) There is a strong emphasis on the empirical nature of the concepts. The attempt is to 'operationalize' its concept through measurement and mapping. Quantitative data is not seen as a substitute for other types of analysis but as complementary in that it could do much to check, strengthen or conform the judgement of the historian or political analyst.

(iii) It is not restricted to any one level of analysis. It is equally relevant to groups, peoples, organizations of any size, including the state, and relationship between the units.

The political communication approach lays stress on the point that all functions of a political system 'are performed by the means of communications'. It is communication that sustain and nourishes the body of a system. Hence, one 'may liken the communication to the circulation of the blood. It is not the blood but what it contains that nourishes the system. The blood is the neutral medium carrying, claims, protests and demands through the veins of the heart; and from the heart through the arteries flow the outputs of rules, regulations and adjudications in response to the claims and demands'.[35] Though this approach seeks to study the elements of change, it is more concerned with a change that may not bring about the destruction of the system. As such, it is concerned with ways in which certain kinds of apparatuses are maintained through 'feedbacks', that is to say, devices by which the entropy of a system is counteracted by returning some of its output into input.[36]

Karl Deutsch, the chief exponent of the communication approach describes the main theme of his model in his famous book *The Nerves of Government: Modes of Political Communication and Control* (1963). He sought to apply

NOTES

the concepts and methods of modern information technology as well as the psychology of nervous system to an analysis of political system. As stated earlier, he particularly introduced the techniques of cybernetics to the sphere of political analysis. Cybernetics is the study of the operation of control and communication systems; it deals both with biological systems and manmade machinery. Deutsch declared that his work was concerned less with the bones or muscles of the body-politic than with its nerves—its channels of communications and decisions. Communication theory regards the function of communication as the centre of all political activity. An analysis of communication flowing from and flowing into the political system would, therefore, be very helpful in the description, classification analysis and explanation of the important aspects of political life. Deutsch argued that it might be profitable to look upon government somewhat less as a problem of power and somewhat more as a problem of steering i.e. directing the course of its activity which is the main function of communication. He, therefore, regards political system as a 'network of communication channels'. According to him, it is largely a 'self-regulating' or 'self-controlling' system which involves its own process and mechanism for the acquisition, collection, transmission, selection and the storage of information.[37]

The aim of Deutsch is to use the concepts and methods of the science of cybernetics to provide explanations for not simply the survival but the growth of political systems and to predict the consequences of changes that affect the structure of systems. The main features of Deutsch communication model may be summed up as follows:[38]

(i) **Society as a machine:** According to Deutsch, the social system and political system as its part survive and develop because they contain mechanisms which allow or encourage habit forming and other activities that go with this: The acquiring of information; the selection and storage of this information; the selection and the development of norms relating to the use of information gain.[39]

(ii) **New definition of politics:** Deutsch's one of the important concerns is to reduce the importance of the notion of power as a component of continuing political activity. To him, politics is concerned with the attainment of social goals. It is the sphere in which the decisions are made with respect to the whole society—decisions which are enforceable.

(iii) **New notion of government:** According to Deutsch , the function of government is to control the direction of information into or away from particular channels of communication. Thus, its main task is to steer information rather than to exercise power over the individuals.

(iv) **Miniature communications system:** The infrastructure of a political system is constituted by political parties and interest groups. They are interconnected and open but they are also capable of steering themselves with mechanism (human and institutional) that allowed them to adopt and modify their structures and behaviours.

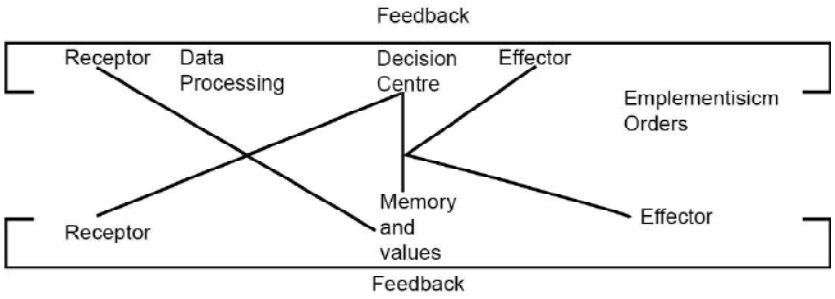

Fig. 2.2 *Deutsch's Mode*

(v) **Homeostatis instead of equilibrium:** Deutsch desires to furnish a model that is not static but dynamic. That is, he is not for equilibrium that indicates a statuary model of a political system. He calls the whole idea of equilibrium as being both mechanistic and excessively detached from the impact of environmental factors. Politics is a changing phenomenon and thus he stands for a dynamic situation which he terms homeostatis.

(vi) **Concept of feedback or servomechanism:** Feedback is the key concept of the model of Deutsch. It means a network of communications that produces actions in response to an input of information and includes the results of its own actions in the information modifying its subsequent behaviour. However, feedback may be negative or positive. A negative feedback system is one which transmits back to itself information that is the result of decisions and actions taken by the system, and which leads the system to change its behaviour in pursuit of the goals which it has set for itself. 'Load' indicates the total amount of information which a system may possess at a particular time. 'Lag' indicates the amount of delay that the system experiences between reporting the consequences of decisions and the action on the information that it has received. 'Gain' is an indication of the manner in which the system responds to the information that it has received. 'Lead' illustrates the extent to which a system has the capacity to react to predictions about the future consequences of decisions and actions.

There are some problems of communications which may be studied in three context: (i) Communication within the political system; (ii) Communication between political system and its environment; and (iii) Communication between two or more political items. Its analysis involves the study of several components, including; (a) the structures meant for sending and receiving messages; (b) the channels used for the purpose of communication; (c) process of storage of information; (d) feedback mechanisms; (e) the code and languages applied for the purpose of communication; and (f) the contents of message transmitted etc. Communication by no means is a smooth process. One has to be very careful in detecting distortions. If the distortion could be corrected appropriately, lot of problems can be prevented or minimized.[40]

Criticism

The political communication approach is also not free from criticisms, which can be enumerated as follows:

NOTES

(i) Political communication approach, though different from such approaches in other disciplines like neurophysiology, mathematics and electrical engineering has been criticized for elaborating and essentially engineering and mechanistic orientation towards human behaviour. One may ask as to how the law of a natural and fixed science like that of electrical engineering can be applied to the study of human behaviour which is never fixed and definite. Man is not a machine and thus society cannot be regarded as a mechanistic arrangement.[41]

(ii) The entire approach of political communication depends upon the extension of an analogy between a natural and a social system. A shift from the language of natural sciences to that of a social science is bound to involve significant discontinuities and incongruities. Naturally, the model of Deutsch ultimately becomes so complex that it tends to move away from being a working model and towards becoming a scheme.[42]

(iii) There is not only the difficulty of applying models picked up from a natural to a social science, it is all the more difficult to make it useful for the purpose of social sciences. Some terms of electrical engineering may either remain unapplied or they may be misapplied and for this reason it is likely that we get a confused picture of a political model. The theory thus suffers from serious drawbacks, both at the structural level and in substantive matters.[43]

(iv) A cybernetic model is a very general, abstract one, and its principal concepts may acquire different meanings according to the particular system to which they are applied, be it a computer, an irrigation system, the human brain and society. It is also remarked that, despite Deutsch's attempt to eventually develop a theory of politics—national and international—his own formulations were explicitly not theory but parts of an ongoing enterprise to be developed into a theory at some unspecified later stage.[44]

Though it is true that the cybernetics model loosely adopted by Karl Deutsch and others for analysing the stability and instability of political systems in the light of communication systems is not rich enough to do all that they intend to do with it, we cannot ignore the fact that the work of an innovator is always subject to criticism.[45] Despite all points of weakness, as enumerated above it may be admitted that the approach looks promising too. In political science this approach is particularly useful for an analysis of the processes of bargaining, conflict resolution, decision making, evolution of policies, estimating the impact of publicity of propaganda as well as for understanding the dynamics of international relations.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

13. Fill in the blanks with appropriate terms.
    (i) The political communication approach leans heavily on the fundamental orientations of _____.
    (ii) Communication theory regards the function of _____ as the centre of all political activity.
    (iii) _____ is the key concept of the model of Deutsch.

2.7 SUMMARY

NOTES

- The rational actor model is based on rational choice theory. The state is the primary unit of analysis of the rational actor model and inter-state relations (or international relations) are its context for analysis.
- Rational actor model advocates that a rational decision making process is used by a state. This process includes: (i) Goal setting and ranking; (ii) Consideration of options; (iii) Assessment of consequences, (iv) Profit maximization.
- Rational choice theory, also known as choice theory or rational action theory is a framework for understanding and often formally modeling social and economic behaviour.
- Some Marxist scholars have also given their version of rational choice theory as an alternative to conservative rational choice theory. They are called rational choice Marxists. Jon Elster and Adam Przeworski are prominent among them.
- The rational actor model has been subject to criticism. The model tends to neglect a range of political variables of which Michael Clarke includes 'political decisions, non-political decisions, bureaucratic procedures, continuations of previous policy, and sheer accident'.
- Rational Choice Theory has brought a fresh look to behaviour of bureaucracies and bureaucrats RCT has refined our understanding of coalition formation in government through the use of new methods of analysis like game theory.
- In economics, public choice theory is the use of modern economic tools to study problems that are traditionally in the province of political science. From the perspective of political science, it may be seen as the subset of positive political theory which deals with subjects in which material interests are assumed to predominate.
- Public choice theory studies the behaviour of politicians and government officials as mostly self-interested agents and their interactions in the social system either as such or under alternative constitutional rules.
- It was dissatisfaction with the inability and failure of traditional political science methods to address basic issues in political economy that led to the emergence of the new discipline of 'public choice'.
- Public choice approach is based on the normative theory of government—on the appropriate policies that the government should follow to increase the welfare of the population.
- In their book, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory* (1994), political scientists Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro argue that rational choice theory (of which public choice theory is a branch) has contributed less to the field than its popularity suggests.
- The systems theory or approach refers to the trans-disciplinary study of systems, in general, with the objective of explaining beliefs and standards that are applicable to all system types in all research fields.

NOTES

- The systems perspective is a world-view formed on the basis of system inquiry. The core of the systems inquiry is the idea of system.
- Cybernetics refers to the study of feedback and derived concepts, like communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations.
- American writers, David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan did not favour the traditional way of making compartments in disciplines, such as economics, politics, psychology, sociology or other social sciences. They reacted by stating that this compartmentalization only caused a reduction of the crow-flows between various related fields of study. Therefore, the idea of systems analysis germinates from the views of these writers.
- David Easton is probably the most notable among the names of those who subscribe to systems analysis. Easton's monumental work *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, which was published in 1965, received praise from famous writers on contemporary empirical political theory for providing an original set of concepts that could help arrange and organize at the level of theory.
- Structural–functionalism is a broad perspective in sociology and anthropology, established in order to understand society as a structure comprising interrelated parts. Functionalism looks at society as a whole, based on the functions of the customs, norms, institutions and traditions that comprise it.
- Political scientists, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, came up with a new structural-functionalist model in the 1970s that compared political systems. Their argument was that a political system can be understood only if its institutions (structures) and the functions of each institution are understood.
- Almond and Powell have identified three chief characteristics of development of political system that is 'political development'. These are:
  - Structural differentiation
  - Secularization of culture
  - Expansion of capabilities
- The political communication approach is a relatively recent and fast-moving development in the field of scientific analysis. It leans heavily on the fundamental orientations of cybernetics—the science of control and communication system.
- The political communication approach lays stress on the point that all functions of a political system 'are performed by the means of communications'. It is communication that sustain and nourishes the body of a system.
- There are some problems of communications which may be studied in three context: (i) Communication with in the political system; (ii) Communication between political system and its environment; and (iii) Communication between two or more political items.

2.8 KEY TERMS

NOTES

- **Nom-de-guerre:** It is an assumed name under which a person engages in combat or some other activity or enterprise.
- **Cybernetics:** It refers to the study of feedback and derived concepts, like communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations.
- **Homeostatis:** It is the tendency towards a relatively stable equilibrium between interdependent elements, especially as maintained by physiological processes.

2.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Rational actor model advocates that a rational decision making process is used by a state. This process includes: (i) Goal setting and ranking; (ii) Consideration of options; (iii) Assessment of consequences, (iv) Profit maximization.
2. Jon Elster and Adam Przeworski are the prominent rational choice Marxists.
3. Allison Graham defines rationality as a 'consistent, value-maximizing choice within specified constraints'.
4. Public choice theory studies the behaviour of politicians and government officials as mostly self-interested agents and their interactions in the social system either as such or under alternative constitutional rules.
5. It was dissatisfaction with the inability and failure of traditional political science methods to address basic issues in political economy that led to the emergence of the new discipline of 'public choice'.
6. A major contribution of public choice theory has been to expand our knowledge and understanding of voting procedures.
7. The systems theory or approach refers to the trans-disciplinary study of systems, in general, with the objective of explaining beliefs and standards that are applicable to all system types in all research fields.
8. Cybernetics refers to the study of feedback and derived concepts, like communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations.
9. Easton identified some attributes of political system in an attempt to move in the direction of a general political theory. These attributes were: (i) properties of identification in the form of units and boundaries, (ii) inputs and outputs, (iii) differentiation within a system, and (iv) integration within a system.
10. Talcott Parsons, described 'structural-functionalism' as a specific stage in the systematic development of social science, rather than a particular school of thought.

11. The input functions as presented by Almond are:
    (i) Political socialization and recruitment
    (ii) Interest articulation
    (iii) Interest aggregation
    (iv) Political communication
12. Expansion of capabilities implies an increase in four types of capabilities of political system:
    (i) Regulative capability
    (ii) Extractive capability
    (iii) Distributive capability
    (iv) Responsive capability
13. (i) cybernetics
    (ii) communication
    (iii) Feedback

2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the rational choice theory? List its salient features as identified by Green and Shapiro.
2. Write a note on Marxist rational choice theory.
3. List the achievements of rational choice theory.
4. What is the basis of the public choice approach?
5. 'The basic concept used in the elaboration of the general system theory may be put into three categories.' Name them?
6. What attributes of a political system did David Easton identify in the direction of a general political theory?
7. What are the three chief characteristics of political development identified by Almond and Powell?
8. What are the three main characteristics of the communication approach adopted by Karl Deutsch?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the rational choice theory.
2. 'The rational choice model of both traditional and structural Marxism has been criticised.' Give reasons.
3. Discuss the public choice theory.
4. 'David Easton's model of political system was a path breaking model in comparative political analysis'. Discuss.

5. Give a comparative analysis of structural functionalism of Almond vis-à-vis system model of David Easton.
6. Give a summary of communication model as advocated by Karl Deutsch.

NOTES

2.11 FURTHER READING

Pruthi, R.K. 2005. *The Political Theory*. Delhi: Sarup & Sons.

Freeden, Michael. 1996. *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach.* Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press.

Lively, Jack. 1989. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*. Alingdon, Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Arora, N.D. and S. S. Awasthy. 2007. *Political Theory and Political Thought*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

Morgan, Michael L. (ed.). 2011. *Classics of Moral and Political Theory* (fifth ed.). USA: Hackett Publishing Company Ltd.

Varma, S.P. 2008. *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Bhargava, Rajeev. 2008. 'What is Political Theory?' in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya, eds., 2008, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, New Delhi: Pearson Longman.

Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. 1983. *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Horowitz, I.L. 1972. *Foundations of Political Sociology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1996, 'The Centrality of Classics' in Stephen Turner, ed., *Social Theory and Sociology: The Classics and Beyond*, Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers.

Endnotes

1. Peter Hedström and Charlotta Stern. *Rational Choice and Sociology*, *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics,* 2008, p-11
2. Milton Friedman, *Essays in Positive Economic*s, p-15, 1953.
3. Lawrence E. Blume and David Easley. *Rationality*: *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, p-11, 2008.
4. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm Reconsidered*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp-190, 1994.
5. Gabriel Almond, *A Discipline Divided: School and Sects in Political Science*, Sage Publications, California, pp-1/21, 1990.
6. Ibid, pp-135
7. Chong, D, *Rational Choice Theory's Mysterious Rivals*, Critical Review, 1995, vol. 9, nos. 1-2, p-37.
8. Green, D.P. and Shapiro, I., *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, p-27.

NOTES

9. Tullock, G., *The Vote Motive*, Institute for Economic Affairs, London, 1976, p-7.
10. Ferejohn, J., *Rationality and Interpretation: Parliamentary Elections in Early Stuart England*, in K. Monroe (ed), *The Economic Approach to Politics*, Harper Collins, New York, p-25.
11. Buchanan, J. M., *Politics Without Romance*, in J.M. Buchanan and R.D. Tollison (ed.), *The Theory of Public Choice- II*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1984, p-18.
12. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm Reconsidered*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994, pp-191.
13. Alex Minz, Karl Derouen, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2010, pp-57.
14. Allison Graham, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crises*, Little Brown and Company, New York, 1971, pp-225.
15. Alex Minz, Karl Derouen, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2010, pp-58.
16. John McDermott, *Economics in Real Time: A Theoretical Reconstruction*, University of Michigan, USA, 2004, pp-22
17. Ibid, pp-23
18. Willi am H. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalition*s, Yale University Press, New York, 1963, pp-22
19. Greg Cashman, *What Causes War? An Introduction to the Theories of International Conflict*, Lexington Books, USA, 2000, pp-77-78
20. Alex Minz, Karl Derouen, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2010, pp-59.
21. Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2010, pp-45
22. M. Clarke, *The Foreign Policy System: A Framework for Analysis*, in M. Clarke and B. White (eds.) *Understanding Foreign Policy: The Foreign Policy Systems Approach*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 1989, pp. 27-28.
23. Allison Graham, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crises*, Little Brown and Company, New York, 1971, pp-30-31.
24. Friedman, J., *Economic Approaches to Politics*, *Critical Review*, vol. 9, nos. 1-2, 1995, pp. 123-24.
25. Laver, M. and Schofield, N, *Multiparty Government*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, p-8
26. Charles Kershaw Rowley et al, *The Twenty-Five years of Public Choice,* Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, 1993, p-192
27. Black, D., *On the Rationale of Group Decision Making*, Journal of Political Economy, 1948, vol. 56, pp. 23-34.
28. Peter J. Coughlin, *Probabilistic Voting Theory*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1992, p-11
29. Paul Anthony Samuelson and William D. Nordhaus, *Economics,* Tata McGraw-Hill Company Inc., New York, 1980, p-384
30. J.C. Johari, *Comparative Politics*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, pp-129.
31. Davies and Lewis, *Models of Political System*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1971, pp-71.
32. Robert C. North, *The Analytical Prospects of Communication Theory*, Charles Worth (ed.), *Contemporary Political Analysis*, Free Press of Glencoe Publication, New York, 1967, pp-300.
33. W. Ross Ashby, *Design for a Brain*, Wiley, New York, 1960, pp-87.
34. O.R. Young, *Systems of Political Science*, Prentice Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1968, pp-50.
35. G.A. Almond, *Introduction*, Coleman (ed.), *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1960, pp-45.
36. D. Emmet, *Functions, Purpose and Powers*, Macmillan, New York, 1958, pp-61
37. O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Macmillan, Delhi, 2006, pp-98.

38. Davies and Lewis, *Models of Political System*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1971, pp-71-76.
39. Ibid.
40. O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Macmillan, Delhi, 2006, pp-99.
41. O.R. Young, *Systems of Political Science*, Prentice Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1968, pp-60.
42. Ibid, 61
43. S. P. Verma, *Modern Political Theory*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1975, pp-329.
44. J.C. Johari, *Comparative Politics*, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 2009, pp-145.
45. M.Haas, *International Systems: A Behavioral Approach*, Chandler, New York, 1974, pp-365

NOTES

UNIT 3 CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM

NOTES

Structure

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Contemporary Liberalism
  3.2.1 Neo-Liberalism
3.3 Libertarianism
3.4 Communitarianism
  3.4.1 East Asian Arguments for Cultural Particularism
  3.4.2 The Debate Over the Self
3.5 Multiculturalism
  3.5.1 Response to Multiculturalism
3.6 Feminism
  3.6.1 Feminist Movements and Ideologies
  3.6.2 Impact of the Society
  3.6.3 Relationship to Political Movements
  3.6.4 Reactions to Feminism
3.7 Summary
3.8 Key Terms
3.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.10 Questions and Exercises
3.11 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Liberalism is a theory of international relations that states that the state preferences play an imperative role in defining the behaviour of different nations when it comes to maintaining international relations. The state preferences may be different for different states. These may be related to the culture, economy, security or politics of a state. Nations on the basis of their preferences work to achieve and fulfil these preferences. Neo-liberalism is advancement in the liberal thinking. Liberalism is a school of thought under contemporary political philosophy. Contemporary political philosophy comprises many other schools of thoughts such as Marxism, feminism, multiculturalism, communitarianism, utilitarianism, liberal egalitarianism and citizenship theory. Some of these schools of thoughts are explained in this unit.

Libertarianism is one of the contemporary versions of liberalism. Robert Nozick (1938–2002), a US academic and political philosopher is one of the principal advocates of libertarianism. Nozick's rights-based theory of justice was developed in response to the ideas of John Rawls.

NOTES

Communitarianism is the belief that the self or person is constituted through the community, in the sense that individuals are shaped by the communities to which they belong and thus owe them a debt of respect and consideration; there are no 'unencumbered selves'.

Multiculturalism is a phenomenon wherein several cultures co-exist in a society peacefully. The theory of multiculturalism focuses on the preservation of the cultures of the various groups that co-exist in the society.

Feminism can be defined as a collection of movements, which are aimed at defining, establishing and defending equal political, economic and social rights, and equal opportunities for women. This unit deals with some of the theories of contemporary political philosophy such as contemporary liberalism, libertarianism, communitarianism, multiculturalism and feminism.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the various aspects of contemporary liberalism
- Explain libertarianism and the theory of justice as explained by Nozick
- Understand the concept of communitarianism as propounded by various communitarian thinkers
- Discuss the theory of multiculturalism and feminism

3.2 CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM

Liberalism is the theory which has strongly challenged the realist theory of international politics and provided an alternative school of thought. Most of the principle ethics of liberalism are just contrary to the beliefs of realists. Unlike realists where power politics is the norm, in liberal theories, cooperation amongst the states is the norm. Although, the gulf between the classical liberals and classical realists was wider than the theories which developed later, the basic premises of both the theories are quite different from each other.

In the previous few decades, liberalism has greatly influenced the government policies and public policies of the international organizations and norms of various international agencies. As the era of the Cold War was known as an era of realism, the post-Cold War era is considered to be the age of liberalism. In the post-Cold War era, the community of states has realized the relevance of global mechanisms of cooperation. Consequently, global institutions for global governance have been strengthened in the past two decades.

Three events have shifted the attention from the state and power-centred view of international politics described by the realists. First was the emergence of the League of Nations after the First World War in 1919, which was the first joint

effort to build an international organization which attempted to limit the state's ability to behave in an uncontrolled manner in relations with other countries. However, it failed to do so and the Second World War took place. But the efforts did not die. After the Second World War, the community of states felt the need for such an organization more seriously. Hence, the United Nations was set up. Despite various problems, the UN has successfully ensured the preservation of world peace. The third significant event has been the evolution of the European Union where countries themselves felt the need to come together in order to ensure the welfare and development of their citizens. These events explain that despite the harsh realities of war, there have always been attempts to bring peace in the world. The liberal school of thought in international relations emphasizes on this aspect of the states.

The roots of liberal tradition can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke favoured a peaceful relationship amongst the nations as a necessity in order to develop trade and other economic relations. Thus, the evolution of liberalism in political theory has also helped the development of liberalism in international politics such as recognition of democracy as the most popular political system in which individual rights are protected and an amicable environment for economic development is ensured.

Describing the essential features of liberalism, Stanley Hoffmann, a political writer says: 'The essence of liberalism is self-restraint, moderation, compromise and peace where the essence of international politics is exactly the opposite: troubled peace, at best, or the state of war' (Hoffman 1987 as quoted in Baylis *et al*: 110).

In contemporary international relations, liberalism has brought many issues of democratization to the front. Hence the world leaders are involved in problems of global justice, equality, poverty eradication and so on. Unlike the realist era when war, arms, race and conflicts were the dominant paradigms, the age of liberalism is fostering democratic ideas and peace. Like the realist theory, there are variants of the liberal theory in international relations as well. However, there are certain principles on which these variants agree upon. Some of these commonly accepted principles are discussed below.

States with Natural Rights

The first and foremost principle on which the liberal ideology is based on is the idea of individual rights. Liberals argue that human beings are born with certain rights which are natural. Rights are certain conditions which are considered as necessary for the development of human beings. Some of the most crucial individual rights are: right to life, liberty and property. John Locke in his writings established these three rights as natural rights which a person gets by virtue of being a human. Since then there has been a significant expansion of the idea of rights and many more have been included in this category. An important right has been the right to political freedom by which every citizen has the right to choose the government of his own choice. The emergence of the principle of adult franchise and representative democracy is closely associated with this.

NOTES

Idea of Perpetual Peace

The known political philosopher of the eighteenth century Immanuel Kant propounded the idea of 'perpetual peace' in international relations. Kant argued that a peaceful world cannot be established unless certain globally accepted ideas are accepted. The implementation of such ideas ensures long lasting world peace. According to Doyle, Kant discusses three stages of establishing perpetual peace.

Kant says that there are three 'definitive articles', acceptance of which will guarantee 'perpetual peace.' The first article is based on the principle that the 'civil constitution should be republican in nature' (Doyle, 225). By republican, Kant means a political society which has established a representative government with a separation of powers. Such a republican system also solves the problem of combining moral autonomy, individualism and social order (Doyle, 226).

The second definitive article of perpetual peace establishes a pacific union amongst the liberal republics. Such a union is created by a treaty amongst the nations. The treaty 'prevents wars and steadily expands its purview, bringing more states into the union'. Doyle says that by such a union, he meant a mutual non-aggression pact, perhaps a collective security agreement and the cosmopolitan law.

The third article of perpetual peace establishes a cosmopolitan law which operates in conjunction with the pacific union. Such a law establishes the principle of 'universal hospitality.' (Kant quoted in Doyle, 227). By universal hospitality, Kant means recognition of the 'right of a foreigner not to be treated with hospitality when he arrives upon the soil of another (country).'

Market as an Important Factor

In the entire liberal theory of international relations, the market is given an important place. Liberals believe that private property is an essential part of an individual's development. Hence, along with the right to life and liberty, property was also given a place in John Locke's idea of natural rights. Besides, individuals are rational beings who know their good from actions. The only thing required is an autonomous environment in which they are allowed to act independently. The state comes into existence for the sake of providing such an environment. Its job is to protect individual freedom and not to interfere in their personal affairs unless it is required for the protection of others' similar rights. In other words, the state is minimalist in nature unlike the realist philosophy where the state is given a primary role.

The liberal philosophy emphasizes on free trade and economic relations amongst the nations. It argues that economic causes are the reasons behind cooperation amongst the states. Hence, economy plays a crucial role unlike power politics which is the focal point in the realist theory of international relations. For this purpose, neo-liberal philosophers emphasize upon the creation of global institutions in order to ensure transparency and accountability in international trade and economic relations amongst nations.

NOTES

Nature of Social Actors

Unlike the realist view which is state-centric in nature, the liberal view is based on the principles of pluralism. The society is divided in various groups based on various functions like economy, social, political and so on. These groups are always in confrontation with each other. However, the resolution of these issues is based upon political means. Social actors favour some economic, social, cultural and political arrangements than the other.

The view of globalization is a dominant view of social interests in the liberal theoretical framework. The process of globalization is defined as 'changing opportunities and incentives to engage in transnational economic, social and cultural activity.' Without globalization, social actors like states, would have no rational incentive to become a part of world politics. In this context, the most fundamental task of the liberal international relations theory is to define the impact of the shifting terms of economic, social and cultural globalization on social actors and the competing demands they will thus place upon states.

The liberal theory rests on the fact that the stronger the aggregate benefit from social interactions across borders, the greater the demand to engage in such interactions. According to the liberal theory, societal demands are a variable, shifting with factors such as technology, geography, and culture. Andres Moravcsik argues that 'in nearly all social situations, shifts in control over material resources, authoritative values, and opportunities for social control have domestic and transnational distributional implications' (2009:237).

He further argues that conflicting social demands about the management of globalization tend to be associated with three factors. First, contradictory or irreconcilable differences in core beliefs about national, political and social identity promote conflict, whereas complementary beliefs promote harmony and cooperation. Second, resources that can be easily appropriated or monopolized tend to exacerbate conflict by increasing the willingness of social actors to assume cost or risk to enrich themselves. Third, large inequalities in domestic, social or political influence may permit certain groups to evade the costs of a costly conflict or rent seeking behaviour, even if the result is inefficient for the society as a whole.

Nature of the State

According to the neo-liberal theory of international politics, the state represents the demands of a subset of domestic individual and social groups, on the basis of whose interests they define 'state preferences' and act instrumentally to manage globalization. The notion of state preferences means the rank ordering among potential substantive outcomes or 'states of the world' that might result from international political interaction. The states act as representatives of individuals and pursue their interests at the international level because the individual's behaviour is unable to achieve such objectives.

NOTES

Moravcsik in *Liberal Intergovernmentalism* (2009) argues that internationally, the liberal state is a purposive actor, but domestically it is a representative institution which is constantly subject to capture and recapture, construction and reconstruction, by coalitions and social interests. By the liberal state, the demands of the individuals are translated into the framework of foreign policy. In other words, the change in social demands also results into change in the state behaviour. Deriving state preferences from social preferences is thus a central theoretical task of liberal theory. However, it needs to be emphasized that the state preferences, i.e. the ultimate ends of foreign policy, are different from 'strategies' which are the specific policy goals, bargaining demands, institutional arrangements, tactical stances, military or diplomatic doctrines that states adopt, advocate, or accept in everyday international politics.

The new liberal theory highlights the significance of the domestic representative institutions. Representation is a key determinant (along with the basic nature of social demands themselves) of what states want, and therefore what they do. Every government represents some group or the other. The representative state could be decentralized or centralized in nature, subject to strong or weak rationality conditions, socialized to various attitudes towards risks and responsibility, and flanked by various substitutes for direct representation (Achen, 1995; Grant and Keohane, 2005).

Nature of the International System

Policy interdependence is the key theoretical link between state preferences on the one hand, and state behaviour on the other. It refers to the distribution and interaction of preferences, i.e., the extent to which the pursuit of state preferences necessarily imposes costs and benefits upon other states, independent of the 'transaction costs' imposed by the specific strategic means chosen to obtain them.

Liberals argue that interdependence is amongst those factors which influence state behaviour in the most fundamental sense. Where policy alignments can generate mutual gains with low distributive consequences, there is an incentive for international policy coordination or convergence. The lower the net gains, the greater the distributional conflict whereby the realization of interests by a dominant social group in one country necessarily imposes costs on dominant social groups in other countries, the greater the potential for inter-state tension and conflict.

By drawing attention on the relative intensity or 'asymmetrical interdependence' among state preferences, liberalism highlights a distinctive conception of inter-state power (Keohane and Nye, 1977). In this view, the willingness of the state to expand resources or make concessions in bargaining is a function of preferences, not linkage to an interdependent set of 'political power resources' (Baldwin, 1979).

Variants of Liberalism

Like the realist philosophy, there have been various improvements and modifications in the liberal philosophy as well. It is said that in the last fifty years of international relations, the realist theory of international relations and the liberal theory have started

coming closer to each other. Realists have accepted that states do cooperate, whereas, liberals on the other hand have accepted that states are the actors in international relations despite having many other active participants. The neo-liberal realism has also accepted the existence of anarchy in international relations.

NOTES

3.2.1 Neo-Liberalism

Neo-liberal institutionalism focuses on the role of global institutions. Neo-liberals argue that although anarchy prevails in international relations and prevents the states from cooperating with each other, yet the states make an attempt to achieve peace and cooperation. This is made possible with the liberal international organizations. Joseph M. Grieco in 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of Newest Liberal Institutionalism' (1988) says that there are three variants of the neo-liberal institutionalism—functionalist integration theory which developed in the 1940s and 1950s; the neo-functionalist regional integration theories in the 1950s and 1960s; and the interdependence theories in the 1970s. Liberals argue that despite so much war and violence, the international system is still surviving. The core of this survival is the possibility of cooperation amongst the states. In other words, unlike the realist theories, neo-liberals provide a more optimistic picture of international relations.

Countering the realist arguments, realists argue that not the states but other international organizations like the United Nations and its agencies or civil society groups are the dominant actors. Their roles have increased to a substantial level in influencing the state behaviour and policies. This has been forcing the states to cooperate with other states. According to the functionalist integration theorists, the specialized international agencies and their technical experts play a crucial role in the formation of different policies at the state level. They also coordinate amongst various states at different levels which facilitates co-operation amongst them.

The neo-functionalist regional integration theory of liberal institutionalism on the other hand emphasizes more on various civil society organizations or non-governmental organizations like labour unions, political parties, trade associations, and supranational bureaucracies. According to the neo-functionalist school, these actors force states to cooperate with each other. The interdependence theorists focus more on the role of multinational corporations and transnational and trans-governmental coalitions like the World Trade Organizations, World Economic Forum, etc. Unlike other types of global institutions, they are based upon the bargaining and negotiations amongst different states and their exercise to form groups.

All these theorists argue that the state authority is not so centralized and monolithic as realists argue. Rather it is decentralized and divided amongst various non-state and non-governmental organizations. Besides, with the expansion of the civil society organizations, various groups are also playing a significant role at the global level. This has made even foreign policy making a decentralized affair and not an exercise dominated by a few central actors.

NOTES

Neo-liberals also argue that states are no more for power-politics and war prone as realists argue. Rather, the cost of indulging in a war has increased exponentially. The growing threat of nuclear weapons and mobilized national populations were rendering war prohibitively costly (Keohane and Nye). Besides, many economic issues like price stability, higher growth, employment generation and so on has forced the states to be in contact with other states. Welfare and development has started dominating the state agenda at home and not power and prestige. In fact faster development has become a parameter of prestige in international relations. Thus, the states are not power-seeking actors but try to cooperate with each other in order to secure a more comfortable and secure global order.

Finally, the neo-liberals argue that the role of international organizations is such that they foster cooperation amongst states without questioning their sovereignty. Similarly, many international regional organizations like the European Union are an outcome of the realization amongst the states that they have certain limitations in ensuring their citizens' welfare alone. Finally theorists argue that in the contemporary world of interdependence where multiple issues are occurring amongst the states, the bargaining capacity of various political institutions has increased. Unlike the earlier versions of liberal philosophy, neo-liberals believe that states do have a significant role to play in international relations despite challenges on various fronts. States are also rational-unitary actors who decide their own course of action.

Neo-Institutional Liberalism

The notion of institutionalism in the theory of international relations has emerged after realization of the fact that even for international cooperation too, certain platforms are required. This led to the debate on the nature, role and functions of such organizations. The neo-liberal institutionalists deal with some of the vital concepts of international organizations for this matter.

Contemporary liberal institutional theory, originating in an enhanced awareness of interdependence in the 1970s, broke with earlier liberal thought in accepting some of the central assumptions of realist theory and defined itself solely in empirical terms. In response to the devastation occasioned by the First World War, liberal institutionalists pursued one overriding goal—the establishment of peace. Initially, it was sought directly through creating an institution, the League of Nations, which would embody a new liberal order in place of the power politics in Europe. The League's failure to fulfill this expectation prompted a radical reformulation—a new approach, functionalism, sought to achieve the goal indirectly. A network of specialized institutions regulating specific areas of international relations would gradually moderate the conflicts that would otherwise lead to war. The increasing significance of economic interdependence by the 1970s resulted into a further radical reformulation of institutionalism, culminating in Keohane and Joseph Nye's *Power and Interdependence,* (1977), which foreshadowed core ideas of the neo-liberal institutional theory. They did not seek to limit the realist theory but to limit its scope.

NOTES

Richardson argues that changes in the institutional theory had been prompted mainly by the perceived changes in 'the world.' The shift to neo-liberal institutionalism, it may be suggested was mainly theory-driven. The replacement of the comparative-sociological style of neo-liberal institutionalism was replaced by the acceptance of the mathematical assumptions of rational choice theory and of the core realist assumptions that states continued to be the central actors in international politics. They pursue their self-interested goals, in particular security and material interests. The main difference with neo-realism was the claim that, nonetheless, there was a far greater scope for international cooperation than the neo-realist theory would have it, and that institutions played a crucial role in facilitating this cooperation.

From organizations to regimes, to institutions: Since the Second World War, the field of international organizations has undergone significant changes. In general and consistent with broader changes in political science, the subfield became less normative and increasingly theoretical. What started as the study of international organizations and regional integration underwent a dramatic change in the early 1980s to become what came to be known as the regime theory; and was subsequently rechristened as neo-liberal institutionalism.

The original post-1945 focus was on international organizations, concrete realities with a physical presence—names, addresses and so on. A typical definition was that of 'a formal arrangement transcending national boundaries that provides for the establishment of international machinery to facilitate co-operation among members in the security, economic, social or related fields' (Plano and Olton, 1979:288). This, rather narrow conceptualization was broadened with a focus on regimes defined as 'principles, norms, rules and decision making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area.'

The second feature of this turn was that it rooted the existence of international institutions in the core elements of realist theory: states, power and interests. Rather than arguing that regimes were somehow a different feature of international life and that they constituted an alternative way of thinking about international politics, regime theorists accepted the realist view of states as the central actors of international politics and they accepted the central realist premise that state behaviour is rooted in power and interest. Political thinkers like Oram Young, Raymond Hopkins and Donald Puchala see regimes as pervasive characteristics of the international system. No patterned behaviour can sustain itself for any length of time without generating a congruent regime. Regimes and behaviours are inextricably linked.

Regimes are broadly understood to consist of sets of (implicit or explicit) principles, norms, rules and decision making parameters. Actors' expectations come together around these parameters in a defined area of international relations. Principles refer to beliefs of fact, cause and righteousness. Norms are standards of behaviour. They are defined in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are specific prescriptions or determinants of action. Decision-making factors are the existing practices which decide collective choice.

NOTES

According to Keohane and Nye, 'Regimes are sets of governing arrangements that include networks of rules, norms and procedures that regularize behaviour and control its effects.' Haas argues that a regime includes a mutually logical set of procedures, rules and norms. Hedley Bull, professor of international relations, emphasizes the importance of rules and institutions in international society. To him, rules are 'general imperative principles which require or authorize prescribed classes of persons or groups to behave in prescribed ways'. Institutions, according to Bull, allow observance of rules by the actions of formulating, communicating, administering, enforcing, interpreting, legitimizing and adapting them.

Regimes should necessarily be considered as something more than temporary arrangements that change with every shift in power of interests. According to Keohane, 'A basic analytic distinction must be made between regimes and agreements. Agreements are ad hoc. The objective of the regime is to allow agreements.' Jervis believes: 'The concept of regimes implies not only norms and expectations that facilitate cooperation, but also a form of cooperation that is more than the following of short-term self interest.'

According to Douglass North, an American economist, before long, the term regime was replaced with that of institutions. The key reason is that it allowed those in international relations to connect intellectually with the re-emergence of the study of institutions in economics, political science and in sociology. In all these fields and in various subfields, an old institutionalism which had focused on formal institutions was being replaced by a 'new institutionalism' which embodied a broader conceptualization. Across fields and subfields, scholars could accept the definition of 'institutions,' as 'the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction'.

Do institutions matter?: Mitchell in *International Organization* states that the first question that arises is: do institutions matter at all? Central to an interest in studying them is the notion that they matter, that they make a difference in the behaviour of states and in the nature of international politics. Scholars have studied the various impacts of institutions. For example, many have looked into the question of state compliance with international institutions, and have found that states by and large comply with the agreements made by them. However, they have also shown how compliance is not easy to ascertain and is related to the design of the institutions. (Mitchell, 1994). Much of the force of the original wave of work on compliance literature was that it occurred even within enforcement mechanisms, and a mini-literature was developed on the possibility of a managerial alternative to enforcement as the basis for compliance. However, while it may be difficult to assess the impact of institutions, it remains important that states use institutions to arrive at the outcomes they want.

How institutions come into being: The international institutions serve state purposes and provide explanation but not a description of the process as to how they came into being. One reason which connects realists' thoughts with the institutional

theorists is that hegemonic power creates institutions. Imposition is one form of creating institutions but hegemonic power often provides inducements to create institutions. They provide a variety of forms of leadership central to the process of regime formation (Stein, 1984 and Snidal, 1986).

NOTES

Institutional Design

International institutions vary from each other in various ways. They vary in their membership and size. Some are universal and encompass almost all states in the international system. Others are regional in character and encompass only a small set of countries, e.g., IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa Dialogue Forum). Some focus on very narrow issues, whereas others are broader and multipurpose in character. Some are embodied in formal organizations, whereas others have no building, no address, and no secretariat. They vary in the degree of attention paid to issues of monitoring and enforcement, in their mechanism for dispute resolution and in how they deal with possible non-compliance by states. They also vary in their rules of procedure as to how collective decisions are made. The issues related to the functioning of international institutions are closely associated with the functioning of domestic institutions. They are also the core of constitutional arrangements at the domestic level. Domestically we speak of franchise, rather than membership, but the issue is same—who is part of the enterprise and who is not. In international organizations, as within countries, representation mechanisms and decision rules determine how preferences are aggregated into a collective choice.

The question of design of international organization is closely associated with the question of the purpose for which the organization is created. Institutions that provided coordination, for example were self-enforcing, and did not require extensive mechanisms for monitoring and enforcement. Thus, they were unlikely to be highly institutionalized and formalized. In contrast, collaborative solutions to prisoner's dilemma problems were subject to defection and cheating and exhibited extensive concern with monitoring and enforcement (Stein, 1982).

Koremenos, Lipson and Snidal in *The Rational Design of International Institutions*, stated that broadly there are five issues of designing of international organizations: membership, scope of issues covered, centralization of tasks, rules for control of the institution and the flexibility of arrangements in dealing with new and unanticipated circumstances (Koremenos, Lipson and Snidal, 2004). These design features do not exhaust the possibilities of modification in the nature of the organization. Thinking of international institutions as forms of governance and thinking of governments as analogues, one can characterize the structure of international institutions as including legislature, executive and judicial features.

Some international institutions are constructed to change the nature of the services or goods being provided. Environmental issues like provision of clean air are quintessential examples of public goods. Yet the international institutions created to clean the air did not approach the problem by instituting a global regulatory regime for air quality; rather they created a market in emission trading (Stein, 2009: 214).

NOTES

Historical Institutionalism

Holsti, a political thinker, in *Taming the Sovereigns*: *Institutional Change in International Politics* stated that along with the development of new institutionalism in the social sciences, there has been the emergence of historical institutionalism, emphasizing the ways in which institutions change. Some institutions arise, decay and disappear. Others arise, grow and develop and become more complex (Holsti, 2004). They take up new tasks and new members. Broadly, institutions can change themselves substantially according to the circumstances under which they are created. The original regime literature emphasized that institutions reflect power and interest, it left open a question as to what would happen to institutions as the distribution of power changes and as the constellation of interest shifted. Institutions develop and become formalized and organized. For example, the Group of Seven (G7) economic summits began as informal exercises but became routine over time. The institutional structure that is NATO was not at all foreseen when the organization was founded.

Institutions also change and take on new tasks with changing conditions. The International Monitory Fund, for example, proved inadequate for its original intention. It then functioned as intended during the 1950s and 1960s, but found a new role as the major states left the system of fixed exchange rates. In other words, the way the IMF functions today is a way that was never intended or imagined by its founders.

Check Your Progress

1. Which era is known as the age of liberalism?
2. To which era can the roots of the liberal tradition be traced back?
3. What do the neo-liberals argue?
4. State the main goal of the liberal institutionalists.
5. Name the political thinker who stated the emergence of historical institutionalism.

3.3 LIBERTARIANISM

Robert Nozick (16 November, 1938–23 January, 2002) was an American political philosopher, most prominent in the 1970s and 1980s. He was a professor at Harvard University. Robert Nozick, a US academic and political philosopher is one of the principal advocates of libertarianism, which is one of the contemporary versions of liberalism. Nozick was born in Brooklyn, the son of a Jewish entrepreneur from the Russian shtetl whose name was Cohen. Nozick was married to the poet Gjertrud Schnackenberg. He died in 2002 after a prolonged struggle with cancer. Nozick was educated at Columbia where he studied with Sidney Morgenbesser, did his Ph.D. at Princeton and studied at Oxford as a Fulbright Scholar.

NOTES

Robert Nozick's major work includes: *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), *Philosophical Explanations* (1981), *The Examined Life* (1989), *The Nature of Rationality* (1993/1995), *Socratic Puzzles* (1997), *Invariances: The Structure of the Objective World*. His other works involved decision theory and epistemology. He is best known for his book *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), a libertarian answer to John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (1971). It is widely seen as one of the most important contemporary works of political philosophy, and it has had a profound influence upon New Right theories and beliefs.

Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), which received National Book Award, argues among other things that distribution of goods is just if brought about by free exchange among consenting adults and from a just starting position, even if large inequalities subsequently emerge from the process. Nozick appealed to the Kantian idea that people should be treated as ends (what he termed 'separateness of persons'), not merely as a means to some other end. Nozick here challenges the partial conclusion of John Rawls's Second Principle of Justice of his *A Theory of Justice*, that 'social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are to be of greatest benefit to the least-advantaged members of society'. *Anarchy, State and Utopia* claims a heritage from John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government* and tries to base itself upon a natural law doctrine. Locke only relied on natural law as God-given to counteract the King of England's claim to divine right and thus claim to all the property of England. Nozick suggested, again as a critique of utilitarianism, that the sacrosanctity of life made property rights non-negotiable. This principle has served as a foundation for many libertarian pitches into modern politics. Most controversially, Nozick argued that a consistent upholding of the libertarian non-aggression principle would allow and regard as valid consensual/non-coercive enslavement contracts between adults. He rejected the notion of inalienable rights advanced by most other libertarian academics, writing in *Anarchy, State and Utopia* that the typical notion of a 'free system' would allow adults to voluntarily enter into non-coercive slave contracts.

In *Philosophical Explanations* (1981), which received the Phi Beta Kappa Society's Ralph Waldo Emerson Award, Nozick provided novel accounts of knowledge, free will, personal identity, the nature of value, and the meaning of life. He also put forward an epistemological system which attempted to deal with both the Gettier problem and those posed by skepticism. This highly influential argument eschewed justification as a necessary requirement for knowledge.

The Examined Life (1989), pitched to a broader public, explores love, death, faith, reality, and the meaning of life. The Nature of Rationality (1993) presents a theory of practical reason that attempts to embellish notoriously Spartan classical decision theory. *Socratic Puzzles* (1997) is a collection of papers that range in topic from Ayn Rand and Austrian economics to animal rights, while his last production, *Invariances* (2001), applies insights from physics and biology to questions of objectivity in such areas as the nature of necessity and moral value.

NOTES

He developed a form of libertarianism that was close to Locke's and clearly influenced by nineteenth-century US individualists such as Spooner and Tucker. He argued that property rights should be strictly upheld, provided that wealth has been justly acquired in the first place or has been justly transferred from one person to this position which means support for minimal government and minimal taxation and undermines the case for welfare and redistribution. Nozick's rights-based theory of justice was developed in response to the ideas of John Rawls.

Libertarianism treats liberty of the individual as its central concern. But it focuses on formal liberty and insists on minimal role of the state in economic activities of individuals. It regards the right to property as an important ingredient of individual liberty. It is largely opposed to the idea of welfare state. This perspective is chiefly represented by Nozick's theory of justice. Libertarianism differs from other right-wing theories in its claim that redistributive taxation is inherently wrong, a violation of peoples' rights. People have right to freely dispose off their goods and services, and they have this right whether or not it is the best way to ensure productivity. In other words, government has no right to interfere in the market, even in order to increase efficiency. As Robert Nozick puts it, 'Individuals have rights, and there are things which no person or group may do to them (without violating their rights). So strong and far-reaching are these rights that they raise the question of what, if anything, the state and its officials may do'. Because people have a right to dispose off their holdings as they see fit, government interference is equivalent to forced labour—a violation, not of efficiency, but of our basic moral rights.

A libertarian is critical of liberal idea of justice—utilitarian and contractual—and bases his conception of justice on the ideal of liberty. Nozick's entitlement theory of justice provides a powerful philosophical defence of the libertarian position of the minimal state. The entitlement theory is proposed as a critique and an alternate model to Rawls theory. It is purely a procedural theory of distributive justice which defends whatever arises from a just situation by just steps is itself just.

In his book *Anarchy, State and Utopia,* Nozick sought to advance an alternative to Rawls theory of justice. While Rawls sought to moderate his libertarianism by a modicum of egalitarianism and communitarianism, Nozick stuck to libertarianism in its pure form. Rawls may be termed as a left liberal or egalitarian liberal advocating a substantially redistributive welfare state. But Nozick can be termed as a right liberal or libertarian who is the ardent advocate of a laissez-faire 'night watchman' state. Nozick writes, 'our main conclusions about the state are that a minimal state, limited to the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts and so on, is justified: that any more extensive state will violate a person's rights not to be forced to do certain things, and is unjustified; and that the minimal state is inspiring as well as right'.

Robert Nozick's version of libertarian theory of justice has three aspects: (i) principle of justice in original justification or acquisition; (ii) in transfer; (iii) of rectification of unjust holdings. The first principle sets the conditions for creation of

property. The second of its passage from one owner to another and the third for remedies in case any of the other two are violated. Various aspects of Robert Nozick's theory need more elaboration which is as follows:

NOTES

(i) **Modes of acquisition:** Nozick has criticized John Rawls approach which seeks to determine the principle of distribution of certain goods as if they have come to us as a gift from heaven. Nozick has adopted a realistic approach which accounted for the different modes of acquisition of goods and entitlement of different individuals to own those goods. According to Nozick, there are three sources through which individuals acquired various goods, such as:

   (a) Through their selves i.e. through their bodies, brain cells etc. Nozick points out that individuals have absolute right over them. An individual is free to use his limbs and brain to do whatever he likes

   (b) Through the natural world i.e. through land, water, resources, minerals etc. They may acquire bits of the natural world through several methods and may become entitled to their use as they like. This is precisely the area where principles of entitlement are required to be determined according to logic

   (c) Through applying themselves to the natural world i.e. to the agricultural and industrial products etc. An individual's entitlement to these products may not be questioned. Voluntary transfer of these goods will establish others entitlement to them.

(ii) **Principle of entitlement:** Nozick's entitlement theory regards social distribution of goods as just, it is generated by processes that are just, succinctly summed up as 'from each as they chose, to each as they are chosen'. People's entitlement to self ownership of their body and mind– their physical and mental faculty is obvious which needs no further justification. Their entitlement to bits of the natural world and the products of their labour should be based on the principles of justice. More precisely, there are three main principles of Nozick's 'entitlement theory':

   (a) A principle of just initial acquisition—an account of how people come initially to own the things which can be transferred in accordance with

   (b) A principle of transfer—whatever is justly acquired can be freely transferred

   (c) A principle of rectification of injustice—how to deal with holdings if they were unjustly acquired or transferred

(iii) **Initial acquisition:** It is the method whereby an individual comes to appropriate some previously unwound bits of the natural world. Those who come to settle in an uninhabited continent may legitimately acquire its land and natural resources on first come first serve basis, as long as nobody is made worse off by their doing so. This means that this mode of acquisition should not result in creating scarcity for others—a condition

NOTES

which may scarcely be satisfied. This is similar to the condition spelled out in John Locke's *Second Treaties of Government* (1690) in the case of similar acquisitions, viz. as long as enough and as good is left for others. The historical answer is often that natural resources came to be someone's property by force. According to Nozick, the use of force makes acquisition illegitimate, so current title is illegitimate. Hence those who currently possess scarce resources have no right to deprive others of access to them—e.g. capitalists are not entitled to deprive workers of access to the products or profits of the existing means of production.

(iv) **Voluntary transfer:** This principle applies to all property whether acquired through initial acquisition or by mixing one's labour with the natural world, i.e. by means of ones 'talents, efforts', enterprise in a market situation. In other words, if one uses others' labour and pay them as per market rates then that person becomes the owner of the product of their labour. This must be based on voluntary contract, without force or fraud. In all such transactions, an individual shall be treated as 'end-in-itself', and not as a means to others' ends. This is similar to the moral principle enunciated by Immanuel Kant, a German philosopher. Hence, a contract through which an individual sells himself or any other individual to slavery will be void.

(v) **Rectification:** This principle is related to the idea where the state or the international community will be justified to intervene in order to restore justice. Nozick concedes that the history of the world abounds with voluntary transfers as well as unjust acquisitions of natural resources. As long as economic disparities result from voluntary transfers, Nozick is not bothered. But if some country has gained control over rare natural resources depriving others of their legitimate share, Nozick would step into register his protest. If the inventor of the cure of a dreaded disease like cancer demand exorbitant charges from his patients, there is nothing wrong in this deal for Nozick, because he does not make any body worse off by treating his patients. But if there is a single source of water which is needed by all human beings, nobody has the right to take it into his control.

The conclusion of Nozick's entitlement theory is that 'a minimal state, limited to the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts, and so on, is justified; any more extensive state will violate persons' rights not to be forced to do certain things, and is unjustified'. Hence there is no public education, no public health care transportation, roads, or parks. All of these involve the coercive taxation of some people against their will, violating the principle 'from each as they choose, to each as they are chosen. Rawls and Nozick differ, however, on the question of which rights are most important in treating people as ends in themselves. To over simplify, we can say that for Rawls, one of the most important rights is to have a right to a certain share of society's resources. For Nozick, on the other hand, the most important rights are rights over oneself the rights which constitute

'self-ownership'. In his book *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Nozick writes in the first sentence that individuals have rights, and there are things which no individual or group can do to them (without violating these rights) which can be termed as the heart of his theory.

NOTES

He further says that the society must respect these rights because they reflect the underlying Kantian principle that individuals are ends and not merely means; they may not be sacrificed or used for the achieving of other ends without their consent.

Criticism

Nozick's theory of justice is also not free from limitations and has been subjected to severe criticism. Many critics argue that Nozick is mistaken in believing that self-ownership necessarily yields absolute property rights. Self-ownership may be compatible with various regimes of property-ownership, including a Rawlsian one. Critics also argue that the principle of self-ownership is an inadequate account of treating people as equals, even on Nozick's own view of what is important in our lives. Nozick claims to discover the principles of justice for all human beings, but this bias is very clear. He was a staunch supporter of a competitive market society which favours the rich and the resourceful and lets the weak go to wall. He absolves the rich of all social responsibility, not to speak of social indebtedness. In a very large part of the contemporary world, justice is thought to be the 'voice of the oppressed'. But Nozick wants to maintain the prevailing operation in the name of justice! Even his principle of rectification is designed to legitimate the huge riches of the manipulators, and hit at the only assets of oil producing countries because oil is needed world over and its resources are confined to a small region. It is also criticized that Nozick invokes moral principles to demolish a redistributive, welfare state. He approves of taxation only for the provision of common services, like streets and street lights, police and defence etc. When a part of taxes imposed on the rich is spend on welfare of the poor, Nozick would term it immoral, as it is akin to 'forced labour'. In Nozick's view, it involves using abilities and efforts of one section as means to other ends; it involves involuntary transfer and, therefore, violates the moral principle. The lucky should have freedom to help the unlucky. Nozick makes welfare of the poor dependent on charity, not on justice. He is not prepared to concede that the operation of competitive markets society may itself create certain conditions of injustice.

Check Your Progress

6. What is the central concern of libertarianism?
7. What are the three aspects of Robert Nozick's version of libertarian theory of justice?
8. What is the conclusion of Nozick's entitlement theory?

3.4 COMMUNITARIANISM

NOTES

The term community stands for a form of society whose members are informed by the 'community spirit' or 'a sense of community'. It denotes a 'network of relationships' which are characterised by intimacy and durability. It may be distinguished from 'association' which is based on impersonal and contractual relations. Liberal theory equates society with 'association', whereas communitarian theory equates society with 'community' to determine the nature and extent of social obligation. Communitarians argue that an individual cannot assure full development of his personality unless he is committed to the spirit of community toward his fellow-beings.

Communitarianism is the belief that the self or person is constituted through the community, in the sense that individuals are shaped by the communities to which they belong and thus owe them a debt of respect and consideration; there are no 'unencumbered selves'. Although it is clearly at odds with liberal individualism, communitarianism has a variety of political forms. Left-wing communitarianism holds that community demands unrestricted freedom and social equality (the view of anarchism). Centrist communitarianism holds that community is grounded in an acknowledgement of reciprocal rights and responsibilities (the perspective of Tory paternalism and social democracy), Right-wing communitarianism holds that community requires respect for authority and established values (the view of the New Right).

Communitarianism is a contemporary philosophy. It marks a departure from the philosophy of liberalism because it places the relation between individual and society in a new perspective. Communitrianism repudiates the picture of the 'self-implied' in the liberal theory. Liberal theory implied an 'unencumbered detached from pre-existing social form', as exemplified by the concept of 'possessive individualism' which postulates that individual is the sole proprietor of his own person or capacities for he owes nothing to society. Such a view denies his commitment to other individuals, traditions, practices and conception of the good. It holds that self is prior to its ends. It is fully competent to choose its ends as well as its roles and dispositions. In contrast to this 'atomistic' view of individual, communitarianism advances the concept of situated self, as constituted by social role, practices and situations, in other words, communitarianism holds that an agent's identity is constituted by specific commitments to his social situations. While liberalism insists on 'liberty' of an individual along with his interest and rights, communitarianism focuses on his social identity and upholds acceptance of 'authority' because it expresses our common will or reflects our common identity, our shared values and believes. It is significant to note that liberalism upheld liberty of the individual but atomistic view of society held by liberalism let to the erosion of the sense of responsibility and the moral standards attached thereto. Communitarianism seeks to restore that sense of responsibility and reconstruct moral standards on that basis.

NOTES

A major critique of contemporary Anglo-American liberalism, certainly the critique that resonates most in East Asia has been termed 'communitarianism'. The basic themes of the communitarian critique have a long history, but modern day communitarianism began in the upper reaches of Anglo-American academia in the form of a critical reaction to John Rawls' landmark 1971 book *A Theory of Justice*. Drawing primarily upon the insights of Aristotle and Hegel, political philosophers such as Alasdair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor and Michael Walzer disputed Rawls' assumption that the principal task of government is to secure and distribute fairly the liberties and economic resources individuals need to lead freely chosen lives. These critics of liberal theory never did identify themselves with the 'communitarian movement' (the 'communitarian' label was pinned on them by others, usually critics). Nonetheless, certain core arguments meant to contrast with liberalism's devaluation of community recur in the works of the four theorists named above, and for purposes of clarity one can distinguish between claims of three sorts: 'ontological' or 'metaphysical' claims about the social nature of the self, methodological claims about the importance of tradition and social context for moral and political reasoning, and normative claims about the value of community. Each strand of the debate has largely evolved from fairly abstract philosophical disputes to more concrete political concerns that may have motivated much of the communitarian critique in the first place.

Communitarian accounts of the ontology of the self were rejected by early liberal critics as internally contradictory, but they are now widely accepted as essential to most forms of liberalism. Retrospectively, this communitarian-liberal 'merger' makes sense, because close textual analysis shows that every argument made by the major communitarian philosophers was, in fact, political—not metaphysical. To say, all of the communitarians' arguments led to the conclusion that communitarianism would provide a firmer political grounding for the liberal ideal of equal individual freedom than was offered by individualist ontologies. *The Politics of Communitarianism and the Emptiness of Liberalism* traces this political mode of philosophizing to the British New Left that shaped Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor; and to the threat to Rawlsian liberalism represented by Robert Nozick, against whom both Michael Sandel (Taylor's student) and Michael Walzer were arguing.

Communitarianism points to the shortcomings of liberalism and attempts to redefine the relation between individual and the community. Liberalism promotes individualism to focus on individual freedom which undermines individual's affinity with the community. Liberals base their theories on notions of individual rights and personal freedom, but neglect the extent to which individual freedom and well-being are only possible within community. Once we recognize the dependence of human beings on society, then our obligations to sustain the common good of society are as weighty as our rights to individual liberty. Hence, communitarians argue, the liberal 'politics of rights' should be abandoned or, or at least supplemented by, a 'politics of the common good'. When every individual turns to seek his own good, no one is emotionally attached to anyone. An individual would manage to have many means

NOTES

of comfort at the expense of his emotional security. In other words, if an individual devotes himself to the pursuit of self-interest, he cannot secure good life in the fullest sense of the term. Communitarians hold that only community is capable of realizing the common good. Individual can derive their respective goods from the source if all the individuals make efforts for the attainment of the common good from which they would be able to derive their individual goods. This view necessitates individual's first commitment to the community and not to himself. For communitarians, individual's own existence and personality are the product of his social situation, roles and conventions which are embedded in society. While liberals leave the individual to pursue his self-appointed goals, communitarians want him to pursue the community–determined goals. While liberals declare the individual to be the sole proprietor of all his faculties, communitarians focus on his indebtedness to society for these faculties. While liberals insist on individual's rights and liberties, communitarians emphasize his duties and obligations. Communitarianism insists on our common identity and eulogizes those values and beliefs which are dear to all of us.

Broadly speaking, communitarians have attacked the liberal mode of thought on the ground that it is too focused on the importance of individual liberty, and insufficiently appreciative of the way in which human beings require a place in a well-functioning community in order to flourish.

Liberals believe that each person should define and seek his own 'good' within a political structure which defines and enforces what is 'right'. On the other hand, communitarians hold that a political structure has an important role to define what is 'right' as well as 'good' and to help the citizens to seek the good. Liberals define 'common good' as a sum total of the good of all individuals which is exemplified by the reconciliation of their conflicting interests. On the contrary, communitarians define the 'common good' as a uniform entity where the good of all individuals would converge. They believe that government should strive to create a well-functioning society which would enable all citizens to achieve a good life by participating in its functioning. However, like liberals, communitarians also subscribe to democratic form of government.

The ideas of communitarianism can be traced back to the thought of Aristotle, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, G. W. F. Hegel and T. H. Green etc. However, its most ardent advocates of contemporary communitarian theory are Michael Sandel, Alasdair MacIntyre, Michael Walzer, Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka. These contemporary thinkers were deeply inspired by the thought of Aristotle, Hegel and Rousseau. Here, it would be pertinent to discuss in brief the contribution of Green to communitarianism. Green is the forerunner of communitarianism. In his celebrated work *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* published in 1982, he argued that human beings, as self-conscious creatures, attain the knowledge of the common good in association with the members of their community. According to him men knew the common good more intimately than their self-interest or individual good. The common good not only comprehends the good of all members of the

NOTES

community, but their conception of the common good is also identical. The state and politics come into existence for the realization of the common good. The idea of the common good is the foundation of political obligation. Green asserts that the state is authorised to make only those laws which, promote the common good; and the individual is obliged to abide by only those laws which conform to the common good. If an individual thinks that he can protect the common good more effectively by opposing a particular order of the state, his political obligation does not stop him from going ahead. It is the consciousness of the common good which induces people to accept their duties. They are prepared to forego their personal choice and self–interest for the sake of realizing the common good. They are convinced that they can attain self-realization only by pursuing the common good.

The emphasis on community can be found in Marxism as well, and is of course a defining feature of the communist idea. However, the kind of communitarianism which has recently come to prominence with the writing of Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer, Alasdair MacIntyre, Daniel A. Bell and Charles Taylor is quite different from traditional Marxism. Marxists see community as something that can only be achieved by a revolutionary change in society, by the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a socialist society. The new communitarians, on the other hand, believe that community already exists, in the form of common social practices, cultural traditions, and shared social understandings. Community does not need to be built *de novo*, but rather needs to be respected and protected. To some extent, communitarians see community in the very social practices that Marxists see as exploitative and alienating.

Communitarians have sought to deflate the universal pretensions of liberal theory. The main target has been Rawls description of the original position as an 'Archimedean point' from which the structure of a social system can be appraised, a position whose special virtue is that it allows us to regard the human condition 'from the perspective of eternity' from all social and temporal points of view. While Rawls seemed to present his theory of justice as universally true, communitarians argued that the standards of justice must be found in forms of life and traditions of particular societies and hence can vary from context to context. Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor argued that moral and political judgment will depend on the language of reasons and the interpretive framework within which agents view their world, hence that it makes no sense to begin the political enterprise by abstracting from the interpretive dimensions of human beliefs, practices, and institutions. Michael Walzer developed the additional argument that effective social criticism must derive from and resonate with the habits and traditions of actual people living in specific times and places. Even if there is nothing problematic about a formal procedure of universalizability meant to yield a determinate set of human goods and values, 'any such set would have to be considered in terms so abstract that they would be of little use in thinking about particular distributions'. In short, liberals who ask what is just by abstracting from particular social contexts are doomed to philosophical incoherence and liberal theorists who adopt this method to persuade people to do the just thing are doomed to political irrelevance.

NOTES

Rawls has since tried to eliminate the universalist presuppositions from his theory. In *Political Liberalism*, he argues in a communitarian vein that his conception of the person as impartial citizen provides the best account of liberal-democratic political culture and that his political aim is only to work out the rules for consensus in political communities where people are willing to try for consensus. In the *Law of Peoples*, he explicitly allows for the possibility that liberalism may not be exportable at all times and places, sketching a vision of a 'decent, well-ordered society' that liberal societies must tolerate in the international realm. Such a society, he argues, need not be democratic, but it must be non-aggressive towards other communities, and internally it must have a 'common good conception of justice', a 'reasonable consultation hierarchy', and it must secure basic human rights. Having said that, one still gets the sense that the liberal vision laid out in *A Theory of Justice* is the best possible political ideal, one that all rational individuals would want if they were able to choose between the available political alternatives. There may be justifiable non-liberal regimes, but these should be regarded as second best to be tolerated and perhaps respected, not idealized or emulated.

Other liberal theorists have taken a harder line against communitarian concessions, arguing that liberal theory can and should present itself as a universally valid ideal. Brian Barry, for one, opens his widely cited book *Justice as Impartiality* by boldly affirming the universality of his theory: 'I continue to believe in the possibility of putting forward a universally valid case in favour of liberal egalitarian principles'. Barry does recognize that a theory of justice must be anchored in substantive moral considerations, but his normative vision appears to be limited to the values and practices of liberal Western societies. He seems distinctly uninterested in learning anything worthwhile from non-Western political traditions: for example, his discussion of Chinese tradition is confined to brief criticisms of the Cultural Revolution and the traditional practice of foot-binding. One might consider the reaction to a Chinese intellectual who puts forward a universal theory of justice that draws on the Chinese political tradition for inspiration and completely ignores the history and moral argumentation in Western societies, except for brief criticisms of slavery and imperialism.

Still, it must be conceded that 1980s communitarian theorists were less-than-successful at putting forward attractive visions of non-liberal societies. The communitarian case for pluralism for the need to respect and perhaps learn from non-liberal societies that may be as good as, if not better than, the liberal societies of the West may have been unintentionally undermined by their own use of (counter) examples. In *After Virtue*, Alasdair MacIntyre defended the Aristotelian ideal of the intimate, reciprocating local community bound by shared ends, where people simply assume and fulfill socially given roles. But this pre-modern Gemeinschaft conception of an all-encompassing community that members unreflectively endorse seemed distinctly ill-suited for complex and conflict-ridden large-scale industrialized societies. In *Spheres of Justice*, Michael Walzer pointed to the Indian caste system, 'where the social meanings are integrated and hierarchical' as an example of a non-liberal

NOTES

society that may be just according to its own standards. Not surprisingly, few readers were inspired by this example of non-liberal justice (not to mention the fact that many contemporary Indian thinkers view the caste system as an unfortunate legacy of the past that Indians should strive hard to overcome). In short, this use of ill-informed examples may have unintentionally reinforced the view that there are few if any justifiable alternatives to liberalism in modern societies. Communitarians could score some theoretical points by urging liberal thinkers to be cautious about developing universal arguments founded exclusively on the moral argumentation and political experience of Western liberal societies, but few thinkers would really contemplate the possibility of non-liberal practices appropriate for the modern world so long as the alternatives to liberalism consisted of Golden Ages, caste societies, fascism, or actually-existing communism. For the communitarian critique of liberal universalism to have any lasting credibility, thinkers need to provide compelling counter-examples to modern-day liberal-democratic regimes and 1980s communitarians came up short.

By the 1990s, fairly abstract methodological disputes over universalism versus particularism faded from academic prominence, and the debate now centres on the theory and practice of universal human rights. This is largely due to the increased political salience of human rights since the collapse of communism in the former Soviet bloc. On the liberal side, the new, more political voices for liberal universalism have been represented by the likes of Francis Fukuyama, who famously argued that liberal democracy's triumph over its rivals signifies the end of history. This view also revived (and provoked) the second wave communitarian critique of liberal universalism and the debate became much more concrete and political in orientation.

Needless to say, the brief moment of liberal euphoria that followed the collapse of the communism in the Soviet bloc has given way to a sober assessment of the difficulties of implementing liberal practices outside the Western world. It is now widely recognized that brutal ethnic warfare, crippling poverty, environmental degradation, and pervasive corruption, to name some of the more obvious troubles afflicting the developing world, pose serious obstacles to the successful establishment and consolidation of liberal democratic political arrangements. But these were seen as unfortunate (hopefully temporary) afflictions that may delay the end of history when liberal democracy has finally triumphed over its rivals. They were not meant to pose a challenge to the ideal of liberal democracy. It was widely assumed that liberal democracy is something that all rational individuals would want if they could get it.

The deeper challenge to Western liberal democracy has emerged from the East Asian region. In the 1990s, the debate revolved around the notion of 'Asian values', a term devised by several Asian officials and their supporters for the purpose of challenging Western-style civil and political freedoms. Asians, they claim, place special emphasis upon family and social harmony, with the implication that those in the chaotic and crumbling societies of the West should think twice about intervening in Asia for the sake of promoting human rights and democracy. As Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew put, it, Asians have 'little doubt that a society with communitarian values

NOTES

where the interests of society take precedence over that of the individual suits them better than the individualism of America'. Such claims attracted international attention primarily because East Asian leaders seemed to be presiding over what a UN human development report called 'the most sustained and widespread development miracle of the twentieth century, perhaps all history'. In 1997-98, however, the East Asian miracle seemed to have collapsed. And it looks like Asian values was one casualty of the crisis.

The political factors that focused attention on the East Asian challenge remain in place, however. East Asian economies did eventually recover (though exporting Asian economies were hard hit by the 2008 financial crisis). China in particular looks ahead to become an economic and political heavyweight with the power to seriously challenge the hegemony of Western liberal democratic values in the international forum. Thus, one hears frequent calls for cross-cultural dialogue between the West and the East designed to understand and perhaps learn from the other side. Failing to take seriously the East Asian political perspectives risks, widened misunderstandings and set the stage for hostilities that could have been avoided.

From a theoretical point of view, however, it must be conceded that the official debate on Asian values has not provided much of a challenge to dominant Western political outlooks. The main problem is that the debate has been led by Asian leaders who seem to be motivated primarily by political considerations, rather than by a sincere desire to make a constructive contribution to the debate on universalism versus particularism. Thus, it was easy to dismiss—rightly so, in most cases—the Asian challenge as nothing but a self-serving ploy by government leaders to justify their authoritarian rule in the face of increasing demands for democracy at home and abroad.

3.4.1 East Asian Arguments for Cultural Particularism

Still, it would be a mistake to assume that nothing of theoretical significance has emerged from East Asia. The debate on Asian values has also prompted critical intellectuals in the region to reflect on how they can locate themselves in a debate on human rights and democracy in which they had not previously played a substantial part. Neither wholly rejecting nor wholly endorsing the values and practices ordinarily realized through a liberal democratic political regime, these intellectuals are drawing on their own cultural traditions and exploring areas of commonality and difference with the West. Though often less provocative than the views of their governments in the sense that few argue for the wholesale rejection of Western-style liberal democracy with an East Asian alternative these unofficial East Asian viewpoints may offer more lasting contributions to the debate. Let us (briefly) note three relatively persuasive East Asian arguments for cultural particularism that contrast with traditional Western arguments for liberal universalism:

1. Cultural factors can affect the *prioritizing* of rights, and this matters when rights conflict and it must be decided which one to sacrifice. In other words,

NOTES

different societies may rank rights differently, and even if they face a similar set of disagreeable circumstances they may come to different conclusions about the right that needs to be curtailed. For example, US citizens may be more willing to sacrifice a social or economic right in cases of conflict with a civil or political right: if neither the constitution nor a majority of democratically elected representatives support universal access to health care, then the right to health care regardless of income can be curtailed. In contrast, the Chinese may be more willing to sacrifice a civil or political liberty in cases of conflict with a social or economic right: there may be wide support for restrictions on the right to form independent labour associations if they are necessary to provide the conditions for economic development. Different priorities assigned to rights can also matter when it must be decided how to spend scarce resources. For example, East Asian societies with a Confucian heritage will place great emphasis upon the value of education, and they may help to explain the large amount of spending on education compared to other societies with similar levels of economic development.

2. Cultural factors can affect the *justification* of rights. In line with the arguments of '1980s communitarians' such as Michael Walzer, it is argued that justifications for particular practices valued by Western-style liberal democrats should not be made by relying on the abstract and unhistorical universalism that often disables Western liberal democrats. Rather, they should be made from the inside, from specific examples and argumentative strategies that East Asians themselves use in everyday moral and political debate. For example, the moral language (shared even by some local critics of authoritarianism) tends to appeal to the value of community in East Asia, and this is relevant for social critics concerned with practical effect. One such communitarian argument is that democratic rights in Singapore can be justified on the grounds that they contribute to strengthening ties to such communities as the family and the nation.
3. Cultural factors can provide moral foundations for *distinctive* political practices and institutions (or at least different from those found in Western-style liberal democracies). In East Asian societies, influenced by Confucianism, for example, it is widely held that children have a profound duty to care for elderly parents, a duty to be forsaken only in the most exceptional circumstances. In political practice, it means that East Asian governments have an obligation to provide the social and economic conditions that facilitate the realization of this duty. Political debate tends to centre on the question of whether the right to filial piety is best realized by means of a law that makes it mandatory for children to provide financial support for elderly parents as in mainland China, Japan, and Singapore or whether the state should rely more on indirect methods such as tax breaks and housing benefits that simply make at-home care for the elderly easier, as in Korea and Hong Kong. But the argument that there is a pressing need to secure this duty in East Asia is not a matter of political controversy.

NOTES

In contrast to 1980s communitarian thinkers, East Asian critics of liberal universalism have succeeded in pointing particular non-liberal practices and institutions that may be appropriate for the contemporary world. Some of these may be appropriate only for societies with a Confucian heritage; others may also offer insights for mitigating the excesses of liberal modernity in the West. What cannot be denied is that they have carried forward the debate beyond the implausible alternatives to liberalism offered by 1980s communitarian thinkers. It is worth emphasizing, however, that contemporary communitarians have not been merely defending parochial attachments to particular non-liberal moralities. Far from arguing that the universalist discourse on human rights should be entirely displaced with particular, tradition-sensitive political language, they have criticized liberals for not taking universality seriously enough, for failing to do what must be done to make human rights a truly universal ideal. These communitarians—let us label them the 'cosmopolitan critics of liberal universalism'—have suggested various means of improving the philosophical coherence and political appeal of human rights. In fact, there is little debate over the desirability of a core set of human rights, such as prohibitions against slavery, genocide, murder, torture, prolonged arbitrary detention, and systematic racial discrimination. These rights have become part of international customary law, and they are not contested in the public rhetoric of the international arena. Of course many gross violations occur off the record, and human rights groups such as Amnesty International have the task of exposing the gap between public allegiance to rights and the sad reality of ongoing abuse. This is largely practical work, however. There is not much point writing about or deliberating about the desirability of practices that everyone condemns at the level of principle.

But political thinkers and activists around the world can and do take different sides on many pressing human rights concerns that fall outside what Walzer terms the 'minimal and universal moral code'. This gray area of debate includes criminal law, family law, women's rights, social and economic rights, the rights of indigenous people, and the attempt to universalize Western-style democratic practices. The question is: How can the current thin list of universal human rights be expanded to include some of these contested rights?

Charles Taylor has put forward the following proposal. He imagines a cross-cultural dialogue between representatives of different traditions. Rather than arguing for the universal validity of their views, however, he suggests that participants should allow for the possibility that their own beliefs may be mistaken. This way, participants can learn from each other's 'moral universe'. There will come a point, however, when differences cannot be reconciled. Taylor explicitly recognizes that different groups, countries, religious communities, and civilizations hold incompatible fundamental views on theology, metaphysics, and human nature. In response, Taylor argues that a 'genuine, unforced consensus' on human rights norms is possible only if we allow for disagreement on the ultimate justifications of those norms. Instead of defending contested foundational values when we encounter points of resistance (and thus condemning the values we do not like in other societies), we should try to

abstract from those beliefs for the purpose of working out an 'overlapping consensus' of human rights norms. As Taylor puts it, 'we would agree on the norms while disagreeing on why they were the right norms, and we would be content to live in this consensus, undisturbed by the differences of profound underlying belief'.

NOTES

While Taylor's proposal moves the debate on universal human rights forward, it still faces certain difficulties. For one thing, it may not be realistic to expect that people will be willing to abstract from the values they care deeply about during the course of a global dialogue on human rights. Even if people agree to abstract from culturally specific ways of justifying and implementing norms, the likely outcome is a withdrawal to a highly general, abstract realm of agreement that fails to resolve actual disputes over contested rights. For example, participants in a cross-cultural dialogue can agree on the right not to be subject to cruel and unusual punishment while radically disagreeing upon what this means in practice—a committed Muslim can argue that theft can justifiably be punished by amputation of the right hand, whereas a Western liberal will want to label this an example of cruel and unusual punishment.

As we have seen, the debate on universalism versus particularism has moved from fairly abstract methodological disputes between Anglo-American philosophers to relatively concrete international political disputes between philosophers, social scientists, government officials, and NGO activists. The distinctive communitarian contribution has been to cast doubt on universal theories grounded exclusively in the liberal moralities of the Western world, on the grounds that cultural particularity should both make one sensitive to the possibility of justifiable areas of difference between the West and the rest and to the need for more cross-cultural dialogue for the purpose of improving the current thin human rights regime. Various contributions from East Asia and elsewhere have given some meat to these challenges to liberal universalism. In any case, let us now turn to the second main area of controversy between liberals and communitarians—the debate over the self that has similarly moved from philosophy to politics.

3.4.2 The Debate over the Self

Communitarian thinkers in the 1980s such as Michael Sandel and Charles Taylor argued that Rawlsian liberalism rests on an overly individualistic conception of the self. Whereas Rawls argues that we have a supreme interest in shaping, pursuing, and revising our own life-plans, he neglects the fact that our selves tend to be defined or constituted by various communal attachments (e.g., ties to the family or to a religious tradition) so close to us that they can only be set aside at great cost, if at all. This insight led to the view that politics should not be concerned solely with securing the conditions for individuals to exercise their powers of autonomous choice, as we also need to sustain and promote the social attachments crucial to our sense of well-being and respect, many of which have been involuntarily picked up during the course of our upbringing. First, however, let us review the ontological or metaphysical debate over the self that led to this political conclusion.

NOTES

In an influential essay titled 'Atomism', Charles Taylor objected to the liberal view that 'men are self-sufficient outside of society'. Instead, Taylor defends the Aristotelian view that 'Man is a social animal, indeed a political animal, because he is not self-sufficient alone, and in an important sense is not self-sufficient outside a polis'. Moreover, this atomistic view of the self can undermine liberal society, because it fails to grasp the extent to which liberalism presumes a context where individuals are members of, and committed to, a society that promotes particular values such as freedom and individual diversity. Fortunately, most people in liberal societies do not really view themselves as atomistic selves.

But do liberal thinkers actually defend the idea that the self is created *ex-nihilo*, outside of any social context and that humans can exist (and flourish) independently of all social contexts? In fact, Taylor's essay was directed at the libertarian thinker Robert Nozick. As it turns out, the communitarian critique of the atomistic self does not apply to Rawlsian liberalism: in Part III of *Theory of Justice*, Rawls pays close attention to the psychological and social conditions that facilitate the formation of liberal selves committed to justice. But very few readers ever got to read Part III of Rawls massive book, hence communitarians got quite a bit of mileage from their critique of liberal atomism. This charge did not stick, however.

While liberals may not have been arguing that individuals can *completely* extricate themselves from their social context, the liberal valuation of choice still seemed to suggest an image of a subject who impinges his will on the world. Drawing on the insights of Heidegger and Wittgenstein, communitarians argued that this view neglects the extent to which individuals are embodied agents in the world. Far from acting in ways designed to realize an autonomously arrived-at life-plan, vast areas of our lives are in fact governed by unchosen routines and habits that lie in the background. More often than not we act in ways specified by our social background when we walk, dress, play games, speak, and so on without having formulated any goals or made any choices. It is only when things break down from the normal, everyday, unchosen mode of existence that we think of ourselves as subjects dealing with an external world, having the experience of formulating various ways of executing our goals, choosing from among those ways, and accepting responsibility for the outcomes of our actions. In other words, traditional intentionality is introduced at the point that our ordinary way of coping with things is insufficient. Yet this breakdown mode is what we tend to notice, and philosophers have therefore argued that most of our actions are occasioned by processes of reflection. Liberals have picked up this mistaken assumption, positing the idea of a subject who seeks to realize an autonomously arrived-at life-plan, losing sight of the fact that critical reflection upon ones end is nothing more than one possibility that arises when our ordinary ways of coping with things is insufficient to get things done.

Some liberals have replied by recognizing the point that vast areas of our lives are governed by unchosen habits and routines, that the deliberate, effortful, choosing subject mode may be the exception rather than the rule. They emphasize, however,

NOTES

that the main justification for liberal politics concerned primarily with securing the conditions for individuals to lead autonomous lives rests on the possibility and desirability of normative self-determination, that is, on the importance of making choices with respect to things that we value. While it may be true that certain communal practices often, or even mostly, guide our behaviour behind our backs, it does not follow that those practices ought to be valued, or reflectively endorsed in non-ordinary moments of existence, much less that the government ought somehow to promote these practices. And what liberals care about ultimately is the provision of the rights, powers, and opportunities that individuals need to develop and implement their own conceptions of the good life.

This qualified version of the liberal self, however, still seems to imply that moral outlooks are, or should be, the product of individual choice. One's social world, communitarians can reply, provides more than non-moral social practices like table manners and pronunciation norms—it also provides some sort of orientation in moral space. We cannot make sense of our moral experience unless we situate ourselves within this given moral space, within the authoritative moral horizons. What Charles Taylor calls 'higher, strongly evaluated goods' the goods we should feel committed to, those that generate moral obligations on us regardless of our actual preferences are not somehow invented by individuals, but rather they are located within the social world which provides one's framework of the lower and the higher. Thus, the liberal ideal of a self who freely invents her own moral outlook, or private conception of the good, cannot do justice to our actual moral experience.

But once again, liberals need not deny the assumption that our social world provides a framework of the higher and the lower nor need it be presumed that we must regard our own moral outlook as freely invented. Will Kymlicka, for example, explicitly recognizes that things have worth for us in so far as they are granted significance by our culture, in so far as they fit into a pattern of activities which is recognized by those sharing a certain form of life as a way of leading a good life. That one's social world provides the range of things worth doing, achieving, or being does not, however, undermine the liberal emphasis on autonomy, for there is still substantial room for individual choice to be made within this set. The best life is still the one where the individual chooses what is worth doing, achieving, or being, though it may be that this choice has to be made within a certain framework which is itself unchosen.

Communitarians can reply by casting doubt on the view that choice is intrinsically valuable, that a certain moral principle or communal attachment is more valuable simply because it has been chosen following deliberation among alternatives by an individual subject. If we have a highest-order interest in choosing our central projects and life-plans, regardless of what is chosen, it ought to follow that there is something fundamentally wrong with unchosen attachments and projects. But this view violates our actual self-understandings. We ordinarily think of ourselves, Michael Sandel says,

NOTES

> as members of this family or community or nation or people, as bearers of this history, as sons or daughters of that revolution, as citizens of this republic', social attachments that more often than not are involuntarily picked up during the course of our upbringing, rational choice having played no role whatsoever. I didn't choose to love my mother and father, to care about the neighborhood in which I grew up, to have special feelings for the people of my country, and it is difficult to understand why anyone would think I have chosen these attachments, or that I ought to have done so. In fact, there may even be something distasteful about someone who questions the things he or she deeply cares about—certainly no marriage could survive too long if fundamental understandings regarding love and trust were constantly thrown open for discussion! Nor is it obvious that, say, someone who performs a good deed following prolonged calculation of pros and cons is morally superior than a Mother Teresa type who unreflectively, spontaneously acts on behalf of other people's interests.

Liberals can reply that the real issue is not the desirability of choice but rather the possibility of choice. There may well be some unchosen attachments that need not be critically reflected upon and endorsed, and it may even be the case that excessive deliberation about the things we care about can occasionally be counter-productive. But some of our ends may be problematic and that is why we have a fundamental interest in being able to question and revise them. Most important is not choosing our own life-plans; rather, liberalism founded on the value of self-determination requires only that we be able to critically evaluate our ends if need be, hence that 'no end or goal is exempt from possible re-examination'. For example, an oppressed woman has a fundamental interest in being able to critically reflect upon traditional understandings of what it means to be a good wife and mother, and it would be unjust to foreclose her freedom to radically revise her plans.

This response, however, still leaves open the possibility of a deep challenge to liberal foundations. Perhaps we are able to re-examine some attachments, but the problem for liberalism arises if there are others so fundamental to our identity that they cannot be set aside, and that any attempt to do so will result in serious and perhaps irreparable psychological damage. In fact, this challenge to liberalism would only require that communitarians be able to identify one end or communal attachment so constitutive of one's identity that it cannot be revised and rejected. A psychoanalyst, for example, may want to argue that (at least in some cases) it is impossible to choose to shed the attachment one feels for one's mother, and that an attempt may lead to perverse and unintended consequences. A feminist theorist may point to the mother-child relationship as an example of a constitutive feature of one's identity and argue that any attempt to deny this fails to be sensitive to women's special needs and experiences. An anthropologist may argue on the basis of field observations that it is impossible for an Inuit person from Canada's far north to suddenly decide to stop being an Inuit and that the only sensible response is to recognize and accept this constitutive feature of his identity. Or a gay liberation activist may claim that it is both impossible and undesirable for gays to repress their biologically-given sexual identity. These arguments are not implausible, and they seem to challenge the liberal view that no particular end or commitment should be beyond critical reflection and open to revision.

NOTES

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that we can identify one particular attachment so deeply-embedded that it is impossible to really bring to conscious awareness and so significant for one's well-being that an individual can only forsake commitment to its good at the cost of being seriously psychologically disturbed. This end is beyond willed change and one loses a commitment to it at the price of being thrown into a state of disorientation where one is unable to take a stand on many things of significance. Does this really threaten liberal politics? It may, if liberal politics really rests on the liberal self. Fortunately, that is not the case. Rereading some of the communitarian texts from the 1980s, there seems to have been an assumption that once you expose faulty foundations regarding the liberal self, the whole liberal edifice will come tumbling down. The task is to criticize the underlying philosophy of the self, win people on your side, and then we can move on to a brand new communitarian society that owes nothing to the liberal tradition. This must have been an exhilarating time for would-be revolutionaries, but more level-headed communitarians soon realized that overthrowing liberal rights was never part of the agenda. Even if liberals are wrong to deny the existence of constitutive ends—even if the philosophical justifications for a liberal form of social organization founded on the value of reflective choice are rotten to the core—there are still many, relatively pragmatic reasons for caring about rights in the modern world. To name some of the more obvious benefits, liberal rights often contribute to security, political stability and economic modernization.

In short, the whole debate about the self appears to have been somewhat misconceived. Liberals were wrong to think they needed to provide iron-clad philosophies of the self to justify liberal politics, and communitarians were wrong to think that challenging those foundations was sufficient to undermine liberal politics. Not surprisingly, both sides soon got tired of debating the pros and cons of the liberal self. By the early 1990s, this liberal-communitarian debate over the self had effectively faded from view in Anglo-American philosophy.

So what remains of the communitarian conception of the self? What may be distinctive about communitarians is that they are more inclined to argue that individuals have a vital interest in leading decent communal lives, with the political implication that there may be a need to sustain and promote the communal attachments crucial to our sense of well-being. This is not necessarily meant to challenge the liberal view that some of our communal attachments can be problematic and may need to be changed, thus that the state needs to protect our powers to shape, pursue, and revise our own life-plans. But our interest in community may occasionally conflict with our other vital interest in leading freely chosen lives, and the communitarian view is that the latter does not automatically trump the former in cases of conflict. On the continuum between freedom and community, communitarians are more inclined to draw the line towards the latter.

Communitarians begin by positing a need to experience our lives as bound up with the good of the communities out of which our identity has been constituted. This excludes contingent attachments such as golf-club memberships, that do not

NOTES

usually bear on one's sense of identity and well-being (the co-authors of *Habits of the Heart* employ the term 'lifestyle enclaves' to describe these attachments). Unlike pre-modern defenders of *Gemeinshaft*, however, it is assumed that there are many valued forms of communal life in the modern world. So the distinctive communitarian political project is to identify valued forms of community and to devise policies designed to protect and promote them, without sacrificing too much freedom. Typically, communitarians would invoke the following types of communities:

1. **Communities of place, or communities based on geographical location:** This is perhaps the most common meaning associated with the word community. In this sense, community is linked to locality, in the physical, geographical sense of a community that is located somewhere. It can refer to a small village or a big city. A community of place also has an affective component—it refers to the place one calls 'home', often the place where one is born and bred and the place where one would like to end one's days even if home is left as an adult. At the very least, communitarians posit an interest in identifying with familiar surroundings.

   In terms of political implications, it means that, for example, political authorities ought to consider the existent character of the local community when considering plans for development. Jane Jacobs famously documented the negative effects of razing, instead of renovating, run-down tenements that are replaced by functionally adequate but characterless low-income housing blocs. Other suggestions to protect communities of place include: granting community councils veto power over building projects that fail to respect existent architectural styles; implementing laws regulating plant closures so as to protect local communities from the effects of rapid capital mobility and sudden industrial change; promoting local-ownership of corporations; and imposing restrictions on large-scale discount outlets such as Wal-Mart that threaten to displace small, fragmented, and diverse family and locally owned stores.
2. **Communities of memory, or groups of strangers who share a morally-significant history:** This term—first employed by the co-authors of *Habits of the Heart*—refers to imagined communities that have a shared history going back several generations. Besides tying us to the past, such communities turn us towards the future—members strive to realize the ideals and aspirations embedded in past experiences of those communities, seeing their efforts as being, in part, contributions to a common good. They provide a source of meaning and hope in people lives. Typical examples include the nation and language-based ethno cultural groups.

   In Western liberal democracies, this typically translates into various nation-building exercises meant to nourish the bonds of commonality that tie people to their nations, such as national service and national history lessons in school textbooks. Self-described republicans such as Michael Sandel place special emphasis upon the national political community and argue for measures that increase civic engagement and public-spiritedness. However, there is increased recognition of the multi-national nature of

contemporary states, and modern Western states must also try to make room for the political rights of minority groups. These political measures have been widely discussed in recent literatures on nationalism, citizenship, and multiculturalism.

3. **Psychological communities or communities of face-to-face personal interaction governed by sentiments of trust, co-operation, and altruism:** This refers to a group of persons who participate in common activity and experience a psychological sense of togetherness as shared ends are sought. Such communities, based on face-to-face interaction, are governed by sentiments of trust, cooperation, and altruism in the sense that constituent members have the good of the community in mind and act on behalf of the community's interest. They differ from communities of place by not being necessarily defined by locality and proximity. They differ from communities of memory in the sense that they are more 'real', they are typically based on face to face social interaction at one point in time and consequently tend to be restricted in size. The family is the prototypical example. Other examples include small-scale work or school settings founded on trust and social cooperation.

Communitarians tend to favour policies designed to protect and promote ties to the family and family-like groups. This would include such measures as encouraging marriage and increasing the difficulty of legal marriage dissolution. These policies are supported by empirical evidence that points to the psychological and social benefits of marriage. Communitarians also favour political legislation that can help to restructure education in such a way that people's deepest needs in membership and participation in psychological communities are tapped at a young age. The primary school system in Japan, where students learn about group cooperation and benefits and rewards are assigned to the classroom as a whole rather than to individual students, could be a useful model.

What makes the political project of communitarianism distinctive is that it involves the promotion of all three forms of valued communal life. This leads, however, to the worry that seeking the goods of various communities may conflict in practice. Etzioni, for example, argues for a whole host of pro-family measures: Mothers and fathers should devote more time and energy to parenting (in view of the fact that most childcare centres do a poor job of caring for children), labour unions and employers ought to make it easier for parents to work at home, and the government should force corporations to provide six months of paid leave and another year of unpaid leave. The combined effect of these changes of the heart and public policies in all likelihood would be to make citizens into largely private, family-centered persons.

Michael Sandel (1982) uses the communitarian level to criticize liberalism though subsequently he termed himself a republican. He argues that liberal theories justify an individualism radically unembedded in concrete social institutions and in the wrong thus giving priority to the pursuit of abstract equal justice over a communal, moral good. Pointing to Rawls conception of the individual in the original position as

NOTES

disconnected and disembodied, he concludes that liberal theory has failed to understand our 'embeddedness' in particular time, place and culture. This is a fact that a political theory has to recognize if it is seeking to generate laws, institutions and practices that are truly good for us and constitutive in an ideal and fully just society. Justice must be theorised not only as the basis of individual who are independent and separate desiring to profit from one another but from people with attachments that partially constitute their identities, who come to know and relate to one another. In his book *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (1982), Michael Sandel has asserted that a person can only be understood in the context of his 'embededness' in a particular time, place and culture. Only with this understanding political theory can generate laws, institutions and practices that would be genuinely good for us and contribute to a fully just society. This alone will create a 'deeper communality' which will be informed by 'shared self-understanding' as well as affection.

Michael Sandel in his book *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (1982) attacked John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (1971), for his conception of rational negotiators deliberating as the disconnected and disembodied individuals in the so-called 'original positions' who have come together to find out the principle of justice. It is a typical representation of the liberal attitude which tries to understand human beings independently of all activities; desires, ideas, roles and pursuits that characterize human lives in an actual society. Sandel observes that after subtracting all these characteristics, nothing is left of the person whom we want to understand.

Michael Walzer, a Left communitarian, argues for what he calls 'complex' as opposed to 'simple equality'; that is, a notion of distributive justice based on different rules of distribution for different social goods, rather than one procrustean rule requiring equal holdings of everything for everyone. Politics, the economy, the family, the workplace, the military are different spheres having different principles of distribution. Justice required that the integrity of its sphere should be maintained as a transgression from the others. In an implicit critique of Rawls, Walzer points out that the various principles of justice in each sphere are local rather than universal and these have to be based only on the common understandings of particular people with a historical identity. In other words, there is no single principle of distributive justice, which holds true for all societies, in all places and at all times. Philosophical systems could advance such a principle in view of cultural diversity and pluralistic political choices. Walzer believes that questions about justice can only be answered by exploring the 'shared meaning' of a particular society. The problem, however, remains about the objectivity of these shared meanings? Only on this basis it is possible to create a deeper community with shared self-understanding and affection.

Michael Walzer (*Spheres of Justice, 1983*) has sought to reconstruct the liberal approach to justice—as the problem of determining suitable criteria of distribution—by introducing a communitarian approach to this problem. Walzer has argued that criteria of distribution should correspond to the 'spheres' in which distribution is being considered, so that, for instance, economic justice will be different

NOTES

from political justice. According to Walzer, each sphere of justice will have its own right reason (or relevant reason) for distribution of good that it distributes. Thus the sphere of politics, or health, or education, should be uncontaminated by the domination of money, for money properly rules in the sphere of commodities; the sphere of office should not (beyond a certain limit point) be contaminated by nepotism, which belongs to the sphere of kinship and love; the sphere of kinship should not be contaminated by male domination. The market properly conceived as the place for the distribution of various social goods on a reasonable basis should be free for all. As the dominance of money (above all) is incompatible with the integrity of politics, merit, kinship etc., so the dominance of money in all these spheres must finally disappear. Walzer's vision of a new social order comprehends the appropriate arrangements of a decentralized democratic socialism: a strong welfare state run, in part at least, by local and amateurs officials; a constrained market; an open and demystified civil service; independent public schools; the sharing of hard work and free time; the protection of religious and familial life; a system of public honouring and dishonouring free from all considerations of rank and class; workers' control of companies and factories; a politics and parties, movements, meetings and public debate. In his book *Spheres of Justice* (1983), he has pointed out elaborate criteria for the distribution of various social goods according to the proper spheres of their applications, where they would contribute to the smooth functioning of the community.

In his book *After Virtue* (1981), Alasdair MacIntyre has argued that individuals flourish only with in an atmosphere of 'socially established cooperative human activity'. If the state treats individuals as disconnected entities and lets them loose to realize their rights without realizing duties, the result would be social disintegration and moral disaster. MacIntyre constructs an idea of the narrative self: a notion of personal identity that comes from the wave of social and communal bond. He argues that 'individuality' owes its origin to the framework of an established community; it cannot be the product of an individual's choice. MacIntyre ridicules the liberals' concept of individual as an 'autonomous moral agents', disconnected from the social fabric. He argues that individuals flourish only within an atmosphere of 'socially established cooperative human activity'. The state must promote and protect this activity and thereby encourage the development of human excellence. MacIntyre and other communitarians believe that if the state treats individuals as disconnected beings and let them loose to realize their rights (as liberal seem to wish), the result would be social disintegration and moral disaster. Such disaster has already become visible in modern liberal states as evident in the prevalence of crime and violence, the breakdown of family, and the rampant drug abuse.

Charles Taylor in his book *Philosophical Papers* (1985) echoed MacIntyre's attack on the liberal conception of 'atomistic' individual and conformed the tenants of communitarianism. Taylor argued that if human beings want their genuine development, they must acknowledge first that they are situated in a society. They can realize their good only through cooperation in the pursuit of the common good. According to Taylor, liberals claim that the freedom to choose our projects is inherently

valuable, something to be pursued for its own sake, a claim that can be rejected as empty. Instead, he says, there has to be some project that is worth pursuing, some task that is worth fulfilling.

NOTES

In a communitarian society, the common good is conceived of as a substantive conception of the good life which defines the community's way of life. This common good, rather than adjusting itself to the pattern of people's preferences, provides a standard by which those preferences are evaluated. The community's way of life forms the basis for a public ranking of conceptions of the good, and the weight given to an individual's preferences depends on how much she conforms or contributes to this common good.

Communitarians talk of two-level relationship, with the individual at one level and the state at the other and the intermediate position between the individual and the state is occupied by groups and communities. Communitarian thinkers criticize liberal political theory mainly for its overemphasis on individual. They argued that the liberal conception of the self and the relationship between the individual and the state are inherently flawed, unduly limited as well as the misrepresentative of the true nature of society. They criticized liberal individualism for its prioritizing the rights and freedom of individual's and neglecting the importance of community membership to social and political life. Communitarians argue that the guarantee of a free and just state is deeply intertwined with the well-being of the community. The main objective of an ideal state is to employ its power and authority to encourage the continuation and health of those cultural traditions and values that serve to determine the common good.

In a nutshell, the supporter of communitarianism advocates a state with a positive function of promoting the common good, unlike the liberal individualism who assigned a negative function to the state for ensuring an absence of interference in the domain of individual rights. The advocates of communitarianism focus on particular social value structures and reject the overtly abstract individualism of liberalism. Its emphasis is on the importance of particularistic moral traditions by expressing a preference for the collective pursuit of virtue rather than the defence of individual rights as a principle of social order.

Criticism

Communitarianism also has its limitations. It is criticized that in spite of its strong ethical base, it has no mechanism to ensure that its principles will be adopted as the general rules of behaviour. Though communitarianism is endowed with strong moral philosophy, it is not founded in equally strong political philosophy. Liberals argue that any 'thicker' conception of community is inconsistent with two basic aspects of modern life: the demand for individual autonomy, and the existence of social pluralism. As Rawls puts it the 'fact of pluralism' means that 'the hope of political community must be abandoned, if by such a community we mean a political society united in affirming a general and comprehensive conception of the good'. Communitarians object to the neutral state. They believe it should be abandoned for a 'politics of the common good'. According to Stephen Holmes, the contrast between the 'politics of

neutrality' and communitarianism's 'politics of the common good' can be misleading. There is a 'common good' present in liberal politics as well, since the policies of a liberal state in at promoting the interests of the members of the community. The political and economic processes by which individual preferences are combined into a social choice function are liberal modes of determining the common good. To affirm state neutrality, therefore, is not to reject the idea of a common good, but rather to provide an interpretation of it.

Check Your Progress

9. State the main argument of the communitarians.
10. State one difference between liberalism and communitarianism.
11. What view did the communitarian thinkers of the 1980s have regarding liberalism?

3.5 MULTICULTURALISM

The theory of multiculturalism is a political idea that emphasizes on the right and proper way to respond to cultural diversity. Cultural diversity exists in all societies. The theory of multiculturalism basically focuses on the existence, acceptance and promotion of multiple cultures under the same jurisdiction. This theory does not just focus on the description of a culturally diverse society but also emphasizes the policies that protect the cultural diversity.

The theory of multiculturalism is basically a theory of culture and its value. There are different conceptions about culture which are essential to understand the theory of multiculturalism. The semiotic perspective of culture was dominant in 1960s in the society. According to the semiotic concept of culture, culture is a set of social systems, symbols, representations and practices that are considered significant by a specific group of people. Culture according to the semiotic perspective is viewed as a symbolic system that enables communication. Such culture is based on specific structures and ideological principles or beliefs that people take for granted and such beliefs pass over from one generation to another.

The normative concept of culture views culture as a group of norms and beliefs that are specific to a certain group of people. The normative conception of culture states that it is culture that forces people to act in the manner they do. Thus, culture forms a basis for moral commitments of people whereby people consider it mandatory to follow the norms and principles that have been defined.

The societal conception of culture considers culture as a kind of social setting that provided people ways of life, both publicly and privately. It is the societal culture that enables people to make choices and lead an autonomous life. In other words, the societal conception of culture refers to an intergenerational community that occupies a specific territory and shares the same language and history.

NOTES

The rational or economic concept of culture views culture as, 'an equilibrium in a well-defined set of circumstances in which members of a group sharing in common descent, symbolic practices and/or high levels of interaction—and thereby becoming a cultural group—are able to condition their behaviour on common knowledge beliefs about the behaviour of all members of the group.' Thus according to the rational view, culture is a group of people wherein the individuals have several characteristics that differentiate them from one another. Such a group of people share common knowledge in terms of their beliefs and ideas. According to rational view, there is a cultural equilibrium in the society wherein an individual acts according to the beliefs and norms because the individual has self-interest in mind. In such a culture, individuals act in agreement with each other to avoid any conflicts.

The essentialism concept of culture states that culture is a means of identifying social characteristics that make a group and these attributes are shared by all members of that group. According to this approach, a culture is a set of characteristics that all members of a specific group share with each other and no outsider exhibits these characteristics or attributes.

The cosmopolitan view of culture states that culture is dynamic and keeps on changing and evolving continuously. Cultures overlap each other because people move between cultures and enjoy and borrow practices of other cultures. According to this view, it is difficult to distinguish between cultures because with people moving between cultures and adapting the attributes and beliefs of other cultures, it becomes impossible to specify a particular set of attributes to one specific group of people. Thus according to this view, there is a melange of cultures in the society leading to what is called cultural diversity or multiculturalism.

The theory of multiculturalism is used to describe a society wherein a variety of different cultures co-exist. Most of the countries of the world are culturally diverse. Typically, the ways in which a country can be culturally diverse is by having different religious groups, linguistic groups, groups that have a separate territorial identity and racial groups. Religious diversity is the most common form of cultural diversity that can be seen in many nations wherein people of different religions co-exist. Linguistic diversity is also quite widespread in many countries. Linguistic diversity is said to exist in a culture where there co-exist people speaking different languages. Linguistic diversity can either result from immigration of people from one country to another and also because of national minorities within a country. National minorities are groups that have settled in a country since long but do not share the same language as the majority of the people of that country.

Territorial diversity is that form of cultural diversity in which people distinguish themselves from others on the basis of their geographical location. In fact, when it comes to territorial diversity, the culture of people may not be different at all in terms of habits, traditions and language. Racial diversity is a social construct wherein people are divided into different races. Racial diversity basically means that people have different physical appearances that make them stand out from others in the society. In other words, this type of cultural diversity is based on physical appearance.

NOTES

Thus, the theory of multiculturalism can be used to understand the constructs of the society and also the fact as to why the society stands divided culturally. It must however be noted that these cultural differences does not always mean that people from different cultures in terms of race, territory etc. cannot co-exist peacefully in a society. The theory states otherwise, i.e. people from different cultures co-exist without conflicts in a society.

The theory of multiculturalism also focuses on the different normative challenges that may arise because of a multicultural environment within a country. These normative challenges like ethnic conflicts, federal autonomy and internal illiberalism arise because of the fact that the different cultural groups have different demands and want their demands to be fulfilled. The main aim of multiculturalism is the preservation, allowance as well as celebration of differences of the different cultural groups in a country. The theory of multiculturalism basically addresses the problems that may arise because of multiculturalism. When people of diverse cultures co-exist in a society, there are a number of issues that need to be settled in terms of the ground rules that govern the life of people and also the issues of different cultural groups that can be termed as public issues and resolved. For instance, in a culturally diverse society the language of discourse that needs to be used may need to be decided upon; the society may have to decide upon the customs that can be tolerated by the society as a whole; the public conduct may need to be defined etc. When such issues are not settled in a multicultural environment, there may arise conflicts between the various cultural groups. The theory of multiculturalism, therefore, seeks to define the guiding principles that can enable people from different cultures to co-exist peacefully in a society.

3.5.1 Response to Multiculturalism

The theory of multiculturalism states that there are different ways in which a society may respond to multiculturalism. The theory also states that it is not always essential that multiculturalism be accepted by the society. The five responses to multiculturalism are:

- **Isolationism:** Isolationism may be the most obvious response of a society to not accept multiculturalism. Isolationism takes place when people of a society prevent outsiders from entering their society or allowing them to build houses in the society. The main reason behind isolationism is that a society may want to preserve its culture and prevent cultural transformation.

  It is however argued that isolationism is not possible for a society as cultural transformation can take place in other manners as well. To ensure that the culture of a society is preserved and secured, a society needs to avoid and sustain contact with the outside world or other societies which is not possible today.

- **Assimilationism:** Assimilationism is a manner in which other groups are allowed to assimilate culturally into the society. In other words, assimilationism ensures that the culture is maintained and sustained by making the members of the society and the outsiders who come into the society conform to the

NOTES

same cultural standards. Assimilationism receives criticism because of the fact that when new people come into the society, they do influence the society in some manner or the other and hence it is not possible for the society as a whole to conform to the same standards and principles that have been culturally defined.

- **Weak multiculturalism:** In this outlook, a society accepts multiculturalism. Thus, a society does not try to isolate others nor does it prevent assimilation of minority groups into the society. This outlook states that the society practices freedom and so people can associate freely with each other. In other words, the newcomers influence and are also influenced by the dominant norms of the society. The newcomers in most cases accept these norms as they find it easier to lead a peaceful life by doing so and also this way they avoid getting into conflicts with others in the society. Weak multiculturalism leaves the option of degree of assimilation in the society to the newcomers in the society and therefore some people may not assimilate completely in the existing society.
- **Strong multiculturalism:** Strong multiculturalism takes place when cultural diversity is promoted, fostered and supported by the society.

  Strong multiculturalism outlook of the society ensures that newcomers to the society are able to participate as members of the society and enables them to practice their own traditions and cultures. When a society responds with strong multiculturalism, it enables the newcomers as well as the existing members of the society to have their separate identities and takes positive measures to meet the demands of the cultural groups thereby enabling peaceful co-existence in the society.
- **Apartheid:** Apartheid is a response to multiculturalism wherein a society does not allow the minorities to assimilate into the society in any manner. This response states that different people have different rights and duties within the same national boundaries.

  The theory of multiculturalism does receive some criticisms. One of the main critiques of the theory is in its premise of preserving culture. It is argued that preservation of culture in this global world is almost impossible because different cultures interact with each other and hence influence and are influenced by each other, thereby enabling cultural transformation. Another weakness of the theory is that it may threaten freedom and equality of individuals because it focuses on special protection of minority groups. The fact that minority groups need special protection may only make these groups undermine their liberties and opportunities.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

12. What is culture according to the concept of semiotic?
13. Who are national minorities?
14. State the main aim of multiculturalism.

3.6 FEMINISM

NOTES

Feminism can be defined as a collection of movements, which are aimed at defining, establishing and defending equal political, economic and social rights, and equal opportunities for women. However, its ideas and concepts have common characteristics with those of women's rights. Feminism is primarily focused on women's issues, but because feminism fights for gender equality, some feminists claim that the emancipation of men is therefore a significant aspect of feminism, and that men are also affected by sexism and gender roles. Feminists are 'person[s] whose beliefs and behaviour[s] are based on feminism'.

Feminist theory exists in several disciplines, which emerge from feminist movements including general theories and theories about the origins of inequality, and, in some cases, about the social construction of sex and gender. Feminist activists have not only fought for women's rights but also have promoted women's rights to physical integrity, self-sufficiency and reproductive rights. They have strongly raised their voice against domestic violence, sexual harassment and sexual assault. They have also campaigned for workplace rights, including equal pay, opportunities for careers and to start businesses.

Some earlier forms of feminism have also been criticized for fighting against White, middle-class, educated perspectives. This resulted in the development of ethnically-specific or multi-culturalist forms of feminism.

Feminists worldwide sometimes had different causes and objectives, depending on time, culture and country. According to several Western feminist historians, all movements that work to achieve women's rights should be considered feminist movements, even when they did not (or do not) apply the term to themselves. Other historians argue that the term should be restricted to the modern feminist movement and its successors. These historians use the term 'proto-feminist' to describe earlier movements.

The history of the modern Western feminist movements is divided into three 'waves', each of which is described as dealing with different characteristics of the same feminist issues.

- The first wave refers mainly to women's suffrage movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (mainly concerned with women's right to vote).
- The second wave refers to the ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement beginning in the 1960s (which campaigned for legal and social equality for women).
- The third wave refers to a continuation of, and a reaction to, the perceived failures of second-wave feminism, beginning in the 1990s.

NOTES

Rise of Feminism in the Late Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century

First-wave feminism took place during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In the UK and US it focused on the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting and property rights for women. By the end of the nineteenth century, the movement focused mainly on acquiring political power, specifically the right of women's suffrage. However, some feminists actively continued to campaign for women's sexual, reproductive and economic rights at this time.

At the end of the nineteenth century, women's suffrage was achieved in Britain's Australasian colonies along with the self-governing colonies of New Zealand and South Australia. This movement allowed women the right to vote in 1893 and 1895 respectively, followed by Australia, which permitted women to stand for parliamentary office and granting women's' right to vote.

The Suffragettes and the Suffragists fought for the women's vote in Britain. In 1918, the Representation of the People Act was approved, which granted the vote to women over the age of thirty who owned houses. In 1928, this was extended to all women who were more than twenty-one years old. Some of the important leaders of this movement in the US included Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Before fighting for women's right to vote, each of these leaders, who were strongly influenced by Quaker thought, campaigned for the abolition of slavery. In the US, first-wave feminism is considered to have come to an end with the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1919), which granted women the right to vote in all states. After the term second-wave feminism began to be used, the term first-wave was introduced in retrospect to classify these Western movements. The term second-wave feminism was used to represent a newer feminist movement that focused on fighting social, cultural and political inequalities.

During the late Qing period and reform movements such as the Hundred Days' Reform, Chinese feminists necessitated women's emancipation from traditional roles and Neo-Confucian gender separation. Afterwards, the Chinese Communist Party developed projects, which focused on incorporating women into the workforce, and asserted that the revolution had successfully achieved women's liberation.

In 1899, *The Liberation of Women* was published, which was written by Qasim Amin, considered the 'father' of Arab feminism. In this book, Amin, although a man, argued for legal and social reforms for women. Huda Shaarawi, a feminist nationalist activist of the early twentieth century, established the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923, and became its president and a symbol of the Arab women's rights movement. Arab feminism was closely connected with Arab nationalism.

In 1905, the Iranian Constitutional Revolution initiated the Iranian women's movement, which focused on achieving women's equality in education, marriage, careers and legal rights. However, during the Iranian revolution of 1979, several

rights, which were gained by women from the women's movement, were systematically abolished, such as the Family Protection Law.

Role of Feminism in the Mid-Twentieth Century

NOTES

Second-wave feminism started in the early 1960s, continuing to the present, and it co-exists with third-wave feminism. Other than suffrage, second wave feminism is primarily concerned with issues of equality, such as ending discrimination.

Second-wave feminists focus on women's cultural and political inequalities. They encourage women to deeply understand and reflect on the important aspects of their personal lives. The feminist activist and author Carol Hanisch introduced the slogan 'The Personal is Political', which became identical with the second-wave feminism.

In China, second and third-wave feminism focused on the re-examination of women's roles during the communist revolution and other reform movements, and new discussions about whether women's equality has actually been fully achieved.

In 1956, President Nasser of Egypt started 'state feminism', which prohibited discrimination based on gender and granted women's suffrage; however, it also blocked political activism by feminist leaders. During the presidency of Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, his wife, Jehan Sadat, publicly promoted women's rights, though Egyptian policy and society began to move away from women's equality with the new Islamist movement and growing conservatism. However, some activists recommended a new feminist movement, Islamic feminism, which claims for the equality of women within an Islamic framework.

Feminism During Late Twentieth Century and Early Twenty-First Century

Post-feminism is used as a term to refer to an array of opinions reacting to feminism since the 1980s. According to post-feminists, who are not 'anti-feminists', women have achieved objectives of the second wave while being critical of third wave feminist goals. The term was first used to explain a repercussion against second-wave feminism, but now it is a label for a wide range of theories. These theories take critical methodologies to earlier feminist discourses and include challenges to the second wave's ideas. Other post-feminists believe that in today's society, feminism is no longer relevant. According to Amelia Jones, an American art historian, art critic and curator specializing in feminist art, the post-feminist texts which appeared in the 1980s and 1990s represented second-wave feminism as a colossal entity and criticized it using generalizations.

In the early 1990s in the US, third-wave feminism started as a response to perceived failures of the second-wave feminism and to the repercussion against initiatives and movements introduced by the second wave. Third-wave feminism tries to challenge or avoid what it believes the second wave's essentialist definitions of femininity. According to third-wave feminism, these definitions of femininity over-

NOTES

emphasize the experiences of upper middle-class white women. Third-wave feminists frequently focus on 'micro-politics' and challenge the second wave's concept as to what is, or is not, good for women, and prefer to use a Post-structuralist understanding of gender and sexuality. On the other hand, one of the objectives of second-wave feminists, such as Gloria Anzaldua, Chela Sandoval, Cherrie Moraga, Audre Lorde, Maxine Hong Kingston, and many other Black feminists, was to negotiate a space within feminist thought for consideration of race-related subjectivities.

Third-wave feminism also deals with internal discussions between difference feminists, who believe that there are significant differences between the sexes, and those who believe that there are no intrinsic differences between the sexes and assert that gender roles are due to social habituation.

Feminist Theories

Feminist theory is an extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical fields. It includes work in several disciplines, involving philosophy, economics, psychoanalysis, sociology, women's studies, art history, literary criticism and anthropology. The objective of feminist theory is to understand gender inequality with a focus on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. Besides this, a significant part of feminist theory also focuses on the advancement of women's rights and interests. Feminist theory explores several important themes, which include patriarchy, stereotyping, discrimination, oppression and objectification (especially sexual objectification).

American literary critic and feminist Elaine Showalter describes the phased development of feminist theory. She refers to the first as 'feminist critique', in which the feminist reader observes the ideologies behind literary phenomena. Showalter calls the second as 'gynocriticism', in which the 'woman is producer of textual meaning' including 'the psychodynamics of female creativity; linguistics and the problem of a female language; the trajectory of the individual or collective female literary career and literary history'. She refers to the last phase as 'gender theory', in which the 'ideological inscription and the literary effects of the sex/gender system' are explored. However, scholar Toril Moi has criticized this model as she believes that it as an essentialist and deterministic model for female subjectivity and fails to take into consideration the situation of women outside the West.

3.6.1 Feminist Movements and Ideologies

Over the years, several overlapping movements of feminist ideologies have developed.

i. Political and Economic

- Liberal feminism looks for individualistic equality of men and women through political and legal reform without changing the structure of society.
- Radical feminism considers the male-controlled capitalist hierarchy as the defining feature of women's oppression and the total uprooting and reconstruction of society as necessary.

NOTES

- Socialist feminism connects oppression of women to exploitation, oppression and labour.
- Marxist feminists feel that overcoming class oppression overcomes gender oppression; some socialist feminists disagree. It has branched into such as anti-pornography feminism, opposed by sex-positive feminism.
- Anarcha-feminists believe that class struggle and anarchy against the state require struggling against patriarchy, which comes from involuntary hierarchy.
- Separatist feminism does not support heterosexual relationships.
- Lesbian feminism is thus closely related. Other feminists criticize separatist feminism as sexist.
- Conservative feminism is conservative relative to the society in which it resides.
- Libertarian feminism conceives of people as self-owners and therefore as entitled to freedom from coercive interference.
- Individualist feminism or 'ifeminism', opposing so-called gender feminism, draws on anarcho-capitalism.
- Eco feminists see men's control of land as responsible for the oppression of women and destruction of the natural environment, but a criticism is that ecofeminism focuses too much on a mystical connection between women and nature.

ii. Cultural

Cultural feminism seeks to revalidate undervalued 'female nature' or 'female essence'. According to its critics, it has led feminists to move away from politics to lifestyle.

During much of its history, middle-class White women from Western Europe and North America led the feminist movements and theoretical developments. However, at least since Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech to American feminists, alternative feminisms have been recommended by women of other races as well. This trend picked up the pace in the 1960s with the civil rights movement in the US and the disintegration of European colonialism in Africa, the Caribbean, parts of Latin America and Southeast Asia. Since then, additional feminisms have been proposed by women in developing nations and former colonies and who are of different colour or different ethnicities or living in poverty.

Womanism appeared after early feminist movements were largely white and middle-class. Black feminism asserts that sexism, class oppression and racism are intricately attached together. Chicana feminism focuses on Mexican American, Chicana and Hispanic women in the U.S. Multiracial or 'women of colour' feminism is related.

According to standpoint feminists, feminism should observe how women's experience of inequality is concerned with homophobia, colonization, classism and racism. Post-colonial feminists argue that post-colonial women were marginalized

NOTES

by colonial oppression and Western feminism but did not turn them passive or voiceless. These discourses are related to Africana feminism, motherism, Stiwanism, negofeminism, femalism, transnational feminism, and Africana womanism.

Postmodern feminists assert that sex and gender are socially constructed. They argue that it is impracticable to generalize women's experiences across cultures and histories, and that dualisms and traditional gender, feminism and politics are too limiting. Several post-structural feminists believe that difference is one of the most authoritative tools that women possess. Contemporary psychoanalytic French feminism is more philosophical and literary than is Anglophone feminism.

In the 1990s, riot grrrl (or riot grrl), an underground feminist punk movement started, which is often associated with third-wave feminism (it is sometimes seen as its starting point). It was grounded in the DIY philosophy of punk values. Riot grrls took an anti-corporate attitude of self-sufficiency and self-dependence. This movement emphasized on universal female identity and separatism, which often appears more closely related to second-wave feminism than with the third wave. The movement encouraged and made 'adolescent girls' standpoints central, allowing them to fully express themselves.

During 1960s and 1970s, lipstick feminism emerged as a cultural feminist movement that sought to respond to the counter-attack of second-wave radical feminism by reclaiming symbols of 'feminine' identity such as make-up, suggestive clothing and having a sexual appeal as valid and empowering personal choices.

iii. Religious

Christian feminism is a branch of feminist theology which attempts to understand and recognize Christianity in light of the equality of women and men. This interpretation is important for a complete understanding of Christianity. Most Christian feminists agree that God does not discriminate on the basis of biologically-determined characteristics such as sex. These feminists are therefore involved in issues such as the ordination of women, male dominance and the sense of balance of parenting in Christian marriage, claims of moral deficiency and inferiority of women's abilities as compared to men and the overall treatment of women in the church.

Islamic feminism is concerned with the role of women in Islam and seeks complete equality of all Muslims, regardless of gender, in public and private life. Islamic feminists promote women's rights, gender equality and social justice grounded in an Islamic framework. With the base of Islam, the leaders of the movement have also utilized secular and Western feminist discourses and recognized the role of Islamic feminism as part of an integrated global feminist movement. Promoters of the movement aim to emphasize the deeply rooted teachings of equality in the Quran and encourage a questioning of the patriarchal understanding of Islamic teaching through the Quran, hadith (sayings of Muhammad), and sharia (law) towards the creation of a more equal and just society.

NOTES

Jewish feminism aims to bring about an improvement in the religious, legal and social status of women within Judaism and to open up new opportunities for religious experience and leadership for Jewish women. With varying approaches and successes, feminist movements have opened up within all major branches of Judaism. The main issues for early Jewish feminists in these movements include the exclusion from the all-male prayer group or minyan, the freedom from positive time-bound mitzvah, and women's inability to function as witnesses and to make the first move for a divorce.

The Dianic Wicca or Wiccan feminism, also known as a feminist religion, is a female focused, Goddess-centred Wiccan division that teaches witchcraft as every woman's right. It is also one sect of many practiced in Wicca.

Secular or atheist feminists deal with feminist criticism of religion, asserting that several religions have oppressive rules towards women, and misogynistic themes and elements in religious texts.

3.6.2 Impact of the Society

The feminist movement has brought about a change in Western society, including:

- Women's suffrage
- Education
- Gender neutrality in English
- Increase in salary nearly equal to men's
- Right to initiate divorce proceedings
- Reproductive rights of women to make individual decisions on pregnancy (including access to contraceptives and abortion)
- Right to enter into contracts and own property

Feminists have fought to protect women and girls from domestic violence, sexual harassment and sexual assault, with a focus on the grounds as women's rights, rather than as men's traditional interests in families' safety for reproductive purposes. Feminists have also struggled for workplace rights, including maternity leave and against other forms of gender-specific discrimination against women. Moreover, they have also been successful in achieving some protections and societal changes through sharing experiences, developing theory and campaigning for rights.

i. Civil Rights

Since 1960s, the campaign for women's rights saw with mixed results in the US and the UK Other countries of the EEC consented to ensure that discriminatory laws would be phased out across the European Community.

In the US, the National Organization for Women (NOW) started in 1966 to seek women's equality, including through the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which although was passed, was enacted by some states on their own. Reproductive rights in the US focused on the court decision in Roe vs Wade expressing a woman's right

NOTES

to choose whether to carry a pregnancy to term. Western women gained more reliable birth control, allowing family planning and careers. This movement was started by Margaret Sanger in the 1910s in the US and elsewhere under Marie Stopes. The movement grew in the late twentieth century.

The increased entry of women into workplaces in the twentieth century affected the division of labour within households. According to sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild, in two-career couples, men and women, on average, spend about equal amounts of time working, but women still spend more time on housework. However, in response to this, Cathy Young, a Russian American journalist and writer, responded by arguing that women may prevent equal participation by men in housework and parenting.

In the final three decades of the twentieth century, Western women enjoyed liberation in a new way through birth control, which allowed them to plan their adult lives, and therefore opened up more opportunities for both career and family.

ii. Language

Gender-neutral language is referred to the use of languages which are aimed at reducing assumptions regarding the biological sex of human referents. The promotion of gender-neutral language reflects, at least, two different agendas:

- One aims to clarify the inclusion of both sexes or genders (gender-inclusive language)
- The other proposes that gender, as a category, is rarely worth marking in language (gender-neutral language)

Sometimes, gender-neutral language is described as non-sexist language by advocates and politically-correct language by opponents.

iii. Theology

Feminist theology is a movement that reassesses the practices, scriptures, traditions and theologies of religions from a feminist viewpoint. Feminist theology aims at:

- Increasing the role of women among the clergy and religious authorities
- Reinterpreting male-dominated imagery and language about God
- Determining women's place in relation to career and motherhood
- Studying images of women in the religion's sacred texts

iv. Patriarchy

In a patriarchal system, the role of the male as the principal authoritative figure is central to social organization. In such a system, fathers hold authority over women, children and property. It refers to the institutions of male rule and privilege, and is dependent on female subordination. Several forms of feminism describe patriarchy as an unfair social system that is oppressive to women. According to feminist and political theorist Carole Pateman, 'The patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection'.

NOTES

The concept of patriarchy in feminist theory often includes all the social mechanisms that reproduce and exercise male dominance over women. Feminist theory characteristically exemplifies patriarchy as a social construction, which can be prevented by revealing and critically analysing its expressions. Some radical feminists have recommended that separatism is the only viable solution to patriarchy, which is too deeply rooted in society. However, these radical feminist views have been criticized by other feminists as being anti-men, though some radical feminists reject this portrayal of their views. Societal tension caused by second-wave feminism instigated counter-attack in the form of anti-feminist men's movements, such as masculism. However, masculism is viewed by some today as a complementary movement that does not oppose feminism.

v. Men and Masculinity

Feminist theory has dealt with the social construction of masculinity and its propositions for the goal of gender equality. Feminism sees the social construct of masculinity as problematic because it associates males with violence and competition, and strengthens patriarchal and unequal gender relations. The patriarchal concept of masculinity is also seen as destructive to men by narrowing their life choices, restricting their sexuality and obstructing complete emotional connections with women and other men. Nevertheless, some feminists are engaged with men's issues activism, such as bringing attention to male rape and spousal battery, and dealing with negative social expectations from men.

Feminists greatly encourage male participation in feminism. It is seen as an important strategy for achieving full societal commitment to gender equality. Several male feminists and pro-feminists actively participate in women's rights activism, feminist theory and masculinity studies. However, some feminists believe that although male engagement with feminism is necessary, it is problematic due to the established social influences of patriarchy in gender relations. Today, the consensus in feminist and masculinity theories is that both genders can and should cooperate to achieve the larger objectives of feminism.

3.6.3 Relationship to Political Movements

In the US when politically active, feminism previously aligned largely with the political right, e.g., through the National Woman's Party, from the 1910s to the 1960s. Currently, it aligns largely with the Left, e.g., through the National Organization for Women, of the 1960s to the present. However, in neither case has the alignment been constant.

i. Socialism

Some feminists have allied with socialism since the early twentieth century. In 1907, an International Conference of Socialist Women was held in Stuttgart where suffrage was represented as a tool of class struggle. Clara Zetkin of the Social Democratic Party of Germany called for women's suffrage to establish a 'socialist order, the only one that allows for a radical solution to the women's question'.

NOTES

In Britain, the women's movement was associated with the Labour party. In the US Betty Friedan, a leading figure in the Women's Movement in the US emerged from a radical background to take leadership. During the Spanish Civil War, Dolores Ibárruri (La Pasionaria), a Spanish Republican leader of the Spanish Civil War and communist politician of Basque origin, led the Communist Party of Spain. Although she supported equal rights for women, she opposed women fighting on the front and clashed with the anarcha-feminist Mujeres Libres.

In Latin America, revolutions brought about significant changes in women's status in countries such as Nicaragua, where feminist ideology during the Sandinista Revolution upgraded women's quality of life but fell short of achieving a social and ideological change.

ii. Fascism

According to some scholars, Nazi Germany and the other fascist states of the 1930s and 1940s represents the devastating effects for society of a state ideology that becomes anti-feminist in glorifying women. After the rise of Nazism in 1933, there was a rapid dissolution of the political rights and economic opportunities in Germany that feminists had fought for during the pre-war period and to some extent during the 1920s. In Franco's Spain, the Right-wing Catholic conservatives negated the work of feminists during the Republic. Fascist society was hierarchical with a stress and idealization of masculinity, with women maintaining a largely subordinate position to men.

iii. Civil Rights Movement and Anti-Racism

Both the civil rights movement and the feminist movement have influenced and informed each other. Several Western feminists adapted the language and theories of Black equality activism and drew parallels between women's rights and the rights of non-White people.

Some tension arose during the late 1960s and early 1970s despite the connections between the women's and civil rights movements. Non-White women asserted that feminism was primarily White and middle class, and therefore did not understand and was not concerned with race issues. Likewise, according to some women, the civil rights movement had sexist elements and did not satisfactorily address the issues of the minority women. These criticisms resulted in the development of new feminist social theories about the intersections of racism, classism and sexism, and new feminisms, such as Black feminism and Chicana feminism.

Today, several feminist organizations throughout the world participate in anti-racism activism, in different areas such as immigration law in Europe, caste discrimination in India, and the discrimination of formerly enslaved African ethnic groups in Africa and the Middle East.

3.6.4 Reactions to Feminism

NOTES

Feminism has received varied responses from different groups of people, and both men and women have been among its supporters and critics. Among American university students, for both men and women, support for feminist ideas is more common than self-identification as a feminist. The US media attempts to represent feminism negatively and feminists 'are less often associated with day-to-day work/ leisure activities of regular women'.

i. Pro-feminism

Pro-feminism is a term that is often used in reference to men who are active supporters of feminism. The activities of pro-feminist men's groups include:

- Anti-violence work with boys and young men in schools
- Offering sexual harassment workshops in workplaces
- Running community education campaigns
- Counselling male perpetrators of violence
- Men's health
- Activism against pornography including anti-pornography legislation
- Men's studies
- Development of gender equity curricula in schools

These activities sometimes work in collaboration with feminists and women's services, such as domestic violence and rape crisis centres. Some activists of both genders will not refer to men as 'feminists' at all and will refer to all men who support feminism as 'pro-feminists'.

ii. Anti-feminism

Anti-feminism is opposition to feminism in some or all of its forms.

In the nineteenth century, anti-feminism was primarily concerned with the opposition to women's suffrage. Later, opponents of women's entry into institutions of higher learning asserted that education was too great a physical burden on women. Other anti-feminists fought against women's entry into the labour force, or their right to join unions, to sit on juries, or to obtain birth control and control of their sexuality. They also oppose women's entry into the workforce, political office, and the voting process, as well as the lessening of male authority in families.

According to some anti-feminists, feminism is contrary to traditional values or religious beliefs. They further argue, for example, that social acceptance of divorce and non-married women is wrong and harmful, and that men and women are basically different and therefore, their different traditional roles in society should be strictly maintained.

Some forms of feminism are opposed by writers such as Camille Paglia, Christina Hoff Sommers, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Daphne

NOTES

Patai, though they identify as feminists. For example, they believe that feminism often advocates misandry and the advancement of women's interests above men's, and criticize radical feminist positions as harmful to both men and women. Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge argue that the term 'anti-feminist' is used to quieten academic discussion about feminism.

Conclusion

Feminism can be defined as 'a political position against patriarchy' and feminist criticism as 'a specific kind of political discourse: a critical and theoretical practice committed to the struggle against patriarchy and sexism'. In other words, it can be said that feminist criticism is an interdisciplinary approach which focuses on 'gender politics'. This is despite the fact that feminism, rather than confining itself to textual analysis, has a broader perspective in terms of having the political aim of seeking a just world for females. It also seeks an end of all kinds of suppression and patriarchal oppression against women.

Feminist literary criticism grew out of the Woman's Movement in the late 1960s, which is often termed as Women's Liberation Movement (also called second-wave feminism). It demanded for equal rights for women and an end of all oppression and exploitation of women. The first-wave feminism, in the beginning of the twentieth century, which is also known as the Suffrage Movement (when women fought for their Right to Vote) saw militant protests from women. Consequently, women were granted Right to Vote in the US in 1920 and in England in 1928.

The second-wave feminism brought along with it many issues which it tried to oppose, destabilize, question and criticize. These issues are as follows:

- Western civilization is patriarchal—that is, it is male-centred and controlled. It is organized and conducted in such a way as to subordinate women to men in all cultural domains: familial, religious, political, economic, social, legal and artistic.
- Women in patriarchy are usually seen as inferior, as second rate citizens, as sexual objects.
- Women themselves are taught to internalize the patriarchal ideology. They are conditioned to derogate their own sex and to cooperate in their own subordination.
- Women's existence and identity is always defined in terms and in relation to men.
- In literature/literary canon, which is primarily male-centric, women's writing has been neglected.
- Women are marginalized and misrepresented in the literature produced by male authors.
- Male authored texts have stereotyped women.
- Language itself is sexist/man-made.

All these issues found expression in the creative and critical/theoretical writings by women from the 1960s, though it would be naïve to say that women were unaware of these issues earlier. Such concerns have been a part of women's consciousness for as long as the presence of patriarchy. Moreover, even if they found expression in literature and other writings, these works of art by women were either silenced or destroyed. As early as the sixteenth century, we see Jane Anger writing a pamphlet against patriarchal oppression, called 'Her Protection for Women'. In it, she vehemently opposes and critiques the double standards of patriarchal ideology. Many other such writings probably existed. These writings existed although they were not preserved, as male canonizers of literature did not think these valuable pieces of artistic and non-fictional works to be good enough to be part of the literary canon.

In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft's treatise on female education, called 'A Vindication for the Rights of Women' was published. It attacked patriarchy directly portraying how women are being subjugated to patriarchy by giving them education (or by neglecting their proper education) of subservience. Wollstonecraft urges the women in the treatise to be subservient not to men, but to reason. If women follow reason, then they would be able to come out of their slave like status in patriarchy. However, the solution that Wollstonecraft offers is too simple, as education alone cannot solve the problem of patriarchal oppression.

Check Your Progress

15. Define feminism.
16. Who is considered to be the 'father' of Arab feminism?
17. What do secular or atheist feminists deal with?

3.7 SUMMARY

- Liberalism is a theory of international relations that states that the state preferences play an imperative role in defining the behaviour of the nations when it comes to maintaining international relations.
- Liberalism is the theory which has strongly challenged the realist theory of international politics and provided an alternative school of thought. Most of the principle ethics of liberalism are just contrary to the beliefs of realists.
- As the era of the Cold War was known as an era of realism, the post-Cold War era is considered to be the age of liberalism.
- The roots of liberal tradition can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke favoured a peaceful relationship amongst the nations as a necessity in order to develop trade and other economic relations.
- The first and foremost principle on which the liberal ideology is based on is the idea of individual rights. Liberals argue that human beings are born with certain rights which are natural.

NOTES

- The known political philosopher of the eighteenth century Immanuel Kant propounded the idea of 'perpetual peace' in international relations. Kant argued that a peaceful world cannot be established unless certain globally accepted ideas are accepted.
- Neo-liberal institutionalism focuses on the role of global institutions. Neo-liberals argue that although anarchy prevails in international relations and prevents the states from cooperating with each other, yet the states make an attempt to achieve peace and cooperation.
- The notion of institutionalism in the theory of international relations has emerged after realization of the fact that for international cooperation too, certain platforms are required. This led to the debate on the nature, role and functions of such organizations.
- What started as the study of international organizations and regional integration underwent a dramatic change in the early 1980s to become what came to be known as the regime theory; and was subsequently rechristened as neo-liberal institutionalism.
- International institutions vary from each other in various ways. They vary in their membership and size. Some are universal and encompass almost all states in the international system.
- Holsti, a political thinker, in *Taming the Sovereigns*: *Institutional Change in International Politics* stated that along with the development of new institutionalism in the social sciences, there has been the emergence of historical institutionalism, emphasizing the ways in which institutions change.
- Robert Nozick (1938–2002), an US academic and political philosopher is one of the principal advocates of libertarianism, which is one of the contemporary versions of liberalism.
- Libertarianism treats liberty of the individual as its central concern. But it focuses on formal liberty and insists on minimal role of the state in economic activities of individuals.
- Robert Nozick's version of libertarian theory of justice has three aspects: (i) principle of justice in original justification or acquisition; (ii) in transfer; (iii) of rectification of unjust holdings.
- The term community stands for a form of society whose members are informed by the 'community spirit' or 'a sense of community'. It denotes a 'network of relationships' which are characterised by intimacy and durability.
- Marxists see community as something that can only be achieved by a revolutionary change in society, by the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a socialist society. The new communitarians, on the other hand, believe that community already exists, in the form of common social practices, cultural traditions, and shared social understandings.
- Communitarian thinkers in the 1980s such as Michael Sandel and Charles Taylor argued that Rawlsian liberalism rests on an overly individualistic conception of the self.

NOTES

- The supporter of communitarianism advocates a state with a positive function of promoting the common good, unlike the liberal individualism who assigned a negative function to the state for ensuring an absence of interference in the domain of individual rights.
- The theory of multiculturalism is a political idea that emphasizes on the right and proper way to respond to cultural diversity. Cultural diversity exists in all societies. The theory of multiculturalism basically focuses on the existence, acceptance and promotion of multiple cultures under the same jurisdiction.
- The societal conception of culture refers to an intergenerational community that occupies a specific territory and shares the same language and history.
- The theory of multiculturalism is used to describe a society wherein a variety of different cultures co-exist. Most of the countries of the world are culturally diverse.
- The theory of multiculturalism also focuses on the different normative challenges that may arise because of a multicultural environment within a country. These normative challenges like ethnic conflicts, federal autonomy and internal illiberalism arise because of the fact that the different cultural groups have different demands and want their demands to be fulfilled.
- Feminism can be defined as a collection of movements, which are aimed at defining, establishing and defending equal political, economic and social rights, and equal opportunities for women.
- First-wave feminism took place during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In the UK and US, it focused on the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting and property rights for women.
- Post-feminism is used as a term to refer to an array of opinions reacting to feminism since the 1980s. According to post-feminists, who are not 'anti-feminists', women have achieved objectives of the second-wave while being critical of third-wave feminist goals.
- The objective of feminist theory is to understand gender inequality with a focus on gender politics, power relations and sexuality.
- In the nineteenth century, anti-feminism was primarily concerned with the opposition to women's suffrage. Later, opponents of women's entry into institutions of higher learning asserted that education was too great a physical burden on women.

3.8 KEY TERMS

- **Multiculturalism:** It is a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity.
- **Cultural assimilation:** It is the process by which a person or a group's language and/or culture come to resemble those of another group.

NOTES

- **Apartheid:** It was a system of racial segregation in South Africa enforced through legislation by the National Party (NP), the governing party from 1948 to 1994.
- **Feminism:** It can be defined as a collection of movements, which are aimed at defining, establishing and defending equal political, economic and social rights, and equal opportunities for women.

3.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The post-Cold War era is considered to be the age of liberalism.
2. The roots of liberal tradition can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke favoured a peaceful relationship amongst the nations as a necessity in order to develop trade and other economic relations.
3. Neo-liberals argue that although anarchy prevails in international relations and prevents the states from cooperating with each other, yet the states make an attempt to achieve peace and cooperation.
4. The establishment of peace was the main goal of the liberal institutionalists.
5. Holsti, a political thinker, in *Taming the Sovereigns*: *Institutional Change in International Politics* stated that along with the development of new institutionalism in the social sciences, there has been the emergence of historical institutionalism, emphasizing the ways in which institutions change.
6. Libertarianism treats liberty of the individual as its central concern. But it focuses on formal liberty and insists on minimal role of the state in economic activities of individuals.
7. Robert Nozick's version of libertarian theory of justice has three aspects: (i) principle of justice in original justification or acquisition; (ii) In transfer; (iii) of rectification of unjust holdings.
8. The conclusion of Nozick's entitlement theory is that 'a minimal state, limited to the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts, and so on, is justified; any more extensive state will violate persons' rights not to be forced to do certain things, and is unjustified'.
9. Communitarians argue that an individual cannot assure full development of his personality unless he is committed to the spirit of community toward his fellow-beings.
10. While liberalism insists on 'liberty' of an individual along with his interest and rights, communitarianism focuses on his social identity and upholds acceptance of 'authority' because it expresses our common will or reflects our common identity, our shared values and believes.
11. Communitarian thinkers in the 1980s such as Michael Sandel and Charles Taylor argued that Rawlsian liberalism rests on an overly individualistic conception of the self.

NOTES

12. According to the semiotic concept of culture, culture is a set of social systems, symbols, representations and practices that are considered significant by a specific group of people.
13. National minorities are groups that have settled in a country since long but do not share the same language as the majority of the people of that country.
14. The main aim of multiculturalism is the preservation, allowance as well as celebration of differences of the different cultural groups in a country.
15. Feminism can be defined as a collection of movements, which are aimed at defining, establishing and defending equal political, economic and social rights, and equal opportunities for women.
16. Qasim Amin is considered to be the 'father' of Arab feminism.
17. Secular or atheist feminists deal with feminist criticism of religion, asserting that several religions have oppressive rules towards women, and misogynistic themes and elements in religious texts.

3.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is liberalism? What are its variants?
2. What does the state represent according to the neo-liberal theory?
3. How are neo-liberals different from neo-realists?
4. When did the notion of institutionalism in the theory of international relations emerge?
5. Write a short note on historical institutionalism.
6. How does Nozick differ in his views from Rawls?
7. What are the various aspects of Robert Nozick's libertarian theory of justice?
8. What are the various political forms of communitarianism?
9. For what reasons was communitarianism criticized?
10. What is multiculturalism?
11. What is the societal conception of culture?
12. What is feminist theory?
13. What was the impact of the society on the feminist movement?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the differences between the realist theory and liberalist theory of international politics.
2. Explain the theory of liberalism with respect to the international relations.
3. Identify and discuss the various variants of liberalism.
4. Discuss the notion of institutionalism in neo-liberalism.

NOTES

5. Critically evaluate Nozick's theory of libertarianism.
6. Assess the differences between the liberals and the communitarians.
7. Discuss the ontological and metaphysical debate over the self.
8. Describe the theory of multiculturalism and the response obtained by it.
9. What is feminism? Assess the feminist theory and the role of feminism.
10. Describe the various feminist movements and ideologies.

3.11 FURTHER READING

Pruthi, R. K. 2005. *The Political Theory*. Delhi: Sarup & Sons.

Freeden, Michael. 1996. *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach.* Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press.

Lively, Jack. 1989. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*. Alingdon, Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Arora, N.D. and, S. S. Awasthy. 2007. *Political Theory and Political Thought*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

Morgan, Michael L. (ed.). 2011. *Classics of Moral and Political Theory* (fifth ed.). USA: Hackett Publishing Company Ltd.

Varma, S.P. 2008. *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Bhargava, Rajeev. 2008. 'What is Political Theory?' in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya, eds., 2008, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, New Delhi: Pearson Longman.

Ashraf, Ali and, Sharma, L. N. 1983. *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Horowitz, I. L. 1972. *Foundations of Political Sociology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1996, 'The Centrality of Classics' in Stephen Turner, ed., *Social Theory and Sociology: The Classics and Beyond*, Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers.

Rajimwale, S. 2007. *Contemporary Literary Criticism*. New Delhi: Rama Brothers.

Das, K. B. 2004. *Twentieth Century Criticism*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.

UNIT 4 MARXIST VIEW OF SCIENCE AND APPROACH

NOTES

Structure

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Marx's Views on Science
4.3 Analysis of Political Economy: Marxist and Structuralist
  4.3.1 Marxist Approach to Political Economy
  4.3.2 Structuralist Approach to Political Economy
4.4 Neo-Marxist Political Theory
  4.4.1 Analysis of Mode of Production: Key Debates
  4.4.2 Nature of State: Theory of Relative Autonomy and Authoritarian Statism
  4.4.3 Critical Theory
  4.4.4 Post-Colonial Political Theory
4.5 Summary
4.6 Key Terms
4.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.8 Questions and Exercises
4.9 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Marx's theories about society, economics and politics, which are collectively known as Marxism, hold that all society progresses through class struggle. He was heavily critical of the current form of society, capitalism, which he called the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie', believing it to be run by the wealthy middle and upper classes purely for their own benefit. Marx intended his understanding to be scientific in the sense of avoiding materialist or idealist abstractions in favour of 'human science'.

Structural Marxism arose in opposition to the humanistic Marxism that dominated many Western universities during the 1970s. Structuralists view the state in a capitalist mode of production as taking a specifically capitalist form, not because particular individuals are in powerful positions, but because the state reproduces the logic of capitalist structure in its economic, legal, and political institutions. This unit deals with the Marxist and Neo-Marxist approach to political theory. The development of Neo-Marxism came forth through several political and social problems which traditional Marxist thought was unable to answer.

The critical theory is an approach developed by the Frankfurt School of theorists who look at the ways and means in which the society can be understood completely to bring about the required changes in the society. The theory aims at understanding the society and its constructs and how it is affected by the thoughts and knowledge of individuals. The critical theory helps to understand the structuralism that exists in the society.

NOTES

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Marx's views on science
- Describe the Marxist and structuralist approach to political science
- Assess the Neo-Marxist political theory and the key debates on the analysis of mode of production
- Evaluate the theory of relative autonomy and authoritarian statism
- Explain the critical theory and post-colonial political theory

4.2 MARX'S VIEWS ON SCIENCE

Karl Heinrich Marx was born on 5 May 1818 in Trier.[1] He was a German philosopher, sociologist, historian, political, economist, political theorist and revolutionary socialist who developed the socio-political theory of Marxism. His ideas have since played a significant role in both the development of social science and also in the socialist political movement. He published various books during his lifetime with the most notable being *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Capital* (1867–1894), many of which were co-written with his friend, the fellow German revolutionary socialist Friedrich Engels.[2]

Born into a wealthy middle class family in Trier, Prussia, Marx went on to study at both the University of Bonn and the University of Berlin, where he became interested in the philosophical ideas of the young Hegelians. Following the completion of his studies, he became a journalist in Cologne, writing for a radical newspaper, the *Rheinische Zeitung*, where he began to use Hegelian concepts of dialectical materialism to influence his ideas on socialism. Moving to Paris in 1843, he began writing for other radical newspapers, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and *Vorwärts!*, as well as writing a series of books, several of which were co-written with Engels. Exiled to Brussels in Belgium in 1845, he became a leading figure of the Communist League, before moving back to Cologne, where he founded his own newspaper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Exiled once more, in 1849 he travelled to London where, living in poverty, he proceeded to continue writing and formulating his theories about the nature of society and how he believed it could be improved, as well as campaigning for socialism and becoming a significant figure in the International Workingmen's Association.[3]

Marx's theories about society, economics and politics, which are collectively known as Marxism, hold that all society progresses through class struggle. He was heavily critical of the current form of society, capitalism, which he called the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie', believing it to be run by the wealthy middle and upper classes purely for their own benefit, and predicted that, like previous socio-economic systems, it would inevitably produce internal tensions which would lead to

its self-destruction and replacement by a new system, socialism.[4] Under socialism, he argued that society would be governed by the working class in what he called the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', the 'workers state' or 'workers' democracy'.[5] He believed that socialism would, in its turn, eventually be replaced by a stateless, classless society called pure communism. Along with believing in the inevitability of socialism and communism, Marx actively fought for the former's implementation, arguing that both social theorists and underprivileged people should carry out organized revolutionary action to topple capitalism and bring about socio-economic change.

NOTES

While Marx remained a relatively obscure figure in his own lifetime, his ideas and the ideology of Marxism began to exert a major influence on socialist movements shortly after his death. Revolutionary socialist governments following Marxist concepts took power in a variety of countries in the 20th century, leading to the formation of such socialist states as the Soviet Union in 1922 and the People's Republic of China in 1949, whilst various theoretical variants, such as Leninism, Trotskyism and Maoism, were developed. Marx is typically cited, with Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, as one of the three principal architects of modern social science. In a 1999 BBC poll, Marx was voted the 'thinker of the millennium' by people around the world.[7]

Marx and Engels did indeed apply what we now call Scientific Method—empirical observation, description, hypothetical explanation, and so forth—to a considerable extent in their common work. Precisely by so doing, and to the extent that they did, they made great contributions to the social sciences. They drew attention to the brutal facts of social and economic life. They combated the customary glossing over of actualities with arguments taken from theology, from some custom-made ideologies or from wishful thinking, at least if not of their own making. They pointed to interrelations between political and economic factors in history that had been widely neglected. They refused to accept the ethical value judgements of their own epoch or of earlier periods, denouncing the influence of economic and class interests on moral standards.[8]

Marx's materialistic view focused on the development process. Marx saw most theories, except his own, as bourgeois and ideological. In his *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx rejected speculative and philosophical views of reality and indicted both idealist and materialist. The eleventh thesis states, for example, 'the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it'.[9] Marx urged the scientific study of reality, of 'the actual life process' and consequently he focused most of his attention on a critic of bourgeoisie capitalist society rather than on speculation about the future of society. Thus, Marx sought a clear and direct view, a materialist view of the world and, in particular, its developmental process through historical process. His perspective of development was tied to his understanding of dialectical and historical materialism.[10]

Marx intended his understanding to be scientific in the sense of avoiding materialist or idealist abstractions in favour of 'human science'. With Engels in *The German Ideology*, he wrote that where speculation ends, in real life, there positive

NOTES

science begins: the depiction of the practical activity, of the practical process of development, of man. The use of science here was not positivistic in the Comtian sense. 'Marx uses the word throughout his writings in such way that it is always quite incompatible with a crude, positivistic usage, although not all of Engel's formulations are incompatible with positivism in anything like the same way.'[11]

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Name the three principal architects of modern social science.
2. What was Marx critical about?

4.3 ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY: MARXIST AND STRUCTURALIST

Webster's dictionary identifies political economy in the eighteenth century as a field of government concerned with directing policies toward the enhancement of government and community wealth. The dictionary adds that in the nineteenth century political economy was a social science related to economics but primarily concerned with government rather than commercial or personal economics. Webster also defines political economy as a 'social science dealing with the interrelationship of political and economic processes'. Curiously, no great tradition of political economy seems to have established itself in the discipline of government or political science, and only recently has it come in vogue. During the early decades of the twentieth century, the work of political scientists tended to be more descriptive than theoretical and focused on formal legal and governmental institutions. The work of the mid-twentieth century followed in this tradition but also turned attention to informal institutions and processes and to problems often limited in scope and significance. The contemporary revival of interest in political economy is more of a consequence of efforts made by radical economists and sociologists rather than efforts of political scientists.

4.3.1 Marxist Approach to Political Economy

Economists usually stress on the ramifications by political economy. Mandel, for example, dated political economy to 'the development of a society based on petty commodity production'. Marx's major work, *Capital*, is subtitled *A Critique of Political Economy* and emphasizes commodities, money, surplus value, and accumulation of capital. It is a three-volume work, of which only the first volume was published in his lifetime (the others were published by Friedrich Engels from Marx's notes). One of Marx's early works, *Critique of Political Economy*, was mostly incorporated into *Capital*, especially the beginning of Volume I. Marx's notes made in preparation for writing *Capital* were published years later under the title *Grundrisse.* Marx's economics took as its starting point the work of the best-known economists of his day, the British classical economists. Among these economists were Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo.[12]

NOTES

Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, argued that the most important characteristic of a market economy was that it permitted a rapid growth in productive abilities. Smith claimed that a growing market stimulated a greater 'division of labour' (i.e., specialization of businesses and/or workers) and this, in turn, led to greater productivity. Although Smith generally said little about labourers, he did note that an increased division of labour could at some point cause harm to those whose jobs became narrower and narrower as the division of labour expanded. Smith maintained that a laissez-faire economy would naturally correct itself over time.

Marx followed Smith by claiming that the most important (and perhaps only) beneficial economic consequence of capitalism was a rapid growth in productivity abilities. Marx also expanded greatly on the notion that labourers could come to harm as capitalism became more productive. Additionally, in *Theories of Surplus Value*, Marx noted.

> We see the great advance made by Adam Smith beyond the Physiocrats in the analysis of surplus-value and hence of capital. In their view, it is only one definite kind of concrete labour—agricultural labour—that creates surplus-value . . . . But to Adam Smith, it is general social labour—no matter in what use-values it manifests itself—the mere quantity of necessary labour, which creates value. Surplus-value, whether it takes the form of profit, rent, or the secondary form of interest, is nothing but a part of this labour, appropriated by the owners of the material conditions of labour in the exchange with living labour.[13]

Malthus' claim, in 'An Essay on the Principle of Population', that population growth was the primary cause of subsistence level wages for labourers provoked Marx to develop an alternative theory of wage determination. Whereas Malthus presented an ahistorical theory of population growth, Marx offered a theory of how a relative surplus population in capitalism tended to push wages to subsistence levels. Marx saw this relative surplus population as coming from economic causes and not from biological causes (as in Malthus). This economic-based theory of surplus population is often labeled as Marx's theory of the reserve army of labour.[14]

Ricardo developed a theory of distribution within capitalism, that is, a theory of how the output of society is distributed to classes within society. The most mature version of this theory, presented in 'On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation', was based on a labour theory of value in which the value of any produced object is equal to the labour embodied in the object. (Adam Smith also presented a labor theory of value but it was only incompletely realized.) Also notable in Ricardo's economic theory was that profit was a deduction from society's output and that wages and profit were inversely related: an increase in profit came at the expense of a reduction in wages. Marx built much of the formal economic analysis found in *Capital* on Ricardo's theory of the economy.[15]

In his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx began with such terms as capital, landed property, and wage labour. In his introduction, Marx focused on 'all material production by individuals as determined

NOTES

by society', and he indicated his predecessors Adam Smith and Pierre Joseph Proudhon, among others, for basing their conceptions of political economy upon illusions of an eighteenth-century society of free competition in which the individual appears liberated from the constraints of nature. Marx reminded us that the notion of individual freedom evolved with the breakup of feudal forms of society and, since the sixteenth century, with the creation of new forces of production. By the eighteenth century, the bourgeois society had implanted itself. It was a period in which the view of the isolated individual prevailed, yet was one in which the interrelationships of individual and society had reached such a high level that the individual could develop only in society, not in isolation from it. Against this illusion of individualism, personified in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Marx set his critique of the early bourgeois conceptions of political economy. The work of Adam Smith tended to perpetuate this bourgeois conception, influencing David Ricardo whose theory of value served the utopian socialists such as Robert Owen in England and Pierre Joseph Proudhon in France. Marx's discovery of Ricardo's thought led him to a reassessment, critique, and a new understanding of political economy.[16]

Marx employed a labour theory of value, which holds that the value of a commodity is the socially necessary labour time invested in it. Capitalists, however, do not pay workers the full value of the commodities they produce, but compensate the worker for the necessary labour only (the worker's wage, which cover only the necessary means of subsistence in order to maintain him working in the present and his family in the future as a group—the working class—absolutely necessary for the existence of the capital-labour relation, the essence of the capitalist mode of production). This necessary labour is, in fact, only a fraction of a full working day, and the rest, the surplus-labour, is, in fact, pocketed by the capitalist. Marx theorized that the gap between the value a worker produces and his wage is a form of unpaid labour, known as surplus value. Moreover, Marx notes that markets tend to obscure the social relationships and processes of production, a phenomenon he termed commodity fetishism. People are highly aware of commodities, and usually do not think about the relationships and labour they represent.[17]

In his critique of Hegel, Marx examined the emergence of the state in modern times. The separation between civil society and the state, he argued, was a modern phenomenon reinforced by capitalism. Although Easton credited Marx with this sight, Easton himself influenced and set in motion the movement in political science to discard the state as a concept, replacing it with political system. The Marxist understanding of state had also been denuded of its significance by the attention of German positivist political scientists who emphasized the legal and constitutional aspects of the state and influenced the early US political scientists. In his political and economic studies, Marx discovered this conception of the state, early in the 1840s, embarrassed by his ignorance on economic questions; Marx shifted his attention from jurisprudence to material interests. In 1845–1846 Marx and Engels related their conception of the state to the productive base of society through successive periods of history. They examined the interests of the individual, in individual family,

NOTES

and the communal interests of all individuals. Division of labour and private property tend to promote contradictions between individual and community interests so that the latter takes on an independent form as the state separates from the real interests of individual and community. In showing this separation of state from society, Marx and Engels argued that we should not look for categories in every period of history; that would be idealistic. Instead we must be able to explain the formation of ideas from material practice; we should examine the whole or the totality of interrelationships between material production and the state along with its forms of consciousness, religion, and the like.

Marx and Engels are quoted to show that in this early period they had worked out a conception of base and superstructure that Marx later delineated in 1859. Accordingly, the base of economic structure of society becomes the real foundation on which people enter, into essential relations over which they exercise little control. In contrast, the legal and political superstructure is a reflection of that base, and changes in the economic foundation bring about transformations in the superstructure. The famous passage in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, in which this conception of base and superstructure is depicted, has been attacked as determinist, dogmatic and static. Admittedly Marx's synthesis of his own perspective appears to reduce societal relationships to a dichotomy of categories and to simplistic formulations. Yet one also finds in this passage the essential concepts of Marxism as well as a departure point for comprehending the relationship of politics and economics.

Marxist thought is holistic, broadly ranged, unified and interdisciplinary in contrast to ahistorical, compartmentalized, and often narrow parameters of the mainstream paradigm. Marx believed that dialectics should be combined with a materialist, not an idealist, view of history. Hegel's dialectic was idealist and mystical and was set forth rigidly as a system. Marx's dialectic was intended to be a flexible method of analysis, not a dogma or a complete and closed system. Dialectics allows for the building of theory upon new facts as well as for the interpreting of facts in relation to new theory. Dialectics does not need to be intended as a set of universal laws that solve all problems and relate to all knowledge of past and present history. There is no precise formula for dialectical inquiry, but some guidelines might be employed. Marxist methodology includes a plethora of concepts. Necessary production, for example, satisfies the basic human needs for food, drink, and so on. Surplus production evolved with intentions and new knowledge that made possible increases in the productivity of labour. Surplus production led to the division and specialization of labour. Changes in the forces of production affected relations of production so that revolution and class struggle became possible at certain junctures of history.[18]

Marx used dialectics, a method that he adapted from the works of George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Dialectics focuses on relation and change, and tries to avoid seeing the universe as composed of separate objects, each with essentially stable unchanging characteristics. One component of dialectics is abstraction; out

NOTES

of an undifferentiated mass of data or system conceived of as an organic whole, one abstracts portions to think about or to refer to. One may abstract objects, but also—and more typically—relations, and processes of change. An abstraction may be extensive or narrow, may focus on generalities or specifics, and may be made from various points of view. For example, a sale may be abstracted from a buyer's or a seller's point of view and one may abstract a particular sale or sales in general. Another component is the dialectical deduction of categories. Marx uses Hegel's notion of *categories*, which are *forms*, for economics: The commodity *form*, the money *form*, the capital *form* etc. have to be systematically deduced instead of being grasped in an outward way as done by the bourgeois economists. This corresponds to Hegel's critique of Kant's transcendental philosophy.[19]

Marx regarded history as having passed through several stages. The details of his periodization vary somewhat through his works, but it essentially is: primitive communism—slave societies—feudalism—capitalism—socialism—communism (capitalism being the present stage and communism the future). Marx occupied himself primarily with describing capitalism. Historians place the beginning of capitalism sometime between about 1450 (Sombart) and sometime in the 17th century (Hobsbawm). A distinguishing feature of capitalism is that most of the products of human labour are produced for sale, rather than consumed by the producers or appropriated, essentially by force, by ruling elite as in feudalism or slavery. (For example, in feudalism, most agricultural produce was either consumed by the peasants who grew it, or appropriated by feudal masters. It almost never was sold for money.) Marx defines a commodity as a product of human labour that is produced for sale in a market. Thus in capitalism, most of the products of human labour are commodities. Marx began his major work on economics, *Capital*, with a discussion of commodities; Chapter one is called 'Commodities'.[20]

Marx transcended the theory of the utopian socialists as well as the classical liberal thinkers. He worked out a theory of surplus value as well as a synthesis that allowed for an explanation of class struggle. He developed theories on the prices of production and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. He set forth basic laws of development: 'through his working out of a theory of the reproduction of capital and of national income, and through his adumbration of a theory of crises, he simultaneously achieved a first practical synthesis of micro-economic and macro-economic ideas'.[21]

Marx's early works attacked the utopian socialists, and his later works concentrated on all his predecessors, but in particular on the classical liberal economists Ricardo and Smith, for example, in *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx exposed the 'metaphysics' of Proudhon's political economy, and he argued against the use of 'fixed immutable eternal categories'. Instead, one should examine 'the historical movement of production relations', not their theoretical expression as categories nor as spontaneous or abstract ideas. In addition, he insisted that the production relations of every society form a whole; the parts cannot be separated

from the whole so that one can explain society in terms of all relations simultaneously co-existing and supporting one another.[22]

NOTES

Marx examined commodities and money, noting differences in use and exchange values. He looked at the circulation of commodities and capital, the transformation of money into capital, labour power and surplus value, and the process of capitalist production as a whole. The last sections of the first volume of capital concern primitive accumulation and the accumulation capital. Marx described the process by which money and commodities transform into capital and in which the owner of money and means of production confront workers.

Primitive communal production, in which labour collectively participates in and owns the means of production and in which there is no exploitation of classes, had disappeared long before. Slavery, in which the owner of the means of production owns the worker and in which accumulation wealth falls into the hands of a few, also had been largely overcome. However, competitive capitalism grew out of feudalism, in which the feudal lord owns the means of production but does not fully own the worker. Alongside feudal ownership, there was some private property in the hands of peasants and artisans whose ownership was based on personal labour. Marx described how capitalist accumulation disrupted those relations of production as large mills and factories replaced handicraft shops and large farms with machinery and took the place of the old feudal estates and peasant farms.

For Marx, there are no eternal economic laws, valid in every epoch of human pre-history and history. Each mode of production has its own specific economic laws, which lose their relevance once the general social framework has fundamentally changed. For Marx likewise, there are no economic laws separate and apart from specific relations between human beings, in the primary social relations of production. All attempts to reduce economic problems to purely material, objective ones, to relations between things, or between things and human beings, would be considered by Marx as manifestations of mystification, of false consciousness, expressing itself through the attempted relocation of human relations. Behind relations between things, economic science should try to discover the specific relations between human beings which they hide. Real economic science has therefore also a demystifying function compared to vulgar 'economics', which takes a certain number of 'things' for granted without asking the questions: Are they really only what they appear to be? From where do they originate? What explains these appearances? What lies behind them? Where do they lead? How could they (will they) disappear? Problemblindheit, the refusal to see that facts are generally more problematic than they appear at first sight, is certainly not a reproach one could address to Marx's economic thought.[23]

Marx's economic analysis is therefore characterized by a strong ground current of historical relativism, with a strong recourse to the genetically and evolutionary method of thinking (that is why the parallel with Darwin has often been made, sometimes in an excessive way). The formula 'genetic structuralism' has also been used in relation to Marx's general approach to economic analysis. Be that as it may,

NOTES

one could state that Marx's economic theory is essentially geared to the discovery of specific 'laws of motion' for successive modes of production. While his theoretical effort has been mainly centred around the discovery of these laws of motion for capitalist society, his work contains indications of such laws—different ones, to be sure for pre-capitalist and post-capitalist social formations too.[24]

The main link between Marx's sociology and anthropology on the one hand, and his economic analysis on the other, lies in the key role of social labour as the basic anthropological feature underlying all forms of social organization. Social labour can be organized in quite different forms, thereby giving rise to quite different economic phenomena ('facts'). Basically, different forms of social labour organization lead to basically different sets of economic institutions and dynamics, following basically different logics (obeying basically different 'laws of motion').[25]

All human societies must assure the satisfaction of a certain number of basic needs, in order to survive and reproduce themselves. This leads to the necessity of establishing some sort of equilibrium between social recognized needs, i.e. current consumption and current production. But this abstract banality does not tell us anything about the concrete way in which social labour is organized in order to achieve that goal.[26]

Society can recognize all individual labour as immediately social labour. Indeed, it does so in innumerable primitive tribal and village communities, as it does in the contemporary kibbutz. Directly social labour can be organized in a despotic or in a democratic way, through custom and superstition as well as through an attempt at applying advanced science to economic organization; but it will always be immediately recognized social labour, in as much as it is based upon a priori assignment of the producers to their specific work (again: irrespective of the form this assignation takes, whether it is voluntary or compulsory, despotic or simply through custom etc.).[27]

But when social decision-taking about work assignation (and resource allocation closely tied to it) is fragmented into different units operating independently from each other—as a result of private control (property) of the means of production, in the economic and not necessarily the juridical sense of the word—then social labour in turn is fragmented into private labours which are not automatically recognized as socially necessary ones (whose expenditure is not automatically compensated by society). Then the private producers have to exchange parts or all of their products in order to satisfy some or all of their basic needs. Then these products become commodities, the economy becomes a (partial or generalized) market economy. Only by measuring the results of the sale of his products can the producer (or owner) ascertain what part of his private labour expenditure has been recognized (compensated) as social labour, and what part has not.[28]

Even if we operate with such simple analytical tools as 'directly social labour', 'private labour', 'socially recognized social labour', we have to make quite an effort at abstracting from immediately apparent phenomena in order to understand their

relevance for economic analysis. This is true for all scientific analysis, in natural as well as in social sciences. Marx's economic analysis, as presented in his main books, has not been extremely popular reading; but then, there are not yet so many scientists in these circumstances. This has nothing to do with any innate obscurity of the author, but rather with the nature of scientific analysis as such.[29]

NOTES

The relatively limited number of readers of Marx's economic writings (the first English paperback edition of *Das Kapital* appeared only in 1974) is clearly tied to Marx's scientific rigour, his effort at a systematic and all-sided analysis of the phenomena of the capitalist economy. But while his economic analysis lacked popularity, his political and historical projections became more and more influential. With the rise of independent working-class mass parties, an increasing number of these proclaimed themselves as being guided or influenced by Marx, at least in the epoch of the Second and the Third Internationals, roughly the half century from 1890 till 1940. Beginning with the Russian revolution of 1917, a growing number of governments and of states claimed to base their policies and constitutions on concepts developed by Marx. (Whether this was legitimate or not is another question.) But the fact itself testifies to Marx's great influence on contemporary social and political developments, evolutionary and revolutionary alike.[30]

Likewise, his diffused influence on social science, including academic economic theory, goes far beyond general acceptance or even substantial knowledge of his main writings. Some key ideas of historical materialism and of economic analysis which permeate his work—e.g. that economic interests to a large extent influence, if not determine, political struggles; that historic evolution is linked to important changes in material conditions; that economic crises ('the business cycle') are unavoidable under conditions of capitalist market economy—have become near-platitudes. It is sufficient to notice how major economists and historians strongly denied their validity throughout the 19th century and at least until the 1920s, to understand how deep has been Marx's influence on contemporary social science in general.[31]

Thus, political economy fundamentally addresses this broad historical sweep of capitalism, especially over the past hundred years. In *Grundrisse and Capital*, Marx gave us the foundations for such study. Paul Sweezy in *The Theory of Capitalist Development* and Ernest Mandel in *Marxist Economic Theory* summarised and interpreted Marx's findings, emphasizing the economic implications in particular, whereas the synthesis by Stanley W. Moore in *The Critique of Capitalist Democracy* focussed on the political ramifications. Duncan K. Foley and Makoto Ito are particularly instructive with their interpretation and guidance to understanding Marx's elaboration and critique of capitalism.

Mandel asked how the history of the past hundred years relates to 'the unfolding development of internal conditions' in the capitalist mode of production, to 'its combination of expanding capital and pre-capitalist spheres. He distinguished competitive and imperialist capitalism from 'Late Capitalism', which has evolved

NOTES

since the Second World War. Mandel's *Late Capitalism* attempts to integrate theory and history in the tradition of Marx, dialectically moving from abstract to concrete and concrete to abstract, form the parts to the whole and from the whole to the parts, from essence to appearance and from appearance to essence, from totality to contradiction and contradiction to totality, from object to subject and subject to object. Although Mandel failed to give us a modern version of *Capital*, his work is a serious holistic effort to fill a gap in political economy.

Samir Amin in *Accumulation on a World Scale* combined theory with history on a holistic level. He argued that accumulation or expanded reproduction is essential to the capitalist mode of production as well as to the socialist mode of production, but not to pre-capitalist modes of production. He insisted that analysis incorporates capitalist modes in combination with pre-capitalist modes. In fact, all modes and formations of the contemporary world reflect accumulation on a world scale. Primitive accumulation does not belong to pre-history of capitalism but is contemporary as well. Capitalist and socialist world markets are not distinguishable, for there is only one, the world capitalist market, in which socialist countries marginally participate. Furthermore, capitalism is a world system, not a mixture of national capitalisms.

Other ambitious attempts to provide a holistic overview of political economy include Perry Anderson's *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* and *Lineages of the Absolute State*; in them Anderson delved into questions relevant to feudalism and capitalism as Europe emerged from the Middle Ages. Immanuel Wallerstein in *The Modern World-System* dated the modern world system from the sixteenth century but saw four periods in its evolution: origins (1450–1640), mercantile consolidation (1640–1815), industrial expansion (1815–1917), and the contemporary capitalist world (1917–present). Wallerstein elaborated and refined Andre Gunder Frank's theory of capitalist development of underdevelopment and emphasised on market relations. Robert Brenner took both thinkers to task for locating their analysis of the origins of capitalism in market processes identified in the work of Adam Smith.

Four thinkers—Mandel, Amin, Anderson, and *Wallerstein*—among others have rekindled an interest in the history of political economy. However imperfect their work may be, it orients us toward old and new questions neglected by some of the contemporary work in economics and political science. All four drew heavily on foundation of Marxist thought. Their work also helps to transcend some of the problems found in many theories of development and underdevelopment. Underdevelopment cannot be understood in isolation from development. Both development and underdevelopment are unified and integrated into the world capitalist system accumulation.

4.3.2 Structuralist Approach to Political Economy

The fundamental thesis of the structuralist perspective is that the functions of the state are broadly determined by the structures of the society rather than by the

NOTES

people who occupy positions of state power.[32] Opposite to instrumentalism, those who advocate the structuralist perspective examine the constraints and contradictions of capitalism within the structure in which the state is embedded. This structure, rather than a struggle by individuals, classes, and the like, is of central concern. Althusser provided a foundation and Nicos Poulantzas elaborated a political side of this structuralism. He argued that the bourgeoisie is unable as a class to dominate the state, that the state itself organizes and unifies the interest of this class. The economic side of a structuralist approach is exemplified by the work of Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy. They stressed the activity of the state in resolving economic contradictions and averting crises related to monopoly capitalism. Critics of the structuralist perspective argue that it cannot explain class action that arises from class consciousness.

The origins of structuralism have been traced to Marx and the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. Within the structural school, political and economic currents are evident. Political structuralists like Althusser and Poulantzas focus on state mechanism of repression and ecology and the way they provide and ordered structure of capitalism. This political structuralism contrasts with the economic structuralist approach, examples of which are found in the writings of Paul Baran, Sweezy and O'Connor. In addition there is the effort to develop a class analysis of world economy introduced by Wallerstein.

Structural Marxism arose in opposition to the humanistic Marxism that dominated many Western universities during the 1970s. In contrast to humanistic Marxism, Althusser stressed that Marxism was a science that examined objective structures, and he believed that humanistic, historic and phenomenological Marxism, which was based on Marx's early works, was caught in a 'pre-scientific humanistic ideology'.[33]

Toward the middle of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, Marxist theorists began to develop structuralist Marxist accounts of the state, law, and crime. Structuralist Marxism disputes the instrumentalist view that the state can be viewed as the direct servant of the capitalist or ruling class. Whereas the instrumentalist position argues that the institutions of the state are under the direct control of those members of the capitalist class in positions of state power, the structuralist perspective takes the position that the institutions of the state must function in such a way as to ensure ongoing viability of capitalism more generally. Another way that Marxists put this is that the institutions of the state must function so as to reproduce capitalist society as a whole.[34]

Structuralists view the state in a capitalist mode of production as taking a specifically capitalist form, not because particular individuals are in powerful positions, but because the state reproduces the logic of capitalist structure in its economic, legal, and political institutions. Hence, from a structuralist perspective one would argue that the institutions of the state (including its legal institutions) function in the long-term interests of capital and capitalism, rather than in the short term interests

of members of the capitalist class. Structuralists would thus argue that the state and its institutions have a certain degree of independence from specific elites in the ruling or capitalist class.[35]

NOTES

In an essay on structure and the contradictions of capitalism analysed in Marx, Maurice Godelier outlined the proximity of structuralism and Marxism. Marx, he claimed, described social life in terms of structure by reference to infrastructure and super structure. Marx also offered a scientific understanding of the capitalist system by discovering 'the internal structures hidden behind its visible functioning'.[36] Godelier believed that Marx initiated the modern structuralist condition; he carefully distinguished this tradition from the US and British belief in empirical social science in which a structure must be directly visible.

Levi Strauss's work represents a significant theoretical contribution to contemporary anthropology and although it is not Marxist it has been incorporated into a Marxist model. Jonathan Friedman analysed similarities in the thought of Marx and Levi Strauss and concluded that although work such as Levi Strauss's *Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente* and Marx's *Capital* are different, 'they both attempt to explore reality in terms of what are conceived of as fundamental underlying relations'.[37]

The concept of political structuralism is found in the works of Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas. Gramsci's main ideas are found in his book *Prison Notebook* and *Selections from Political Writings* (1910-1920). Gramsci's note on the state provides one basis for structuralist thought and has influenced Althusser and Poulantzas. Gramsci directed us toward a Marxist theory of politics. His emphasis on hegemony or dominance of some social group or class in power has promoted some critics to suggest he was advocating reformist interpretations or undialectically separating politics from economics. Gramsci tended to utilize categories of analysis, for example, in distinguishing between state and civil society, as did Hegel and Marx, in his early works. Gramsci's conception of state is varied, however, crises occurs in the hegemony of the ruling class because it fails in some political undertaking and the masses become discontented and actively resistant. Such a crisis of hegemony is a crisis of authority or crisis of the state. Under such conditions a ruling class may seize control and retain power by crushing its adversaries. Gramsci examined this activity in terms of the experiences of Italy and other nations in Europe. He seemed to be agreeing with the structuralist position that the activities of the state are determined by the structures of society rather than by persons in positions of state power.

The fact that the state or government, conceived as an autonomous force, should reflect back its prestige upon the class upon which it is based, is of the greatest practical and theoretical importance, and deserves to be analysed fully if one wants a more realistic concept of the state itself . . . It can, it seems, be incorporated into the function of elites on vanguards, i.e. of parties, in relation to the class which they represent. This class, often, as an economic fact . . . might not

enjoy any intellectual or moral prestige, i.e. might be incapable of establishing its hegemony, hence of founding a state.[38]

There are scattered references to Gramsci in the works of French structuralist Louis Althusser. For example, in *For Marx* (1970), Althusser commented, 'The jottings and developments in his *Prison Notebooks* touch on all the basic problems of Italian and European history: economic, social, political and cultural. There are also some completely original and in some cases general insights into the problem, basic today, of superstructure. Also, as always with true discoveries, there are new concepts, for example, hegemony; a remarkable example of a theoretical solutions in outline to the problem of the interpretation of the economic and political'. Althusser's major works in English, in addition to *For Marx*, include *Reading Capital, Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (1971), and *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx* (1972). Althusser's thought was shaped by an attack on Marxist humanists and by an effort to sharply distinguish the humanist ideas in Marx's early writing from the structuralist formations found in the later writings. Marx's poster (1974) characterised Althusser's structuralism as 'an escape from ideology into science', and 'a theoretically more sophisticated Marxism that could analyse various segments of society without reducing them all to the economy'.

NOTES

In his essay on ideology and the state, Althusser sketched Marx's representation of the structure of every society in terms of levels: infrastructure or economic base composed of productive forces and relations of production, on the one hand, and superstructure composed of political-legal and ideological aspects, on the other hand. Althusser referred to this representation as a representation of a spatial metaphor, that is, it remains descriptive, and he set forth different formulations. Following Marx he conceived of the state as a repressive apparatus that permits the ruling classes to dominate over and exploit the working class. This apparatus includes the bureaucracy police, courts, prisons and the army, which intervenes in times of crisis. The state then is a force of repression and intervention that shields the bourgeoisie and its allies in the class struggle against the proletariat. Indeed the whole of the political class struggle revolves around the state. The objective of the class struggle concerns state power, for the proletariat must seize state power, destroy the bourgeois state apparatus, replace it with a proletarian state apparatus, and then in the end destroy the state itself.

Althusser thus distinguished between state power and repressive state apparatus, and he identified the structural elements of this state apparatus. In conjunction with the repressive state apparatus he alluded to a plurality of ideological state apparatuses, which appear to the observer in the form of distinct and specialised institutions, including the religious system of churches, schools, family, political parties, trade unions, communications and cultural enterprises. These ideological state apparatuses, are public. The former functions predominantly by ideology; the latter, by violence. Such diversity should not distinguish the real unity of the ruling class, which hold state power and may utilize both the repressive and ideological state

apparatuses. These conditions ensure the reproduction of relations of production through historical periods.

NOTES

Nicos Poulantzas elaborated an Althusserian struturalist model of the state and class. In line with the French structuralist perspective, Poulantzas believed that the structures of society rather than influencing people generally determine the functions of the state. He examined the structure of class in society in order to identify the contradictions in the economy and to analyse how the state attempts to mitigate or eliminate those contradictions. Poulantzas' theory of the capitalist state was introduced in his *Political Power and Social Classes* (1973). Other contributions include his *Fascism and Dictatorship* (1974) and *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (1975). Although Poulantzas' writings have been received with interest if not acclaim, it is clear that British and American critics recognise their contribution to a Marxist theory of politics, especially in conceptualizations of state, class, and power. His work, however, suffers from an abundance of formal terminology, abstraction, and failure to elucidate and explicate many terms. The writing is obscure and often reluctant. Despite these limitations, some essential aspects of his thought are summarised below.

In *Political Power and Social Classes*, Poulantzas offered a theory that relates to the functions of the capitalist state and to the impact of the state on the capitalist and working classes. The state functions in several ways to reproduce the capitalist society as a whole. The state maintains cohesion and equilibrium on behalf of the political interests of the dominant classes. The state characterizes all social relations as competitive so that workers and capitalist owners appear to be free and equal, thereby isolating them as individuals and obscuring their division into classes. Second, the state attempts to represent itself on behalf of the 'unity' of the mass of isolated individuals as if a class struggle could not exist. Third, the state functions to allow classes to organize their own parties, which left to themselves promote internal contradiction and fractionalizations, resulting in struggles within the working class and disunity within the bourgeoisie so that it is unable to rise to hegemonic domination as a united class. Thus, the structure of the state permits the working class to organize and place demands on the state in ways that may conflict with the economic interests of the dominant classes. This demonstrates that the state is not simply the instrument of the dominating classes. Instead the state through its relative autonomy is able to ensure the stability of the interests of the dominating capitalist classes. The state structures stands above the special interests of individual capitalists and capitalist class fractions.[39]

In his *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, Poulantzas systematically examined classes in capitalist society. This work has been digested by Erik Olin Wright (1976), who identified three basic premises. First, classes are defined in terms of class practices as reflected in antagonistic social relations, division of labour, these positions representing the structured determination of class. Third, classes are structured at economic, political and ideological levels. Poulantzas argued that a

NOTES

new petty bourgeoisie of white-collar employees, technicians, and civil servants has arisen as the traditional petty bourgeoisie of artisans and small shopkeepers has declined. He analysed the relationship of this new petty bourgeoisie to the working class, distinguishing between productive and unproductive labour. He also looked at the economic ownership and control that the bourgeoisie has over the means of production. Wright attacked this distinction between this productive and unproductive labour and argued further that Poulantzas' use of political and ideological criteria undermines the primacy of economic relations in determining class position. He also questioned Poulantzas' insistence that the traditional and new petty bourgeoisie are of the same class.

Other criticisms of Poulantzas abound. Although acknowledging that Althusser and Poulantzas seek to rescue Marxism from empiricist, idealist, and historicist tendencies, Dale Johnson (1978) concluded that structuralism 'is seriously pressed interest in the' Weberian-sounding conception of the three-dimensional sort of new middle class. Finally, he indicated structuralism for its static formalism of functionalism in which the Marxist concept of reproduction becomes transformed into an almost Parsonian preoccupation with 'system maintenance'. Gold, Lo, and Wright (1975) were concerned with the failure of Poulantzas to explain the social mechanisms that guarantee that the state will function autonomously to protect the interests of the dominant class. Amy Bridges argued that Poulantzas was anti-materialist, anti-humanist, ahistorical, and descriptive in his view of the state as a dual structure that is both cohesive and transforming. Ernesto Laclau condemned Poulantzas for theoreticism and formalism, which result in a neglect of concrete analysis. In admitting the validity of some of these criticisms, Poulantzas retorted with his own criticism and self-criticism. In this process, he rebutted Miliband's charges and argued that the debate between them was based on false misleading premises.

In a 1971 paper for *Socialist Register*, Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski undertook a detailed critique of structural Marxism, arguing that the concept was seriously flawed on three main points:

> I will argue that the whole of Althusser's theory is made up of the following elements: 1. common sense banalities expressed with the help of unnecessarily complicated neologisms; 2. traditional Marxist concepts that are vague and ambiguous in Marx himself (or in Engels) and which remain, after Althusser's explanation, exactly as vague and ambiguous as they were before; 3. some striking historical inexactitudes.[40]

Kolakowski further argued that, despite Althusser's claims of scientific rigor, structural Marxism was unfalsifiable and thus unscientific, and was best understood as a quasi-religious ideology. In 1980, sociologist Axel van der Berg described Kolakowski's critique as 'devastating', proving that 'Althusser retains the orthodox radical rhetoric by simply severing all connections with verifiable facts'.[41]

NOTES

New Structuralism

Some scholars prefer not to be labelled with the theoretical legacy of structuralism. Nevertheless, the discourse and theoretical categories of structuralism (social formation, modes of production, and over determination, to name just a few) are pervasive in contemporary Marxian literature. The new structural Marxism embodies diverse and often contradictory theories and strives to transcend the limitations of rigid theoretical formulations, reductionism, and intransigent policy, yet it incorporates an explicitly structural framework. In their *Knowledge and Class,* Stephen Resnick and Richard Wolff illustrated these concerns. In their 1982 review of Marx's theory of class, they emphasized the class process of extracting surplus labour through different forms ranging from primitive communist, ancient, feudal, slave, and capitalist and they distinguished between fundamental classes and subsumed classes. They identified examples of subsumed classes in Marx's writings—merchants, money lenders, and supervisory managers of joint–stock companies—and delineated Marx's explanation of how these classes produced neither value nor surplus value; this analysis led them to a distinction of productive and unproductive labour.[42] Drawing from Althusser and Marx, Resnick and Wolff employed the term over determination to suggest that: each process has no existence other than as the site of the converging influences exerted by all the other social processes. Of each process it can be said that all the other processes that combine to over determine it are its conditions of existence . . . the class process is a condition of existence of each and every other social process.[43]

Economic Structuralism

In *The Theory of Capitalist Development* Paul Sweezy distinguished between a theory of class mediation and a theory of class domination. Liberal theorists advocate a class-mediation conception of the state, which assumes the existence of a certain class structure and recognizes the state as the mediator of conflicting interests of various classes. Marxist theorists employ a class-domination conception of the state. As the instrument of the ruling classes, the state maintains and guarantees a given set of property relations and enforces and ensures the stability of the state itself. In this view the state is an economic instrument within capitalism. Specifically, the state may act to solve particular crises of capitalism, it may be used on behalf of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and it may serve to blunt class antagonisms and revolution by providing concessions to the working class. Sweezy, whose criticism of power-structure research alluded to Marxist theory, had largely been ignored. His perspective of the state as an economic instrument of the ruling classes also accounted for the constraints of bourgeois democracy. Democracy, he argued, brings the contradictions and conflicts of capitalist society into the open so that capitalists may not freely use the state in their own interests.

This perception of state response to economic contradictions also reflects a view of economic structuralism. In this view political influences on economic policy are considered to be of secondary importance. In *Monopoly Capital*, Sweezy and Baran combined instrumentalist and structuralist analysis. Baran and Sweezy focused

on how the state facilitates the process of surplus absorption. The state acts to avert crises of monopoly capitalism, thereby guaranteeing absorption of surplus.

James O'Connor in *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, expanded on this view by arguing that the state is a complex structure of authority relations and itself possesses some autonomy. O'Connor did not see the state as merely an instrument for the ruling class or even specific segments of that class. O'Connor argued that the state does not produce but instead appropriates surplus to enhance the conditions requisite for capital accumulation. The state shapes the conditions for monopoly and competitive capitalism. Although the monopoly sector constantly reproduces as the conditions for the competitive sector, competitive capitalism occupies a subordinate role to monopoly capitalism, which is the driving force in the productive process.

NOTES

Somewhat related to economic structuralism is the work of Immanuel Wallerstein on class in the capitalist world economy. His argument runs as follows. Class is a concept historically linked to the capitalist world economy or the modern world system. This world system consists of three basic elements: a single market, a series of state structures or nations that affect the workings of the market, and three levels (core, semi periphery, and periphery) in an exploitative process involving the appropriation of surplus labour. Class struggle emanates from the relationship among these levels. Those on top always seek to ensure the existence of three tiers in order to better preserve their privilege, whereas those on the bottom conversely seek to reduce the tree to two, to better destroy this same privilege. This fight over the existence of the middle tier continues, both in political terms and in terms of basic ideological constructs.[44]

In this struggle classes are formed, consolidated, disintegrated, and reformulated as capitalism evolves and develops. This changing struggle is located in the capitalist world economy. Wallerstein expanded a conception of centre and periphery that originated with the Argentine economist Raul Prebisch and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America. He came close to the formulations of the unequal development thesis of Samir Amin who, however, attempted to give weight to the productive process of capitalism as well as the market. Wallerstein also attempted to move beyond a conception of class within nations, thereby escaping some of the problems in a class analysis of internal colonialism, such as advocated by Mexican political sociologist Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, or the attention to national bourgeoisie found in the writings by Marxists and non-Marxists alike.

Terence K. Hopkins clarified and elaborated on this formulation of class to the capitalist world economy. He argued that Wallerstein provided a theory of the global capitalist economy as a world system, not a theory of the development of national economies or of an international economy. Hopkins believed that with the evolution of this world system there has been the establishment of an organized world capitalist class in contrast to alliances among national bourgeoisies. A parallel development has been the formation of an international movement of labour through the organization of a worldwide labour market. The multinational corporations have proved effective in organizing this world system along such class lines.

NOTES

This imaginative yet somewhat eclectic theory of Wallerstein has been widely criticized for its attention to market rather than to production as a basis of analysing class relations in the contemporary capitalist world. However, Wallerstein's concern with structure transcended national state boundaries and attempted to explore the roots of the world capitalist economy. Wallerstein elaborated and recast dimensions of the dependency theory and thus has influenced many mainstream social scientists to alter their perspectives of development, state, and class.[45]

Criticism of Structuralist Theory

In fact both the structuralist and the instrumentalist perspectives are criticized in terms of systemic inputs and outputs. Instrumentalists tend to relate analysis to contemporary class activity rather than to historically known constraints of the system. Structuralists tend to downplay class activity.

A major problem of structuralist theory is that it does little to explain class action arising from class consciousness, a concern of Marx, especially in his early works, and of the critical school. Esping-Andersen, Friedland and Wright deplored a lack of theory that ties political inputs and constraints to outputs of state activity; neither structuralist nor instrumentalist theory solves this problem. John Mollenkopf believed that structuralists have offered useful critiques of instrumentalism, which studies of power structure exemplify. At the same time, both economic and political structuralism remains inadequate. First, economic structuralism limits the state to a superficial conception, to a kind of systemic checklist. It assigns solely economic, rather than political motives to the state in the face of substantial evidence to the contrary. It also projects an economistic 'inevitability' for crises which politics should not be able to allay, but somehow does. Second, political instrumentalists such as Poulantzas focus on the ideological and repressive institutions that sustain capitalism. This emphasis on the political aspects of structuralism leads to what Miliband called structuralist 'abstractionism' or 'super determination'. The state becomes an all pervasive political/ideological realm short of institutional location, visible boundaries, or even political struggle.[46]

The structuralist work tends to be highly abstract and oriented to conceptual schemes rather than theory. It permits an understanding of the workings of the capitalist state and its agencies and policies. It also allows for distinctions between class and group interests, although Molken Kopf advocated work on a theory of class political action that would explain the aims and actions of late capitalism.[47]

Check Your Progress

3. How does Webster's dictionary identify political economy?
4. What does Marx examine in his critique of Hegel?
5. What is the focus of dialectics?
6. How did structural Marxism originate?

4.4 NEO-MARXIST POLITICAL THEORY

NOTES

The development of Neo-Marxism came forth through several political and social problems which traditional Marxist thought was unable to answer. Examples to this were: Why socialist and social-democratic political parties did not band together against WWI, but instead supported their own nation's entrance into the Great War. Why although the timing seemed to be right for a workers revolution in the West, no large scale revolutions occurred. Also how at this time the rise of Fascism could occur in Europe. All these questions led to internal problems within the Marxist theory which caused renewed study and reanalysis of Marx's works. There is no formal Neo-Marxist organization and seldom do people call themselves Neo-Marxists, hence it is difficult to describe who belongs to this movement. Also there is no set definition as to what a Neo-Marxist is, which makes grouping and categorizing this idea even more difficult.[48]

One idea that many 'branches' of Neo-Marxism share is the desire to move away from the idea of a bloody revolution to one of a more peaceful nature, moving away from the violence of the red revolutions of the past while keeping the revolutionary message. Neo-Marxist concepts can also follow an economic theory that attempts to move away from the traditional accusations of class warfare and create new economic theory models, such as Hans Jurgen Krahl did.[49]

Several important advances to Neo-Marxism came after First World War from Georg Lukács, Karl Korsch and Antonio Gramsci. From the Institute of Social Research founded in 1923 at the University of Frankfurt am Main, grew one of the most important schools of Neo-Marxist interdisciplinary social theory, The Frankfurt School. Its founders were Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno whose critical theories had great influence on Marxist theory especially after their exile to New York after the rise of National Socialism in 1933.[50]

Neo-Marxists have given their own view on development. When it comes to deciding appropriate path of development for the present day developing countries, Marxist and Neo-Marxist writers have argued that the capitalist path will not suit them. The situation prevailing in these countries is basically different from that where the Western countries started their development. Thus, Paul Baran (*The Political Economy of Growth*; 1957) observed that the advanced capitalist countries of today had managed accumulation of capital by exploiting their colonial territories. The present day developing countries have no access to such resources. Capitalists of the developing countries are incapable of developing the forces of production. Hence, the capitalist path would hardly promote their progress.

In *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, 1967, Andre G. Frank argued that national capitalism and the national bourgeoisie, unlike their counterparts in England and the United States, cannot promote development in Latin America. In the Western countries capitalism played a different role because it was

NOTES

rooted in imperialism. Frank advanced a centre-periphery model to elucidate the role of imperialism. He likened the metropolis to centre and satellite to periphery. They are linked in such a way that the development of the centre leads to corresponding underdevelopment in the periphery. This relationship continued even when satellites had gained political independence. Frank suggested that in order to stop underdevelopment of the new nations, they should be de-linked from the capitalist economies.

Walter Rodney in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 1974 and B. Cumings in *The Origins of Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy*, 1984, confirmed Frank's conclusions in the context of Africa and Asia respectively. Similarly, Samir Amin in his book *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*, 1974, argued that the industrialized countries and the less developed countries are integrated in a manner which inhibits capitalism from performing its historical role of developing the productive forces in the underdeveloped countries. Amin also confirmed Frank's conclusions in the context of Africa. Thus, most Marxist and Neo-Marxist scholars have advanced 'dependency theory' in order to explain the phenomenon of underdevelopment. In a nutshell, the exponents of the dependency theory argued that Third World countries had remained underdeveloped because their social and economic development was being conditioned by external forces. Historically, these countries had remained colonies of the advanced capitalist nations; their looting and plunder by the metropolitan countries was the initial cause of their underdevelopment. In fact, industrial growth of the First World was largely secured by the blatant exploitation of the material as well as human resources of the present-day Third World countries. After the liquidation of colonialism, the advanced countries are continuing the process of exploitation of the Third World through 'Unequal exchange' in international trade. This explanation marks a departure from the conventional Marxist position which sought to explain the phenomenon of domination and exploitation in terms of forces and relations of production.

The principal tenet of the Neo-Marxist theory of underdevelopment is that underdevelopment of Third World countries is not a stage on the road to capitalism; it is a condition or symptom of their domination by the capitalist world. Advanced industrial societies of the West have throughout been responsible for economic and political underdevelopment of the Third World. Under the present day conditions underdeveloped societies are still economically dependent on the export of primary products, various raw materials and agricultural products. The markets for these products are controlled by the capitalist economies; hence they are beyond the control of producing countries. Again, industrially advanced countries invest their capital in the former colonies and use them as suppliers of raw materials and labour at throw-away prices and as potential markets for manufactured goods at the market prices. Thus, the former metropolitan countries continue to reap economic profits as earlier without incurring the political costs of colonialism.

The Neo-Marxist views on development which is also called Dependency Theory is an answer to the problem of neo-colonial exploitation of Third World countries. However, answers must also be found to other social, economic and political problems of these countries. Developing nations will have to adopt a concerted approach for solving their common problems. The developing countries can exemplify a blend of material and spiritual values to solve the global problems afflicting all humanity.[51]

4.4.1 Analysis of Mode of Production: Key Debates

What is specific about the 'capitalist mode of production' is that most of the inputs and outputs of production are supplied commercially through the market (i.e. they are commodities). This has the important consequence that the whole organization of the production process is reshaped and reorganized in line with the economic rationality of capitalism, which is expressed in price relationships between inputs and outputs (costs, sales, profits, incomes).That is, the whole process is organized and reshaped in order to conform to 'commercial logic'. Another way of saying this is that capital accumulation becomes the driving motive for production.[52]

In this context, Marx refers to a transition from the 'formal consumption' of production under the power of capital to the 'real consumption' of production under the power of capital. In what he calls the 'specifically capitalist mode of production', both the technology worked with and the social organization of labour have been completely refashioned and reshaped in a commercial (profit and market-oriented) way; the 'old ways of producing' (for example, crafts and cottage industries) have been completely displaced by modern industrialism.[53]

In general, capitalism as an economic system and mode of production can be summarized by the following:

- **Capital accumulation:** Production for profit and the need for producers to accumulate capital in order to produce
- **Commodity production:** Production for exchange on a market; to maximize exchange-value instead of use-value
- **Private ownership of the means of production (MoP):** Ownership of the MoP by a class of capital owners, either individually, collectively (see: Corporation) or through a state that serves the interests of the capitalist class (see: State capitalism)
- **Primacy of wage labour:** The dependence on wages or salaries by a majority of the population who are coerced into work by the social conditions fostered by capitalism, and then exploited by the capitalist owners of the means of production[54]

A 'mode of production' (in German: *Produktionsweise*) means simply 'the distinctive way of producing', which could be defined in terms of how it is socially organized and what kinds of technologies and tools are used. Under the capitalist mode of production: (i) both the inputs and outputs of production are mainly privately

NOTES

owned, priced goods and services purchased in the market; (ii) production is carried out for exchange and circulation in the market; (iii) the owners of the means of production (capitalists) are the dominant class (bourgeoisie) who derive their income from the surplus product; (iv) A defining feature of capitalism is the dependency on wage-labour for a large segment of the population; specifically, the working class (proletariat) do not own capital and must live by selling their labour power in exchange for a wage.

Marx was a materialist who held that to understand any society we must examine the way in which it organizes production. According to Marx, this depends on two things: (a) The forces of production—land, raw materials, technology, skills and knowledge; and (b) The social relations of production—who controls the forces of production and how. Marx argues that (a) and (b) are related—given a certain level of development of the forces of production, only certain relations of production are possible. It is also possible for the forces and relations of production to come into conflict. The forces of production may change in such a way that the relations of production begin to hold them back, stunting their further development. Or, the relations of production may evolve to the point where they become incomparable with the existing forces of production.

The relations of production define the class structure of society. For most of human history, societies have been sharply divided into different classes, with those at the top controlling most of the wealth and those at the bottom doing most of the work that produces the wealth. This exploitative relationship is the basis of social conflict. In slave societies, slave holders control the wealth while slaves do the work. In feudal societies, lords do not own peasants but they are legally entitled to most of the wealth that peasants produce. Despite the fact that under modern capitalism slavery is illegal and there are no longer laws determining the place of individuals within societies, according to Marx we still live in a class society in which capitalists (bourgeoisie) control most of the wealth and that workers (the proletariat) produce. Marx argues that capitalism is not based on exchange between equals. To avoid poverty, workers are forced to sell their labour power to the capitalists. Capitalists will only buy it if they think they can get more out of the worker that they receive in wages. Hence, at root, just as are slave and feudal societies, capitalism is based on exploitation. Moreover, labourers work is alienating rather than rewarding.

The forces and relations of production together make up the economic base of society. According to Marx, the economic base shapes rest of the society, particularly its political and legal super structure. The class that has economic dominance also has dominance elsewhere. It controls the political state and uses its economic powers to shape the societies main' institutions and ideas—social, legal, religious, philosophical, and artistic to support its interests, thus propagating an ideology that supports the status quo. Marx condemns capitalism not only as an exploitative and alienating system, but also as an irrational one. While capitalism has created technological wonders and greatly raises the level of production, it has also created

huge inequalities. In capitalist, societies, the economic power of the bourgeoisie undermines genuine democracy.[55]

In Marx's critique of political economy, the capitalist mode of production is the production system of capitalist societies, which began in Europe in the 16th century, grew rapidly in Western Europe from the end of the 18th century, and later extended to most of the world. It is characterized by: The predominance of private ownership of the means of production and of labour power; distribution and exchange in a mainly market economy; and capital accumulation.

NOTES

At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters, then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out . . . No social order ever disappear before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society.[56]

The essential elements of Marx's thinking that may be relevant to a critical discussion of state theory are ruling class, superstructure and structural base, reality and ideology, material forces and relations of production, as well as mode of production that have characterized epochs of history. The state exists alongside the ruling class and manages its affairs. The structural base is found in the material forces and relations of production—the mode of production or the real foundation that determines division in labour and class. The superstructure consists of the legal and political conceptions or theories that envision society as it should be, not as it is; their ideals, abstracted from concrete historical phenomena, but such ideals perpetuate the false ideology about the world in which people live.

Marx believed that economic change can transform the superstructure of ideology, because human actions are dependent on the changes in economic structure in transformation affecting the dominant mode of production. Change for Marx is a reflection of dialectical contradiction in the diverse social forces emerging from conflict. Carl Mayer described Marx's notion of dialectis as follows. First, the conflict is only latently and potentially present and hidden by a relative harmony of interests and then it becomes actual. It continues to rise, finally reaching a point where it puts the existence of the society in question form.[57]

Marx in his *Introduction to the Critic of Political Economy* demonstrates the dialectical method. Marx refuted the prospective of those economists who tended

NOTES

to treat for economic activities (production, distribution, exchange, and consumption) in isolation from each other. He began by demonstrating that production and consumption are one and the same and that it provides a means of bringing the other about. Production is thus at the same time consumption, and consumption is at the same time production. Each is simultaneously its opposite. But an intermediary movement takes place between the two at the same time. Production leads to consumption, for which it provides the material; consumption without production would have no object. But consumption also leads to production by providing for its products the subject for their products. [58]

The dialectic method stimulates a continuous reassessment of theories according to new facts. It also promotes the search for a new fact and their interpretations according to new theories. According to Marx and Engels, history is nothing but the succession of the separate generations, which exploits the material, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all presiding generations. This conception of history depends on our ability to expound the real process of production, starting out from the material production of life itself, and to comprehend the form of intercourse connected with this and created by this mode of production . . . as the basis of all history.[59]

Marx believed that in history human consciousness is conditioned on the dialectical interplay between human beings and material world. Accordingly, history is a continuous process of creating and satisfying human needs. Once needs are satisfied, new needs are created. Marx analysed various types of society, including those manifesting Asiatic, ancient, and feudal modes of production in a capitalist society. His theory of capitalist development is found in *Capital*: 'The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, present itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity'.[60]

According to Marx, a commodity is an object outside us that satisfies human wants of some sort. Every commodity has a 'use value' or utility as well as 'exchange value' or the value of a product offered in exchange for other products. Marx related both of these values to labour in the production of a commodity. Labour itself is viewed as a commodity and is exchanged in the market. The worker produces enough to cover his cost of subsistence, but whatever he produces over and beyond is surplus value. Surplus value is a source of profit and capital accumulation.

In German ideology, Marx described the ruling class as a force that rules materially over production and intellectually over ideas. According to him, the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the

relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance.[61]

NOTES

Marx never provided a complete definition of the capitalist mode of production as a short summary, although in his manuscripts he sometimes attempted one. In a sense, *Das Kapital* as a whole provides his 'definition'. Nevertheless, it is possible to summarize the essential defining characteristics of the capitalist mode of production as follows:

1. The means of production (or capital goods) and the means of consumption (or consumer goods) are mainly produced for market sale; output is produced with the intention of sale in an open market; only through sale of output, can the owner of capital claim part of the surplus-product of human labour, and realize profits. Equally, the inputs of production are supplied through the market, as commodities. The prices of both inputs and outputs are mainly governed by the market laws of supply and demand (and ultimately by the law of value). In short, a capitalist must use money to fuel both the means of production and labour in order to make commodities. These commodities are then sold to the market for profit. The profit once again becomes part of a larger amount of capital which the capitalist reinvests to make more commodities and ultimately more and more capital.[62]
2. Private ownership of the means of production (private enterprise) as effective private control and/or legally enforced ownership, with the consequence that investment and management decisions are made by private owners of capital who act autonomously from each other and, because of business secrecy and the constraints of competition, do not co-ordinate their activities according to collective, conscious planning. Enterprises are able to set their own output prices within the framework of the forces of supply and demand manifested through the market, and the development of production technology is guided by profitability criteria.
3. The corollary of that is wage labour (employment) by the direct producers, who are compelled to sell their labour power because they lack access to alternative means of subsistence (other than being self-employed or employers of labour, if only they could acquire sufficient funds) and can obtain means of consumption only through market transactions. These wage earners are mostly 'free' in a double sense: they are 'freed' from ownership of productive assets, and they are free to choose their employer.[63]
4. Being carried out for market on the basis of a proliferation of fragmented decision-making processes by owners and managers of private capital, social production is mediated by competition for asset-ownership, political or economic influence, costs, sales, prices, and profits. Competition occurs between owners of capital for profits, assets and markets; between owners of capital and workers over wages and conditions; and between workers themselves over employment opportunities and civil rights.[64]

NOTES

5. The overall aim of capitalist production, under competitive pressure, is: (a) to maximize net profit income (or realize a net super profit) as much as possible, through cutting production costs, increasing sales, and monopolization of markets and supply, (b) capital accumulation, to acquire productive and non-productive assets, and (c) to privatize both the supply of goods and services and their consumption. The larger portion of the surplus product of labour must usually be reinvested in production, since output growth and accumulation of capital mutually depend on each other.[65]
6. Out of preceding characteristics of the capitalist mode of production, the basic class structure of this mode of production society emerges: a class of owners and managers of private capital assets in industries and on the land, a class of wage and salary earners, a permanent reserve army of labour consisting of unemployed people, and various intermediate classes such as the self-employed (small business and farmers) and the 'new middle classes' (educated or skilled professionals on higher salaries).[66]
7. The finance of the capitalist state is heavily dependent on levying taxes from the population and on credit; that is, the capitalist state normally lacks any autonomous economic basis (such as state-owned industries or landholdings) that would guarantee sufficient income to sustain state activities. The capitalist state defines a legal framework for commerce, civil society and politics, which specifies public and private rights and duties, as well as legitimate property relations.
8. Capitalist development, occurring on private initiative in a socially uncoordinated and unplanned way, features periodic crises of over-production (or excess capacity). This means that a critical fraction of output cannot be sold at all, or cannot be sold at prices realizing the previously ruling rate of profit. The other side of over-production is the over-accumulation of productive capital: more capital is invested in production than can obtain a normal profit. The consequence is a recession (a reduced economic growth rate) or in severe cases, a depression (negative real growth, i.e. an absolute decline in output). As a corollary, mass unemployment occurs. In the history of capitalist development since 1820, there have been more than twenty of such crises; nowadays the under-utilization of installed productive capacity is a permanent characteristic of capitalist production (average capacity utilization rates nowadays normally range from about sixty per cent to eighty five per cent).[67]

In examining particular manifestations of the capitalist mode of production in particular regions and epochs, it is of course possible to find exceptions to these main defining criteria. But the exceptions prove the rule, in the sense that over time, the exceptional circumstances tend to disappear.

NOTES

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. What brought about the development of Neo-Marxism?
8. State the principal tenet of the Neo-Marxist theory of underdevelopment.
9. On what two things does the organization of production depend according to Marx?

4.4.2 Nature of State: Theory of Relative Autonomy and Authoritarian Statism

A theory of state and class was never fully developed by Marx. Ralph Miliband observed that 'a Marxist theory of politics has to be constructed or reconstructed from the mass of variegated and fragmented material which forms the corpus of Marxism. In order to explain the interrelationship between political and economic life, Marx and Engels distinguished state from society. They defined politics in terms of the power of the state, the superstructure that represents bourgeois class controlling production. According to Marx, the separation of politics from economics is an ideological distortion because politics is an integral part of political economy. The primacy of economics constitutes an important and illuminating guideline, not an analytical straitjacket. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels summed up Marx's early writings on the state and class and showed the significance of economic factors. In *State and Revolution*, Lenin argued that the state does not reconcile class conflict but ensures the oppression of one class by another. He argued that state power should be destroyed by a violent revolution. Class antagonisms cannot be resolved through peaceful reforms. He saw the police and standing army as 'instruments of state' power. The proletariat fights the state until bourgeois democracy is replaced by proletarian democracy. With the establishment of classless society under communism, the state disappears altogether.

Contemporary scholars have formed three traditions in Marxist thought regarding the relationship of state and class. One tradition is known as instrumentalism. Marx had said in 'The Communist Manifesto' that the state executive 'is but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie'. Lenin also made references to instruments of state power in his writings. Thus, the state is regarded as an instrument of the dominant or ruling class. Instrumentalism focuses on the class that rules and the ties and mechanisms that link state policies with ruling class instruments. Instrumentalism has been criticised for its failure to rise above the pluralist concerns on social and political groupings rather than on classes tied to the means of production. The instrumentalist interpretation of state has been supported by Ralph Miliband and William Domhoff.

Another perspective is represented by the structuralist view of the state advocated by French Marxists. Nicos Poulantzas elaborated a political side of this structuralism. He argued that the bourgeoisie is unable to act as a class to dominate

NOTES

the state. The state itself organizes and unifies the interest of that class. Althusser is another advocate of structuralist perspective on state.

The economic perspective of structuralism has been emphasized by writers like Paul Baran and Sweezy. They stress the activity of the state in resolving economic contradictions and averting crises. However, structuralism is criticized as it cannot explain class action arising from class consciousness. It is also criticized that the structural analysis tends to be static and tied to inputs and outputs rather than a dynamic expression of class struggle.

Another perspective on state is called Critical perspective. It is derived from Hegel and Marx. The main advocate of the critical perspective is Herbert Marcuse and others belonging to Frankfurt school. This school is seen as a defender of Hegelian reinterpretation of Marxism, very abstract and philosophical and unrelated to concrete politics. In the 1960's, Marcuse emerged as a leader of the New Left movement and exposed the mystification of the state and its ideology and inspired the American youth and students to rebel against the bourgeois state.

Different forms of state have different forms of autonomy. But all states enjoy some autonomy or independence from all classes, including the dominant classes. The relative autonomy of the state was mainly acknowledged by Marx and Engels in connection with forms of state where the executive power dominated all other elements of the state system—for instance the absolutist state, or the Bonapartist or Bismarckian state. Where Marx and Engels do acknowledge the relative autonomy of the state, they tend to do so in terms which sometimes exaggerate the extent of that autonomy. Later Marxist political thought, on the contrary has usually had a strong bias towards the underestimation of the state's relative autonomy. Relative autonomy simply means the degree of freedom which the state has in determining best to serve what those who hold power conceive to be 'national interest', in which in fact involves the service of the interest of the ruling class.[68]

More fundamentally, authoritarian statism is bound up with the periodization of capitalism into distinct stages and phases. It seems to correspond to the current phase of imperialism and monopoly capitalism in the dominant countries, in the ways that the liberal state referred to the competitive stage of capitalism and the various forms of interventionist state to the previous phases of monopoly capitalism. Authoritarian statism is thus dependent upon those structural modifications in the relations of production and the processes and social division of labour which characterize the present phase at both the world and national levels. While the economic role of the state, which is inseparable from its political content, has to constitute the guiding thread of an analysis of authoritarian statism, it is very far from providing a sufficient explanation. Authoritarian statism hinges upon those transformations in social classes, political struggles and the relationship of forces which mark the present phase at both the world and national levels.[69]

Esping-Andersen, Friedland and Wright interconnect among class struggle, state structures, and state policies. They examined ways in which the class struggle

shapes the structure of the state and the ways in which the structure of the state shapes the class struggle. They also looked at how the policies of the state shape and are shaped by demands raised in the class struggle. Specifically, they drew upon theory implicit in the work of Claus Offe and James O'Connor.[70]

NOTES

Offe examined the structure of authority in liberal capitalist societies and argued that political institutions should be analysed in terms of class. First, the bourgeoisie uses its ideology to align state policy with its own interests in foreign affairs, finance, and social areas. Second, action of the state is limited to maintaining public order through the military, courts, and police, thus creating conditions for private capital accumulation. In the advanced or late capitalist society, however an all-pervasive system of mechanisms for state intervention has been established.[71] In contrast to liberal capitalist societies in which the bourgeois state limits authority, late capitalist societies are regulated and sustained by permanent political intervention. Thus, the state may assume responsibility for managing crises in the economy. Offe contended that the establishment of a welfare state implies support of the lower classes, but in fact it allows corporate business to derive far greater benefits. At the same time, the state remains independent of direct class controls. Esping, Andersen et al. believed that Offe's conception of autonomy and state intervention into crisis situations leads him to ignore the extent to which classes are differentially able to shape the state machinery and voice specific demands for state action.

James O'Connor's *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* deals with the relation of the internal structure of the state to contradictions in the accumulation process. He also analysed the relationship between the class struggle and the internal structure. In particular, he looked at how the class struggle limits the state's ability to rationalize capitalism and how state structures serve as barriers to the challenge of the working class. The theory implicit in Offe and O'Connor led Esping, Andersen et al. to four propositions as to how state structures are shaped by class struggle. First, they saw state structures as the outcome of class struggle, not simply as mechanisms conceived and maintained for the reproduction of capital and the repression of the working class. Second, these structures mediate, on the one hand, demands to the state from the ruling class and, on the other, state policies that constrain the class struggle. Third, the capitalist class shapes these structures with the objective of limiting the state to intervention compatible with the needs of capital accumulation and of politically neutralizing the demands of the working class. Fourth, these structures are inevitably contradictory and never totally neutralize the class struggle and incorporate the working class into an apolitical state.

Esping-Andersen et al. also examined how the forms and direction of the class struggle are shaped by the state. They began with a typology of the political class struggle, which incorporates aspects of the production processes and circulation between commodities. They also considered the 'class content', 'transformations' and 'contradictions' of the political class struggle. In a critical response to Esping-Andersen et al., the Capital Capitalist state Group reaffirmed the significance of

NOTES

according to the class struggle, a central place in the historical process that shapes the state. However, they found fault with the methodology, especially the typology, used by Esping-Andersen at al: 'While thought provoking, their typology appears to be static and undialectical, reproducing some of the methodological shortcomings of bourgeois social science'. Despite this reservation Esping-Andersen et al pioneered the integration of class struggle into the analysis of the state. Clear efforts in this direction is needed in an attempt to transcend the various schools of theory on state and class and to find both a useful theory and a useful analysis.[72]

4.4.3 Critical Theory

The critical theory is a social theory that focuses on critiquing and changing the society rather than understanding the society as a whole. The critical theory makes use of knowledge from social sciences and humanities to understand how the world works. The critical theory helps to dig beneath the social life and helps to uncover the assumptions that refrain from comprehending how the world and society works. The critical theory was developed by sociologists at the University of Frankfurt in Germany. The founders of the critical theory include: Jürgen Habermas, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer, and Theodor Adorno.

According to Horkheimer, the aim of critical theory is, 'to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them or in other words to bring about human emancipation.' As a theory developed by the Frankfurt School, the critical theory can be explained from the perspective of three generations.

The first generation critical theory was propounded by Horkheimer and Adorno. According to this school of thought, to ensure that critical theory can achieve its objective of human emancipation, it needs to meet three criteria. Critical theory in this sense must be explanatory, practical and normative at the same time. The critical theory according to this thought must be self-reflective as well as questioning. According to the sociologists who define critical theory with regard to the first generation, the theory is a criticism of capitalism. The critical theory thus helps to gain an understanding of the present condition of the society. The theory helps to understand how the present social conditions evolved, how these are transformed, how these interact with each other and how these conditions are maintained and governed. The critical theory thus emerges as a multi-disciplinary field that encompasses but is not limited to fields like economical, historical, philosophical, political, psychological, and sociological studies.

The aim of the critical theory is to transform the present society into a just, rationale, humane and reconciled society. Horkheimer defines the critical theoretical perspective as:

> The critical theory of society begins with the idea of the simple exchange of commodities… The theory shows how an exchange economy, given the condition of men (which, of course, changes under the very influence of such an economy), must necessarily lead

NOTES

> to a heightening of those social tensions (i.e., inherent antagonisms of the social structure) which in the present historical era lead in turn to wars and revolutions … The theory says that the basic form of the historically given commodity economy on which modern history rests contains in itself the internal and external tensions of the modern era; it generates those tensions over and over again in an increasingly heightened form; and after a period of progress, development of human powers, and emancipation of the individual, after an enormous extension of human control over nature, it finally hinders further development and drives humanity into a new barbarism.

Marcuse defines critical theory as,

> Critical theory is concerned with human happiness, and the conviction that it can be attained only through a transformation of the material conditions of existence. Its goal is the creation of a social organization in which individuals can collectively regulate their lives in accordance with their needs. It struggles for universal freedom and can therefore be considered as a universalistic theory. It claims that all, and not merely this or that particular person, should be rational, free, and happy. (…) Critical theory's interest in the liberation of mankind binds it to certain ancient truths. It is at one with philosophy in maintaining that man can be more than a manipulable subject in the production process of class society. Critical theory's task is to demonstrate this possibility and lay the foundation for a transformation. It wants to bring to consciousness potentialities that have emerged within the maturing historical situation.

The second generation concept of critical theory comes from Jürgen Habermas. The second generation critical theory is a theory of discourse ethics that tries to explain and answer the needs of a pluralist society. A pluralist society is the one where there is disagreement in terms of norms and comprehension of what good is. According to Habermas, the critical theory helps to find answers of communicative action to the problems of a pluralist society. The third generation critical theory is slowly taking shape and is propagated by Axel Honneth.

The critical theory has several basic tasks that it seeks to complete in order to bring about a transformation in the society. These tasks are:

- One of the main tasks of the critical theory is to promote a diversified education for all individuals so that over-specialization can be avoided in the society. This will further help to create a society full of critical thinkers who would be able to think critically about forces that affect their daily lives in some manner or the other. In other words, the critical theory aims at helping people to understand what is good for them and what is not.
- Another main task of the critical theory is to steer humanity away from a totally technocratic and administered society. When a society is technocratic and administered, most people accept all the norms of the society without actually analysing them. In such a society, mass social

NOTES

conformity can be seen and conflicts are quiet common. In such a society production and consumption is controlled by a few people who have the knowledge and the means to do so. The critical theory emphasizes the fact that such a society must not be allowed to continue for long and the conflict between the society and the individual needs to be done away with.

- The critical theory also aims at preventing the society from accepting fascist ideologies of a few democrats, government officials and the general population. When fascist ideology exists in the society, it leads to ethical cleansing, military take-over of the weaker nations, sporadic civil wars and also mass consumption of the natural resources. A society with such ideologies leads to militarization of the society and eventually to destruction of the society. The critical theory aims to prevent all this and develop a society that is humane and rational.
- The critical theory also aims at creating a balance between the personal autonomy of individuals and the universal solidarity of the collective i.e. it aims to create a balance between what an individual is free to do and what an individual can freely do within the norms of the society. The critical theory aims at ensuring that an individual accepts the norms of the society and also practices autonomy in doing what he or she wants to do.
- The critical theory also aims to promote revolution against fascism as well as nationalism. Fascism is basically the belief that people of a state exist solely for the purpose of the promotion of the state and its race. Nationalism is a belief among people that their nation is superior compared to others and that their nation must exert control over other nations of the world. Both fascism and nationalism promote loyalty but in a limited sense. A society where fascists and nationalists live will always be a society full of hatred and racism. The critical theory aims to do away with the notion of such a society. It aims at promoting a society where equality exists in all aspects and for all people. The critical theory aims at promoting a rational and peaceful society.
- The critical theory also aims at promoting revolution against all kinds of discrimination. The discrimination can be based on sex, sexual orientation, beliefs, race and religion. When discrimination exists in the society, there can never be peace as conflicts are the mainstay of such a society. The critical theory promotes the idea of equality among the people of the society thereby leading to a society which is peaceful and exists without discrimination of any form.
- The most important aim of the critical theory is to enable the preservation of good moral values of the society so that universal solidarity can be promoted. When every individual of every society practices such universally accepted moral values, the society can be converted into a just, humane, rational and reconciled society.

Thus, as a social theory, the critical theory has the following two concepts associated with it:

NOTES

- The critical theory is directed at the totality of the society, i.e. how it came into being and how it is configured at a specific point in time.
- The critical theory helps to improve the understanding of the society by integrating social sciences like geography, sociology, history, economics, psychology etc.

The critical theory provides descriptive and normative base for social inquiry so that a society with decreased domination and increased freedom for all can emerge. The premise of critical theory is the process of human communication in the sense that the critical theory states that human communication is essential for creating political consciousness and also for creating a culture in the society. The theory also states that there are various processes and ways in which communication can be created and promoted. The following are the means of creating communication according to critical theory:

- Establishment of universal pragmatic principles through which mutual understanding is achieved
- Establishment of semiotic rules through which objects get symbolic meanings
- Use of psychological processes through which everyday consciousness is created and generated
- Establishment and acceptance of beliefs that underlie the cognitive processes of humans

The critical theory approach relies on dialogue as a means of reclaiming conflict and tension in the society. The critical theory challenges the guiding assumption on which the society is based. It usually asks people of a society what is good and asks the society to reflect the basis on which an assumption is defined to be good. It thereby enables the society to decide what is good for it and what is not. Thus, the critical theory aims at increasing awareness and consciousness among people of a society. The critical theory not just describes a situation from a specific view point but it tries to change the situation for the betterment of the society.

The central argument of the critical theory is that all knowledge is historical and broadly political. The theory claims that knowledge is shaped by human interests and is not independent of these interests. Since human interests are different and varied, knowledge also is incongruous rather than being unitary and monolithic. The critical theory teaches that knowledge is power and it can help to understand the society better. In other words, it is knowledge that can help to make the society rational and transform it. The critical theory states that it is through awareness and knowledge that people can raise their voice against capitalism and oppression and bring about genuine democracy in the society.

4.4.4 Post-Colonial Political Theory

The post-colonial political theory is a theory that focuses on combating the residual effects of colonialism upon people. The theory basically focuses on understanding, explaining and analysing political phenomenon. The theory basically describes and

NOTES

explains political behaviour and events. Political theory aims to reflect upon political phenomenon, processes and institutions and on actual political behaviour by subjecting it to philosophical or ethical criterion. Political theory is a result of thoughts and research of many scholars.

Germino is of the view that, 'Political theory is the most appropriate term to employ in designating that intellectual tradition which affirms the possibility of transcending the sphere of immediate practical concerns and viewing man's societal existence from a critical perspective.' According to Sabine, 'Political theory is, quite simply, man's attempts to consciously understand and solve the problems of his group life and organization. It is the disciplined investigation of political problems not only to show what a political practice is, but also to show what it means. In showing what a practice means, or what it ought to mean, political theory can alter what it is.'

Andrew Hacker defines political theory as 'a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other.'

George Catlin points out that, 'political theory includes political science and political philosophy. While science refers to the phenomena of control in many forms over all the process of whole social field…It is concerned with means; political philosophy is concerned with the end or final value, when man asks "what is the national goo" or "what is good society".'

A comprehensive definition of political theory given by Gould and Kolb is: 'a sub-field of political science which includes:

- Political philosophy—a moral theory of politics and a historical study of political ideas,
- A scientific criterion
- A linguistic analysis of political ideas
- The discovery and systematic development of generalizations about political behaviour'

The post-colonial political theory is thus a theory concerned with the study of the state in philosophical as well as empirical terms. The theory focuses on the moral philosophical purpose for which the state has been established. The theory is concerned with the fate of the humans which depends upon the development of a political community. The political community so developed is the one where the goals of the ruler and the ruled are unified which is the betterment of the society as a whole.

Check Your Progress

10. Why has instrumentalism been criticized?
11. Where was the critical theory developed?
12. State the aim of the classical political theory.

4.5 SUMMARY

NOTES

- Karl Heinrich Marx was born on 5 May 1818 in Trier. He was a German philosopher, sociologist, historian, political economist, political theorist and revolutionary socialist who developed the socio-political theory of Marxism.
- Marx's theories about society, economics and politics, which are collectively known as Marxism, hold that all society progresses through class struggle. He was heavily critical of the current form of society, capitalism, which he called the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie', believing it to be run by the wealthy middle and upper classes purely for their own benefit.
- Webster's dictionary identifies political economy in the eighteenth century as a field of government concerned with directing policies toward the enhancement of government and community wealth.
- Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, argued that the most important characteristic of a market economy was that it permitted a rapid growth in productive abilities.
- In his critique of Hegel, Marx examined the emergence of the state in modern times. The separation between civil society and the state, he argued, was a modern phenomenon reinforced by capitalism.
- Marx used dialectics, a method that he adapted from the works of George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Dialectics focuses on relation and change, and tries to avoid seeing the universe as composed of separate objects, each with essentially stable unchanging characteristics.
- Samir Amin in *Accumulation on a World Scale* combined theory with history on a holistic level. He argued that accumulation or expanded reproduction is essential to the capitalist mode of production as well as to the socialist mode of production, but not to pre-capitalist modes of production.
- The fundamental thesis of the structuralist perspective is that the functions of the state are broadly determined by the structures of the society rather than by the people who occupy positions of state power.
- Structural Marxism arose in opposition to the humanistic Marxism that dominated many Western universities during the 1970s.
- In his essay on ideology and the state, Althusser sketched Marx's representation of the structure of every society in terms of levels: infrastructure or economic base composed of productive forces and relations of production, on the one hand, and superstructure composed of political-legal and ideological aspects, on the other hand.
- The new structural Marxism embodies diverse and often contradictory theories and strives to transcend the limitations of rigid theoretical formulations, reductionism, and intransigent policy, yet it incorporates an explicitly structural framework.

NOTES

- A major problem of structuralist theory is that it does little to explain class action arising from class consciousness, a concern of Marx, especially in his early works, and of the critical school.
- The development of Neo-Marxism came forth through several political and social problems which traditional Marxist thought was unable to answer.
- One idea that many 'branches' of Neo-Marxism share is the desire to move away from the idea of a bloody revolution to one of a more peaceful nature, moving away from the violence of the red revolutions of the past while keeping the revolutionary message.
- A 'mode of production' (in German: *Produktionsweise*) means simply 'the distinctive way of producing', which could be defined in terms of how it is socially organized and what kinds of technologies and tools are used.
- Marx believed that in history human consciousness is conditioned on the dialectical interplay between human beings and material world. Accordingly, history is a continuous process of creating and satisfying human needs.
- A theory of state and class was never fully developed by Marx. Ralph Miliband observed that 'a Marxist theory of politics has to be constructed or reconstructed from the mass of variegated and fragmented material which forms the corpus of Marxism.
- Authoritarian statism is dependent upon those structural modifications in the relations of production and the processes and social division of labour which characterise the present phase at both the world and national levels.
- Esping-Andersen, Friedland and Wright interconnect among class struggle, state structures, and state policies. They examined ways in which the class struggle shapes the structure of the state and the ways in which the structure of the state shapes the class struggle.
- The critical theory is a social theory that focuses on critiquing and changing the society rather than understanding the society as a whole. The critical theory makes use of knowledge from social sciences and humanities to understand how the world works.
- One of the main tasks of the critical theory is to promote a diversified education for all individuals so that over-specialization can be avoided in the society.
- The central argument of the critical theory is that all knowledge is historical and broadly political. The theory claims that knowledge is shaped by human interests and is not independent of these interests.
- The post-colonial political theory is a theory that focuses on combating the residual effects of colonialism upon people. The theory basically focuses on understanding, explaining and analysing political phenomenon.

4.6 KEY TERMS

NOTES

- **Mode of production:** It means simply 'the distinctive way of producing', which could be defined in terms of how it is socially organized and what kinds of technologies and tools are used.
- **Dialectics:** It is a discourse between two or more people holding different points of view about a subject but wishing to establish the truth through reasoned arguments.
- **Relative autonomy:** It simply means the degree of freedom which the state has in determining best to serve what those who hold power conceive to be 'national interest', in which in fact involves the service of the interest of the ruling class.
- **Statism:** In political science, statism is the belief that the state should control either economic or social policy, or both, to some degree; it is effectively the opposite of anarchism; an individual who supports the existence of the state is a statist.

4.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Marx is typically cited, with Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, as one of the three principal architects of modern social science.
2. Marx's theories about society, economics and politics, which are collectively known as Marxism, hold that all society progresses through class struggle. He was heavily critical of the current form of society, capitalism, which he called the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie', believing it to be run by the wealthy middle and upper classes purely for their own benefit, and predicted that, like previous socioeconomic systems, it would inevitably produce internal tensions which would lead to its self-destruction and replacement by a new system, socialism.
3. Webster's dictionary identifies political economy in the eighteenth century as a field of government concerned with directing policies toward the enhancement of government and community wealth.
4. In his critique of Hegel, Marx examined the emergence of the state in modern times. The separation between civil society and the state, he argued, was a modern phenomenon reinforced by capitalism.
5. Marx used dialectics, a method that he adapted from the works of George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Dialectics focuses on relation and change, and tries to avoid seeing the universe as composed of separate objects, each with essentially stable unchanging characteristics.

NOTES

6. Structural Marxism arose in opposition to the humanistic Marxism that dominated many western universities during the 1970s.
7. The development of Neo-Marxism came forth through several political and social problems which traditional Marxist thought was unable to answer.
8. The principal tenet of the Neo-Marxist theory of underdevelopment is that underdevelopment of Third World countries is not a stage on the road to capitalism; it is a condition or symptom of their domination by the capitalist world.
9. According to Marx, organization of production depends on two things: (a) The forces of production—land, raw materials, technology, skills and knowledge; and (b) the social relations of production—who controls the forces of production and how.
10. Instrumentalism has been criticised for its failure to rise above the pluralist concerns on social and political groupings rather than on classes tied to the means of production.
11. The critical theory was developed by sociologists at the University of Frankfurt in Germany.
12. The classical political theory aims at establishing an ideal state and stable system of government.

4.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was Marx's ideology of human science?
2. 'Marx employed a labour theory of value.' What is this theory?
3. What is the main link between Marx's sociology and anthropology and his economic analysis?
4. How do structuralists view the state?
5. On what grounds was the structuralist theory criticized?
6. What is the main idea of the various branches of Neo-Marxism?
7. How can capitalism as an economic system and mode of production be summarized?
8. What is the critical perspective on state?
9. What is the central argument of the critical theory?
10. Write a note on post-colonial political theory.

Long-Answer Questions

1. How did Marx view science?
2. Discuss the Marxist approach to political economy.
3. Evaluate the structuralist approach to political economy.

4. Elaborate on the following:
   (i) New structuralism
   (ii) Economic structuralism
5. Discuss the idea behind Neo-Marxist political theory.
6. Assess the key debates in the analysis of mode of production.
7. Evaluate the theory of relative autonomy and authoritarian statism.
8. Discuss the ideas of critical theory and post-colonial political theory.

4.9 FURTHER READING

Pruthi, R.K. 2005. *The Political Theory*. Delhi: Sarup & Sons.

Freeden, Michael. 1996. *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach.* Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press.

Lively, Jack. 1989. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*. Alingdon, Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Arora, N.D. and S. S. Awasthy. 2007. *Political Theory and Political Thought*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

Morgan, Michael L. (ed.). 2011. *Classics of Moral and Political Theory* (fifth ed.). USA: Hackett Publishing Company Ltd.

Varma, S.P. 2008. *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Bhargava, Rajeev. 2008. 'What is Political Theory?' in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya, eds., 2008, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, New Delhi: Pearson Longman.

Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. 1983. *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Horowitz, I.L. 1972. *Foundations of Political Sociology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1996, 'The Centrality of Classics' in Stephen Turner, ed., *Social Theory and Sociology: The Classics and Beyond*, Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers.

Endnotes

1. Mehring, Franz, *Karl Marx: The Story of His Life,* Routledge, London, 2003, p-1
2. Werner Blumenberg, *Karl Marx: An Illustrated Biography,* Paperback, London, 1972, p-4
3. Pressman, Steven, *Fifty Major Economists,* Routledge, London, 2006, p-48
4. Kuffman, Walter, *From Plato to Derrida*, Person Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2008, p-6
5. Karl Marx and Engel, *Critique of Gotha Programme*, International Publishers, New York, 2008, pp 13-14

NOTES

6. Wheen, Francis, *Karl Marx: A Life*, Norton, New York, 2002, p-39
7. Kenneth Allan, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World,* Pine Forge Press, New York, 2005, p-68
8. Arnold Brecht, *Political Theory,* The Times of India Press, Mumbai, 1965, p-187
9. Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publisher, New York, 1973, p-123
10. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, West view Press, Boulder, 1994, p-104
11. Paul Thomas, *Marx and Science*, Political Studies, 1976, 24(March):7
12. Sundaram, Jomo Kwame and Erik S. Reinert, *The Origin of Development of Economics: How Schools of Economic Thought have Addressed Development*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2005, p-50
13. Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus value: Volume 1*, Progress Press, Moscow, 1969, p-89
14. J Lesourne and H. Sonnenschine, *Marxian Economics II: Harwood Fundamentals of Applied Economics*, Harwood Academic Publishers, Swizerland, 2002, p-109
15. Allen Oakley, *Marx's Critique of Political Economy: Intellectual Sources and Evolution: Volume 2,* Routledge Publisher, New York, 2003, p-140
16. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, West view Press, Boulder, 1994, p-340
17. Guglielmo Carchedi, *Frontiers of Poltical Economy*, New Left Books, London, 1991, p-147
18. Ibid, p-344–45
19. Fujimori, Y., *Modern Analysis of Value Theory*, Lecture Notes in Economics and Mathematical Systems, Springer, 1982, p-231
20. Angus Maddison, *Phases of Capitalist Development*, Oxford University Press, London, 1982, p 256
21. Ernest Mendel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, Resistance Book, Australia, 1968, p-705
22. Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1955, p-110
23. John Eatwell, Murry Milgate and Peter New Man, *The New Palgrave: Marxian Economics*, Oxford University Press, London, 1990, p-321
24. Ibid, p-234
25. Ibid, p-245
26. Claus Dieter Kerning, Peter Lauchlan Heath, *Marxism, Communism and Western Society: A Comparative Encyclopedia: Volume 6*, Oxford, London, 1973, p-213
27. V. K. Dmitriev, *Economic Essays on Value, Competition and Utility*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1898, p-34
28. Ralph Pettman, *State and Class: A Sociology and International Affairs*, Croom Helm, London, 1979, p-231
29. Robinson, Cedric J., *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, University North Carolina Press, Reissue, p-29–34
30. McLellan, David, *Marxism After Marx*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007, p-67
31. KoBakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents of Marxism*, Oxford University Press, 1976, p-70
32. David A Gold et.al, *Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State,* Monthly Review, 27(October): 36
33. Heine Andersen and L.B.Kaspersen (eds.), *Classical and Modern Social Theory*, Blackwell publishers, Oxford, 2000, p-122
34. Ibid, p-342

NOTES

35. Clyde W. Barrow, *Critical theories of the state: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Post-Marxist*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1993, p-51
36. Maurice Godelier, *Structure and Contradiction in Capital*, Robin Blackburn (ed.), *Ideology in Social Science*, Vintage Books, New York, 1973, p-336
37. Jonatha Friedman, *Marxism, Structuralism and Vulgar Materialism*, Man, 9(September): 453, 1974
38. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, p-269
39. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994, p-309
40. Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents of Marxism: The Breakdown*, Clarendon Press, New York, 1971, p. 111
41. Berg, Axel van Der, *Critical Theory: Is There Still Hope?,* The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 86 No. 3, 1980, p-449
42. Ibid., p-312
43. Stephen Resnick and Richard D. Wolff, *Classes in Marxian Theory*, Review of Radical Political Economics, 13 (Winter), 1982, p-2
44. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Class-Formation in the Capitalist World-Economy*, Politics and Society 5(3), 1975, p-368
45. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994, p-314–315
46. John Mollenkopf, *Theories of the State and Power Structure Research*, Insurgent Sociologist, 3(Summer), 1975, p-256
47. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994, p-316
48. Sara Fletcher Luther, John J Naumaier and Howard Le Parsons, *Diverse Perspectives on Marxist Philosophy: East and West*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1994, p-15
49. Kamal H. Karpat, *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, Preger, New York, 1982, p-345
50. Erik Olin Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliot Sobber, *Reconstructing Marxism: Essays on Explanation and the Theory of History*, British Library Publications, London, 1992, p-3
51. O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Macmillan, Delhi, 2006, p-480
52. Erich Farl, *The Genealogy of State Capitalism*, IMG, London, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p-21
53. Marcel van der Linden, *Western Marxism and the Soviet Union*, Brill Publishers, New York, 2000, p-56
54. Barbrook, Richard, *The Class of the New*, Open Mute, London, 2006, p-6
55. Karl Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, Hay Market books, Chicago, 2005, p-25
56. Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the International Library Publishing Co, Chicago, 1904, p-12
57. Carl Mayer, *Max Weber's Interpretation of Karl Marx*, Social Research, 42(winter), 1975, p-710
58. Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publisher, New York, 1973, p-131
59. Ibid, p-58
60. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Cosimo Inc, New York, 2007, p-35
61. Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publisher, New York, 1973, p-64

NOTES

62. Avineri, Shlomo, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1968, p-67
63. Jon Elster, *An Introduction to Karl Marx*, Cambridge, London, 1986, p-34
64. Callinicos, Alex, *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx*, Bloomsbury, London, 1983, p-40
65. Valdimir Lenin, *Karl Marx: A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967, p- 98
66. Karl Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*, Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Germany, 1849, p-60
67. McLellan, David, *Marxism after Marx*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007, p-32
68. Ralph Miliband, *Marxism and Politics*, Merlin Press, London, 2006, p-87
69. Nikos Poulantzas*, State, Power and Socialism*, Verso Classics, UK, 2000, p-204
70. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, West view Press, Boulder, 1994, p-319
71. Claus Offe, *Advanced Capitalism and the Welfare State*, Politics and Society, 2(4), 1972, p-80
72. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, West view Press, Boulder, 1994, p-320

NOTES

NOTES