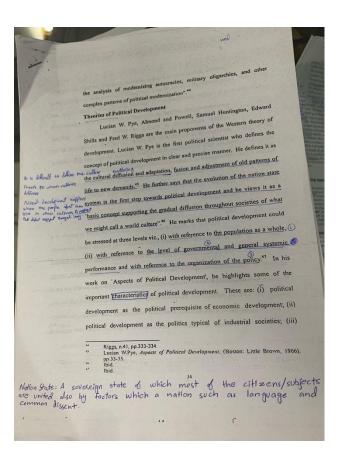
WEEK 2: Theories of Political Development



political development as political modernization; (iv) political development as administrative as the operation of nation state; (v) political development as administrative and level development, (vi) political development as mobilization and participation; (vii) political development as the building of democracy; (viii) political development as stability or orderly change; (ix) political development as mobilization and power; (x) political development as one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change; and (xi) political development as a sense of national respect in international affairs.

The above mentioned points described by Pye generally offer us three important aspects of political development, viz., equality, capacity and differentiation.

Equality

Political development means participation of the mass or people as a whole in the political activities of the nation which may be either democratic or totalitarian in nature. The subjects of the system should be active citizens. Equality also denotes that "laws should be of a universalistic nature, applicable to all and more or less in their operation." All people are equal before law and there should not be any distinction on the basis of rich or poor, strong or weak regarding submission to the rule of law. Finally, recruitment involves that it is based on achievement consideration rather than ascentige.

48 Ibid

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install in

factors of traditional systems. In modern political systems, people are inducted into political decision-making through merit or 'competitive test of competence'.40

Capacity

Capacity deals with the outputs of the political system. It is generally related with the performance of the government and the conditions, which affect such performance. It also connotes the sheer magnitude, scope and the scale of political and governmental performance, which ultimately lead to effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy. The efficiency and effectiveness of the governmental performance gives rise to universally recognized standards of performance. So

Differentiation

Differentiation indicates diffusion and specialization of structures.

There is equal division of labour within the governmental apparatus with distinct and limited functions for offices and agencies. It also involves the integration of complex structures and processes. Pye says, "differentiation is not fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration."⁵¹

After analyzing three elements of political development, Eye.says that those elements do not necessarily go together. There may be tensions those elements do not necessarily go together. There may be tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity, and the processes of greater differentiation. Demand for equality can pose challenge to the capacity of the system and differentiation cannot ensure equality when the system needs people on the basis of specialized knowledge. Besides, the development is neither unilinear nor determined by sharp and distinct stages, but marked by a set of problems, which occur separately or concurrently. Here, the study of political development indicates that the problem of equality is related to 'the political culture and sentiments about legitimacy and commitment at the system'; the problems of capacity are related to the 'performance of the authoritative structures of government; and the problems of differentiation are related with "the performance of the non-authoritative structures and the general political process in the society at large.²²

Pye's views also suffer from the very same Western prejudices that a well-differentiated structure can guarantee better development. It tries to transpose the bias of the evolutionary theorists who hold that the stages of evolution of organisms reveal a definite progressive development towards differentiated structures from a single celled amoeba to human beings. But in actual operation, it is too difficult to generalize the processes of development

· Ibid., p.48.

1bid., pp.45-46 1bid., p.46-47 1bid., p.47

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of socio-political system. A well-differentiated system is no guarantee to 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

political development, viz, state building, nation building participation and
distribution. 30 Political system faces four-types of development development.

State Building

The Problem of State building occurs if the stress is 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 set through designed to penetrate the society in order to regulate behaviour in it and draws

"Almond and Powell, na, pp. 25-26.
State capacity refers to the strength and capacility of the state institutions.
Nation refers to the population itselfs as united by identity shistory. culture & lang.

factor in the distribution of national income and opportunities. It is otherwise known as politics of welfare or general good. 55

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

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

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 the 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. ⁵⁴

The nation building refers to the process whereby people transfer their

Falucation is the back commitment and loyalty form smaller tribes, villages or petty principalities to Pablem which exist the large political system. Various instances indicate that the state-building where all the problem?

**Proposition of the problem has been solved in certain political systems, whereas the national problem has been solved in certain political systems, whereas the national

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.

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

Ibid.

39

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".56

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

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

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 stants. Gooding system to deal with the goals. He says that both equality and capacity will diff. 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 leftists and capacity is the symbol of the rightists. Riggs maintains that there should be a balance between the two attributes of development, otherwise there would be a "developmental

trap".57 He says, "so long as polities 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.

Riggs, n. 41, pp. 340-341.