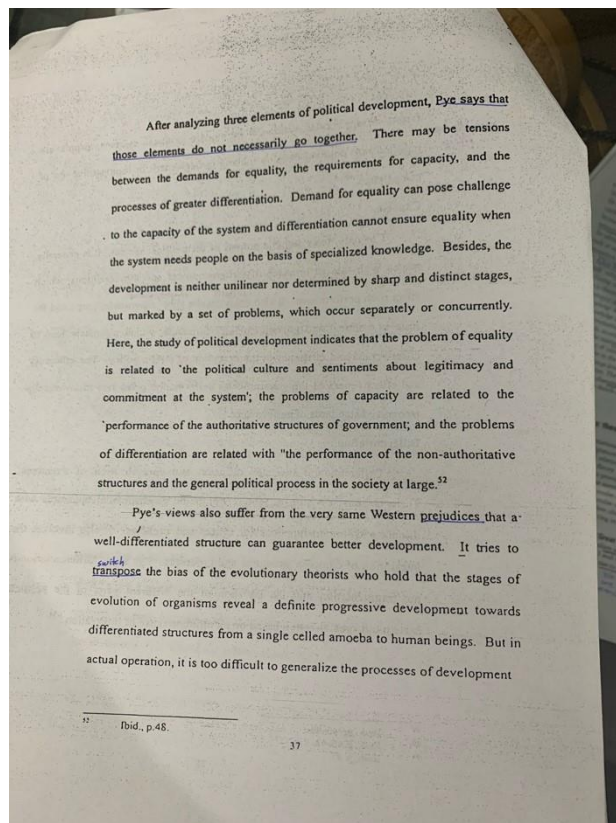
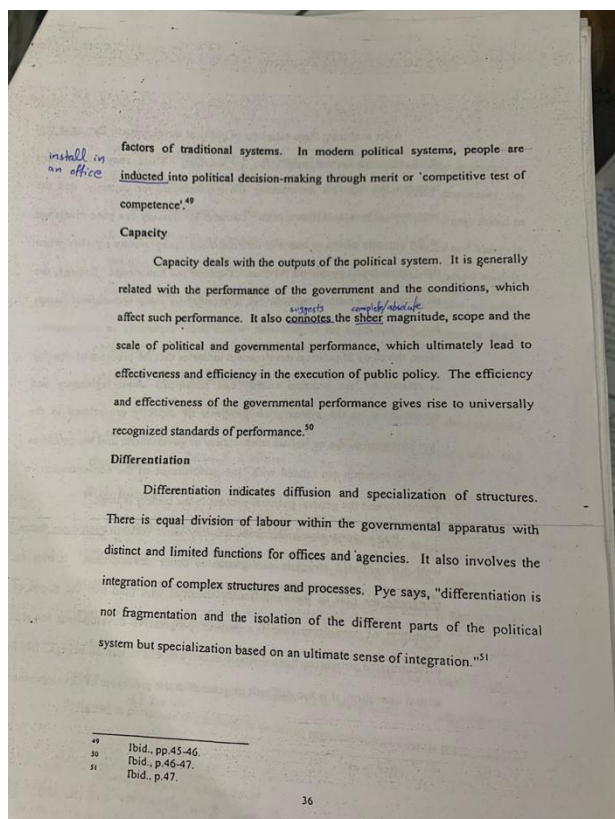
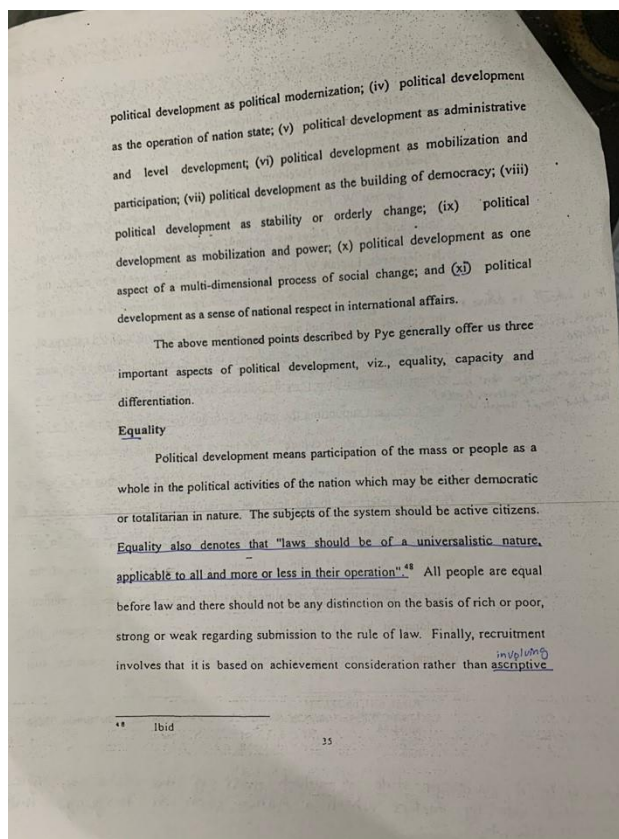
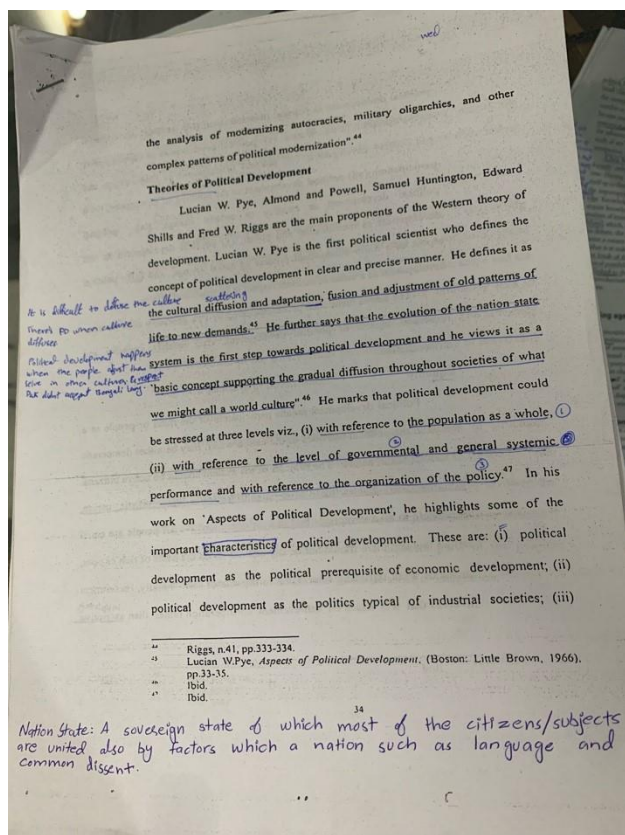


WEEK 2: Theories of Political Development



of socio-political system. A well-differentiated system is no guarantee of social equality and better governance. In the third world democracy, the strategy of adopting the Western models of governance has largely failed in practice. No such model has managed to secure equality, justice and liberty in the true sense of the term. They have largely been super-imposed models, divorced from the norms and conventional values of particular societies. Thus, they have not been too helpful in explaining non-Western social realities.

Almond's and Powell's Views

Almond and Powell put forward their views regarding the problems of political development, viz., state building, nation building participation and distribution.³³ *Political system faces four-types of development problems.*

State Building

The Problem of State building occurs if the stress is ^{substantial} perceived at the intra-societal and extra societal level that may pose serious threat to the system. The change of political goals by the powerful elite at the internal level or a war or an aggression at the external level may also pose serious challenge to the existence of the Political System. Almond says state building occurs when the political elite creates new structures and organisations designed to penetrate the society in order to regulate behaviour in it and draws

³³ Almond and Powell, n.4, pp. 25-26.

State capacity refers to the strength and capability of the state institutions. Nation refers to the population itself, as united by identity, history, culture & lang.

a larger volume of resources from it. State building is commonly associated with significant increases in the regulative and extractive capabilities of the political system, with the development of a centralized and penetrative bureaucracy related to the increase in these capabilities, and with the development of attitudes of obedience and compliance in the population which are associated with the emergence of such a bureaucracy.³⁴

The nation building refers to the process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes, villages or petty principalities to the large political system. Various instances indicate that the state-building problem has been solved in certain political systems, whereas the national building problems remain the core issue in the leading Afro-Asian political systems that pose a strong challenge to the stability of the political system.

Participation

Different groups in the form of political parties, groups, cliques and factions operate in the society and strive to participate in the decision-making process. They put forward their demands through various types of supports. Some of the leading members of those groups participating in the decision-making process convert those 'inputs' into 'outputs' in their own favour.

Distribution

This problem arises when the wealth or national income is distributed or opportunities are given. Talent is recognized and merit remains the sole

³⁴ Ibid.

factor in the distribution of national income and opportunities. It is otherwise known as politics of welfare or general good.³⁵

This analysis by Almond and Powell seems logical and cogent but again like Pye's analysis, it is too broad and general.

Samuel P. Huntington's Views

Huntington's concept of 'Political Development and Political Decay' is an important contribution to the theories of political development. Huntington defines political development as "the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures". He is of the view that "this concept liberates development from modernization" and that it can be applied to the analysis of political systems of any sort, not just modern ones. It can be defined in reasonably precise ways, which are at least theoretically capable of measurement. As a concept, it does not suggest that movement is likely to be in only one direction. Institutions, we know, decay and dissolve as they grow and mature. Most significantly, it focuses attention on the reciprocal interaction between the on-going social processes of modernization on the one hand and the strength, stability or weakness of political structures - traditional, transitional or modern - on the other. The strength of political organizations and procedures vary with their scope of support and their level of institutionalization. Scope refers simply to the

³⁵ Ibid.

Political decay is a political theory, originally described by SPH, which describes how chaos and disorder can arise from social modernization increasing more rapidly than political and institutional modernization. Huntington focuses primarily on political development as modernization and institutionalization.

extent to which the political organizations and procedures encompass activity in the society. If only a small upper class group belongs to the political organization and behaves in terms of a set of procedures, the scope is limited. If, on the other hand, a large segment of the population is politically organized and it follows the political procedures, the scope is broad. Institutions display stable, valued and recurring patterns of behaviour. Organizations and procedures vary in their degree of institutionalization. Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability. The level of institutionalization of any political system can be defined by adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures. So also, the level of institutionalization of any particular organization of procedure can be measured by its adaptability, complexity and coherence. If these criteria can be identified and measured, political systems can be compared in terms of their levels of institutionalization. Furthermore, it will be possible to measure increases and decreases in the institutionalization of particular organizations and procedures within a political system.³⁶

The Huntington's attempt seeks to accommodate all existing political systems. The compass here is too broad and universal. But the stress on

³⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay", *World Politics*, vol. 17, no. 3, April 1965, pp. 393-94.

institutionalization makes it typically Western. Huntington's paradigm suggests that the more the level of institutionalization in a society, the more developed it is. Thus, while Huntington has enough scope in his theorization to fit in the non-Western political systems, and while he accepts that political systems do not have a uniform line of development, yet, he seems to be laying too much emphasis on the qualitative superiority of the well-institutionalized politics of the Western world.

Fred W. Riggs's Views

Fred W. Riggs in his essay contributes to James C. Charlesworth's edited volume on 'Contemporary Political Analysis', incorporates his entire thinking starting from Lucian W. Pye to Huntington. However, his main work is based on the interpretation of Lucian W. Pye's concept of political development. Looking at Pye's concept of political development, Riggs analyses equality in terms of members participating in the formulation of policies and capacity in terms of the ability of political and administrative system to deal with the goals. He says that both equality and capacity will suffer unless the polity is properly differentiated. A developed polity is likely to have all these aspects in perfect coordination. So, Riggs prefers to maintain a balance between equality and capacity. He entails that the equality is the symbol of the ^{PSM} leftists and capacity is the symbol of the ^{we} rightists. Riggs maintains that there should be a balance between the two attributes of development, otherwise there would be a "developmental

o Riggs diff is
start: equality
capa depends
diff.

trap".⁵⁷ He says, "so long as politics takes the form of struggle between the rightists and the leftists, each will view its specific demands - for increased capacity or more equality - as the epitome of political development. Both will be likely to miss the point that only by establishing a balance between the two principles, will it be possible to heighten the level of structural differentiation, and thereby to enable both of the goals of equality and capacity to be realized to a greater degree".⁵⁸

When Riggs theory is applied to the third world, the political systems seem to be externally languishing in 'developmental traps'. Basing his theory on the traditional Western bias that the ideal balance between equality and capacity can only be achievable in the well-differentiated political systems of the western world, Riggs, like his co-theorists seems to have evolved a theory that remains elusive in practice to much of the third world political systems.

Marxist Theory of Political Development

Marxists tend to theorize 'Political Development' within the ideological matrix created by Marxian socialism. It emerges as an alternative to the capitalistic model of development. Marx, Lenin and Stalin are the main theorists of this form of political development.

⁵⁷ Riggs, n. 41, pp. 340-341.

⁵⁸ Ibid.