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**POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS
IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

B.P.S.C.-109

B.A. Pol. Science (Hons.)- 4th Semester

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By: Taruna Jain



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QUESTION PAPER

June – 2023

(Solved)

POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

B.P.S.C.-109

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note: Attempt any five questions. Attempt at least two questions from each section.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. Critically examine political culture as an approach to study of comparative politics.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 5, 'Political Culture in Comparative Perspective' and Page No. 6, 'Critical Appraisal of Political Culture Approach'.

Q. 2. Explain the meaning and significance of Political Modernization.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 13, 'Political Modernization Approach'.

Q. 3. Discuss the process of democratisation in Third World Societies.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 17, Q. No. 3.

Q. 4. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Political Socialisation

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 34, 'Political Socialization'.

(b) Two-and-half-party system

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-5, Page No. 43, 'Two-and-Half Party System'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. Comparatively analyse the working of federalism in India and Canada.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 135, 'Federalism in Canada'.

Q. 6. Elaborate upon the notion of Nation, Nationalism and State.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 97, 'Nation, Nationalism and State'.

Q. 7. Discuss the procedural and substantive aspects of Democracy.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 109, Q. No. 1 and Page No. 113, Q. No. 2.

Q. 8. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Relative autonomy theory of State

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 89, 'The State and Class in the Post-Colonial Societies: Relative Autonomy Thesis'.

(b) Comparative method

Ans. Comparative politics centers its inquiry into politics around a method, not a particular object of study. This makes it unique since all the other subfields are orientated around a subject or focus of study. The comparative method is one of four main methodological approaches in the sciences (the others being statistical method, experimental method, and case study method). The method involves analyzing the relationship between variables that are different or similar to one another. Comparative politics commonly uses this comparative method on two or more countries and evaluating a specific variable across these countries, such as a political structure, institution, behaviour, or policy.

The comparative method is important to political science because the other main scientific methodologies are more difficult to employ. Experiments are very difficult to conduct in political science – there simply is not the level of recurrence and exactitude in politics as there is in the natural world. The statistical method is used more often in political science but requires mathematical manipulation of quantitative data over a large number of cases. The higher the number of cases (the letter N is used to denote number of cases), the stronger your inferences from the data. For a smaller number of cases, like countries, of which there is a limited number, the comparative method may be superior to statistical methodology. In short, the comparative method is useful to the study of politics in smaller cases that require comparative analysis between variables.



QUESTION PAPER

December – 2022

(Solved)

POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

B.P.S.C.-109

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note: Attempt any five questions. Attempt at least two questions from each section.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. Trace the evolution of political development approach in comparative politics.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 23, 'Introduction' and 'Modernization Theory and Political Development'.

Q. 2. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Limitations of the political modernization approach

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 15, 'Critique of Political Modernization Approach'.

(b) Drawbacks of political culture as an approach to comparative politics

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 7, Q. No. 4.

(c) Characteristics of political parties

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 41, Q. No. 4 and Page No. 34, 'Functions of Political Party'.

Q. 3. Examine the challenges confronting political parties in contemporary times.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 38, Q. No. 5.

Q. 4. Examine the role of pressure groups in democratic politics.

Ans. A pressure group is a group of people who are organised actively for promoting and defending their common interest. It is called so, as it attempts to bring a change in public policy by exerting pressure on the government. It acts as a liaison between the government and its members. The pressure groups influence the policy-making and policy implementation in the government through legal and legitimate methods like lobbying, correspondence, publicity, propagandising, petitioning, public debating, main taining

contacts with their legislators and so forth. A pressure group is an organization that seeks to influence elected officials to take action or make a change on a specific issue. These groups include trade unions, ethnic associations, churches. Pressure groups date back all the way to Medieval Europe when merchants and craftsmen came together and created trade guilds based on their line of work to advocate and support members. At the time of the Industrial Revolution, the first trade unions appeared to advocate for the betterment of working conditions. Today, there are pressure groups from many different backgrounds with the aim to influence the outcomes of policies in their group's favour.

Pressure groups get associated with terms such as lobbying groups and interest groups as many members prefer to not call them pressure groups given the negative connotation of the word. Since the number of political parties is limited in the United States, pressure groups have increased in number and power. Some pressure groups are very large organizations and represent thousands of people across the country, while others focus on more niche causes. Thus, these organizations fall across the political spectrum.

Also Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 56, 'Pressure Groups in Modern Political System'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Proportional representation and its limitations

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 65, 'Proportional Representation System'.

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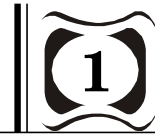
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POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

BLOCK-I : APPROACHES TO STUDYING COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Political Culture



INTRODUCTION

One of the important approaches that help in understanding politics and comparative politics is the political culture. It is a popular approach for conducting comparative studies and making empirical analyses of transitional societies. The scholars have investigated the political behaviour and processes of the political systems with reference to their political cultures. We can also say that the people's perception of country's politics can be explored with the help of political culture. The political culture can be defined as the political philosophy that constitutes the set of beliefs, values, norms and assumptions that are concerned with the ways on how governmental, political and economic life is being carried out or ought to be carried out. Therefore, we can say that political culture helps in creating a framework for political change and is unique to nations, states and other groups. The approach therefore helps in the investigation of a sociological aspect of the subject of political development and is powerful, unifying approach to comparative politics.

In general, the political culture means a set of combined views and normative judgements that is controlled by a population regarding its political system. Hence, it can be referred to as the base of all the political activity or as a factor that determines the nature, characteristics and level of political activity.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

POLITICAL CULTURE APPROACH: GENESIS, MEANING, DEFINITION, NATURE AND CLASSIFICATIONS

The political culture has an important effect on the origination of political democracy. In Political science,

the focus on political culture is rather a natural extension of the behavioural revolution and a product of economic modernization. The modernization brought the changes in values regarding the role of the individual in the political system. The concept of political culture is simple but can be misunderstood easily. The political culture may be an explanatory factor and should not lead us to look into the possibility that the objective conditions within a country may be responsible for behaviour often attributed to culture.

The study of political culture helps us to understand the political life. The political culture cannot be defined easily as it is elusive and comprehensive in nature. The political culture has been defined in many ways but mainly it includes the basic values, ideas, beliefs, attitudes and orientations about politics. This includes the issues of right and wrong, good and bad, what is acceptable in politics and what is not.

The dynamics of the political culture can be understood with the meaning of the term culture. There are many different meanings of the term culture that affects everything people do in their society. Culture is derived from the German word *kultur* which means the distinctive higher values of enlightenment of a society. Culture was therefore defined as the influence of man over nature (Kroeber, Alfred and Kluckhohn, 1952).

Edward B. Taylor, the pioneer English anthropologist first used the word culture in his book, *Primitive Culture* (1871). He used the term to refer to a universal human capacity. It refers to the complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, ethics, morals, law, traditions, traits, custom, and any other capabilities and habits obtained by man as a member of society. Culture works as a powerful human tool that helps in surviving but it is a fragile phenomenon. There

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is a constant change and easily lost because it exists only in the mind of a person. Therefore, culture represents the shared psychological orientation of the people of society towards societal objects. A distinct pattern of orientations towards societal objects is formed by the people which is the culture of the people of the society or the 'Societal Culture' and 'Political Culture' and is a distinct part of this societal culture.

In the 1960s, the political culture approach was seen as a natural evolution in the growth of behavioural approach in political analysis. The development of the concept was mainly to cater to the needs in order to bridge a growing gap in the behavioural approach between the level of micro-analysis and macro-analysis. It refers to a set of attitudes and practices that are held by people that shape their political behaviour and includes moral judgement, political myths, beliefs and ideas about what makes up for a good society (A.R. Ball, 1971). It reflects the government and also includes the elements of history and tradition that may predict the current regime. It helps in shaping the population's political perceptions and actions and is linked with the concept of political ideology, national ethos and spirit, national political psychology, the fundamental values of people, etc.

The relationship between the political culture and the political system is very close. The political culture forms the basis of the survival of all old and modern political systems. A political community can exist as a polity or political system even without having 'state'. Any form of the political system – developing or developed possesses some form or pattern of political culture. There are many stateless political systems like the United Nations Organization, many international and regional organizations which are more or less operating on the basis of some form of political culture.

Defining Political Culture

There are many scholars who defined political culture with different perspectives. According to the definition given in the *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science*, the political culture is defined as the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and also provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. According to Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba in 1963, the political culture refers to the political orientations and attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system. The definition given by Sydney Verba about culture is that

it is "the system of beliefs about the pattern of political interaction and political institutions" and those beliefs are fundamental, usually unstated and unchallengeable, assumptions or postulates about politics. He established a denotative pattern of political culture for subsequent political culture studies that is different from other specific political psychological constructs such as partisan affiliation and attitudes or beliefs about domestic and international policy issues. Almond and Verba also stated about the following five important dimensions of political culture namely:

(a) Attitudes towards one's fellow citizens.

(b) Attitudes towards knowledge about the political process of decision-making.

(c) Attitudes towards one's self as a participant in political life.

(d) Attitudes and expectations regarding governmental output and performance, and

(e) A sense of national identity.

The definition given by Patrick O'Neil on political culture is that it is the norms for political activity in a society and is a governing factor in which the ideologies are dominant to the political regime of a country and is unique to a given country or group of people. The definition of Andrew Heywood about political culture is the people's psychological orientation which means a pattern of orientation to political objects such as parties, governments and constitutions expressed in beliefs, symbols and values. Robert A. Dahl opined that the political culture is a factor that explains different patterns of political opposition and whose important elements are as follows:

- Orientation to the political system
- Orientation to other people (Dahl, 1971)
- Orientation to collective actions, and
- Orientation of problem-solving

The concept of political culture given by Almond and Powell (1966) is that it is a specifying variable in the explanation of political behaviour and is a defined pattern of political orientation, attitudes towards the political system and its various parts and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system (Almond and Powell, 1966). There are three directions in which it is explained:

- Substantive content: this can be interpreted as system culture, process culture and policy culture.
- Varieties of orientation (cognitive, affective and evaluative).
- Systematic relations among these components.

Lucian Pye (1965) stated that the political culture includes the attributes like attitudes, feelings, sentiments, beliefs, and values which is related to the nature of politics that give form and substance to political processes.

Components and Shifts of Political Culture

Political culture is an analytical approach to comparative politics that is volatile in nature. The political culture's intellectual antecedent can be traced back to antiquity and can be found in the works of Montesquieu (1689-1755), Johann Gottfried Herber (1744-1803) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-59). Its origin in the modern comparative politics goes back to Almond's seminal writing of 1956 comparative political system. After that, the political culture research took off as a sub-field of political science and in the year 1963 Almond and Verba published *The Civic Culture*, a crossnational study that offered a theory of political stability and democracy that completely celebrated Anglo-American representative government. This was also a major work of the political culture approach which gained momentum in comparative politics after that period. During the 1950s and 1960s, the rise of the idea was a part of the more general ascension of culture to explanatory prominence in the social sciences and history. In the beginning, the political scientists were excited by the probability of measuring variations with the political cultures of different nations but they turned to the study of such entities as elite political culture, ethnic political culture, etc. In the year 1966, Elazar opined that each American state includes one of the three kinds of political culture-individualist, traditionalist or moralist and the state political culture studies deals with the variations among states in government activities, administrative goals, innovative capability, popular participation in the election and party competition (Formisano, 2001).

The 1970s witnessed that political culture literature constituted the normative bias that cultural symbols are shaped deeply by all or most actors in a society which promoted stability and a conservative ideology. The belief that the political culture studies aimed to privilege the status quo grew stronger amid the rise of Marxist and rational choice perspectives. Eckstein and Inglehard gave a strong argument for the causal efficacy of political culture and defended the Almond and Verba line and argued that different societies incorporate the durable cultural attitudes that have vital economic and political consequences, in a subsequent book he added that cultural change in a post-modernist society was

much more important than it had been during early industrialization (Eckstein, 1988).

The focus of most of the studies of political culture is on its dynamics within the state, so it is important to understand the global political culture. Global political culture aims at the ambit of the whole world from a macro perspective to understand the all-encompassing aspects of political culture.

We can, therefore, infer from the above discussion that the political culture approach has been seen differently by different scholars. There are many factors that are a result of the political culture of a system which over the period of time shape or reshape the political culture. Some of the very important components are:

- Political beliefs and values
- Political process
- Decision-making that encloses the whole system and different agencies including the party system, pressure groups, etc.
- Symbols
- Political action
- Orientations

Cognitive orientations indicating knowledge, accurate or otherwise, of the political system.

Affective orientations indicating feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection, and the like about political objects, and

Evaluative orientations indicating judgments and opinions about the political objects, which usually includes applying value standards to political objects and events:

- Tradition and modernity
- Culturalism
- Societal structure
- Geography
- Ethnic realities or differences
- Role of state
- Ideologies
- Histories of state
- Socio-economic structure
- Form of governance
- Role of the elites

CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL CULTURE

There are various scholars who offered different typologies of political culture which will help us in distinguishing the political culture of different systems. We will examine the classification of political culture by the two prominent political studies, one by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba and the other by Samuel E. Finer.

Almond and Verba's Classification

Almond and Verba (1963) gave *The Civic Culture* which is based on their surveys conducted during 1959-60 in the USA, Britain, West Germany, Italy and Mexico. This study has identified three pure types of political culture which are as follows:

1. Parochial Political Culture: This is a type of political culture where citizens are only aware of the existence of central government like the remote tribes whose existence is almost unaffected by national decisions made by the central government. Also, there is no political orientation towards political objects. People are not interested in politics. This type of political culture is compatible with a traditional political structure and is found in a passive society where there is hardly any specialization of roles. The people of these tribes are indifferent towards governmental authority. In this type of political culture people have low awareness, expectations and participation.

2. Subject Political Culture: The citizens in this type of political culture see themselves not as participants in the political process but as subjects of the government – like with people living under a dictatorship. They have a passive orientation towards the political system and take themselves as having a minimum influence on the political process. The citizens in this type of political culture are aware of the central government and are dependent on its decisions with little scope for dissent. The individual knows about the politics, its actors and institutions. The citizens are inclined toward the output aspects of the system. People are aware of the decision-making mechanisms. People are politically aware but no confidence to air political views, thus there is an absence of participatory norms. This political culture is compatible with a centralized authoritarian structure. The people in this model have a higher level of awareness and expectations, but participation is low.

3. Participant Political Culture: The citizens in this political culture believe that they can contribute to the system and that they are affected by it and hence respond in a positive manner to all the political objects and have an active orientation to political activities. The citizens can influence the government in many ways and they are affected by it. They can also criticize the authority and hold a positive orientation towards the political system. The people in this type of model have a high level of awareness, expectations and participation. Almond and Verba proclaimed that there is never a single political culture. The three categories

of political orientations which have been mentioned above are not in a pure form and are intermixed in many situations of political culture. The political culture is again classified into three sub-types as follows:

1. Parochial and Subject: In this type of political culture, there is a shift from parochial orientation to subject orientation. The parochial loyalties gradually get worn out and the inhabitants develop a greater awareness of the central authority.

2. Subject and Participant: In his type of political culture, there is a shift from subject political orientation to participant political orientation. The people generally develop an activist tendency and participate in the process and also there are the individuals who possess passive orientations and remain at the receiving end of the decision-making process.

3. Parochial and Participant: In this type of political culture, the parochial orientation is in the individuals and the norms introduced require a participant political orientation. There is a problem of harmony between the political culture and political norm. Almond and Verba recommended that a participatory political culture fits a liberal democratic regime. The participant political culture is the type of political culture that is compatible with a democratic political structure and the same has been called by them as Civic Culture.

Finer's Classification

Samuel E. Finer (*The Man on the Horseback*, 1962) related the civil-military relations with the political culture. He analysed the four levels of political culture:

1. Mature Political Culture: There is widespread public approval of the procedure for transfer of power in this culture and a faith that the persons in power have the right to govern and issue orders. The people are connected to the political institutions and there is a well mobilized public opinion.

2. Developed Political Culture: The civil institutions in this type of political culture are highly developed and the public is well organized into powerful groups. There are disputes from time-to-time on some issues.

3. Low Political Culture: The political system is weak and narrowly organized in this political culture and there is a lack of consensus on the nature of the political system and the procedures and the public attachment to the political system is weak.

4. Minimal Political Culture: The public opinion does not exist in the political system and the government