

ALL PPT VIDEOS

**Political Processes and Institutions in Comparative
Perspective**

4TH SEM CBCS

POLITICAL CULTURE

Approaches to Comparative Politics

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Political Culture: Meaning, Definitions,
Features, Types

Political Cultural Approach to Comparative
Politics

Pros & Cons

Sum Up

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Approaches to Studying Comparative Politics : Political Culture

2015. What do you understand by political culture? Examine the political culture approach in understanding political institutions.

2016: Critically examine political system and political culture approach to comparative politics.

2017. How does political culture affect the functioning of political institution?
Evaluate

2018: “Political Culture” is an approach in comparative politics with limitations.
Comment.

Political Culture : Meaning

- Norm, value, belief, attitude, and orientation of people towards politics and political system
- How people make meaning of 'the political', identify themselves and others politically
- patterns of political behaviors that result from the political beliefs, values, and attitudes of individuals.
- political culture is to the political system what culture is to the social system
- Political culture help organize meanings & meaning making, defining social and political identity, structuring collective actions, and imposing order on political and social life
- political ideologies, popular attitudes, conception of political arena, public opinion, rule of the games, the ethos, orientation and attitudes of various interests in a society

So in a Nutshell Political Culture is

- How much people are aware about Political system, processes- Motives, interests & power, Identities, and Institutions (Cognitive aspect)
- What are their feelings and attachments towards politics and Political Processes (Affective Aspect)
- And How they evaluate or assess the outcomes(policies/decisions) of political system (Evaluative Aspect)

Definitions:

- Set of **values**, **beliefs**, and **attitudes** within which a political system operates. (*Kavanagh*)
- A structure of value and belief in the political system (*Macridis*)
- Pattern of **orientations** to political objects among the members of the nation (*Almond & Verba*)
 - political objects: both tangible political aspects- Institutions, political parties and intangible aspects- authority, legitimacy, conventions, etc
- Set of attitudes, beliefs and **sentiments** that give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system (*International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*)
- The activity through which individuals and groups in any society articulate, negotiate, implement, and enforce competing claims they make upon one another and upon the whole. Political culture is, in this sense, are the set of discourses or symbolic practices by which these claims are made” (Baker 1990)

Political Culture: Features

- Component of overall Culture of the nation/community
- Gained momentum as an approach to comparative politics on the wake of Behavioural movement in political science- 1950s
- Competes with rational choice and Institutional approaches
- Since political culture is specific to a nation/community, it opposes universalization of political theories based on Interests and interest aggregation
- Idea of cultural pluralism, cultural relativism, and multiculturalism
- Socialization is the process by which an individual is inducted into a political culture
- Categorized as matured, developed, low, minimal, homogeneous, fragmented, secular, mass, elite, rural, urban, etc.

Types of Political Culture (Almond & Verba)

- **Parochial**

- General ignorance about political objects and a consequent lack of involvement in political activities
- Ex: Political culture in poorly developed states in Africa- Somalia, Sierra Leone

- **Subject**

- Widespread knowledge about political objects/processes but a disinclination to participate in political activities, often because of feeling of powerlessness
- Ex: Political culture in rural India during Mughal and British time (कोउ नृप होय,हमै का हानी।
चरि छाड़ि न त ,होबै रानी ।।)

- **Participative**

- People have both knowledge about politics and willingness to participate in the political process
 - Ex: Political Culture in USA

- None of the 3 ideal types are suitable for stable democratic political system

- **Civic Culture:** suitable combination of subject & participative political culture, in which aware people have trust in elite leadership to govern, and make policies for good of the nation

Cultural approach to understand politics

- Culture provides the **context** in which politics occur
 - Define Interest & Power, and how interests are to be pursued
- Culture form and links individual and collective identities
- Defines group boundaries and organizes actions within and between them
- Provides a framework for interpreting the actions & motives of others
- Provides resources for political organizations and political mobilizations
 - Ex: RSS
- Help study problem of stability and change of political system

Political Culture Approach to Comparative Politics

- Political Culture approach to comparative politics help study politics in different settings/context
- Help understand political behaviour and motives
- Help explain political phenomenon, political system and Institutions
- Make comparison more meaningful
- Help generalization and prediction- hypothesis & Theory building

Political Culture and Political Institutions

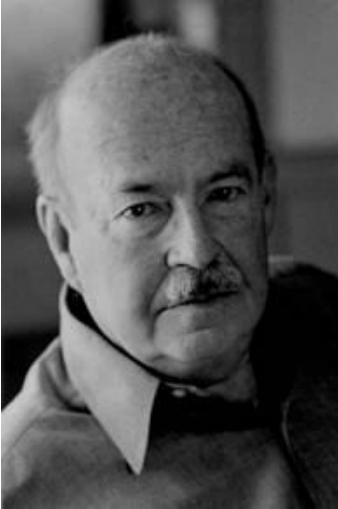
- Representative Democracy, Parliament, Executive, Judiciary, Electoral system, Political party, etc are examples of political Institutions
- Political Institutions (endogenic) reflect and represent prevalent political culture
 - Pattern of political relation and interaction reflect political culture
 - Ex: 'Civic culture' support & represent stable democratic Institutions ; Our political Institutions reflect political culture of national movement
- Political culture provide the overarching framework within which political institutions function
 - Ex: Formalization of political Institutions in Prismatic society (Riggs)
- Political culture provide stability and legitimacy to political institutions
 - Ex: Difference in political culture of India and Pakistan and resulting instability in latter
- Provides resources for political organizations and social mobilizations, both affect political institutions
 - Ex: RSS , popularity BJP and resulting affect on political Institutions ; student's movement; Anna Hazare protest
- Political Institution and their functioning affect political culture
 - Ex: Disillusionment of people from Bureaucracy and Politicians because of imperfect functioning of Institutions

Limitations of Cultural Analysis in Comparative Politics

- Unit of analysis problem
 - Cultural units have not clear and distinct border(delimitations)
- Culture not a homogeneous unit- sub-culture, cultural pluralism
- Vague definition of culture- diffused concept of culture- and clash with other similar concepts
- Culture as unchanging stable pattern of behavior vs dynamic nature of politics
- Cultural explanations require supporting social mechanisms (social phenomenon) to have any explanatory value
- Cultural explanations are ‘ just-so’ stories and not rigorous causal accounts making empirical analysis difficult
- political culture was being used as a residual category for all that cannot be explained by other theories, and thus has no theoretically defensible conceptual ground of its own.



Gabriel Almond (1911 – 2002) and **Sidney Verba** (1932 –2019) compared the political culture of 5 nations and wrote in 1963 **The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations**



Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) was an American sociologist. He explained social order in terms of institutions that inculcated individuals with coherent sets of norms, values, and attitudes—what he called culture—which in turn sustained those institutions through time. He Influenced Almond & Verba

Prominent Contributors

Samuel Edward Finer (1915 – 1993) was a political scientist and historian' from UK; he categorized political culture as matured, developed, low, and minimal



W. H. Morris-Jones(1918): wrote extensively on politics and political culture of India
The Governments and Politics in India(1971), Politics mainly India(1978)

RAJNI KOTHARI (1928-2015) : **Politics in India** (1970), **Caste in Indian Politics** (1973), and Rethinking Democracy (2005)



Rousseau, -Durkheim ,Montesquieu, -Weber also deeply influenced Cultural discourse on socio-political organization

Sum Up

- People's belief, values, attitude, and orientation towards politics and political system form the political culture of the nation/community
- Almond & Verba in their book Civic Culture categorised it into 3 ideal types: Parochial, Subject, and Participative
- It provides the Context, define political identities, provide framework and stability to political system/institutions, help making meaning of motives and behaviours
- Political Culture approach to comparative politics help study politics in different settings/context, make comparison more meaningful, help explain political phenomenon, help generalization and prediction- hypothesis
- Cultural approach to comparative politics has some limitations- unit of analysis, non-homogeneity, abstractness, its stable nature vs dynamic politics, overlapping conceptual boundaries, and non rigorous and non Causal explanations making empirical analysis difficult

References

- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**

- M. Howard, (2009) 'Culture in Comparative Political Analysis', in M. Lichback and A. Zuckerman, pp. 134- S. (eds.) Comparative Political: Rationality, Culture, and Structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- B. Rosamond, (2005) 'Political Culture', in B. Axford, et al. Politics, London: Routledge, pp. 57-81..

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- **political culture, political structure and underdevelopment in india by Thomas Pantham: JSTOR article ;**
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- **Political Culture, Political Structure and Political Change by Carole Pateman : JSTOR article ;**
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- **The Concept of Political Culture in Comparative Politics by Young C. Kim : JSTOR article ;**
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- <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/sociology-and-social-reform/sociology-general-terms-and-concepts/political-culture>
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Almond
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talcott_Parsons

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NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

Introduction

Meaning, Types, Old vs New

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Meaning & Definitions of Institution and Institutionalism

New Institutionalism: Meaning

New Vs Old Institutionalism

3 variants of New Institutionalism

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Approaches to Studying Comparative Politics : 'New Institutionalism'

2015. What do you understand by New Institutionalism? Discuss any one school of thought of New Institutionalism.

2016: Critically analyse 'New Institutionalism' approach to comparative politics.

2017. What is New Institutionalism? Write an essay on new Institutionalism with special focus on historical new Institutionalism

2018: how is new Institutionalism different from old Institutionalism? Briefly discuss sociological Institutionalism.

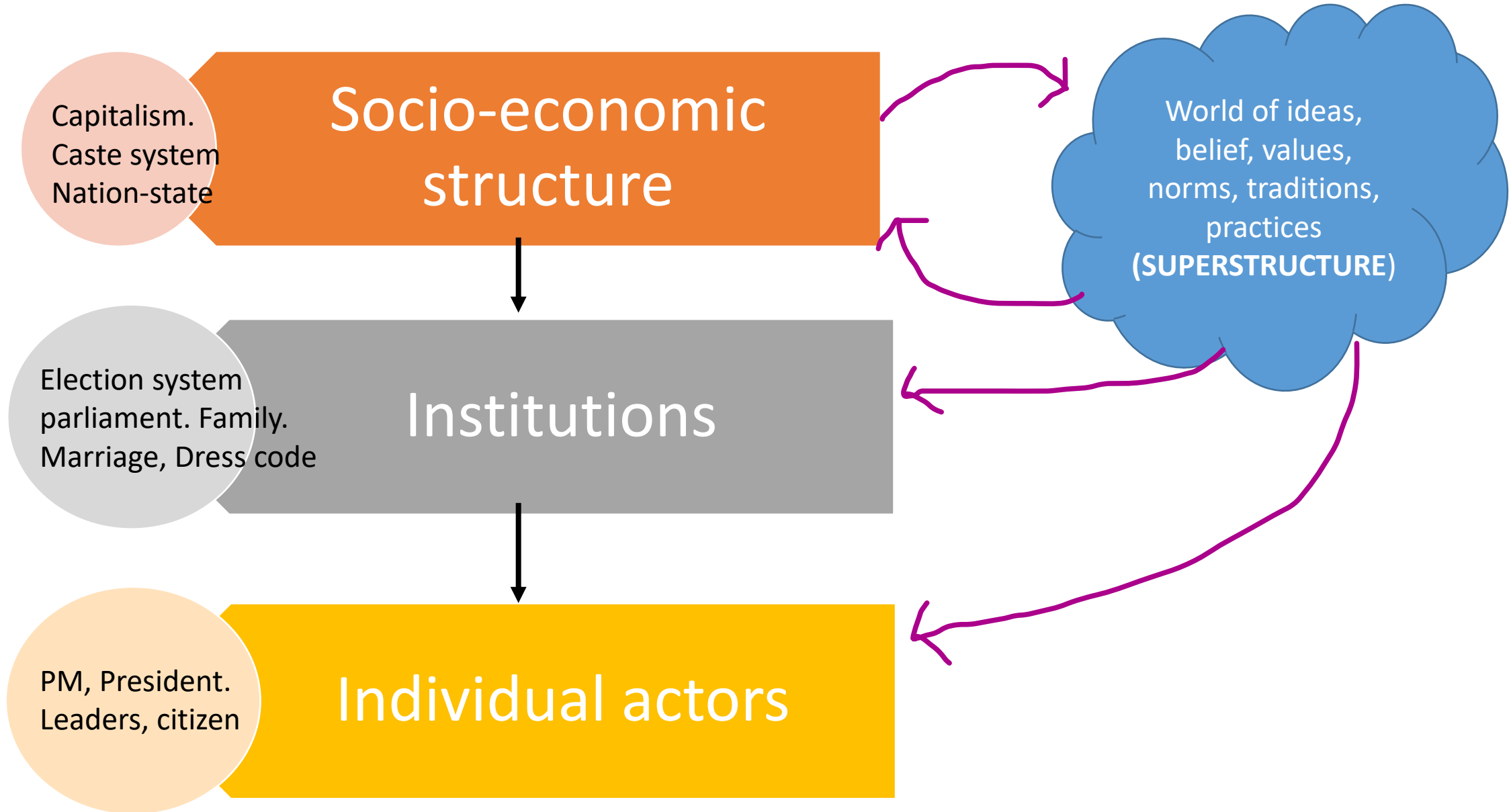
What is Institution?

- Formal or informal rules, codes, conventions, norms, established practices that shape individual behavior and structure the relationship between individuals in various units in the polity and economy
- ‘Established law, custom or practice’. ‘A rule that has been institutionalized’ (Lane & Ersson)
- ‘Humanly devised **constraints** that structure political, economic and social interactions’(Douglass North)
- ‘**hard**’ vs ‘soft’ Institutions
 - ‘hard’: formal rules backed by formal law of the political system, Ex: FPTP electoral process, parliamentary form of Govt., federalism, party system, parliaments, constitutions, the judicial system, state, etc
 - ‘soft’: Informal rules, norms, practices, conventions backed informal social sanctions; Ex: dress code, family, marriage, accepted norms of political behaviours
 - ‘the most effective institutional arrangements incorporate a normative system of informal and internalized rules’(Levi) ; most significant institutional factors are often informal(North)

Why & How Institutions Matter?

- Politics is constructed in form of Institutional structure; Institutions are the vehicles through which the practice of politics is transmitted.
- Institutions matters because they constrain and shape behaviour of Individuals
- Institutions provide the environment or field within which Individuals organize themselves for purposeful activities
- Institutions mediate between the socio-economic structure (class & caste system), socio-political culture (laws, customs, norms) and individuals

INSTITUTIONS, STRUCTURE, SUPERSTRUCTURE, AND INDIVIDUAL



Institution vs Organization

- Institutions can be defined as anything from formal organizational arrangements to forms of patterned behaviour operating through roles, rules, norms, conventions
- Institutions are broader in scope and have more wider sets of institutional arrangements than those of organisations- Institutions as field or environment in which organization function
- Organizations are best seen as nested within and shaped by wider institutional arrangements
- 'Organisations are a response to the institutional structure of societies'.(North)
- Both organization & Institutions affect and change each other
- Ex: 'competitive electoral systems', Institutions, and specific organisations such as the Congress party, BJP, etc.
- Ex: 'Monitory policy system' an Institution and RBI organization ; 'Patriarchy' as Institution and a particular family following norms of Patriarchy as organisation

What is Institutionalism?

- Studying, observing, and analyzing politics from the institutional perspective
- Assumption that Institution matters because it shapes political behavior and hence political process and outcomes
- Studying origin, maintenance, and changes in the Institutions
- Comparing Institutions and Institutional arrangements in different nations, regions, cultures to understand 'the political'

Old vs New Institutionalism

- 'OLD' INSTITUTIONALISM

- Old Institutionalism :formal-legal and administrative arrangements of state and governments, constitutions, Legislatures, and Judicial systems ; thus focused on 'hard' Institutions
- Describing and mapping the formal institutions of government and the modern state, their constitutions, both within specific countries and on a comparative basis
- It was descriptive, not analytical and hence no **explanatory/causal** theory building
- Normative approach: an evaluative framework which attempted to assess how well certain institutions measured up to democratic norms or the principals of responsible government

- 'NEW' INSTITUTIONALISM

- Focused on both 'hard' and 'Soft' Institutions; Linked Institutions to macro socio-economic structure on one hand and individual behavior on other hand
- Gave new meaning and role to Institutions in Post Behavioural phase, bringing Institutions back into focus– synthesis of Institutionalism to Behaviouralism- how institution shape individual behaviour and therefore political process and outcomes
- Instead of description or normative evaluation, the focus of new institutionalism is more oriented towards explanation, analysis, and explicit theory building
- New Institutionalism raises central theme of agency/structure debate.

Old Vs New Institutionalism

OLD

- Studying Institutions as distinct autonomous political entities
- Formal, legal, descriptive, Normative, philosophical, historical
- Less focus on explanatory theory/hypothesis
- Focus was more on 'hard' rules and formal organizations
- Confined mostly to studying liberal democratic institutions of 'West'- Ethnocentric
- Considered as traditional approach to comparative politics
- Drew concepts from Philosophy, law, history
- No systematic cross-country or cross-culture comparison

NEW

- study Institutions in relation to individual behavior and (micro) societal structures(macro), and other institutions
- Analytical, explanatory & Empirical
- focus more oriented towards explanation and explicit theory building
- Much wider definition of institution, include 'soft' rules and informal organizations
- Much wider geographical spread, attempt to study institutions in its own socio-cultural contexts.
- Much more inter-disciplinary- economics, psychology, cultural anthropology, sociology, and history
- Much more comparative focus- comparing institutional settings in different countries and cultures and how they shape political behavior, process, and outcomes

3 Strands(Types) of New Institutionalism

- **Rational Choice New Institutionalism**
 - Institutions are creation of rational Individuals who decides on the basis of calculation of cost-benefits associated with alternatives.
 - Institutions provide the incentive structure which affect the cost-benefits and hence shape behavior and decisions of the rational individuals.
- **Cultural New Institutionalism**
 - Institutions are embodiment of cultural belief, norms, values, conventions, practices.
 - Individuals behave according to the norm of appropriate social behavior in given Institutional roles (identity) and situations
- **Structural New Institutionalism**
 - Socio-economic structure, such as modes of production, technology, demography, etc, determine the Institutional structure which in turn determine the Individual's identity, behavior, and actions.

New Institutionalism and Comparative Politics

- Institutionalism has been the major subject matter and approach to comparative politics
 - Plato's theory of ideal state, Aristotle's comparison of constitutions of 150 states and his types of States in his '*Politics*', Montesquieu's legal-constitutional Institutional frameworks, Tocqueville's 'theory and practice' of governments, and foundations of comparative governments and politics by Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski
- But starting 1950s, Institutionalism almost became dead as an approach to comparative politics on the wake of behavioural movement. Institutionalism was branded as descriptive, normative, speculative, and incapable of scientific analysis and theory-building.
- New Institutionalism brought back the state and Institutions back into focus. It synthesised Institutionalism to Behaviouralism and studied Institutions in relation to Macro structure, Socio-cultural Superstructure, and individual political actor.
- New Institutionalism help understand 'politics' by comparing Institutional eco systems and their impact on political behaviour, process, and outcomes in different countries, regions, and cultures.
- Its different strands has brought insights from Economics, Sociology, cultural Anthropology, Psychology, and History to understand political behaviour and political phenomenon.



James March (1928-2018) & Johan Olsen(1939): May be called founders of **New Institutionalism**. *"The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life"* (1984), followed by a book, *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (1989). *Democratic Governance* (1995). They gave 'Garbage Can model' of decision making theory



Douglass C North(1920 – 2015) American Economist; Rational Choice Institutionalism : *"Institutions are created by utility maximizing individuals with clear intention" ; how institutions reduce transaction costs in market economy.*

Prominent Contributors

William Scott (1932) American **sociologist**; relation between organizations and their institutional environments.



Paul DiMaggio (1951) and **Walter W. Powell** (1951): Both American Sociologists; Cultural or sociological Institutionalism; *"belief systems and cultural frames are imposed on and adapted by individual actors and organisations. Thus, roles are for a large part determined by larger structures."*gave theory of **Institutional isomorphism**



Sum Up

- Institutions are rules, norms, conventions, traditions, practices that structure human organization, shape individual behavior and affect political process and outcomes
- Institutionalism is understanding politics from institutional perspectives
- Institutionalism has been most important approach to comparative politics since beginning- Aristotle's comparison of constitutions of 150 states; Plato's theory of the ideal state
- However, the old legal, formal, normative, descriptive Institutionalism became almost dead on the wake of Behavioural Movement in 1950s and 1960s
- New Institutionalism was a response to Behaviouralism to bring back the state and Institutions back into focus in 1980s.
- New Institutionalism situate Institutions between Macro Societal Structure, Socio-cultural superstructure and Individual political actor whose behaviours and actions are shaped by the institutions in which individuals are embedded.
- New Institutionalism, in comparison to the 'Old', is more analytical, explanatory, and empirical. It is less ethnocentric more comparative, and contextual.
- 3 distinct strands of New Institutionalism are: Rational Choice, Cultural, and Structural Institutionalism

References

- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**

- M. Pennington, (2009) 'Theory, Institutional and Comparative Politics', in J. Bara and Pennington. (eds.) Comparative Politics: Explaining Democratic System. Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 13-40..
- P. Hall, Taylor and C. Rosemary, (1996) 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalism', Political Studies. XLIV, pp. 936-957.

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- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douglass_North
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_W._Powell
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_DiMaggio
- <http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/20905/1/Unit-3.pdf>

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3 NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

Rational Choice, Cultural, Structural

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Cultural Institutionalism

Structural Institutionalism

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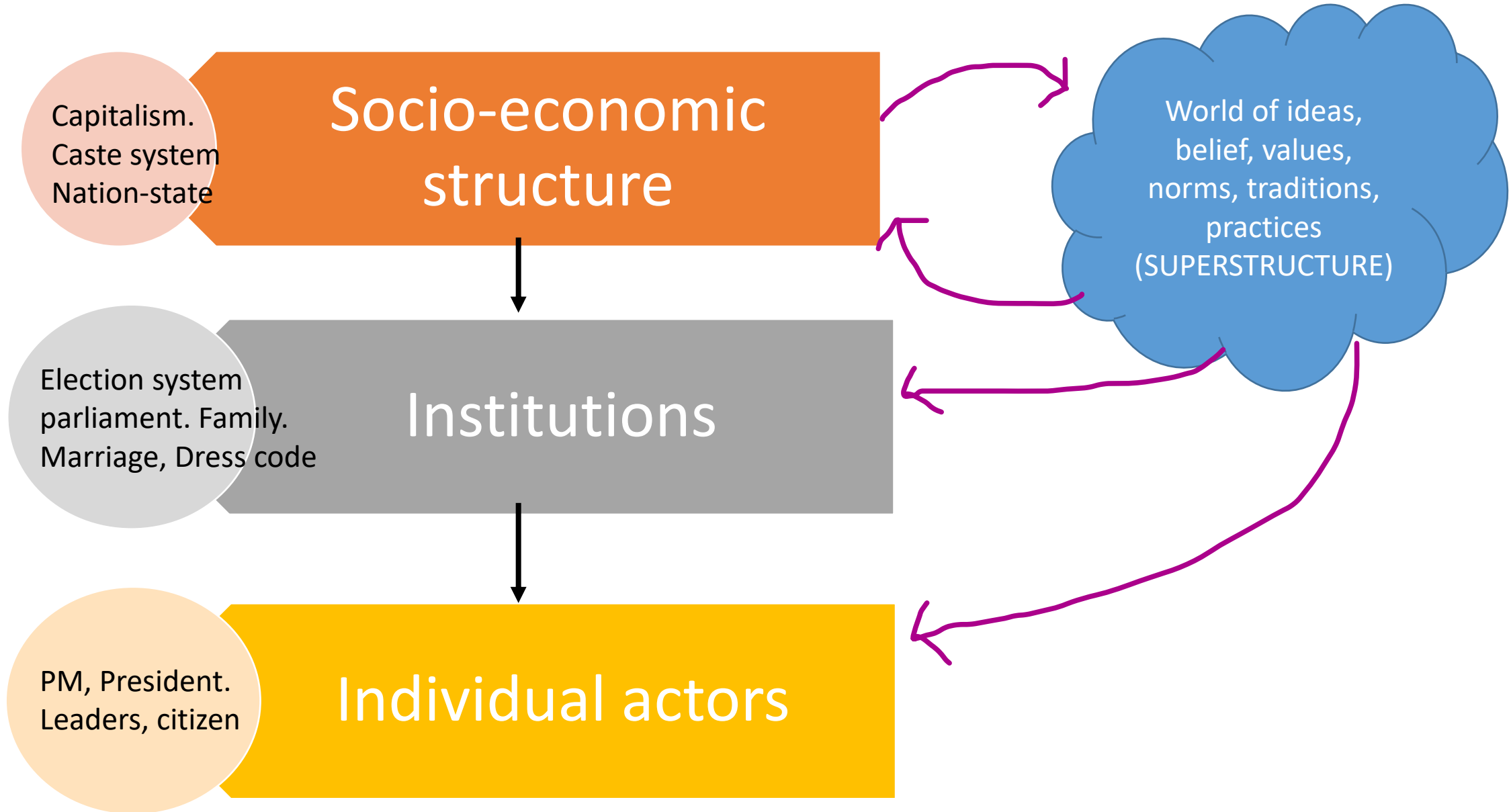
2017. What is New Institutionalism? Write an essay on new Institutionalism with special focus on historical new Institutionalism

2018: how is new Institutionalism different from old Institutionalism? Briefly discuss sociological Institutionalism.

Let us recall

- In Institution is stable, recurring pattern of behaviour, often referred to as 'rules of the game'
- Institutions matter because they shape individual behavior and affect political process and outcomes
- Institutionalism is understanding politics from institutional perspectives
- Institutionalism has been most important approach to comparative politics since beginning- Aristotle's comparison of constitutions of 150 states; Plato's theory of the ideal state
- However, the old legal, formal, normative, descriptive Institutionalism became almost dead on the wake of Behavioural Movement in 1950s and 1960s
- New Institutionalism was a response to Behaviouralism to bring back the state and Institutions back into focus in 1980s.
- New Institutionalism situate Institutions between Macro Societal Structure, Socio-cultural superstructure and Individual political actor whose behaviours and actions are shaped by the institutions in which individuals are embedded.
- New Institutionalism, in comparison to the 'Old', focusses less on organizational structures and more on rules, norms, and practices . It is more analytical, explanatory, and empirical. It is less ethnocentric more comparative, and contextual.

INSTITUTIONALIS LYING BETWEEN STRUCTURE & INDIVIDUAL



Rational Choice Institutionalism

- Political actors are rational and self-interested and act strategically to maximize their preferences, or utility which are fixed & stable and are formed independent of Institutional context
- Rational Individual takes decisions by calculating cost-benefit of all possible alternatives and his expectations about how others are likely to react to his decisions.
- institutions are created, used, and changed by rational individuals actors to suit their goals/interests.
- Institutions affect choice/decisions of rational actor by presenting different incentive structure which increases/decreases cost-benefits of alternatives and structuring/regulating interactions with others
- Institutions structure the choices, range of options, and information available to its members-bounded rationality
- Institutions solve many of the 'collective action problems'- Free Rider, Transaction cost, 'tragedy of the commons' and Principal-agent
- Thus, decisions and acts of political actors are constrained by the institutions in which the actor is embedded
- Hence, Institution matters because it affect individual's political behavior
- **Proponents:** Douglass C North, Herbert Simon, Adam Smith

PROS and CONS of Rational Choice New Institutionalism

PLUSES

- Straightforward and simple explanation
- Can be applied across all cultures
- Helped minimize collective Action Problems
- Balance between individual (agency) and Institution(structure)
- Quantitative and empirical research possible
- Compelling reasons for origin of Institutions
- Based on sound theoretical base of Economics
- Seems closer to reality Intuitively

MINUSES

- Idealistic conception of utility-maximising and rational actors
- Increasing realization that rationality in social behavior is a myth
- Undermine **Embeddedness** of Individuals in so many social, economic and political relationships beyond their control and cognition
- use of **deductive** methodology and the tendency towards relatively narrow, even mechanical specification of actor motives, preferences and institutional contexts.
- **universal** assumptions about actors and which 'specifies the preferences or goals of the actors exogenously to the Institutional context
- Its **believe in universal human nature** and hence universal application of its theories across culture
- Excessive focus on Individual motives and actions undermining social and community life
- Ethnocentrism- favouring western culture

Cultural Institutionalism

- Institutions embody/represent prevailing culture of community
- They provide behavioural template & cognitive scripts or frame of reference which shape identity, self-image, preference, behavior, and actions of Individuals
- Institutions influence behavior and action not only by specifying what one should do in a given role and situation but also by specifying what one can imagine oneself doing in a given context
- 'logic of social appropriateness' in contrast to a 'logic of instrumentality'.
- organizations often adopt a new institutional practice because it enhances the social legitimacy of the organization or its participants- ***Institutional isomorphism***
- ***Proponents:*** March & Olsen, William Scott , Paul DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell

Structural Institutionalism

- Individuals are merely bearer of functional role and political beliefs in an overarching socio-economic structure- capitalism, class, caste system- that operate according to its own law & logic
- Institutional reflect the logic of Macro structures and shape Individual's interests ,belief, behaviour, and actions
- Individuals or Society do not choose institutions rather they are chosen for them by the prevailing structural forces
- Structural variables, and not choices exercised by rational individuals & cultural groups, determine political process and outcomes
- Thus, structure, not rationality or culture, determine individual's preference and behaviour
- Ex: Capitalist mode of production determined interest/prefeences, ideas/belief, behavior/actions of capitalist and labour class; capitalism gave specific institutional structure- liberal democracy, private property, rule of law, Liberty.
- Ex: Caste system shaped behaviours and actions of individuals- rituals, belief, identity, self-image; Caste system gave institutions of ascriptions, purity, rules of legitimate marriage, Patriarchy,caste Panchayat, etc

Two strands of structural Institutionalism

- Marxist: Economic structure or 'Base' determine the law, polity, culture-idea, belief, norms (superstructure); institutions are part of superstructure
- Not rationality of the individuals or their subjective belief but their functional relation to the prevailing economic structure determine their idea, interests, preferences.
- Ex: Capitalist structure is determined by mode of productions which shapes interests and beliefs of individuals and their socio-economic relations depending upon whether they relate as owner or non-owner of mode of production
- Non-Marxist : How macro structures- class structure, demography, technology, geographical conditions interact to produce political outcomes
- Synthesis of Culture and structure by Gramsci's idea of cultural Hegemony
- **Proponents:** Karl Marx, Skocpol (structural factors that led to large scale political changes in France, Russia, and China), Goldstone (breakdown of state structure because of worsening demographic conditions)

3 NEW INSTITUTIONALISM: COMPARISON AT A GLANCE

Basis of Comparison	RATIONAL CHOICE	CULTURAL	STRUCTURAL
What is it?	Institution is purposeful reflection of the preferences and interests of rational actors. Institution represents rules & incentives that constrain and enable individual choice and actions.	Institution as relatively enduring set of rules and organized practices. It shape behavior and actions by providing cognitive script and behavioural template(rules of appropriate social behavior)	Macro structure affect the institutional settings which in turn determine individual behavior and actions
Primary focus is on	Individual rationality	Social behavior in group following cultural norms	Structural determinism
Origin and change of Institutions	Rational individuals form them to serve their interests	Result of cultural norms & practices evolved through historical process	Structural changes brings new institutions
Institution matters because	Bound the rationality by limiting range of options, information, and cost-benefits	Institutions embody socio-cultural norms and practices which shape behavior and action.	Institution mediate between macro structures and individual's idea, belief, behavior, action
Primary logic	Logic of instrumentality	Logic of appropriateness	logic of Macro structures
Academic base	Economics	Sociology	History

PROS and CONS of New Institutionalism

PLUSES

- Balance between Agency and Structure
- Include both formal/hard and Informal/soft Institutions
- Much more focus on true comparative study
- Middle range theory linking Individuals to Structures
- Its multiple strands denote its wide range, comprehensiveness, and applicability
- Helped democratization through appropriate institutional designs in 3rd world nations
- Also helped building International Institutional regime in IR
- Most enduring approach to understand politics

MINUSES

- Internal ambiguity- multiple strands
- Complexity: not easy to explain/understand
- Not able to provide adequate explanations for origin & change in Institutions
- Over emphasizing on role of Institutions in shaping Individual behavior and actions
- Still the focus is more on formal institutions
- Unable to provide universal explanatory theories
- Empirical analysis not easy, particularly in its cultural and structural strands
- Ethnocentrism: transporting Institutional design to developing countries

References

- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**

- M. Pennington, (2009) 'Theory, Institutional and Comparative Politics', in J. Bara and Pennington. (eds.) Comparative Politics: Explaining Democratic System. Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 13-40..
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ELECTORAL SYSTEM

FPTP Vs. PR Vs. Mixed

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Electoral System : Definition and procedures: Types of election system (First Past the Post, Proportional Representation, Mixed Representation) .

Q1: What is an electoral System? Discuss the First Past the Post(FPTP) system with an example of any one state.

Q2: Define electoral System. discuss merits & demerits of Proportional Representation system

Q3: “*Electoral system are the outcome of practices and belief in a society*” In light of this statement discuss merits & demerits of different electoral systems

Q4: Define electoral System. Distinguish between the ‘First Past the Post(FPTP) system and Proportional Representation system with suitable example.

Notes: Mixed representation, Proportional Representation, First Past the Post(FPTP) system

Meaning & Definitions

- **Electoral System:** set of rules that structure how votes are cast at election and how these votes are then converted into seats (Gallagher,2014)
- **Electoral Rules**
 - Who are eligible to vote(franchise rule), voting rules, who are eligible to run for election, Party funding & spending rule, party registration and symbol rule, election periodicity, campaign rules, etc
- **Electoral Formula**
 - How votes are converted into seats- winning rule
 - **Majoritarian** (First Past the Post), **Proportional** Representation, **Mixed** Representation
- **District(Constituency) Magnitude**
 - Numbers of seats per constituency
 - Single Member District(SMD) or Multiple member District(MMD)
- **Ballot Structure**
 - how voters cast their votes- secrete/open ballot, Ballot boxes, tick marking, stamping, writing Electronic voting machines(EVM)

Factors determining Electoral System

- Size & Socio-cultural diversity
- Literacy- Democratic and political
- Political Culture
- Nature of the party system
- Socio-economic Context
- Power politics, consensus and compromise among ruling elites
- Historical events, traditions, practices, lesson learnt

MAJOR TYPES OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Majoritarian system	Proportional Representation(PR) System	Mixed Representation System
Also called Plurality System	Seats allotted to parties in proportion of votes obtained using complex formula	Total seats divided in 2 parts
Seats allotted on getting more than 50% votes or more votes than any other candidate	Direct relationship between the seats won by a party and the votes obtained by them. Pure PR: 45% vote= 45 % seats	One part allotted as per single member plurality(SMP) another part Party List PR system
Seats won by parties are not in proportion of votes obtained by them	But proportionality also depends upon seats in a constituency, voting threshold, Formula used for seat conversion, variants of PR system, etc	Voters cast 2 votes- one for candidate for their constituency and 2 nd for party
Generally single member district	Multi-member districts/constituency	Mixed- single and multiple member districts
Variants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single member Simple Plurality system(FPTP) • Alternate Vote(AV) • Supplementary Vote(SV) • 2nd Ballot system Ex: about 47 countries- USA, UK, Canada, India, Pakistan and other Commonwealth nations	Variants: Party List PR : Single-Transferable-Vote(STV) system Ex: more than 90 countries- Most of the European nations except UK, France, Germany, Italy, Latin American nations: Argentina, Brazil, and others -South Africa, South Korea, Sri Lanka	Disproportionality of SMP are balanced by party list PR Ex: about 9 nations: Germany, Italy, New Zealand, Scotland and Wale

Types of Majoritarian System

- Single member Simple Plurality system(**FPTP**)
- Absolute majority system
 - Seats allotted to candidate getting more than 50% votes
 - **Variants:**
 - **Alternate Vote(AV)** : preferential voting: voters ranking candidates as 1st, 2nd, 3rd ;
 - candidate getting more than 50% 1st preference wins; if no one gets 50% of 1st preference the bottom candidate is eliminated and his or her votes are redistributed according to the second (or subsequent) preferences. This continues until one candidate has a majority.
 - **Supplementary Vote(SV)** : all others except top 2 candidates are eliminated and their preferences are distributed to the top 2 candidate; either of them getting more than 50% wins
 - **2nd Ballot** system: twice voting; 1st round normal single member district voting; candidate getting more than 50% wins; if no one gets majority, second voting between top two candidates

Types of PR system

- Party List PR :
 - Voters vote for party who declares list of party candidates who are allotted party seats
 - Generally entire nation in one constituency
 - Open party list vs Closed Party list: open list: Party declares list of candidates in order of preference; closed: voters choose party and then give their choice of candidate
 - Ex: Israel, most of European nations
- Single-Transferable-Vote(STV) system
 - Multi member constituency; 3-8 seats ; for winning fixed quota of votes must be obtained
 - Only single vote with preference; Preferences of bottom most candidates transferred to others till all seats are filled
 - EX: Republic of Ireland and Malta
- mixed-member proportional (MMP) system
 - A proportion of seats (50 per cent in Germany, but more in Italy, Scotland and Wales) are filled by the Single Member Plurality (SMP) system and remaining by Party List PR system
 - Voters cast two votes: one for a candidate in the constituency election, and the other for a party
 - Ex: Germany, Italy, New Zealand, Scotland and Wales

SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE(STV) PR SYSTEM EXPLAINED

Suppose 5000 voters in a constituency, 01 seat, and 4 candidates- A, B,C,D

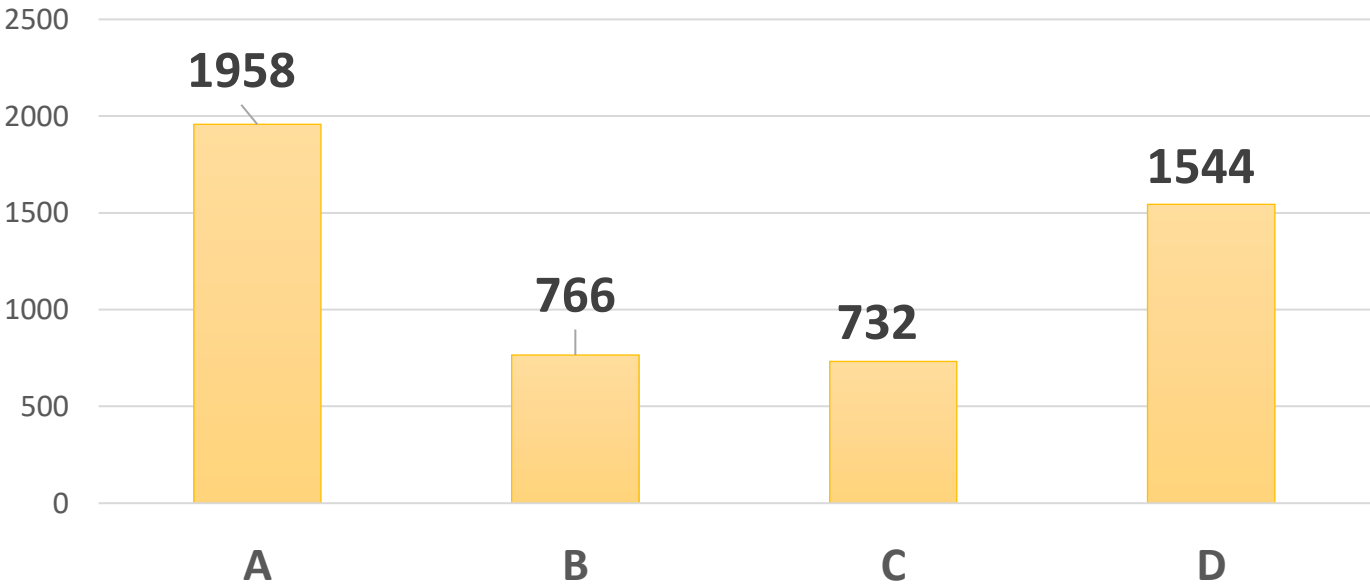
Ballot
Paper

Candidate	Preference
A	2
B	1
C	4
D	3



Quota= (total votes/(seats+1))
+1
=(5000/ 2) +1=2501

STAGE 1

1st preference of A,B,C,D counted

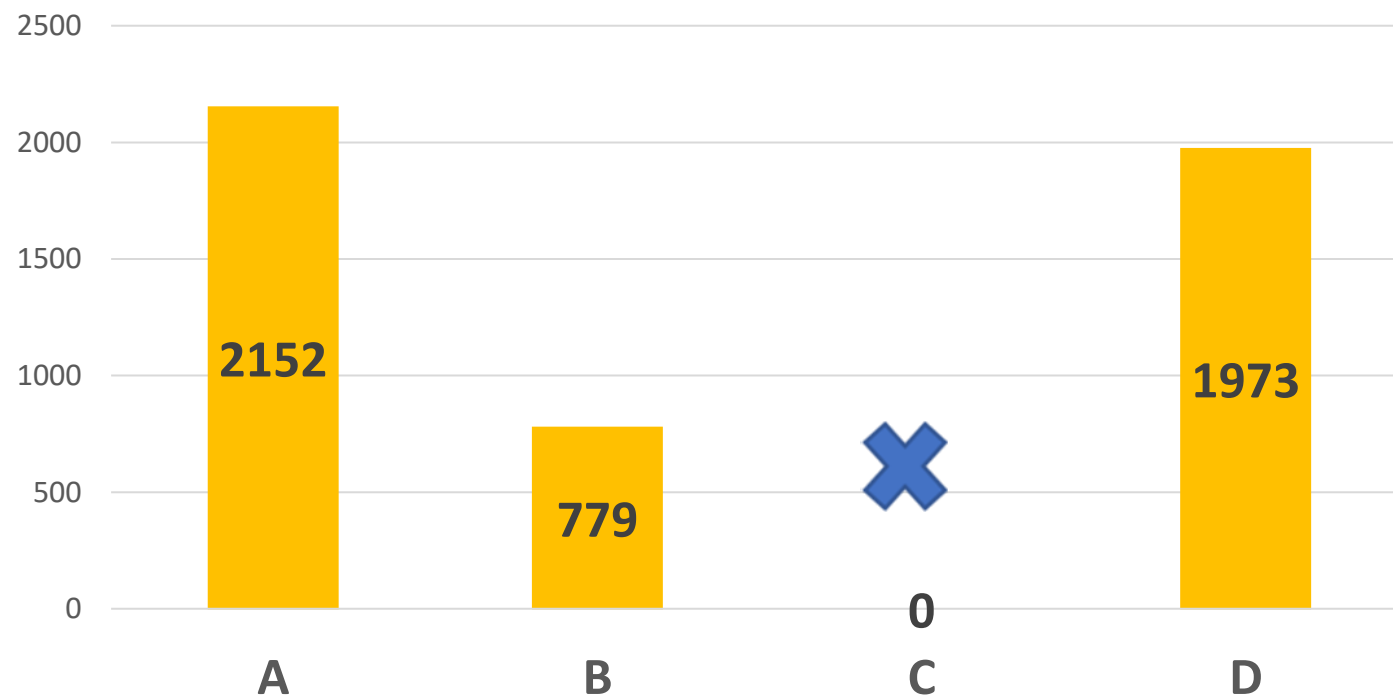


STAGE 2

Candidate	Preference
A	4
B	3
C	1 
D	2 

C's votes are then checked again to look for the 2nd preference on the ballot paper, dividing them between the remaining candidates.

Of the 732 1st preference votes of examined, 13 voters indicated a 2nd preference for 'B' taking the total to 779, 429 voters indicated a 2nd preference for 'D' and 194 voters indicated a 2nd preference for 'A'. 96 voters only indicated a 1st preference for 'C' and made no other mark on the ballot paper so their papers became 'non-transferable' at this stage.

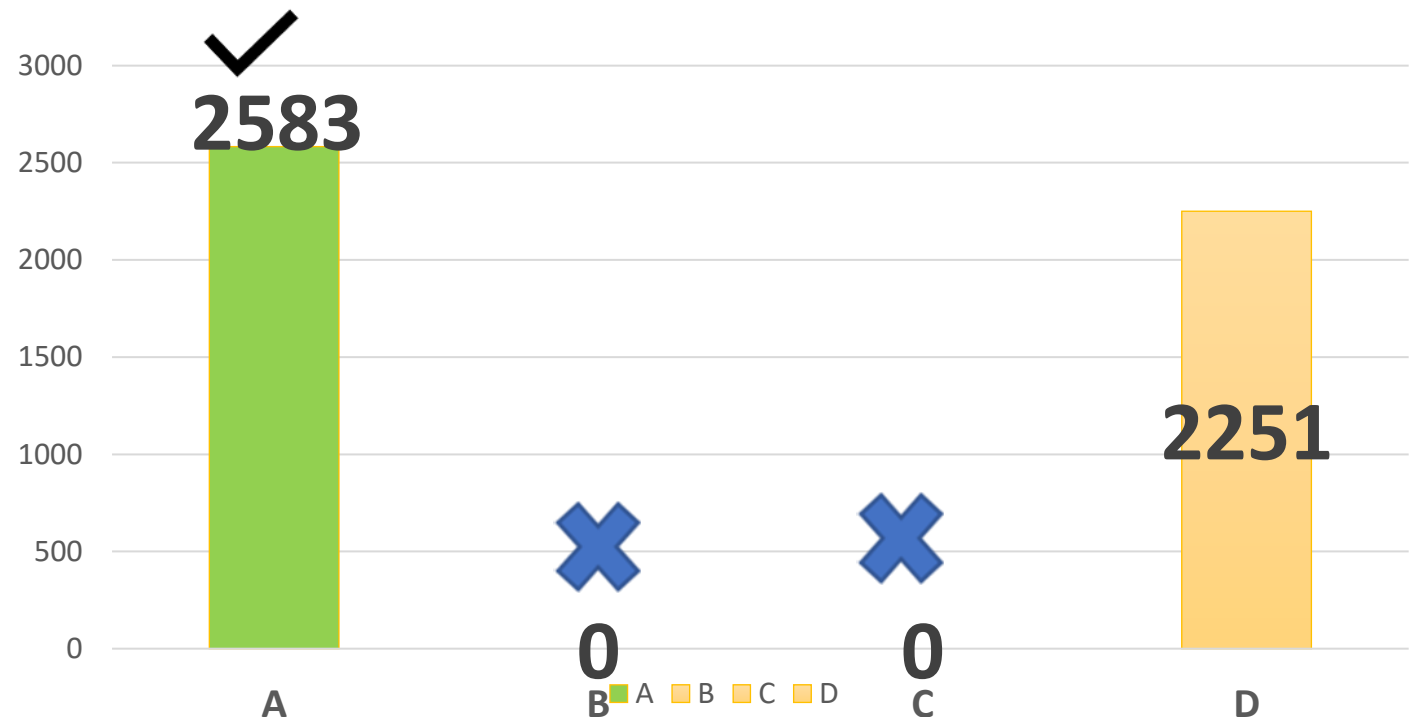


STAGE 3

Candidate	Preference
A	3 ✓
B ✕	1
C	2 ✕
D	4

If the next available preference is for a candidate that has already been excluded, i.e. in this example 'C' then we look for the next preference after that on that ballot paper.

Of the 779 1st preference votes of B, 431 voters indicated a 3rd preference for 'A' taking the total to **2583**, 278 voters indicated a 3rd preference for 'D' taking the total to 2251 and 70 voters had indicated no further preferences so their papers became 'non-transferable' at this stage.



Pros and Cons of FPTP

Pluses

- Simple, straight-forward, easy to understand
- Quick vote counts and result declaration
- clear link between voter and representatives
- offers the electorate a clear choice of potential parties of government
- Stability/strength: Generally, strong stable Govt having clear decisive mandate
- Encourages broad based centrist parties
- keeps extremism at bay by making it more difficult for small radical parties to gain seats
- Directly Responsible & Accountable govt.

Minuses

- Unfairness: highly disproportionate: no correlation between votes obtained and seats won
- Punishes smaller issue based parties
- Favours large parties and strong regional parties and Punishes small parties and ones with geographically evenly distributed support (the 'third-party effect').
- Wastage of votes
- Encourage Strategic voting
- It offers only limited choice because of its duopolistic (two-major-parties) tendencies.
- It undermines the legitimacy of government, in that governments often enjoy only minority support
- It creates instability because a change in government can lead to a radical shift of policies and direction.
- It discourages the selection of a socially broad spread of candidates in favour of those who are attractive to a large body of voters.

Pros and Cons of PR System

Pluses

- Fairness: Seats are proportional to votes obtained
- more diverse, representation-mirroring society
- Smaller parties and parties having widely spread votes are not punished
- Votes are not wasted
- More inter-party co-ordination and co-operation- less confrontationist politics
- Offer more choices to voters- cutting across party line
- Balance of inter and intra-party competition

Minuses

- Complex formula, tough for masses to understand, time consuming counting
- Strong and stable single-party government is unlikely
- Encourages extremism- smaller, single issue based party may dictate
- Proportionality depends on other factors (DM, mixed, voting threshold, etc)
- In many of its variant(party list system) no clear link between voter and representatives
- In multi member Districts and open party list system, intra-party competition- less unified and disciplined party structure
- Fragmentation of Party system

Political Effects of Electoral System

- **Voter- representative relation**
 - SMD simple majority: direct voter-representative connect
 - Open party list system: No direct link between voter and their representatives
- **Govt formation**
 - Multi-party coalition govt in PR system
 - Strong single party govt in majoritarian(FPTP) system
- **Party System format**
 - **Duverger's Law**: Majoritarian system- two party system and PR system: multi-party system
- **Ideological effects** : FPTP: less polarization ; PR : multi-polar party system
- More political and societal consensus in PR system
- **Under representation** of marginalized communities(minorities, women, indigenous people) in majoritarian(FPTP) system

Sum Up

- Electoral system are institutional rules, norms, and structure by which representation are decided in democratic political system
- Most important of those rules for conversion of votes into seats
- Majoritarian (Plurality- FPTP), Proportional, and mixed representations are main types of Electoral Rules
- FPTP is most simple, straight-forward but unfair to smaller and widely spread evenly voted parties
- PR system, especially party list system, are more popular in matured democracies. PR is more fair and encourage consensual politics but is complex, confusing, and time consuming
- Country chooses its electoral system based on its size, diversity, political culture, socio-political context, and power politics, consensus, compromise among its ruling Elites
- Electoral system, in turn, affects party system, govt. formation, political ideologies and practices, and representation issues

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- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qcmJA3LhtAU>
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supplementary_vote
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951%E2%80%9352_Indian_general_election
- <https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/electoral-system>

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COMPARATIVE PARTY POLITICS

Part One

**Political Party: Types, Functions,
Evolution**

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Party System :Historical contexts of emergence of the party system and types of parties

2019. Differentiate party from party system in comparative politics.

2018: Discuss party system in contemporary times in the context of developing countries.

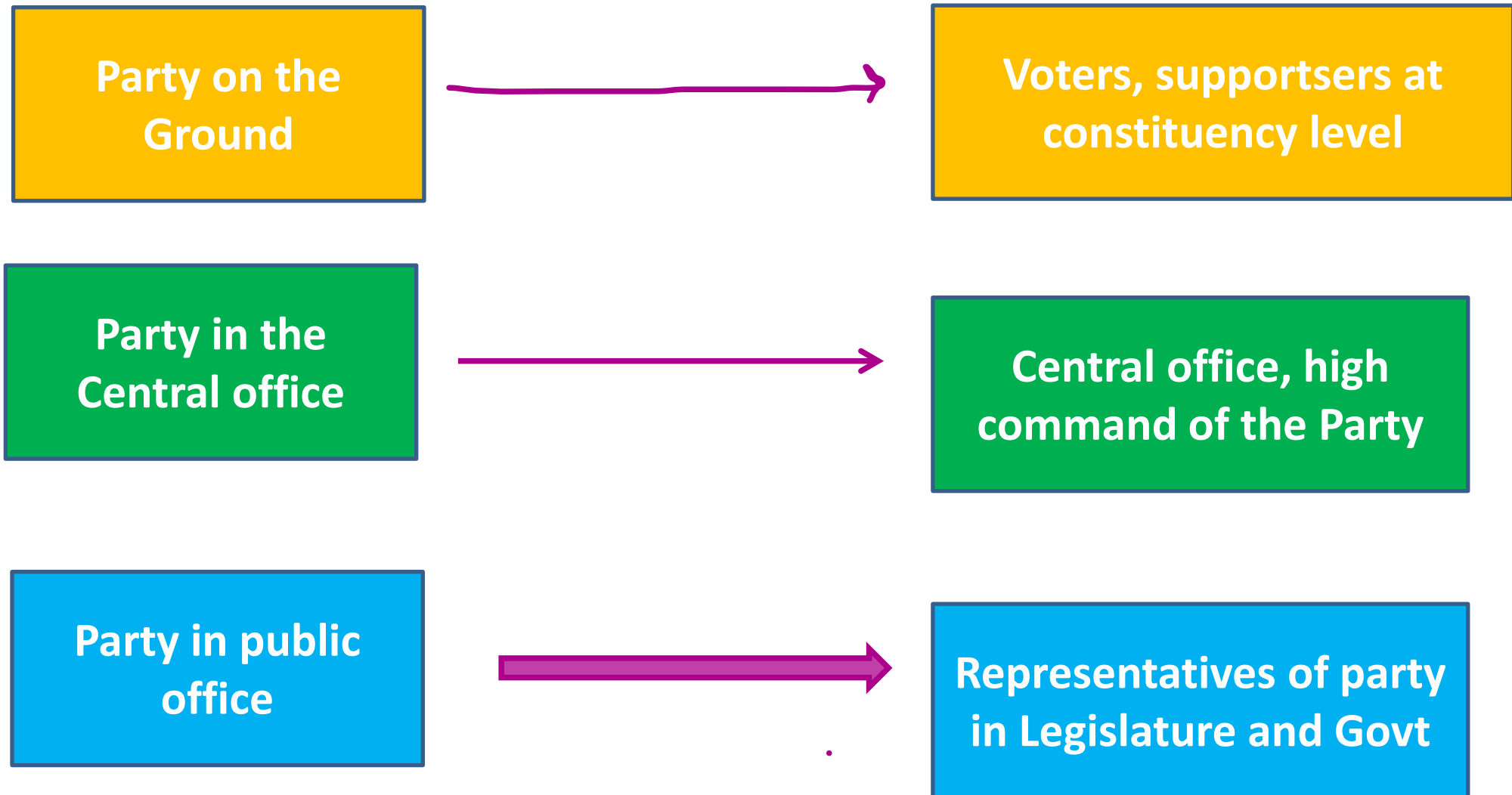
2017: What are the major party systems? Discuss the merits and demerits of a two party system compared to a multi-party system

2016: Differentiate party from party system. Explain the evolution & growth of party system in the modern world.

Political Party: Meaning & Definition

- Group of people who **sufficiently like minded** to work together **to acquire Govt power** to further **policies** which promote their **interests**.
- An **organized group**, often with **common ideologies**, political aims and opinions, which aims to acquire and exercise political power to **influence public policy**
- A group of persons organized to acquire and exercise political power. A group that “seeks to **elect governmental officeholders under a given label**” (Leon D. Epstein, 1967)
- Different from any other interest group by able to **directly influence Public Policies** by acquiring power
- Representative Govt in modern democracy means **govt by political parties**- Government Party (Ex: BJP Govt, Congress Govt)
- Hence, political party and party politics have become essential feature of political system anywhere in world.

Party Organisation at 3 level: *Richard Katz and Peter Mair*(1993)



LEFT Vs RIGHT

Basis of comparison	LEFT	RIGHT
Social Views: change vs continuity	Liberty ,Equality ,Fraternity Rights ,Progress, Reform/change Cosmopolitanism	Authority , Hierarchy , Order Duties , Tradition, continuity, Nationalism
Economic views : market vs State	Statist- State intervention, Welfare State	Minimal State, free Market Economy



Right

Linear spectrum

Communism

Socialism

Liberalism

Conservatism

Fascism

Types of Parties

- On the basis of ideology or 'ideological family'

- Left**

Cadre Party	Mass Party	Catchall Party
Elite Party, small size of membership limited to few- property, social status, personality	Parties offering membership to masses, raises national issues, and have wide electoral base	Parties which aim to get votes from all class/sections/ interests
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Such parties developed in initial phases of representative democracy from Factions, Cliques around noblemen, trader, merchant, etc Ex: Whigs, Tories in England in 18th Century Party at ground and public office- weak or non-existent central office Party funds from wealthy members Lose party organisation and discipline Now Cadre denote trained and professional party members who exhibit a high level of political commitment and doctrinal discipline- Ex: communist party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generally, caters to particular class/section – workers/labour class Ex: Socialist Parties in 20th century Europe- German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the UK Labour Party Party in central office and at ground more important than party at public office Party funds from mass membership fee Tight organisation and discipline Focus on recruitment and organization than on ideology and political conviction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Such parties are loosely bound to one ideology – de-ideologized They would appeal to the median voter in society as opposed to a specific section of the electorate Unlike mass party, they don't rely on personal contact/mobilization of voter- they use mass media, leader's charisma Main aim is to win elections. Strong party in central office and party in public office

social

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Liberals, Conservatives, Christian Democrats and Social Democrats- habitually governing parties
Communist, Regionalists, Environmentalists and Nationalists - habitually opposing parties

Types of Parties

- On the basis of **ideology** or '**ideological family**'
 - Left parties
 - Communist, Socialist, Social Democrats(center-left), Green, Liberals(center-left on Social issues)
 - Right Parties
 - Conservatives, Liberals(economy),fascist, Christian Democrats(centre-Right), Nationalist
- On the basis of organization and target voters
 - **Cadre, Mass, Catch-all**
- Ideological attachment (by *Hitchner & Levine*)
 - pragmatic parties, doctrinal parties and interest parties.
- Constitutional vs. revolutionary parties
- Representative and integrative parties (by *Sigmund Neumann* (1956))
 - Representative: reflect, represent, and channelize public opinion- Catch all parties
 - Integrative: shape public opinion by political mobilization- Socialist Parties
- Party of Government vs Party of Opposition
 - Liberals, Conservatives, Christian Democrats and Social Democrats- habitually governing parties
 - Communist, Regionalists, Environmentalists and Nationalists - habitually opposing parties

Cadre Party	Mass Party	Catchall Party
<p>Elite Party, small size of membership limited to few- property, social status, personality</p>	<p>membership to masses and constructing a wide electoral base</p>	<p>The term was coined by Otto Kirchheimer (1966) to denote modern governing parties which try to get votes from all class/sections/ interests</p>
<p>Such parties developed in initial phases of representative democracy when franchise was limited Ex: Whigs, Tories in England in 18th Century</p>	<p>Generally, caters to particular class/section – workers/labour class Ex: Socialist Parties in 20th century Europe- German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the UK Labour Party</p>	<p>All modern parties fall into this category. Such parties are loosely bound to one ideology – de-ideologized They would appeal to the median voter in society as opposed to a specific section of the electorate</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now Cadre denote trained and professional party members who exhibit a high level of political commitment and doctrinal discipline- communist party • Party at ground and public office- weak or non-existent central office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place heavier stress on recruitment and organization than on ideology and political conviction • Raise national issues, win at national level • Party in central office and at ground more important than party at public office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unlike mass party, they don't rely on personal contact/mobilization of voter- they use mass media, leader's charisma • Main aim is to win elections. • Strong party in central office and party in public office

Functions of Political party

- **Govt formation**
 - Nominating candidates, providing support, election campaign, win elections
- **Link between people and govt**; as opposition people's watchdog
- Provide clear **choice**
 - Political branding/label, ideological & policy choice
- **Representation**
 - Represent public opinion, policy demands, larger societal interests
- Provide **leaders, recruitment** and **training** in politics
- **Policy and goal** formulation
- **Interest articulation and aggregation**
- Political **Socialization** and **mobilization**

Party System

- A relatively stable network of relationships between parties that is structured by their number, size and ideological orientation (*Heywood*)
- Party systems are described by the number of parties within a political system during a given time, along with their internal structures, their ideologies, their respective sizes, alliances, and types of opposition (*Duverger, 1972*)
- A system of interaction between political parties in a political system (*Sartori, 1976*).
- Thus, party system denotes:
 - Number of political parties
 - Types of Parties: their ideologies, relative Sizes, electoral prospects, ideological distance,
 - Nature of interactions among parties- alliances & oppositions
 - Relationship between Party, Government, State and its institutions

Political Party Vs Party System

Basis of comparison	Political Party	Party System
Meaning	An organized group, often with common ideologies, political aims and opinions, which aims to acquire and exercise political power to influence public policy	Number, nature of their structure and ideological make up, and interactions among political parties in political system at a given time denotes party system
Relationship	Number and nature of parties determine party system	Nature of party system affect emergence, growth & decline of political parties
Relation to Govt	Party form Govt, they oppose Govt	Party system affect Govt formation
Relation to State	Institution of the State, but sometime represent State	Always an Institution of the State
Endurance	Party come and go, merge with others, grow & shrink	Party system remains for ever- permanent feature
Individual agency vs structure	Individuals may affect party- charismatic leader, Leader party	Denote Institution, structure of political system
Examples	BJP, Congress, Democrats, Republican, Conservatives, Liberals	Single party, two party, multi-party system

Evolution of Parties: Social Cleavage Theory

(by Stein Rokkan & Martin Lipset, 1967)

- divisions, within societies that gave rise to political groupings
- Societal fault lines around which voters are mobilized in electoral politics
- Western society: church vs state, owner vs worker, rural vs urban, centre vs periphery
- In post-colonial States: caste, religion, language, Ethnicity, regional aspirations, etc.
- Cleavages themselves may also change, or even lose relevance



Owner



Church



Urban



Centre



Worker



State



Rural



Periphery

Conflict



Cleavage



Political
grouping

Evolution of Political Parties-1/2

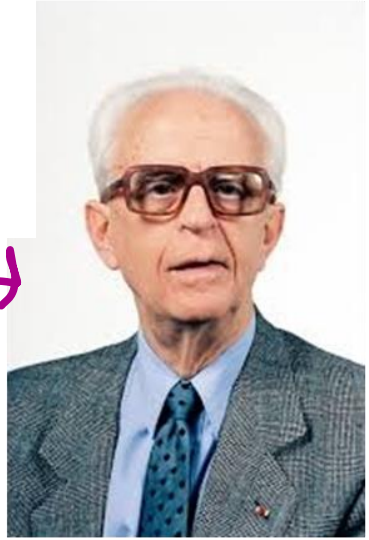
- **18th century:** Liberal parties(based on liberalism) appeared in in England in the 1700s and in France after 1830; it represented Bourgeois Elites
 - Conservative parties (based on conservatism), representing landed and feudal elites, emerged as a response to liberal parties. The conservative ideal -preservation of historical continuity, with a belief in the divine, valuation of traditional forms of life, and recognition of private property and freedom
 - Both these parties, Whigs & Tories, were like small cadre party, were first to engage into electoral competition for representation; later they emerged as mass parties called **Conservatives**(Tories) and **Liberal**(Whigs +others)
- **In USA,** Federalist and Republican Democratic parties emerged, both guided by liberalism, during late 18th Century; they finally stabilized as **Republican** and **Democrats** by 1860
- Beginning of 20th Century: **Socialist**(based on Socialism) Parties emerged in Europe with franchise extension to working class. Later they rechristened as Social democratic Parties.
- After Bolshevik revolution in 1917, **communist** (based on communism) Party came out of Socialist parties.
- **Christian democratic** parties, Catholic in inspiration, emerged in Europe after WWII in a rearguard actions from Vatican to balance religion and politics. More state intervention(statist), social welfare, cut class conflict, conservative socially, and free market economy.
- Inter-war period: **Fascist Parties**(based on fascism) emerged in Italy, Germany, France, Spain and many other European nations. Extreme militant nationalism, racial supremacy, and totalitarian State were its main feature.

Evolution of political parties-2/2

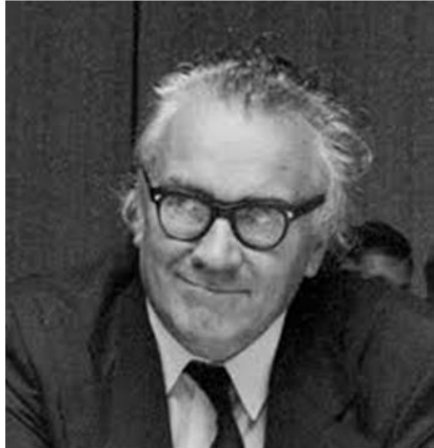
- During 1960s, Regional, or sub-state nationalist parties, representing distinct territorial or cultural entities, appeared in Europe; Ex: **Scottish national party, Basque party**
- During 1970s: **Environmental/Green parties** developed with support drawn from young, educated, middle-class voters anxious over ecological degradation, gender discrimination, human rights, nuclear power, and animal rights
- Greens were labeled as ‘**New Left**’; in reaction to them emerged ‘**New Right**’- law and order, patriotism, and personal morality issues.
- Last decades of 20th Century: **Nationalist Parties**- national pride, cultural continuity, social conservatism, Statism, free market economy- emerged in Europe in reaction to Elitism, Entitlements, and cosmopolitanism
- During de-colonisation (1946-65) political parties emerged in post-colonial nations. Most of them were parties which led **national independence movements**. Later on, other parties emerged to represent social cleavages and socio-political contexts.



Giovanni Sartori (1924 – 2017) was an Italian **political scientist** specialized in the study of democracy and **comparative politics**. He gave the most widely used classification method for party systems ; *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (1976)



Maurice Duverger (1917 – 2014) was a French jurist, sociologist, political scientist. He gave **Duverger law**- FPTP favours two party system. Also, types of Party System



PROMINENT CONTRIBUTORS

Stein Rokkan (1921 – 1979): was a Norwegian political scientist and sociologist. He was a professor in comparative politics at the University of Bergen. With Seymour Martin Lipset he postulated the theory of social cleavages - *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*(1967)



Seymour Martin Lipset(1922 – 2006 was an American sociologist; gave cleavage theory (developed in the 1960s) with Rokken

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- IGNOU Study material on this topic : <http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/43956/1/Unit-23.pdf>

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COMPARATIVE PARTY POLITICS

TYPES & EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEM

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Party System :Historical contexts of emergence of the party system and types of parties

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TYPES OF PARTY SYSTEM

SINGLE, TWO PARTY, MULTI- PARTY

by

Duverger (1954)

Two Party System

- **Distinguishing features :**
 - Not more than 2 parties at any given time have a genuine chance of gaining power
 - One of these is able to form Govt of its own without help of 3rd party, other provide strong opposition- party in waiting
 - Over a period of time power alternate between two parties
 - Such a system is often referred to as **majority parliamentarianism**
- **Types: (James Jupp)**
 - Indistinct (not very clear) bi-partisan (two party) system; Ex: USA
 - Distinct bi-partisan system ; Ex: UK
- **Variations:** 3rd party may grow and challenge two party- 3 party system(Ex: Liberals in UK 1918-31) or one party may rule for several years(National Party in New Zealand 1975-1999)- dominant party system
- In Bipartisan opinions are bipolarized, but the parties are not 'poles apart'. Both converge towards center.(**why?**)
- Reflect maturity of democratic political system; UK(Conservative vs Labour), USA(Democrats vs Republican) being best examples
- In matured democracies in Western Europe: Socialist vs non-socialist party based on liberal ideology
- **Other examples:** Canada(Liberal vs Conservative) , Australia(Liberal vs Labour), and New Zealand(before 1993)(National vs Labour), Germany (Christian Democratic Union vs Social Democratic Party)

Pros and Cons of two party system

Pluses

- Responsiveness with order
- Stable political system
- Strong, stable, accountable, and effective government
- Clear accountability and Choice
- Faster Govt. formation
- Fair competition between the ruling and opposition parties

Minuses

- Limited choice,
- Ideological convergence
- Status Quo
- Majoritarianism
- Adversarial bi-partisan politics
- Populism (large public spending and rising inflation)
- Irresponsible party government-impossible promises in election manifesto

Single party System

- Single party rule without any competition, either by statute(rule), by manipulation, or by prolonged electoral dominance
- **Pseudo Party System-** actually not a party system(why?)
- **Features:**
 - Party represent Govt and State; Party develops entrenched relationship with the state machinery
 - 'one-party states' and fused 'party–state' apparatus.
 - Totalitarian State
 - Party guided by strong ideology, cadre members, strict discipline, and sometimes recourse to violence
- **Variations(Types):**
 - Single Party Rule in USSR, China and other communist States- 'vanguard' party
 - Single Party Rule in fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, 'Falange' in Spain
 - **Non-ideological single Party Dictatorship in post colonial States;** Viz: **Convention People's Party of Kwame Nkrumah** in Ghana, National Liberation Front in Liberia, CCM of Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, African National Union of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, General Ershad's People's Party in Bangladesh, President Mobutu's Popular Movement of the Revolution in Zaire
 - Party emerging from national movement and led by Charismatic leader became vehicle for dictatorship in the grab of overriding need for nation-building and economic development.
 - Weekly organized, loose discipline, peripheral role in policy making
 - **Single Party Dominance:** prolonged dominance of single party despite open electoral competition : VIZ Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan from 1955-2009, Congress party in India from 1951-77, African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa since 1993, Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP) in Sweden post war till 2006. Christian Democratic Party (DC) in post war Italy till 1994
 - Intra-party competition between factions- Congress System

Hegemonic

Pros and cons of single party system

Pluses

- Stable and strong Government
- Predictability
- Sometime faster economic growth
- Bureaucracy in check, better public service delivery

Minuses

- Destroy separation of power between party and Govt, Party and State Machineries
- Lead to Dictatorship and totalitarianism
- Fear & intimidation in political system
- No democracy, no individual freedom, guaranteed rights (totalitarian State)
- complacency, arrogance and corruption in the dominant party
- weak and ineffective opposition (dominant party system)
- Dilute democratic spirit- electorate play safer by choosing 'natural' party of government

Multi-Party System

- Consistent and electorally significant presence of more than 3 parties may be termed as multi-party system
- Coalition Govt are defining features of Multi-party system ; Such systems may be referred to as **non-majority parliamentarianism**.
- Types (depending upon ideological separation, nature of interaction)- . (Sartori, 1976)
- **Moderate Pluralism**
 - Ideological differences between major parties are slight, and where there is a general inclination to form coalitions and move towards the center.
 - Ex: Belgium, Sweden, the Netherlands and Norway
- **Polarized Pluralism**
 - more marked ideological differences separate major parties, some of which adopt an anti-system stance
 - Ex: France, Italy and Spain until the 1990s
- **Segmented Multi-polarism**
 - Existence of Deep cleavages, and many parties to represent these cleavages. Viz: Netherlands
- **Other variations/types**
 - **Two and half party system**: Viz: Germany two large- CDU and SPD and 3rd competing party- Free Democrat Party
 - **Fragmented Party System or Atomized party system**: Large numbers of parties with large ideological distance, centrifugal tendencies, and presence of anti-system parties ; no party has chance to gain majority of its own. (Sartori, 1976)
 - **Predominant party system**: One large party and many smaller parties, some of them represented in Govt. Viz: Japan in the postwar era

Pros and Cons of Multi-party system

Pluses

- Internal checks and balances within government
- Favours debate, conciliation and compromise
- Avoid pitfalls of majoritarianism
- Broad responsiveness on part of Govt which take account of competing views and contending interests.
- Consensual political system

Minuses

- Difficulty in Govt formation
- post-election negotiations and horse-trading
- pitfalls and difficulties of running coalition Govt
- Party fragmentation
- Disproportionate importance of smaller parties
- moderation and compromise, all moving to centre offer little ideological choice
- Pragmatism preferred over ideology and principles
- over-representation of centrist parties and centrist interests

EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEM

Evolution of Parties: Social Cleavage Theory

(by Stein Rokkan & Martin Lipset, 1967)

- divisions, within societies that gave rise to political groupings
- Societal fault lines around which voters are mobilized in electoral politics
- Western society: church vs state, owner vs worker, rural vs urban, centre vs periphery
- In post-colonial States: caste, religion, language, Ethnicity, regional aspirations, etc.
- Cleavages themselves may also change, or even lose relevance



Owner



Church



Urban



Centre



Worker



State



Rural



Periphery

Conflict



Cleavage



Political
grouping

Evolution of political parties and party system- Europe-1/2

- 17th – 18th Century England: **Tories** & **Whigs** from factions/cliقة around nobles and wealth merchants/Bankers ; later Tories became Conservative and Whigs Liberal party
- 18-19th Century mainland Europe: **Liberal** (Bourgeois Elites) vs **Conservatives** (Landed aristocrats); they were elite or cadre parties
- 20th Century: **Socialist** party emerged as mass party to articulate workers/loburers interests. Agrarian parties emerged in Nordic Countries during this time.
- Post 1917 Bolsheviks revolution- **Communist** party came out of Socialist parties as cadre based ideological party
- Inter war period: 1918-39: **Fascist Parties**(based on fascism) emerged in Italy, Germany, France, Spain and many other European nations

Evolution of political parties and party system- Europe-2/2

- **Post WWII: Christian democratic** parties, Catholic in inspiration, combinations of social conservatism and economic liberalism emerged
- During 1960s, Regional, or sub-state nationalist parties, representing distinct territorial or cultural entities, appeared in Europe; Ex: **Scottish national party**, **Basque party**
- During 1970s: **Environmental/Green parties** emerged with support drawn from young, educated, middle-class voters anxious over ecological degradation, gender discrimination, human rights, nuclear power, and animal rights
- Greens were labeled as '**New Left**'; in reaction to them emerged '**New Right**'- law and order, patriotism, and personal morality issues.
- Last decades of 20th Century: **Nationalist Parties**- national pride, cultural continuity, social conservatism, Statism, free market economy- emerged in Europe in reaction to Elitism, Entitlements, and cosmopolitanism

Features of party system in Europe

- Two and Half party system:
 - UK: Conservatives vs Labour and Liberal Democrats as 3rd party
 - Germany: CDU and SPD and 3rd party- Free Democrat Party
- In most of Western Europe Christian Democratic parties(liberalism) vs Social Democrats(Socialism) plus many other smaller parties- Green, agrarian, nationalists, extremists, etc
- Multi-party system is more prevalent: France, Italy, Spain, Netherland, Switzerland, Nordic nations
- Tighter party organization and discipline in parties under parliamentary system- UK
- Coalition and consensual politics in most of European nations having PR system
 - 2 types of Coalition- bipolar vs centrist
 - Bipolar: Centre-left plus many smaller parties on left vs Centre-Right plus smaller Right parties
 - Centrist- Centre-right and Centre-Left leaving left and right parties- Germany during the Weimar Republic

Evolution of political parties and party system- USA

- 1790s -1820: 1ST Party System: **Federalist** Vs. **anti- Federalist** (Democratic-Republican) party
- 1830s-1860- 2nd Party System: **Whigs** (break up faction of Democratic-Republican, some federalists, and other groups) vs **Democratic-Republican** party
- 1860s-1890s: 3rd party system: **Republican** (Whigs) vs **Democrats** (Democratic- Republican)
- Republican, led by Abraham Lincoln, won civil war, unified USA, abolished Slavery, and protected minority rights
- Interest and voter re-alignment happened during 4th (progressive era) and 5th (New deal party system)
- Currently, Republican have support in south, rural and sub-urban areas, among white lower-middle class, and wealthy businessmen; Democrats gets support from African-Americans, Latinos, other immigrants and white urban progressives- urban liberal middle class

Unique Features of USA Party System

- Very little ideological difference between two main parties- both based on liberalism
- Very loose party organization, and party discipline
- Issue based broad coalition of between members of these parties
- Socialist parties never could became main challenger to two liberal parties
- 3rd Party never could become significant.

Evolution of party and party system in Post-colonial States

- During de-colonisation (1946-65) political parties emerged in post-colonial nations. Most of them were parties which led national independence movements. Later on, other parties emerged to represent social cleavages and socio-political contexts.
- Social Mechanisms and cleavages which created political parties and party systems were different in post-colonial nations than those in developed/matured democracies. Caste(India), Language, Ethnicity(Africa), etc were other Cleavages around with party politics grew.
- However, in late 1950s and 60s, in many post-colonial African and Asian nations, single party dictatorship started.
 - Ex: **Convention People's Party of Kwame Nkrumah** in Ghana, National Liberation Front in Liberia, CCM of Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, African National Union of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, General Ershad's People's Party in Bangladesh, President Mobutu's Popular Movement of the Revolution in Zaire,, Institutional Revolutionary **Party in Mexico**, etc
- In some countries, such as Japan, India, Malaysia ,South Africa , single party dominated despite open electoral competition.
- In 3rd wave of democracy, post cold war era, many of these countries , such as Ghana, Malaysia, Mexico, Pakistan etc are returning to multi-party democratic system

Features of Party System in post-colonial states

- Party system is still emerging – new parties are formed, merger and extinction of parties from election to election
- Most of the ruling parties emerged from national movements
- Dominant party system till 3rd wave of democratization
- Party of popular charismatic leader- as medium for authoritarianism
- Socialism was declared ideology of majority of parties but pragmatic in practice

NATION-STATE

Meaning, Evolution, Debates

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: What is nation–state? Historical evolution in Western Europe and postcolonial contexts
'Nation' vs 'State': debates

Q1: Define nation-state. Identify the processes of evolution and nature of nation-state in post colonial societies.

Q2. illustrate with examples major phases of historical evolution of nation-state in western Europe.

Q3: What do you mean by nation-state? Explain the changes it has undergone in contemporary times.

Q4: what is distinction between state and nation? Discuss with a reference to western Europe.

Q5: What is a nation? Discuss the evolution of nationalism in post colonial states.

State: Meaning & Definitions

- Political institution having sovereignty over a fixed territory, and population residing within that territory, having an effective government, and capacity to enter into relations with other states as equal.
- Political community that successfully claims the *monopoly* of the *legitimate* use of physical force(*violence* or coercion) within a given *territory* (**Weber**)
- Kind of political subdivision of globe
- Highest political institution of a fixed territory and population residing therein
- Represent political independence & autonomy of people residing in a territory
- Denote the 'body politic', politics, or 'the political'- politics is what pertains to State
- Thus **State is defined as having:**
 - a defined **territory** and **boarder**
 - a permanent **population**
 - **Sovereignty**: both internal & external
 - an effective **government**
 - the capacity to enter into **relations with other states**.

Historical Evolution of state: Processes

- **Transformation**

- gradual transformation of existing independent political units – Britain & France

- **Unification**

- unification of independent .-but dispersed political units- Germany, Italy, USSR, Yugoslavia

- **Secession or Break up:**

- secession or break-up of independent political units - mostly empires or large heterogeneous states - into one or more states – 15 states from USSR, 5 from Yugoslavia, many from Ottoman and Habsburg Empire

- **De-colonization**

- Erstwhile Colonies of great powers upon de-colonization became State- India, Ghana

Catalysts of state formation:

- Warfare
- Capitalism

Features of state

- **Sovereignty**: It exercises absolute and unrestricted power, in that it stands above all other associations and groups in society
- State institutions are recognizably '**Public**'
- The state is an exercise in **legitimation**: represent General Will of people, Common Good. Hence, solicit **political obligation**
- The state is an **instrument of domination**: monopoly over legitimate use of violence
- The state is a **territorial** political association
- States are recognized as equal & sovereign by other states in the International state system- **Diplomatic recognition**

Forms (Types) of States

- **Minimal State**

- Liberal or neo-liberal state; maintain order, enforce contract, and protect
- UK & USA in early period of Indoctrination in 19th Century

- **Developmental states**

- State that intervenes in economic life with the specific purpose of promoting industrial growth and economic development. Ex: Japan
- Competition state in globalization era

- **Social-democratic states**

- State intervene to ensure fairness, equality and social justice; Ex: Nordic states
- Welfare State: Ensure education, health care, social security, general well being of citizen

- **Collectivized states**

- State controls all aspects of Economy; little role for private sector; Ex: USSR, Communist states

- **Totalitarian states**

- State control all aspects of its citizen's life ; Ex: Stalin's USSR, Hitler's Germany, Mao Zedong's China

- **Religious states**

- Islamic state in Iran, Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Taliban in Afghanistan

State: Ideological Perspectives

- **Liberal perspective:**

- Minimal state: State as necessary evil (leviathan) required to maintain order and protect rights of Individuals
- Pluralist State: State as Umpire or Referee amongst the competing interest groups consensus builder, correcting market failures
- State as outcome of imagined Social Contract

- **Marxist view:**

- state as an instrument of class domination and as a forum to further the interests of capitalist class
- state as an agent or instrument of the ruling class or Elites
- State as revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition phase
- fully communist society would be stateless

- **Feminist Perspective:**

- State representing male domination and maintenance of Patriarchy
- Bases of state: Force, Coercion, Violence, autonomy, command and control denote masculinity and making female subordinate and invisible in state affairs.

Nation: Meaning & Definitions

- Large groups of people **claiming** common bonds like Descent(**ethnicity**). language, religion, culture and historical identity inhabiting a particular country or territory.
- "Psychological bond that 'define' a people and differentiate them from others- subconscious conviction of belonging to one community-imagined communities."(Benedict Anderson)
- "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture".(Joseph Stalin)
- Nation is not same as race or ethnicity; nation are abstract and imagined community, not real; nation may be multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-cultural
- Nations not having their state: East Timorese, Kurds, Tibetans, Chechnyans and Palestinians
- Nations may be spread into more than one state: The "Arab nation" embraces more than a dozen states, while the nation of the Kurds takes in large chunks of four states.
- Multi-national states: USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia

Nationalism

- **Nationalism:** identification with one's own nation (national consciousness) and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations
- Nationalism is a phenomenon which emerged in the eighteenth century in western Europe and-then spread during the 19th and 20th centuries to other parts of the world.
- Nationalism has been the most potent ideology in modern times for human Collectivity, more than religion, cosmopolitanism, race, and ethnicity
- But Nationalism acquired negative connotation in Europe due to its association with Fascism and cause for two World wars
- Copying the ideology of European nationalism in post colonial states created problems of building stable Nation-State

State vs Nation

State

- Political conception
- Sovereign political institution representing people residing in a territory
- More tangible entity- territory, population, govt, army, institutions
- State may be multi-national
- 'hard' part of Nation-State
- Older concept, existed since ancient Greek times
- **Statism**: Doctrine that state intervention is the most appropriate means of resolving political problems, or bringing about economic and social development. State representing 'General Will' of the people and popular Sovereignty

Nation

- Cultural Conception
- Group of people claiming common Descent, language, religion, culture and history
- Intangible concept- imagined or abstract community
- Nation may have multiple states
- 'Soft' part of Nation-state
- Newer concept, emerged in modern times
- **Nationalism**: Ideology of affection and support to one's nation

Nation-State

- A state whose population considers themselves as a nation
- When territorial boundaries of a nation is same as that of the state
- When a nation has its own state
- All modern states which are members of UN are considered as Nation-state
- Emerged first in 19th & 20th Century Europe, when Linguistic and Ethnic nations got their own state
- De-colonized states of Latin-America, Asia, and Africa were also called nation-states
- In true sense, very few countries can be defined as Nation-State

Evolution of nation-state in Europe

- The Greek city-state system, the Roman Empire, and the Empires in Middle Ages are key developments in the evolution of Nation-state in 17th Century
- In the ancient world there existed small city states in Greece and Italy
- Thereafter sprawling dynastic empires- Roman Empire; Roman *res publica*, or commonwealth, is more similar to the modern concept of the state. The *res publica* was a legal system whose jurisdiction extended to all Roman citizens, securing their rights and determining their responsibilities.
- Medieval period saw feudal system in Europe, and Multi-national empires - Holy Roman Empire and later on Habsburg and Ottoman Empire in Europe
- Empires had layered and divided authority- Emperor- kings- lords/baron-Nights-- serfs; church vs state
- No concept of sovereign states, national self-determination, and secular state
- However, they had diplomatic relationship, trade & economic interactions, and some sort of balance of Power

Emergence of nation-states in Europe

- **First phase: 17-18 Century** : evolution of British and French nation-states
 - Processes: Transformation: Capitalism, Reformation, Enlightenment, Revolution
 - Westphalian treaty 1648: Beginning of International state system
- **Second phase: 19th Century**: Emergence of German and Italian nation-state by process of Unification ; Serbia, and Greece from Ottoman Empire
 - Process: Unification, Cession
- **Third phase: Post World war I**: Disintegration of Habsburg and Ottoman Empire and coming up of Austria, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.
 - Process: Disintegration of multi-national Empire by defeat in wars
- **Fourth phase- post cold war: Disintegration of USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia**: New nation-states of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Estonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Czech and Slovak Republics etc
 - Process: Disintegration of multi-national state or federation

Basis of nationalism in Europe

- **Language-** Linguistic Nationalism: German, French, English, Polish, Serbian, Croatian, Spanish nations
- **Race and Ethnicity:** Slavs (eastern, Western, Southern), Greeks ,German, Anglo-Saxon, Russian, Magyar, Poles Nations

Evolution of nation-state in post-colonial era

- Philippines became nation-state by becoming independent from the USA in 1946. Next, India and Pakistan became Independent nation-states in 1947
- This led to accelerated de-colonisation process first in Asia, then west Africa, and East Africa
- Between 1945 and 1960, three dozen new states emerged in Asia and Africa after getting independence from their European colonial rulers.
- New Nation-states in **Africa**:
 - **British Colonies**: Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Nigeria, Ghana, and Malawi
 - **French Colonies**: Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia
 - **Belgian Colonies**: Congo, Rwanda ; Portuguese colonies: Angola and Mozambique
- New Nation-states in **Asia**:
 - China became nation-state in 1949 after the Communist Revolution
 - Two Koreas became nation-state in 1945 after getting independence from Japan
 - Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia became nation-state after decolonisation of French Indo China
 - Indonesia became nation-state in 1945 after end of Dutch rule and then Japanese occupation
 - Malaysia became independent nation-state from Britain in 1963

Process of evolution of nation-state in post colonisation era

- National consciousness grew by education, mass media, and anti-colonial struggle
- Led by western educated urban Elites, Great leaders successful in mass mobilization, unified resistance for political and cultural sovereignty, nation building, political process and institution building on the pattern of European nation-states
- Nationalist Elites invoked historical nation, ancient civilization, Emancipatory vision, anti-colonial sentiments, homogenization overlaid on highly heterogenous(multi-lingual and multi-ethnic) society
- Most of them first became state and then by nation-building, became 'state- nation'
- Inclusion of these new states into UN and acceptance as part of Westphalian state system helped them gain legitimacy and build nation
- However, European Template of nationalism and nation-state is not easily replicable in post colonial states
- Only few could become strong unified nation-state; most of them are struggling and many such as Somalia, Sudan, Syria- became failed state

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- J STOR article :

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THANKS FOR WATCHING!

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GOOD WISHES !

DEMOCRATISATION

Part-1

Meaning, Pattern, Factors

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Democratization : Process of democratization in postcolonial, post-authoritarian and post-communist countries) .

2019: Democratization is a complex process in post-authoritarian states. Discuss with the help of one example.

2018: What are the post-authoritarian states? Analyze the transition to Democracy with any one example.

2017: Discuss the transition from communism to Democracy in post communist states.

2016: What is “ third wave of democratization”(Huntington)? Discuss the role of political parties in a mature democratic system.

2015: Do you think economic prosperity is a necessary condition for growth of democracy in any society? Give Reasons.

Notes: post-communist States , Democracy & Democratization, Process of democratic transition, wave of Democratization

Democratization: Meaning & Questions

- Transition (change) of previously non-democratic political system towards democracy
- Thus, it is **process** of Transitions towards Democracy
- May also denote continual process towards consolidation or deepening of democracy
- 4 questions?
 - What changes denote Democratization?
 - What types of Regimes/political system gave way to Democracy?
 - How, by whom, by which processes or factors the transition to democracy were brought about?
 - Does Democratization has a pattern? Does it happen in waves?

What is meant by Democratic Political System?

- Rulers are chosen by free fair, and periodic election – legitimate Govt having mandate to rule
- Universal voting rights (Franchise)
- Rule of Law
- Civil and Political Liberties: Rights & Freedom to Citizens protected by constitution and courts
- Presence of strong & autonomous Civil Society(NGOs, interest groups, social movements, opinion leaders)
- Free participation of citizens in political processes
- Autonomous Institutional arrangement based on rule of Law

What types of Regimes/Political system gave way to Democracy?

- **Authoritarian**

- Powers in the hands of a leader or a small elite that is not responsible and accountable to the people. Rulers are not chosen by people who have limited political freedoms
- Personalistic: Headed by supreme leader wielding great amount of individual power- Hitler in Nazi Germany, Francisco Franco **Spain**, Saddam Hussein- Iraq, Zia-ul-Haq- Pakistan, Mobutu in Zaire
- Military Regime: In early 1990s, about half of 3rd world countries were ruled by Military Regime

- **Totalitarian**

- Rule by single party following distinct ideology, TOTAL control of state/govt of almost all aspects of public and private life, minimal civil/political freedom
- Ex: Stalin's USSR, Mao Zedong's China and other communist regimes

- **Post-totalitarian**

- Regime still trying to control all aspects of public and private life, follow official ideology, and charismatic leader despite collapse of foundations of totalitarianism
- Ex: Putin's Russia, capitalist China, other communist and post communist regimes

- **Monarchical and sultanistic**

- Ex: Nepal in 2006, Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia

- **Colonial regimes- post colonial states**

- India, Sri-Lanka, Ghana, Myanmar, Philippines, Congo, Nigeria, etc

How, by whom, by which processes the transition to democracy were brought about?

- Mainly by mass movement led by civil society, labour, middle, and professional class(Bourgeois Elites)
- Regime collapse: De-colonization and dis-integration of USSR gave way to most numbers of new democracies
- External pressure, defeat in war – Iraq, and Afghanistan
- Factors supporting democratization process
 - Economic Development- Modernisation
 - Culture, especially political culture
 - Presence of middle class and civil society
 - Internal Crisis and External Influence
 - consensus , pact, among ruling elites
 - Time and chance to develop institutions supporting democracy
 - Globalization and role of USA as ideological Hegemon

3 WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION (Samuel P. Huntington, 1991)

First wave

1828–1926

- Gradual emergence of liberal democracies in 1st world
- Industrial revolution, modernization and rise of nation-state in North America, UK, and western Europe; 29 democracies
- Ended with rise of fascism in 1920s
- Reverse wave: Fascism, great depression, WWII- only 12 remained by 1942

Second wave

1943–1962

- Post war era, restoration of democracies in West Germany, Japan, Italy, in many countries of Europe by Allied powers led by USA
- De-colonization produced many democracies – India, Sri-Lanka, Ghana, Indonesia
- ended during 1960s - many nations reverted to authoritarian rule (Greece and several countries in Latin America- Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Mexico)

Third wave

1974–2000

- Started in 1974 in Portugal, followed in Greece and Spain, south, spread to Eastern Europe, then to Latin America, Africa and Asia
- Disintegration of USSR added fuel to the democratization process
- strongest in Latin America, then in Asia, and least in sub Saharan Africa and Middle East
- 28 % (1974) to 61% (1998) nations adopted democracy
- Reverse Trend? In a different way

4th Wave? Arab Spring?

Economic Development and Democratization

- Closely linked to modernization or Developmental theory
 - Economic development produces a complex society and new networks cutting across existing social cleavages
 - Industrialization, Urbanization, social and geographical mobility, education, mass media, and material culture gave rise to middle class (Bourgeois), and new social norms & values based on Liberty, equality, and rights
 - 3rd world countries will travel the same path of economic development, modernization, free market economy, and liberal democracy as earlier travelled by 1st world countries.
- Crises produced by either rapid growth or economic recession weakened authoritarianism
- Seymour Martin Lipset (1922–2006): wealthier the nation, more chance of it being democratic.
- But Renske Doorenspleet (2005) found no link between economic dev and democracy. To her, authoritarian regimes in more developed countries are not any more likely to democratize than those in poor countries; Ex: Oil rich middle east nation vs India
- Dependency Theory(Gunder Frank, Samir Amin): Democracy is impossible in nations linked to world economic system as satellite to developed nations
- Empirical evidences, however, do not support Dependency Theory. To Renske Doorenspleet authoritarian countries with greater economic links to core countries are more likely to democratize

Culture and Democratization

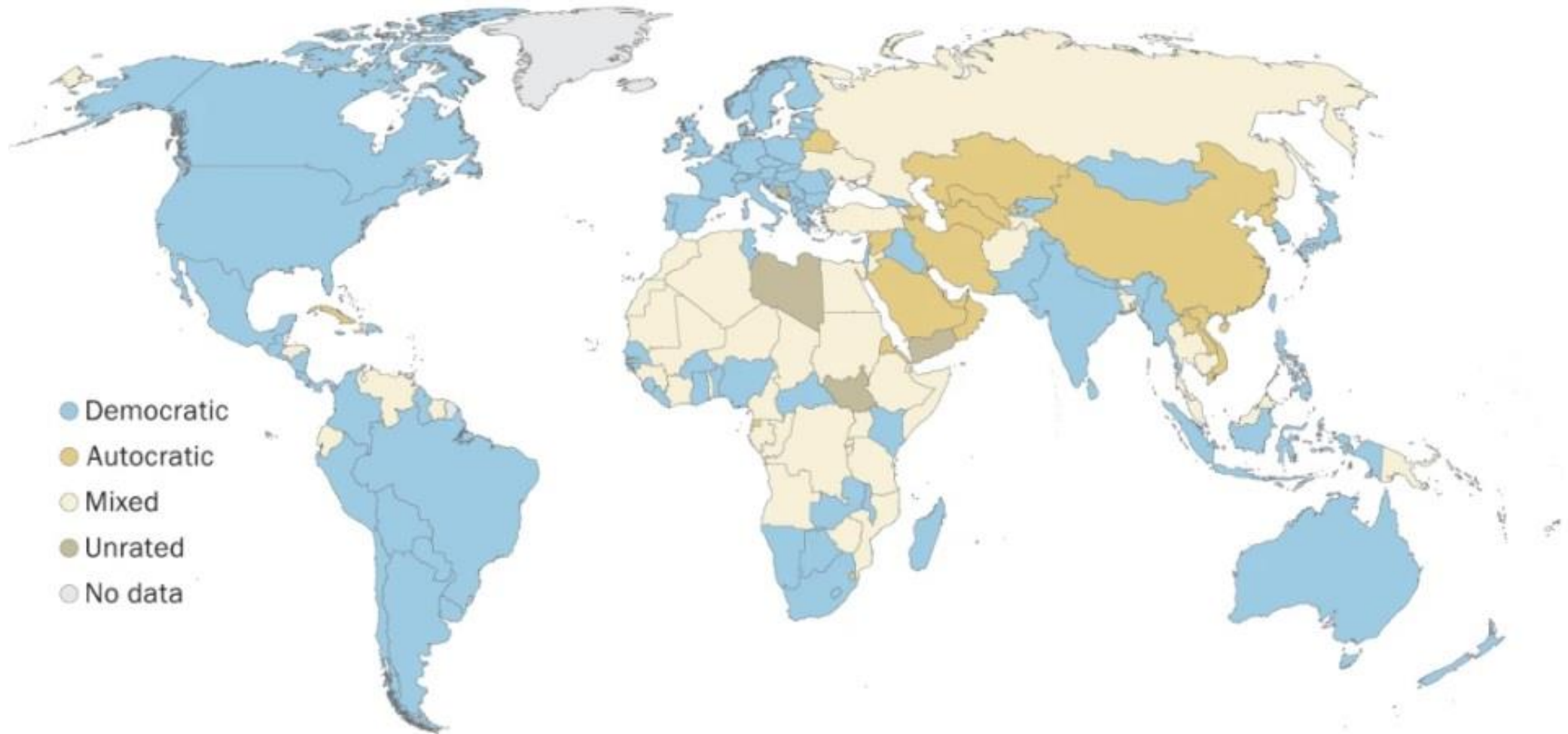
- Diamond(1993) asserts that democratization is the result of the 'gradual emergence of democratic culture, first at elite level'
- Huntington(1991) claims that Christian, especially protestants, tend to be democratic; Hindu and Shinto-influenced culture are not anti-democracy; and Islamic, Confucian and Buddhist culture are anti-democracy
- Weber claimed that Protestant spirit/culture drive capitalism and liberal democracy
- Almond & Verba (1963): 'Civic Culture' supports democracy
- Most of these views suffer from Eurocentrism and Ethnocentrism
- Empirical evidences do not provide direct link between culture and democracy.
- Muslim Jordon, Malaysia, Indonesia, Egypt, and Lebanon; Hindu/Buddhist/Mixed Nepal, India, Sri-Lanka, Thailand, and Confucian/Buddhist/Christian South Korea are all functioning democracies

Other factors supporting Democratization

- **Presence of middle class and civil society**
 - Most of the democratic movements are led by leaders from middle class and civil society- Gandhi, Nehru in India
 - Civil society is must to check power of the State and facilitate political participation- necessary conditions for democracy
- **Internal Crisis and External Influence**
 - Argentina in 1983 after Falkland war, USSR and eastern Europe after economic crisis
 - Important influence of USA, UN, IMF/WB; earlier UK in post-colonial states
 - Demonstration and Neighbourhood effect
- **Consensus , pact, among ruling elites**
 - Rational Institutional approach
 - Ruling elites may visualize democracy as better option to maintain their hegemony
- **Time and chance to develop institutions supporting democracy**
 - India and other colonial nations got political institutions and democratic experiences before independence
- **Globalization** and only one remaining ideology of capitalism with liberal democracy
 - Role USA as ideological Hegemon

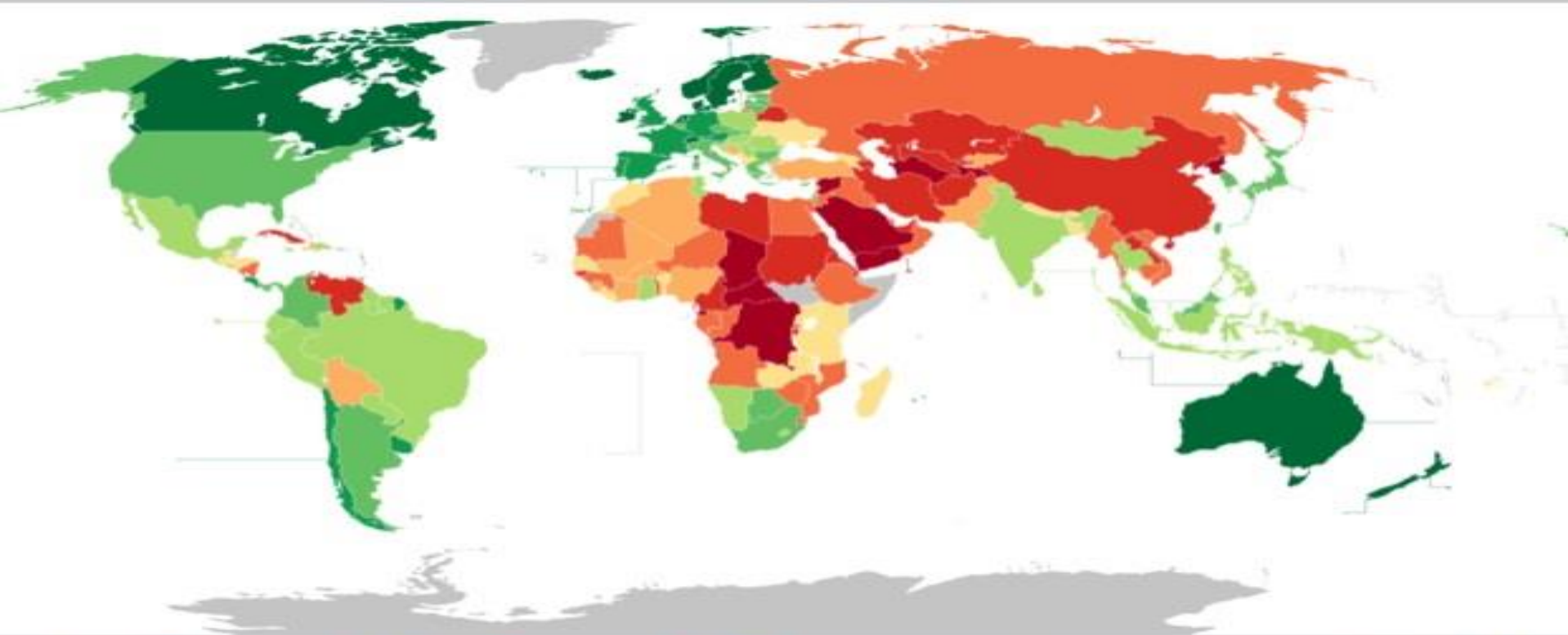
***SPREAD OF DEMOCRACIES ACROSS GLOBE**

2017



[*https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/05/14/more-than-half-of-countries-are-democratic/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/05/14/more-than-half-of-countries-are-democratic/)

***DEMOCRATIC INDEX : BY THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT (EIU)**



Full	:22
Flawed:	55
Hybrid:	36
Authoritarian	:53

[*https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index)

Sum Up

- Democratization denotes change or transition of previously non-democratic regime towards democracy
- Democratization happened in waves, in bunch. Huntington identified 3 such waves- 1st-1828-1926; 2nd- 1942-1962; 3rd-1974-2000
- Regimes which saw democratization- Authoritarian, Post-Colonial, and Totalitarian Communist and post-communist states
- Most of Democratizations were led by Bourgeois leaders and civil society movement; some were result of war and revolution
- Factors supporting democratization- economic development(modernization), political culture, emergence of strong middle class and civil society, Internal Crisis, External influence, Globalization and USA as ideological Hegemon, and Time and chance to develop institutions supporting democracy
- Currently more than 60 % of countries have adopted democratic political order of varying intensities.

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DEMOCRATISATION

Part-2

**In Post-colonial, Post-communist
and Post-authoritarian states**

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Democratization : Process of democratization in postcolonial, post-authoritarian and post-communist countries) .

2019: Democratization is a complex process in post-authoritarian states. Discuss with the help of one example.

2018: What are the post-authoritarian states? Analyze the transition to Democracy with any one example.

2017: Discuss the transition from communism to Democracy in post communist states.

2016: What is “ third wave of democratization”(Huntington)? Discuss the role of political parties in a mature democratic system.

2015: Do you think economic prosperity is a necessary condition for growth of democracy in any society? Give Reasons.

Notes: post-communist States , Democracy & Democratization, Process of democratic transition, wave of Democratization

Democratization: Meaning & Questions

- Transition (change) of previously non-democratic political system towards democracy
- Thus, it is **process** of Transitions towards Democracy
- The process involves putting in place democratic political institutions such as multi-party electoral system, separation of power, independent Judiciary, democratic Constitution, etc
- May also denote continual process towards consolidation or deepening of democracy
- **What is meant by Democratic Political System?**
 - Rulers are chosen by free fair, and periodic election – legitimate Govt having mandate to rule, peaceful transfer of power
 - Universal voting rights (Franchise)
 - Rule of Law
 - Civil and Political Liberties: Rights & Freedom to Citizens protected by constitution and courts
 - Presence of strong & autonomous Civil Society(NGOs, interest groups, social movements, opinion leaders)
 - Free participation of citizens in political processes
 - Autonomous Institutional arrangement based on rule of Law

Post Authoritarian vs Post Communist Vs Post Colonial States

Post Authoritarian	Post Communist	Post Colonial
Erstwhile Authoritarian state: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Powers in the hands of a leader or a small elite that is not responsible and accountable to the people. Rulers are not chosen by people who have limited political freedoms• Personalistic: Headed by supreme leader wielding great amount of individual power- Hitler in Nazi Germany, Francisco Franco Spain, Saddam Hussein- Iraq, Zia-ul-Haq- Pakistan, Mobutu in Zaire• Military Regime: In early 1990s, about half of 3rd world countries were ruled by Military Regime• Absolute monarchies and dictatorships Examples: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Africa: Apartheid regime in South Africa, many sub-Saharan nations• Asia: Taiwan under KMT rule, South Korea under military rule till 1987	Erstwhile Communist States <p>Totalitarian State: Rule by single party following distinct ideology, TOTAL control of state/govt of almost all aspects of public and private life, minimal civil/political freedom Ex: Stalin's USSR, Mao Zedong's China and other communist regimes</p> <p>Post-Totalitarian state:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Regime still trying to control all aspects of public and private life, follow official ideology, and strong leader despite collapse of foundations of totalitarianism• Ex: Putin's Russia, capitalist China, other communist and post communist regimes <p>29 states 16 free republics from USSR, 6 from break up of Yugoslavia, 2 from Czechoslovakia, and eastern block nations- Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania</p>	Erstwhile Colonial States <p>Emerging new Nation-states as outcome of De-colonization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Most of them adopted Westminster form of Parliamentary Democracy• But many of them could not hold on to Democracy and became Authoritarian states <p>Example: Asia: India, Sri-Lanka, Pakistan, Myanmar, Philippines, Korea, Indonesia Africa: Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria, Congo, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Namibia Latin America: post colonial since 1820s</p>

Democratization in Post-colonial states

- Closely linked to de-colonization of erstwhile colonial states
- Most of them adopted Democratic political structure under new independent constitution
- Multi-party election, civil & political rights to citizen, putting in place democratic institutions- parliament, courts, Bureaucracy- , Parliamentary form of Govt, popular mass leader from Bourgeois class taking reign winning popular election were the common features
 - **Common factors supporting democratization:**
 - Ideological force of anti-colonial & anti-imperial movement
 - External Influence: USA &UK, allied power after WWII supported Democracy in post-colonial nations
 - Demonstration and Neighborhood effect: part of the 2nd wave
 - Time and chance to develop institutions supporting democracy: more in Indian subcontinent, very less in Africa due to sudden de-colonization
- **Present Index of democratization**
 - none features in 22 full democracies; Botswana ranked top at 29, Malaysia at 40, India at 51, Tunisia 53, Philippines, Ghana, Indonesia, Namibia, Sri-Lanka, etc were categorized as Flawed democracy(score between 8-6)
 - Bangladesh, Malawi, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania, Morocco, Benin, Zambia, Uganda, Pakistan, Nigeria, etc are termed Hybrid regime
 - Mauritania, Angola, Mozambique, Gabon, Myanmar, Cambodia, Ethiopian, Niger, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Congo, Cameroon, Sudan, etc are categorized as Authoritarian

*an index compiled by the [Economist Intelligence Unit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economist_Intelligence_Unit) (EIU), a [UK](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom)-based company

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index

Democratization in post-colonial states- case of Ghana

- 1957, Ghana, a country in west Africa, became the first African country south of the Sahara to attain independence.
- Like many other post-colonial state it adopted democratic political order based on multi-party election
- Kwame Nkrumah led the popularly elected Govt. Nkrumah was one of the founding member of NAM
- But soon Nkrumah regime turned into single party(Convention Peoples Party (CPP)) authoritarian govt
- In 1966, Nkrumah regime was overthrown by armed forces & Police
- For next 25 years, Ghana saw multiple authoritarian rules, military coup, and in between fledgling democratic Govt
- Re-democratization succeeded in 1993 with new constitution(4th Republic) and popularly elected Govt winning multi-party election
- Factors supporting democratization: Civil Society movement, External influence especially from IMF/WB
- Since then, 7 general elections are held, latest in 2016 and 3 times peaceful transfer of power happened
- Pluses- Largely free & fair election, stable functioning institutions of Parliament, political parties, Election Commission, Courts, etc
- Minuses- Rule by small minority of Elites, Ruling Party led terror/violence, Corruption, Formalism (lip service to rule of law), low economic development, high unemployment

Democratization in post-Communist states

- Was the outcome of disintegration of USSR and Yugoslavia and demise of Communist rule regimes in eastern Block nations
- **Common pattern of Democratization:**
 - Started in 1989, largely bloodless except in Romania, and sudden except in Czechoslovakia
 - Banning of Communist Party, many also banned ex communist regime office bearers
 - Elections to head of the State/Govt through multi-party Election
 - Adoption of free market economy imposed by capitalist powers and IMF/WB- shock Therapy
 - Majorities of them adopted parliamentary form of popular Govt
 - **Major supporting factors:** Economic crisis, social unrest, civil society movements, Reforms by Gorbachev, Active influence of USA and western Europe
- **Divergence in democratization process**
 - the Baltics and other Eastern European countries moved swiftly to democracy, Lithuania and Slovenia being the most democratic
 - while most of the former Yugoslav republics had a slow drive toward democracy
 - The countries of the former Soviet Union, including Russia(Georgia being the exception) have not made much headway toward democracy since the early 1990s, central Asian republics- Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan- being most autocratic
- **Democracy Index:**
 - Consolidation of Democracy is still a big challenge; majority of the previous USSR republic are either Authoritative or hybrid kind of democracy
 - Russia at 134, Kazakhstan at 139, Azerbaijan at 146, Belarus at 150, Uzbekistan at 157, Tajikistan at 159, Turkmenistan at 162 , all are categorized as Authoritarian
 - Whereas Georgia, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Montenegro, Moldova, Albania, and Macedonia rated as Hybrid Regime
 - Serbia, Romania, Croatia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Estonia as Flawed Democracy

Democratization in Post-Communist States- Case of Russia

- **1985, Mikhail Gorbachev** takes charge of USSR ; He Initiate 'Glasnost'- Openness and 'perestroika'- Restructuring
- 1989: first openly-contested elections for new Congress of People's Deputies in Russia.
- 1991:
 - Open, democratic election to Presidency: Boris Yeltsin Russian president of Russian Republic
 - August 1991 : Coup by hardliner communist leaders; failed by street protest led by Boris Yeltsin
 - November 1991: Communist party was banned in Russia
 - December 25, 1991 : Gorbachev Resigned, USSR dissolved ; Russia adopted multi-party electoral democracy of presidential type
- **1991-93: Boris Yeltsin** as strong president led a ' phony democracy' with new constitution giving wide ranging powers to President; violent confrontation between President and Parliament ; flawed referendum, free but not fair elections
- **Dec, 1999: Vladimir Putin**, ex Colonel of KGB(security agency of USSR) became President
- Under Putin, Russia saw less civil & political rights, severe restrictions on mass media, muzzling of opposition voices, constitutional changes to further centralisation of powers, and flawed elections
- **Factors which didn't help consolidation of Democracy:** Soviet Legacy(trauma of USSR disintegration), Economic turmoil, weak institutional mechanism, political culture, 'path dependency', Continued Oligarchy, Oil economy(windfall rent cutting popular accountability)
- **Democracy Index:** Russia at 134, along with Congo, is rated as Authoritative

Democratization in post-Authoritarian states

- Many of these were post-colonial states which reverted back from democracy in 1960s, such as Ghana, Pakistan or South east Asian states-Taiwan, south Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, etc
- **Common pattern of Democratization:**
 - Many of these states are post-colonial states which could not hold on to democratic rule for long
 - Most of them were led by strong charismatic leader who headed a single party authoritarian govt
 - The authoritarian Govt was run by small minority of Elites supported by Military and Bureaucracy
 - Many of them did well on economic and social welfare fronts, prolonging their regimes
 - During 3rd wave of democracy, growing middle class, civil society, and opposition leaders increased pressure with the help of International communities, INGO to bring back democracy
 - Globalization also helped the democratization process
- **Divergence in democratization process**
 - Fast pace of economic development created suitable conditions in South East Authoritarian states
 - Whereas social unrest, internal crisis, external influence, etc supported democratization in post-colonial authoritarian states
- **Democracy Index:**
 - Consolidation of Democracy is most likely in south eastern Asian countries but still a big challenge in post colonial states
 - South Korea is at 23 (higher than USA!), Taiwan at 31, Malaysia at 43, (India at 45), Philippines at 54, Indonesia at 64 are categorized as Flawed Democracy
 - Whereas Ghana and most of sub-Saharan democracies are rated lower as either flawed or Hybrid Regime

Democratization in Post-authoritarian States- Case of South Korea

- 1948, South Korea, south of Korea Peninsula, gained independence from Japanese rule
- 1950 the Korean War broke out. After much destruction, the war ended in 1953 with stabilization of two Korea- Communist North and Capitalist South
- The country adopted democracy in its 1st republic constitution but became increasingly autocratic until its collapse in 1960
- Second Republic was strongly democratic, but was overthrown in less than a year and replaced by an autocratic military regime. The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Republics were regarded as the continuation of military rule.
- However, the authoritarian govt did land reforms, invested agricultural surpluses in Industry, invested heavily in Infrastructure, education, technology, and skill development.
- GNP increased by more than 52 times from 1950 to 1995!
- Such impressive economic development created strong middle and working class, which increased pressure for democratization
- This led to weakening of ' Pact of domination' between ruling elites, undermining the social bases of authoritative regime
- Due to export led growth, its economy was integrated to global capital market. Hence, international pressure from USA led capitalist power further supported domestic pressure for democratization
- Finally, 3rd wave of democracy in 1980s caused demonstration effect
- In 1987, South Korea adopted new 6th Republic Constitution, establishing liberal democracy of Presidential type on the pattern of USA

Sum Up

- Democratization denotes change or transition of previously non-democratic regime towards democracy
- Democratization happened in waves, in bunch. Huntington identified 3 such waves- 1st-1828-1926; 2nd- 1942-1962; 3rd-1974-2000
- Regimes which saw democratization- Authoritarian, Post-Colonial, and Totalitarian Communist and post-communist states
- Many of post-colonial states which adopted democracy reverted back to autocracy in 1960s- 2nd reverse wave; many of them were re-democratized during 3rd wave
- Democratization in post-communist states has been divergent. Central and Eastern European nations swiftly democratized, but erstwhile USSR republics are slow in adopting democracy, many of them especially central Asian republics continue to be authoritative
- Authoritative states of SE Asia moved to democracy leading the path of impressive economic growth whereas other authoritarian states of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are still struggling to consolidate the re-acquired democratic status.

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FEDERALISM

Meaning, Models, Debates

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Federalism: Historical context Federation and Confederation: debates around territorial division of power.

Q1: What do you understand by Federal System? Examine the significance of federalism in the context of territorial division of power.

Q2: Define Federalism. Discuss various models of Federalism.

Q3: Survival of Federalism becomes a concern in the presence of strong local and International forces” In light of this statement discuss challenges faced by Federal systems in our times

Q4: How is federalism different from a confederation? Compare nature of Indian federalism different from American Federalism.

Meaning of Federalism

- Political idea or device marked by combination of shared rule and self-rule within a unified political system
 - **‘self-rule plus shared rule’** : Shared rule through a federal/central govt for common purposes and self rule for constituent units (Regional or State Govt.). (*Daniel Elazar*)
- Political system within a State in which there are at least two layers of government, both drawing power & autonomy from a written constitution that is subject to specific amendment procedures and judicial review
- A political device through which social cleavages and social diversities are managed and articulated
- Political arrangement to balance nationalism and regionalism, when people want unity or union but only to certain extent for some common purposes, preserving their local identity, culture, interests, and autonomy.
- Based on the presumed value and validity of combining **unity in diversity**, i.e. accommodating, preserving, and promoting distinct local identities within a larger unified political system.
- A incomplete state formation wherein an emerging nation-state the strong are not strong enough to vanquish the weak and the weak are not strong enough to go their own way (*L.Rubin & M Freeley*)
- Denoting divided sovereignty and divided territoriality in contrast to classical Westphalian Nation-State having unified sovereignty and unified territoriality
- A *federation* is one species adopting federal principles; other species are unions, confederations, leagues and decentralized unions—and hybrids such as the present European Union (*Elazar 1987, Watts 1998*).

Features

- Based upon federal principles of territorial divisions of power between at least two layers of Govt, each Govt drawing power & autonomy from Constitution and directly rule citizen
- Citizens thus have political obligations to, or have their rights secured by, two govts.
- Separation of powers: clearly written in constitution which is not easy to amend, especially the clauses related to federal structure
- Supremacy of Constitution representing General Will and Popular Sovereignty- 'Living Constitutions'
- Independent and strong Judiciary to interpret constitution, review constitutional amendments, and adjudicate dispute between constituent units(states) and federal Govt(Centre)
- Based of principles of federalism, each federal political system(Federation) is unique in the way how federalism is institutionalized and practiced
- Amount of federalism vary across federations. Generally, More diverse the Society, more 'federal' the federation
- Federalism is reflected in federal party system, federal political economy, and federal social structure- federal society

CONFEDERATION

- Confederation is a political order with a weaker center than a federation, often dependent on the constituent units.
- Typical Features of Confederations:
 - Member units may legally exit the confederation - Brexit
 - The center or common government only exercises authority delegated by member units
 - The center is subject to member unit veto on many issues
 - Center decisions bind member units but not citizens directly
 - The center lacks an independent fiscal or electoral base
 - The member units do not cede authority permanently to the center.
 - Confederations are often based on agreements between nation-states for specific tasks, and the common government may be managed by delegates of the member unit governments.
- Ex: the North American states during 1776–1787, Switzerland 1291–1847, and the present European Union.

Federation Vs Confederations

Federations

- A kind of political system and govt structure within a nation-state
- Strong Federal govt over and above the regional govt
- Constituent units are not sovereign and may not leave at will
- uniting not only member units, but also the citizenry directly.
- Decisions are binding on constituent units
- Vertical inter-governmental arrangement
- Federation- nation state not the Constituent units
- Decisions by Majority
- Ex: USA, India, Canada, Brazil

Confederations

- Union or association of sovereign nation-states, for some common purposes.
- Weak central authority: No confederal govt
- Constituent units are sovereign and may leave at will
- Organs of Confederation have no power over citizens of member states
- Decisions are not law binding on constituent units
- Horizontal Inter-governmental arrangement
- Constituent units- nation –state, not the confederation
- Decisions by Consensus
- Ex: EU, ASEAN, SAARC, NAFTA

Historical Evolution of Federalism

- **Ancient Times**

- About 3200 years ago, first documented federal system among Israelis tribes
- Vajji confederacy in Ancient India. Confederation of Bedouin tribes and native north American tribes
- League of Hellenic City-states in ancient Greece
- Roman Republic was a kind of federal system, city-states- constituent units

- **Medieval Times**

- Loose confederations of Self-governing cities in Germany & Northern Italy and Cantons in Switzerland (1291 AD)
- Late 16th Century: confederation in Netherland; Confederation of Deccan Sultans of Bijapur, Golkunda, Berar, Bidar, Ahmednagar
- Reformation movement validated ideas of federalism on which reconstructed Holy Roman Empire was based
- British settlement in New England in North America had sort of federal system

- **Modern Times**

- 1789: USA first modern federal state ;1848: Swiss federation; 1867: Canada became 3rd modern federation
- 1871: German federation ; 1901: Australia became federation;
- 19th Century: Latin American nations- Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela adopted federalism upon gaining independences adopting USA model
- 2nd Half of 20th Century: Emergence of post-colonial federal states: India(1950), Burma(1948), Indonesia(1949), Malaysia(1963), Nigeria(1954), Ethiopia(1952), Congo(1960), Cameroon(1961), United Arab Emirate(1971)
- In Europe, too, many new federations came into being: Czechoslovakia(1970), Yugoslavia(1946), Austria(1945), Germany(1949)

Models of Federalism

- **On the basis of type of government system**
 - Parliamentary model- Canada, Australia, India
 - Presidential model- USA, Switzerland, Brazil
 - Hybrid Model-Spain, Germany, Belgium, Russia, Pakistan
- **On the basis of Power division & relation between Federal and Regional govt**
 - Dual Federalism
 - Cooperative Federalism
 - Competitive Federalism
 - Creative Federalism
 - Fiscal Federalism
- **On the basis of evolution/formation**
 - Coming-together federation :USA, Canada, Australia, Switzerland
 - Holding-together federation: India, Belgium and Spain
- **On the basis of Power divisions among constituent units**
 - Symmetric : same power to all constituent units
 - Asymmetric federalism: special powers to some constituent units

Presidential Vs Parliamentary Models of Federalism

Presidential Model - USA

- Best represented by USA, Switzerland—Coming together federations
- Dual sovereignty and Dual citizenship – much more powers to States
- Separate flag and constitution of States
- Directly elected powerful Senate having equal representation of States
- Residual powers vest in States
- Strict separation of Power, Affinity for Direct Democracy (Initiation, recall, referendum), Executive Presidency, Judicial review
- Survival of Govt not dependent upon majority of ruling party in Parliament, hence less disciplined unified Party system
- Other federations on this model : Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, Nigeria

Parliamentary Model- India

- Best Represented by Canada, India ; kinds of holding together Federation
- Were British colonies , adopted Westminster model of Parliamentary System
- Single Citizenship, Single Flag, residual powers to Federal Govt (except Australia)
- More centralization and powers to Federal Govt.
- Overlap between Executive and Legislature- No strict separation of Powers ; Executives dominating the Parliament
- Representative Democracy, Supremacy of Parliament, Less of Direct Democracy
- Indirectly elected and less powerful federal second of parliament representing States (Except Australia)
- Other federations on this model: Australia, Malaysia, South Africa

Types of Federalism on the basis of Power division & relation between Federal and Regional govt

- **Dual Federalism-** layer-cake model
 - Equal and separate powers to Federal and State Govt;
 - No interference by either Govt in others affairs
- **Creative Federalism-** Pocket Fence model
 - More power to and responsibility of Federal Govt, which works as Welfare State
 - State Govt virtually working as decentralized unit of federal Govt
- **Cooperative Federalism-** *marble cake model*
 - Federal and State Govt work together to solve common problems
 - Federal Govt makes plan, policies, provide fiscal grant, technical support, etc
- **Competitive Federalism**
 - Competition between State Govt and between Federal & State Govt in Policy initiatives, Implementation, social welfare schemes, Economic Development, etc
- **Fiscal Federalism**
 - Levy, division and spending of Tax revenue between Federal and State Govt.

Pros and Cons of Federalism

Pluses

- Help maintain Unity in Diversity
- More innovative policies and their diffusion
 - learning from 'experiments in living'.
- Multiple Policy arenas for civil society/social movements
- Better Checks and Balances
- Federations can promote *economic prosperity*
 - 13 of top 20 economies are federations- better results on socio-economic fronts
- Flexible, adaptable, and dynamic political system
- Federations may foster peace
- protect individuals against political authorities
- offer more choices and political participation to citizen
- Better protect minority rights

Minuses

- Half way house –neither strong centre nor regions
- Sub-national feeling, son of the soil, parochialization, identity politics
- centralised responses difficult
- Difficult to take quick decisions on issues of national importance
- Regional disparity in socio-economic development
- Race- to-the- Bottom syndrome
- Challenges from both 'local' and 'Global' forces
- Confrontation/competition between national and regional govt
- Holding together or Stability difficult- breaking up of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Pakistan

Challenges to Federalism

- Sub-nationalism, especially ethnic and Linguistic
- Security Threat of external aggression/war/terrorism- lead to centralization
- Regional Alliances of states, such as EU, or common market(NAFTA), and globalization may strain federalism
- Deep entrenched and overlapping social cleavages such as religious or ethnic minorities
- Constituent units on Boarder and Frontier
- Regional disparity in development- regionalism
- Party system : different parties ruling Center and States- more divergence, confrontation, strain on federalism ; same party ruling- centralization
- Judicial Activism: may lead to centralizing tendencies

Sum Up

- Federalism is a political idea of having combination of shared and self-rule within a unified political system
- Federations are nation-states adopting federalism; 25 nation-states representing 40 % of world's population are federations
- Confederations, also based on idea of federalism, are loose association of sovereign nation-states for some common and specific purposes
- Federations adopted, institutionalized, and practiced federalism in many different ways resulting into multiple models of Federalism
- Presidential vs parliamentary federalism, Dual, cooperative, creative, competitive, fiscal, coming together vs holding together, symmetrical vs asymmetrical, etc are various models of federalism
- **Pluses:** unity in diversity, promote peace & prosperity, better checks & balance, protect minority and individual's rights, more choice and participation
- **Minuses:** half way house, stability a challenge, centralised responses difficult, Identity politics
- **Challenges:** stability, local and global forces, Deep entrenched and overlapping social cleavages, regional disparity, fragmented party system, centralizing tendencies of unified judiciary

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