

**THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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Volume I

# **POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**G.C.E. ADVANCED LEVEL  
TEXT BOOK**

**(Extended Notes)**

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(LL.B) UNIVERSITY OF COLOMBO

Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

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The series of text books by The Academy of Political Science for  
Political Science (G.C.E. Advanced Level)

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## Political Science – Extended Notes

### Volume 1

## **Unit 01 – Identifying Political Science**

- The origin of political science
- The difference between politics and political science
- Studying politics academically
- Approaches to study political science

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## Identifying Political Science

Humans are different from other creatures on earth. Humans live in the company of other humans and within the social system developed by humans. Therefore, no human can live in isolation. Since the beginning of the human civilization, different social patterns were developed on human behaviour which gradually evolved into more complex social systems. These systems combinedly developed the modern human society. For example,

- Political systems
- Economic systems
- Cultural systems
- Religious systems
- Ethical systems etc.

These systems are exclusive and they are inter connected with each other. Every human is subjected to each system up to different extents. Out of these systems, the political system is quite important since the element of power is a crucial feature in human life.

According to Aristotle 'The human is a political creature', therefore no human can be excluded from politics. The subject that studies this political process is known as "Political Science". The development of political science as a subject was initiated in ancient Greece during the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. approximately 2500 years ago.

During this time the state existed in the format of 'Greek city-states' which is considered as a bold democratic feature. Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato & Aristotle developed the foundation for these city states and the initial concepts of political science dealt with problems of city states. Therefore, the purpose of political science revolved around protecting and improving Greek city-states.

- **Political science was initially developed as a part of the subject Philosophy.**

Plato initiated his educational institute as 'Academy' as he wrote the landmark book, 'The Republic'. Meanwhile Aristotle started his education institute under the name 'Lyceum' and wrote the landmark book 'Politics'. The book 'Politics' was a comparative study of 158 Greek city-states, and can be considered as the foundation of the subject political science. Even the term 'politics' is originated from the Greek word 'politiká' (or 'politico') which roughly translates into 'affairs between cities'. Therefore, **Aristotle is considered as the father of political science.**

The development of political science which was initiated in the Greek era, was continued during the Roman era and the medieval era with the contributions of political scientists such as Polybius, Cicero, Seneca, (Roman era) St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas (Medieval era).

The Italian philosopher (Niccolò Machiavelli) wrote the landmark book "The Prince" in 1516 which created a new era in Political Science. This book and his views in general focused on the element of power as Machiavelli believed that 'politics is a power struggle'. Therefore, this theory mainly suggested that politics and political science should be centred around the element of power. This theory was later followed by political scientists such as Thomas Hobbs, Max Weber, Harold Laswell, Friedrich Nietzsche.

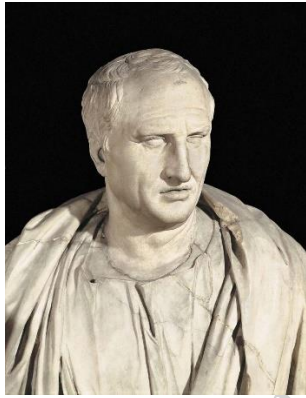
In the 20<sup>th</sup> century political science was given another new era with the rise of "Behaviourism". This theory which was mainly developed by American political scientists who suggested that the centre of political science should be the political behaviour of humans.



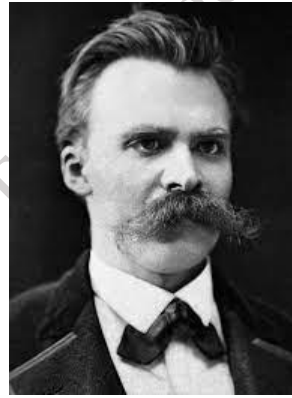
Aristotle



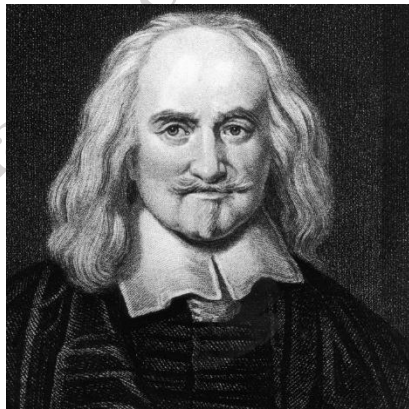
Niccolò Machiavelli



Cicero



Friedrich Nietzsche



Thomas Hobbes



Max Weber



## **The difference between politics & political science**

In general politics is identified by people as the system of governing the country and the people. Although the term 'politics' has a much more broader meaning, the term 'Politics' basically includes two meanings;

1. A concept about the state, state administration and governance
2. A social process which includes every citizen of a state

### 1. A concept about the state, state administration and governance

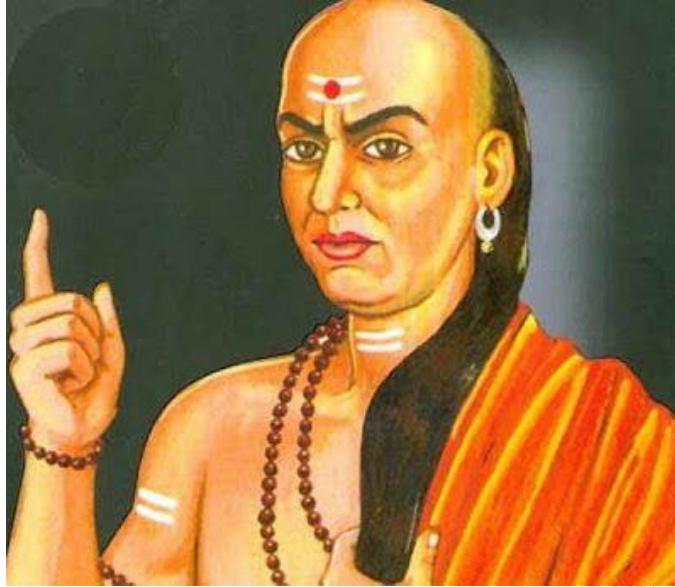
This interpretation of politics is considered as the traditional way of defining political science. According to this interpretation, politics includes the system of controlling and governing the country. This interpretation was developed since the ancient Greek era.

The word politics is originated from the Greek word 'Politiká'. This means handling Greek city-states. Therefore, during the Greek era, studying politics included training and advising governors and citizens to handle Greek city states. The agenda of studying politics included,

- The nature of the state
- The purpose of the state
- The connection between the state and citizens
- The expertise of rulers
- The process of the government

In addition to Greek philosophers, even Indian and Chinese philosophers identified studying political science as a study of the state. The Indian political philosopher, "Kavtilya" by Dr. Chanakya who was the state advisor for the state of Magadha interpreted politics as "the skill of governance" also the views of Confucius gave a similar view.





Chanakya (Kauṭilya or Vishnugupta)

2. A social process which includes every citizen of a state

This interpretation has a broader meaning as it includes every citizen. This concerns mostly with power politics as suggested by Niccolò Machiavelli.

This process of power does not exclude any person from the political process. It is a misconception to believe that only politicians and members of government are subjected to politics. This misconception was created since only politicians are known for professional politics. In fact, every single person who is subjected to the rule of that state is inevitably subjected to politics as well.

The term “doing politics” is generally only used to refer to the activities of politicians, although this includes every single politics related activity such as;

- (i) Fighting for governmental power
- (ii) Supporting the right to take governmental power
- (iii) Participating in elections
- (iv) Taking part in activities of political parties
- (v) Taking part in protests, rallies etc.

Political tasks of citizens during the Greek era were in fact two types.

1. Personal tasks
2. Common tasks

Personal tasks were referred to, every citizen handling the matters of his own family. Common tasks included making laws and handling governance as a citizen. These can be applied even to the modern context, as personal tasks are almost the same, while common tasks have been changed due to representative democracy.

Politics is a system that every single person in the society is subjected to however, political science is organized theoretical subject which discusses the theoretical aspect of politics. Studying political science is optional for anyone and it is not necessary to study political science for anyone to become a politician.



Learning political science academically



Doing politics professionally

### Studying political science academically

Politics can be identified as a social process that is originated from social activities of humans. The subject which studies this process in an academic method is known as political science.

The academic studies of politics have a long history, which runs up to 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Studying political science as a subject was initiated during the ancient Greek era with the contributions of philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato & Socrates.

Hence political science is one of the oldest social sciences in the world with an academic content which has been rapidly evolving for nearly 25 centuries.

The academic content of political science is vast and diverse. In general, the territories of the subject can be summarized as follows.

#### 1) Political institutions

This includes politically established institutions which handle the process of governance. Political science analyses these institutes in terms of structure, content, powers and the connection between each other.

Eg: - Legislature, Executive, Judiciary, regional governments, local government bodies etc.

#### 2) Governance

This includes different types of practical governing methods. Each method is analysed in terms of the role it has on the state, format, the impact on the lives of citizens etc.

Eg: - Democratic governments, monarchies, autocracy

#### 3) Political behaviour

This includes the different patterns of human behaviour in terms of politics. Mainly, there are psychological reasons and external reasons behind the political behaviour of humans. Political science studies the reasons, the nature and the results of these behaviours.

4) Political theories

This is considered as the most important part of political science in terms of academic content. This includes the theoretical concepts which were developed by great minds of political science.

Eg: - Liberalism, Marxism, Separation of Powers etc.

5) Political uses and practicalities

This includes the practical aspect of political theories. The conceptual content created by political scientists do have different practical applications under different circumstances. Political science studies these differences comparatively.

Approaches to study Political Science

When studying political science as a professional subject there are many approaches that can be followed with different advantages and disadvantages. Each approach can be ideal in different situations.

1. Philosophical/ Normative approach
2. Comparative approach
3. Multi- disciplinary approach
4. Scientific/ Behavioural approach
5. Political economic approach
6. Sociological approach
7. Feminist approach

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## 1. Philosophical/ Normative approach

This is identified as one of the oldest approaches in political science. During the Greek era, studying politics was heavily attached with philosophy. The goal of the subject of philosophy, is to interpret the world. This includes studying the beginning and the end of life. Also, some have interpreted philosophy as finding answers to the question of whether is it possible to know the world?

Therefore, from the past to the present different people, classes and groups have developed philosophical concepts in order to define the human life, society and the world. Studying politics through philosophy is known as the philosophical approach. Plato & Aristotle are considered the pioneers of this approach. In general, following philosophers are also considered as important in terms of this approach. (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine, Niccolò Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbs, John Locke, Hegel, Karl Marx, Mahatma Gandhi, Hannah Arendt, John Rawls, Charles Taylor, Immanuel Kant, Jürgen Habermas.)

Basically in this approach, good and bad values of a political concept are examined in a normative point of view. This approach has 3 main features.

- i. Questioning and finding answers for fundamentals about the world.
  - ii. Attempting to clarify the basic concepts that are used to define the world.
  - iii. Focusing on normative goals in politics.
- i. Questioning and finding answers on the fundamentals about the world

This feature is not limited to politics, in fact it evolves in to a vast area of the human society and the world. However, these fundamental questions have a political application which creates fundamental political questions.

Eg: - Fundamental questions

- a. What is the world?
- b. How does the world exist?
- c. Is it possible to know the world?
- d. What is human life?
- e. What is the meaning of human life?

Eg: - Politically fundamental questions

- a. What is politics?
- b. What is the state?
- c. What is the purpose of the state?
- d. What are the tasks of the state?
- e. Why should citizens obey the state?
- f. Under what circumstances should the citizens stand against the state?

Political philosophers are born as a result of philosophers trying to find answers for these questions. However, the philosophical approach focuses on what the answer should be instead of what the answer should be remote from the reality.

- i. What is the connection between citizens and the government?
- ii. What should be the connection between the citizens and the government?
- iii. The first statement comes under the scientific approach and the second philosophical approach

In this background, the philosophical approach provides an idea on the better framework on the state. 'The Republic' by Plato, 'Eutopia' by Thomas Moore, 'Das Capital' by Karl Marx all provide a better political framework that should exist.

- ii. Attempting to clarify the basic concepts that are used to define the world

Under this approach many important political concepts such as justice, equity, equality, liberty, rights, duties are studied in depth.

- iii. Focusing on normative goals in politics

Philosophical approach focuses on normative goals. (basically, normative means “value-oriented”) In general, the society has a value judgement on everything as good, bad, fair, noble etc. These values are normative yard sticks as these values have been created by humans themselves. Philosophical approach focuses on these values in order to create a better political society. The idea of identifying democracy, liberty, equality etc. as good concepts is a normative value that is established by the philosophical approach.

Overall, the normative concept of philosophical approach has 2 meanings.

- (i) The political thinking should not end at merely studying political concepts but should focus on making the political society a better place.
- (ii) The purpose of studying political science not merely studying the nature of political elements, but to study political elements and suggest the best way of political application for the benefit of the citizens as well.

In conclusion main features of philosophical approach are as follows.

1. Studying relevant concepts in depth
2. Examining fundamentals political problems
3. Focusing on normative values in politics

Other than these, being one of the oldest approaches, focusing on what should exist instead of what really exist, providing a hypothetical political perfection and conclusions being remote from the reality can also be considered as sub features of this approach.

## 2. Comparative approach

This also can be considered as one of the oldest approaches to study political science. This approach was initially followed by Greeks. Aristotle is considered as the pioneer of this approach since he followed this approach to write the book “Politics”. This book comparatively studied 158 Greek city states.

Comparing in general means studying two or more elements by focusing on advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, the comparative approach can focus on,

- a. A political problem
- b. A political theory
- c. A political phenomenon

In this approach no solitary element is studied as studying includes two or more elements. This approach is based on the foundation that a complete comprehension only comes with a comparison.

Eg: -

- (i) In order to determine that which governance creates political stability it is necessary to follow two or more different formats of governance such as Presidential, cabinet etc.
- (ii) In order to determine the best representative method, it is necessary to compare different representative methods in different countries
- (iii) In order to determine the best system of governance for peace it is necessary to study different formats of governments that are followed by countries with conflicts

The book “**Foundation of Comparative Politics**” by **Kenneth Newton** and **Jan Van Deth** points out two reasons for the necessity of studying politics comparatively.

- a) The importance of understanding politics in other countries in order to understand politics in our own country
- b) The difficulty to obtain a proper understanding of politics in a country without a comparative study of political histories, backgrounds and institutions in several countries



There are 3 main eras of comparative approach.

- I. Classical comparative approach
- II. 20<sup>th</sup> century comparative approach (Behaviouralism)
- III. Contemporary comparative approach

\* Classical comparative approach to studying politics -

This is the initial stage of comparative approach which was followed by Aristotle and other philosophers in Greek and Medieval eras. During this era this approach was mainly used to study governance. Aristotle followed this approach to compare Greek city governments based on the facts of the number of members, corruption level etc.

\* 20<sup>th</sup> century comparative approach to study politics -

This approach was developed in the 1950s and 60s with the contributions of American Political Scientists. Specially the development of behaviourism created the foundation for this approach. Although the classical comparative approach focused on governments and other political phenomenon's this era of comparative studies provided that political comparisons should be based on human behavioural patterns similar to natural sciences.

This included many new areas to political science such as political development, political change, political culture, political socialization and political behaviour.

The followings are a few works that played a pioneering role in introducing the comparative political science inquiry.

- a) Comparative political systems (1956) - The journal of politics Volume 18 No. 3 by Gabriel A. Almond
- b) The politics of the developing areas (1960) by Gabriel A. Almond & James S. Coleman
- c) The social bases of politics (Political Man) (1960) by Seymoore Martin Lipsette
- d) The civic culture "Politics attitudes and democracy in fine nations" (1963) by Gabriel A. Almond & Sydney Verba
- e) Political order in changing societies (1960) by Sammuel P. Huntington

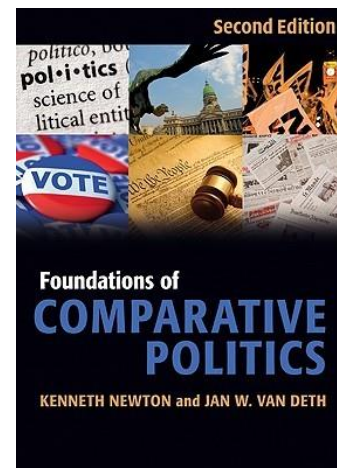
\* Contemporary comparative approach -

Currently the comparative approach has progressed even further to focus on many new areas such as,

- (i) Political institutions
- (ii) Political processes
- (iii) Political transformation
- (iv) Political conflicts
- (v) Social political conflicts
- (vi) Peace processes
- (vii) Citizen activities
- (viii) Ethnic politics
- (ix) Civil society politics
- (x) Human rights
- (xi) Political participation of women

Contemporary comparative method further provides that the measurements from ideal models on political development are not necessary as their focus is based on providing solid political interpretations.

Therefore, it can be seen that the different eras have changed the content of the comparative approach rather than changing any format of the approach itself.



Jan Van Deth and the book 'Foundations of Comparative Politics'

### 3. Multi-disciplinary approach

The element of politics is not isolated from other social elements from the society. It is not possible to draw lines and separate politics from economic, social, cultural and religious elements. Therefore, studying political science requires connecting political science to other subjects. This approach is based on learning politics on a multi subjective path.

The historical development of political science reflects the fact that it has been contributed by many other important subjects throughout history.

- (i) Greek era – Philosophy
- (ii) Roman era – Divinity, History & Law
- (iii) 19<sup>th</sup> century – Economics, Law & History
- (iv) 20<sup>th</sup> century – Social science, Psychology, Anthropology, Art & Literature

It is not possible to study politics excluding other social elements since it is originated in the society and functions with many more social processes. This approach believes that a complete study of politics can only be done through a multi-disciplinary study. This includes the concepts, methods of other social sciences.

The importance of a multi-disciplinary method was also emphasized by behaviourism. This included social sciences as well as natural sciences.

- a. Applying sociological and anthropological methods to examine the connection between voting and the caste system
- b. Applying psychological and biological methods to examine the reasons behind the human political behaviour

In conclusion the main fundamentals behind the multi-disciplinary approach are as follows.

- i. The connection between politics and other social elements despite studying politics being an independent subject
- ii. Political theories and concepts being enriched by other theories and concepts of other social sciences
- iii. Methods in political science being enriched with the contributions of other subjects

#### 4. Scientific/ Behavioural approach

The scientific if not behavioural approach is considered extremely important as a recent development of political science. Behaviourism was basically developed in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century by American political scientists.

The common feature that can be seen in traditional approaches to study political science is the fact that these approaches mainly focus on structural and legal foundation of concepts such as state, government, power etc. Therefore, behaviourism mainly mentioned that an approach to study political science should find new ways to study a vast area of political concepts. Behaviourism criticized the fact that traditional approaches avoid the content that does not fall into the territory of political science. Hence behaviourism suggested to follow natural scientific methods in order to study political science in a better way.

It appears that behaviourism has established a new path to study political science. This method is more similar to natural sciences. Therefore, behaviourism is considered as a landmark in political science. behaviourism is based on several fundamentals.

1. The focus of a political study should be concentrated at the political behaviour of people. Unlike the traditional approaches that study the structural foundation of political institutes behaviourists mainly focus on the political behaviour of humans. Therefore, the main foundation of behaviourism is the question that “why humans behave this way?” Behaviourism analyses the answers to this question in thorough observations.

Eg: - Why do people in Central Colombo always vote for UNP?

Why do politically active young men in Sri Lanka give up on socialism with age?

The above questions are completely based on the human behaviour. Therefore, through behaviourism it is possible to collect data from practical & scientific approach in order to come up with conclusions.

2. The aim of social & political inquiry should be the production of knowledge based on data & proof obtained by means of empirical research. This is basically obtaining facts, data and evidence through observations & verifications.

3. Behaviourism believes that in terms of political studies a valid and trustworthy knowledge should be developed on social and economic facts. Therefore, observations should be done on objective knowledge. The objective knowledge is assumed to be free of personal beliefs, assumptions, prejudices and other value related judgements. The study should be entirely guided by theory and based on observable & verifiable data.
4. The knowledge gathered in behaviourism is strictly objective and it must be value free. A political concept or scenario should be studied without judgements such as good or bad.
- Behaviourism emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> & early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hence it was associated with advanced scientific and technological features. Therefore, behaviourism successfully applied modern scientific and technological principles for more accurate conclusions in political science. This is considered as a landmark of the subject.

Eg: - Unlike traditional approaches that heavily rely on documents, behaviourism uses much more advanced material such as the laboratories, computers, software and applications in order to combine subjects such as psychology and other natural sciences with political science in order to come up with better conclusions.

### **Modern day trends in behaviourism**

1. Behaviourism was practically keen on studying the political participation of citizens
2. After being properly organized and established in 1950s behaviourism had a dominant role in political science during 1960s however due to heavy criticisms behaviourism faced a setback in 1970s.
3. The basic foundation of mostly every criticism was the fact that behaviourism limiting the scope of political science to a single element of the subject. Since political science is a vast subject behaviourism was criticised for disregarding other important elements.
4. Due to set back in the 1970s the importance of traditional approaches such as philosophical, historical, social scientific were emphasized again. However, the foundation of behaviourism to study the subject on facts and value has been appreciated by many political scientists.

### Criticism on behaviourism

- The behaviouralist approach has been heavily criticized by Marxist, neo-Marxist, philosophical, feminist & post-modernist followers. Mainly these criticisms were based on the fact that behaviouralist approach limits the scope of political science only to the element of behaviour.
1. The Marxist theory has mainly criticized behaviourism since Marxism focuses on Historical political process, state & its application, the connection between social classes etc. Marxism points out that through mere behaviour studies it is not possible to explain such advanced political concepts.
  2. The Canadian political scientist Christian Bay has pointed out that behaviouralists have excluded politics from political science studies by focusing too much on behaviour. Bay further explains that the behaviouralists have not focused on positive & negative features of politics. Specially behaviouralists have focused too much on explaining political activities of collections of humans although they have ignored the political motives, political outcomes, political values that do not fall within the scope of political behaviour.

Philosophical approach	Scientific approach

## 5. Political Economic Approach

The political economic approach to study political science is mostly based on the Communist theory. Since Communism (mostly Marxism) is heavily attached with the economic factors, it is not possible to study the communist political theory by excluding economics.

The industrial revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup> century resulted in so many social issues. As a result, some Europeans rose against capitalism and this was politically explained by Marxism. The private property system, the open market, the free entrepreneurship allowed the capitalists to rob labour from poor workers. Karl Marx believed that the human society has 6 eras and that the initial era was in fact equal classes period. According to Marx since the second era the dominating minority has been suppressing the majority using the state as a class instrument.

Through his concept of communism Karl Marx provided an alternative system with equality this system includes a poor class dominance, a public property system & a fair profit division among the citizens. Therefore, this theory is highly attached with economic concepts.

Studying the economic phase of politics was started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This included analysing economic concepts of production, sales, national income, the market etc. Also, it studies the process of the economic system being linked to the politics of the government. In terms of this contributions by Adams Smith, David Ricardo, J.S. Mill & Thomas Mathews are considered as important.

Following these theories by above mentioned philosophers provided by a big contribution in order to create and up bring the capitalistic theory. The book “Wealth of Nations” by Adam Smith and the fundamentals of political economics by David Ricardo laid the foundation of this theory.

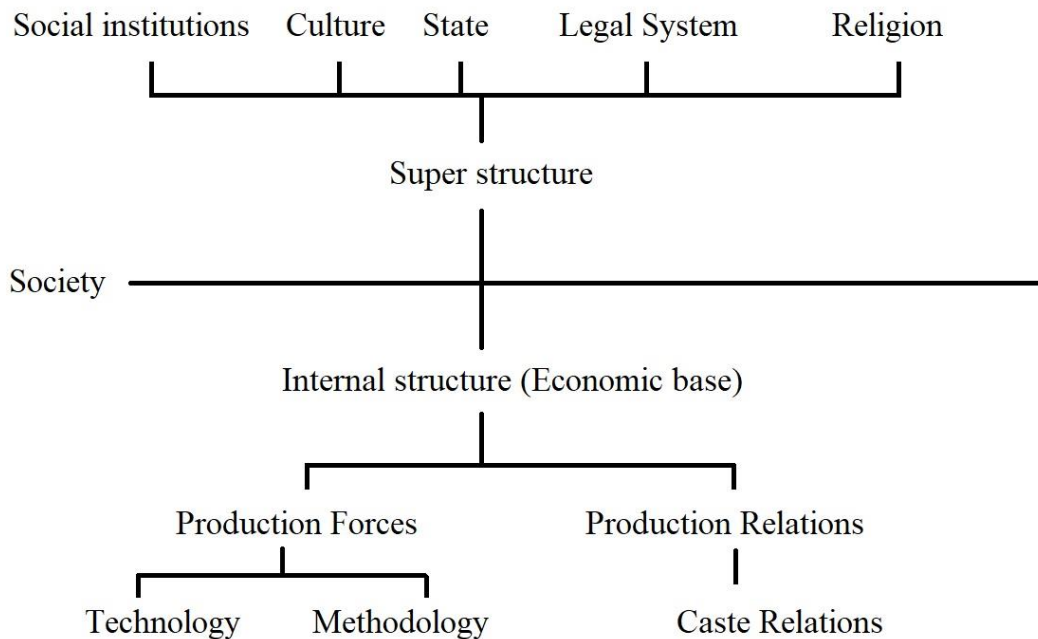
According to the capitalistic theory every person is capable of taking care of themselves, hence the state should simply secure law and order to allow the people to handle economic affairs in their personal preferences. Especially the capitalistic economy is expected to function properly when the state stays away from the market competition and allow the competitors to compete in the market.

The economic specialists mainly focused on a complete free market where the state has zero involvements in the personal and economic levels of the citizens. This system was mainly based on the fundamentals of equal citizens and equal opportunities. However due to the free competition itself eventually different financial outcomes were generated which created class division.

The study on capitalism by Karl Marx which was presented in his “Das Capital” created a new ideology on economy. Karl Marx developed a theoretical system in order to identify the capitalistic economy this is known as the historical materialism. This theory believes that the human history, the social economic structure, politics and philosophy all should be considered as a big picture and the connection between the elements should be studied.

The historical materialism has several features.

1. In the study of the human society, the entire society should be taken as a totality. This totality is referred as “Social Formation” by Karl Marx.
2. A social formation consists of two spheres.
  - (a) Economic base (Internal Structure)
  - (b) Super structure





3. The superstructure of the society is interconnected as culture, state, law, religion etc. and they are not independent from one another. Although these elements appeared to be independent from one another in fact, they are connected to one another and the differences depend on economic elements. In general, the superstructure is depended on Inner structure/ Internal structure. Also, this means according to the economic element other elements change. Also, this means that social institutions are dependent on economic institutes. When this theory is applied to a capitalistic system this means the society is processed according to the dominant rich class and their needs.

According to Karl Marx political transitions and changes take place due to the class struggle of a society. This class struggle is created on economic factors. According to Karl Marx the initial stage of human civilization was a classless society. During this period every human was equal while all properties were public. However, with the arrival of production forces and production relations, private property ownership was introduced which created a class difference. Therefore, the class difference divided the society into two groups where the minority with the economic resources became the dominant class in order to suppress the majority that lacks economic resources.

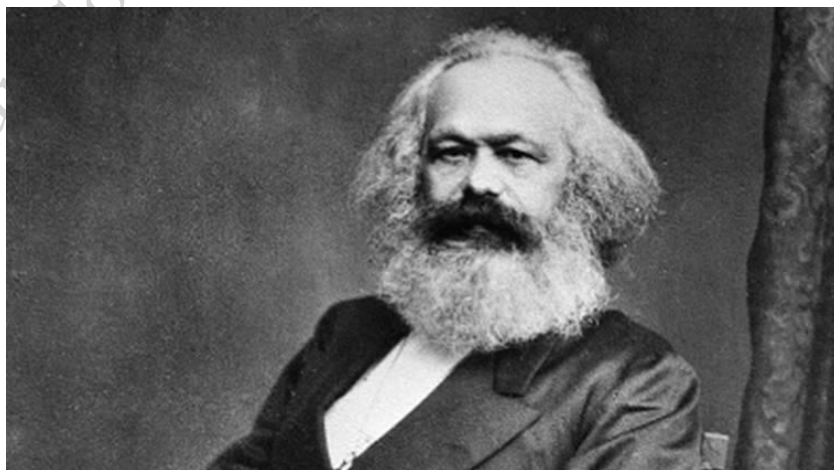
Explaining political phenomenon on above mentioned Marxist fundamentals is the general idea of the political economic approach. This approach was basically developed as an alternative for the behavioural approach to study political science. The political economic approach has criticized behaviourism under several arguments.

1. Behaviourism simply focuses on the statements of human political behaviour these are not the substantial core themes of politics but manifestations on the surface. The core themes in politics include class division, class struggle, class conflict, the state & the resistance to power. Behaviourism completely avoids these themes.
2. Behavioural political science is in fact politically conservative. Hence it opposes any changes if existing system of power. Although behaviouralists emphasized on gathering political information unbiased, in reality behaviouralists have been biased towards conservative politics. Therefore, political economic approach criticised behaviourism for defending existing patterns & resisting social changes.

3. Studying political phenomenon should not be limited to simply studying information but it should provide an intellectual and a practical contribution to change those. Behaviourism mostly avoids changing political phenomenon and focuses on reforming existing patterns & continuing. Therefore, it only serves the dominant party in the society.

With the introduction of political economic approach many political interpretations were interpreted in a new context.

1. When defining a political phenomenon identifying the economic phase and social class roots related to the political phenomenon
2. Building analysis of the totality and not on individual portions
3. Acknowledgement of the decisive role played by economic and class factors on politics
4. Recognition of the following elements as main themes of politics
  - (a) Power
  - (b) Authority
  - (c) Class division
  - (d) Class conflict
  - (e) State
  - (f) Social resistance to dominance
5. The goal of political inquiry is to build a radical critique of the dominant structure of power in social, political, economic & ideological domains
6. The belief that critical political science inquiry should aim at social & political transformation



Karl Marx

## **6. Sociological Approach**

Sociology and political science are too closely related academic disciplines. These two subjects were properly separated in 19<sup>th</sup> century in American universities. Before that these two subjects were mostly studied together. Even then, political science and sociology still seemed to maintain a close affinity. In fact, the subfield of political sociology is directly related to both two subjects.

Political science inquiry and analysis have been enriched by the theories, approaches & research methods of sociology.

### **Sociology**

In general, the academic approaches that study the human and the social life are considered as social sciences. If not, it can be defined as the subjects that study the complex human and social relationships on a scientific foundation as social sciences.

Out of the social sciences sociology is extremely important as the subject that studies the society direct. According to Max Weber, “Sociology is the subject that studies social processes and reasons behind such processes.” Therefore, following elements are studied in sociology.

- i. Social structure
- ii. Social organizations
- iii. Social units
- iv. The connection between the human & the society
- v. Social transformations
- vi. Social stratification

The history of social science runs up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the origin of sociology was mainly the social issues the European society faced after the French revolution & industrial revolution. Also another important feature of sociology is the development of secondary subjects. For example, anthropology is a secondary subject of sociology that specifically studies the human & different human behavioural patterns under different social cultural & religious context.

In sociology and above-mentioned anthropology many theories, methods & approaches are followed that can be applied in political science as well. Basically, the sociological approach is studying political phenomenon in sociological methods. Therefore, in order to comprehend,

- (i) The connection between politics & society
- (ii) The connection between political organizations & social organizations
- (iii) The connection between social behaviour & political behaviour

these sociological theories, methods & approaches are extremely important. In terms of political scientists that followed the sociological approach the following can be considered.

- (i) Auguste Comte
- (ii) Karl Marx
- (iii) Max Weber

#### Frankfurt school of sociological approach

The Frankfurt school is a school of political scientists that support the sociological theories and philosophy in political science. This school was founded in 1928. Political scientists in this school have focused on Marxist and Hegelian questions. Also, they focused on the works of Kant, Hegel, Marx, Weber etc. and attempted to take their initiatives forward. Their main intention was to establish logical institutions that are necessary to create changes on Marxism. The founders of this school are as follows Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Leo Löwenthal and Friedrich Pollock, Erich Fromm and Leo Strauss.

#### Auguste Comte

He was born in 1798 in Southern France. His work provided an ideal foundation for social sciences to apply scientific methods. Comte believes that the social evolution had 3 eras.

- (a) Theological stage
- (b) Metaphysical stage
- (c) Positive stage

### Max Weber

He was born in 1864 in Germany. His theories were mainly against Marxism therefore Weber is known as capitalistic Marx. Weber has developed the following theories with 'in depth' studies of the society.

- (a) The theory of social functions
- (b) The definition of authority
- (c) The theory of ideal race
- (d) The methodology of social science
- (e) Capitalism and protestants
- (f) The definition of social stability
- (g) The definition of social positions

### Karl Marx

He was born in 1818 in Germany. Although he was not a sociologist the works of Marx made important contributions to sociology and studied the existing capitalistic, social, economic and political systems to develop the following theories.

- (a) The theory of scientific socialism
- (b) The theory of remainder values
- (c) The theory of class conflicts
- (d) The theory of historical materialism
- (e) The theory of social resistance

Studying political science is based on the knowledge of the society. Therefore, sociology and anthropology are extremely important in terms of obtaining knowledge that is necessary for political science. Example such political parties is an area in political science. In general, political scientists used to study.

- (a) The history of parties
- (b) Categorization of parties
- (c) The leadership of parties
- (d) Policy papers of parties
- (e) The programme of parties etc

However above elements do not provide a full analysis of political parties. In terms of sociological approach more political elements are studied as: -

- (a) The influence of social elements such as wealth, religion, race, caste, family, background, gender etc. over the functions of political parties.
- (b) What the reasons behind the active political participation of citizens?
- (c) Who has the power over political parties in the grass root level?



**August Comte**



**Max Weber**



Jeremy J. Shapiro at the Max Weber-Soziologentag. Horkheimer is front left, Adorno front right, and Habermas is in the background, right, running his hand through his hair. Siegfried Landshut is in the background left. (1964)



Members of Frankfurt school of sociological approach



## 7. Feminist approach



**Feminists in Poland protesting in 2016**

In political and social education, the feminist approach has a major influence. Feminism was a topic throughout the history and in was an academic field during the early 1970s. The feminist approach mainly questioned fundamental political facts and their definitions for political concepts challenged conservation inspirations. Feminist movements can be categorized into 3.

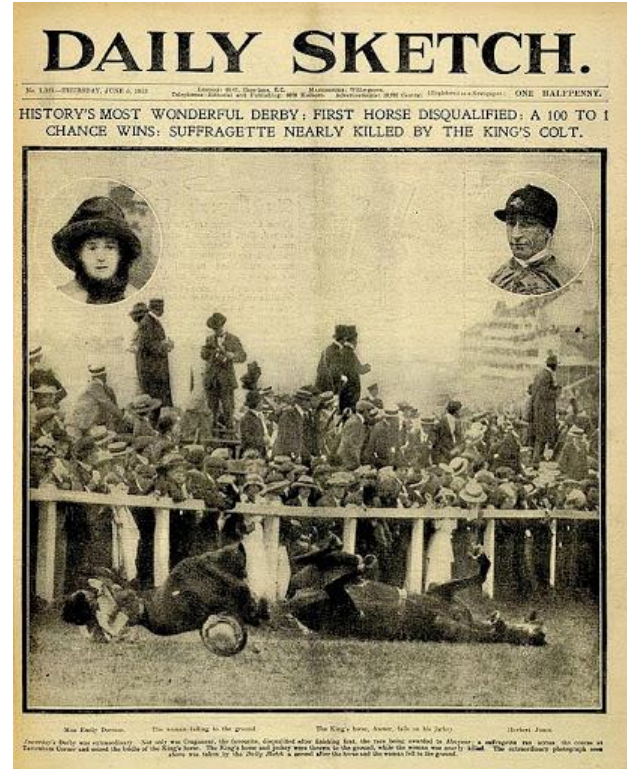
- (a) Liberal feminist movements
- (b) Radical feminist movements
- (c) Marxist feminist movements

Initial feminist movements mostly appreciated liberal values and mostly focused on gaining the rights to vote and equal opportunities in politics for women. They point out that in the basis of skills of women and men are not different. Therefore, their suggestions mainly focused on balancing out the gap in political, social and economic areas.





Emily Davison



Emily Davison's death reported in newspapers.



Emily Davison committing suicide in protest of voting rights of women being restrained.

Feminist political movements became more radical around 1970s. This radical approach emphasized on women's liberation in a political aspect. According to them, although women have equal rights & opportunities in political, economic, social and sexual areas women have suffered from sexual oppression. Therefore, in all above-mentioned areas men have authority over women, hence they believe that women's liberation cannot be achieved by removing male dominance from politics, but it should be removed from social, economic, cultural, sexual & personal areas.

The Marxist feminist approach believes that the dominance over women is an element behind the working class of the society to maintain disciplined, obedient labour force. Therefore, the subject of women's rights is a necessity of capitalism.

The feminist approach raised the following political questions.

- 1) Why would women be excluded from the field of politics?
- 2) Should politics be accepted as field of men?
- 3) Why have women been considered as a secondary role throughout human history?
- 4) Why have women always been subjected to discrimination? Should it be continued?
- 5) What are the social, political & cultural ideologies that suppress women?
- 6) The liberalist & socialist ideas on social & human liberation are sufficient for women?

Feminists have developed several new theoretical concepts, in order to explore above questions.

- 1) The social role of males & females
- 2) The labour gap between males & females
- 3) The father-based family
- 4) The suppression of women
- 5) The male centred society
- 6) Women's liberation

These questions & theoretical concepts have created many differences in traditional, political studies. Therefore, following amendments were criticised in the field of political science as a result of feminism.

1. The male, female social roles being added to the basic political identities along with the citizen, the society, the nation, social classes.
2. Women's liberation being added to main goals of politics along with human liberation & social liberation.
3. Re-analysing basic political concepts such as the state, political power, democracy, socialism, liberty, equality, equity & fairness, rights, suppression, state policies, citizenship etc. on a feminist basis.
4. Accepting politics as a personal field and updating the general idea of politics being a common social function that continued since the Greek era.

When analysing feminism, it can be seen that the feminist movement has been focused on different areas and headed in different directions. Therefore, the feminist movements lacked unity & consistency in other words feminist movements have suffered from being politically organized.

Also, by 1980s feminist movements seemed to face a downfall as the US President Ronald Regan and the British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher openly criticised feminism for harming the social stability and the social framework. Also, extremist ideas in Islamic countries emphasized on the traditional role of a woman.

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## **Unit 02 - Areas in Political Science**

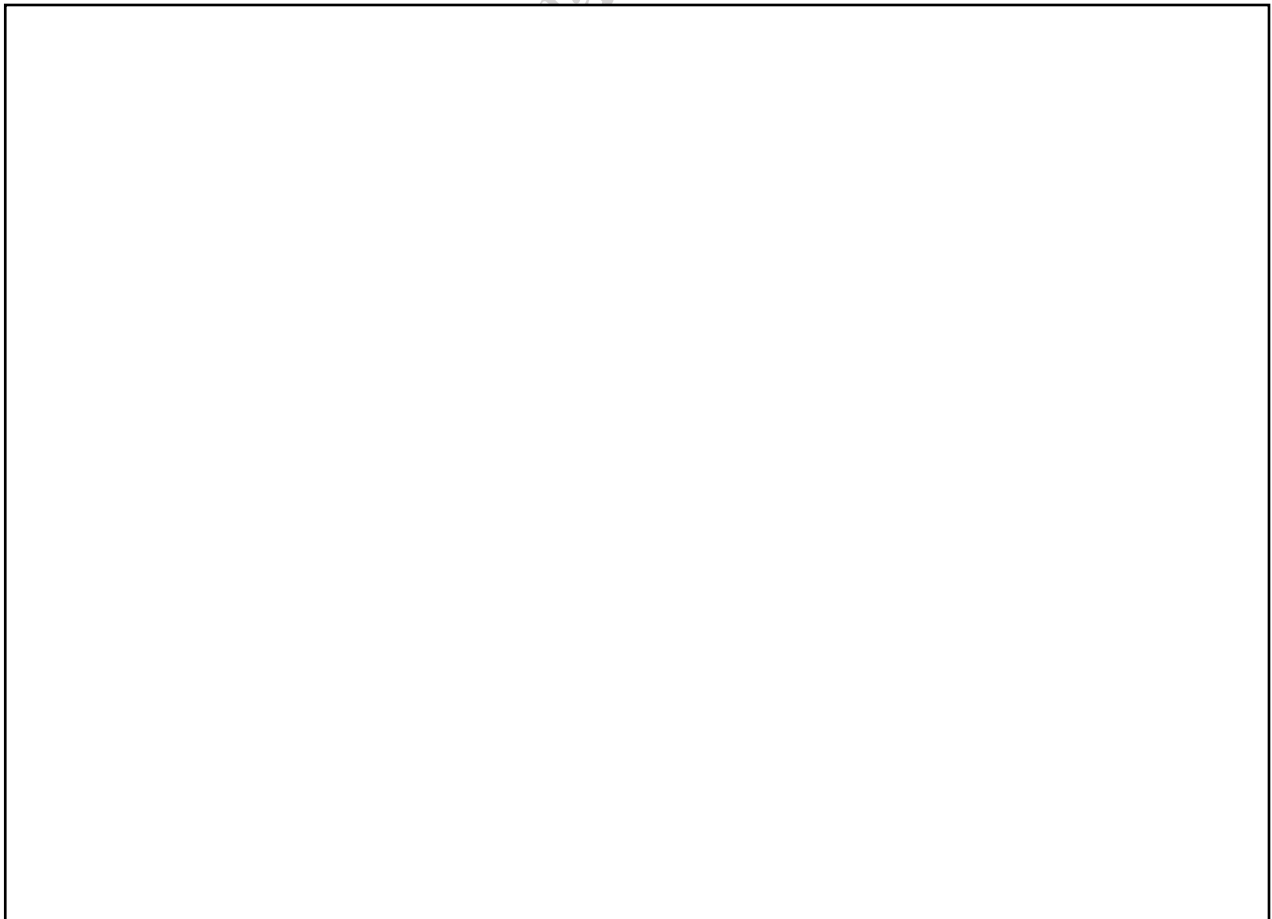
### **(Political Science and Its Sub Fields)**

- Political philosophy and the origin of the subject.
- Political ideologies and examples for basic political ideologies.
- Political theories. (Normative and scientific)
- Political institutions.
  - i. State and government
  - ii. Political parties
  - iii. Pressure groups
  - iv. Civil society
- Comparative politics and its application.
- Recent developments in political science.
  - i. State administration
  - ii. International politics.
  - iii. Conflict and conflict management.

Political Science can be interpreted as the subject that studies the political system in the society in a professional manner. In other words, political science is the subject that studies the political system in the society in a scientific perspective.

Professional Studies of Politics have a long history which runs up to the Greek era. The initial stage of political science was based on simply studying Greek city states. However, political studies have been evolved for nearly more than 24 centuries and during this time period the subject area of political science has developed and expanded into many areas.

- 1. Political Philosophy**
- 2. Political Ideologies**
- 3. Political Theories**
- 4. Political Institutes**
- 5. Comparative Politics**
- 6. State Administration**
- 7. International Politics**
- 8. Conflict & Conflict Resolution**



## **Political Philosophy**

Political philosophy is one of the most important areas in political science. Philosophy is considered as the parent subject of political science and throughout the history political science shows a close attachment with philosophy.

In subject philosophy the world is defined, in other words philosophy is an attempt to understand the nature of the world. Therefore, the main purpose of philosophy is to look for answers for the question “is it possible to know the world?” Based on this foundation different groups of philosophers have provided different philosophies. These philosophers are relevant to politics since most of the questions that are asked in philosophy are relevant to politics as well. Also, these philosophies focused on many fundamental political questions and search for answers. These philosophers were specifically known as political philosophers.

Political philosophy can be interpreted under three main themes.

### **1. Through political philosophy many concepts that are used in political analysis are explained.**

In order to analyze politics, it is necessary to use fundamental concepts. Political philosophy does an important job by clarifying the meaning of these key concepts. E.g.: State, government, citizenship, equality, freedom, justice, power, sovereignty, rights.

### **2. Asking and finding answers to fundamental political questions**

Since the fundamental feature of philosophy is to ask questions, in political philosophy also fundamental political questions are asked. Political philosophers search for answers for the question that are raised by themselves. Such as,

- What is the current status of the world?
  - What is the ultimate truth about the human?
  - What is the fundamental status of the world?
  - What is justice?
  - How does the world function?

### 3. Proposing normative goals

One of the unique features of philosophy is the close connection it has with the subject Ethics. Therefore, philosophers have attempted to interpret social elements as right and wrong according to ethics. This includes social elements receiving an ethical value and judging these ethical values is known as normative goals. Therefore, political philosophers apply normative goals to fundamental politics concept such as,

- Political activities
- Political institutes
- State policy formation

Political philosophy has been systematically developed and evolved since the Greek era up to date. Therefore, the subject which was founded by Aristotle has been covering more and more new territory throughout the history. The subject area of political science has given attention to following important elements,

- Justice
- Equity
- Rights
- Liberty
- Equality
- Liberation

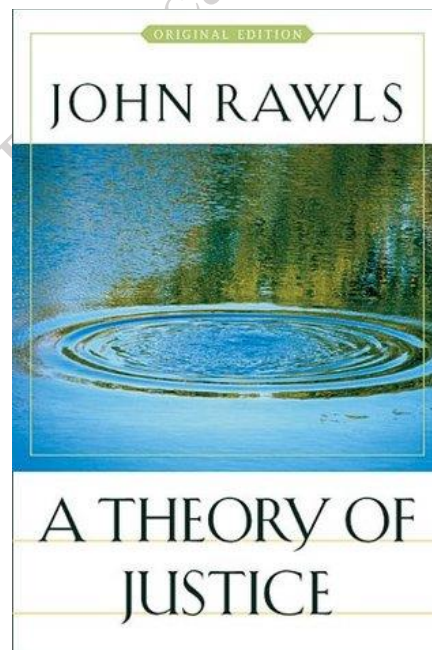
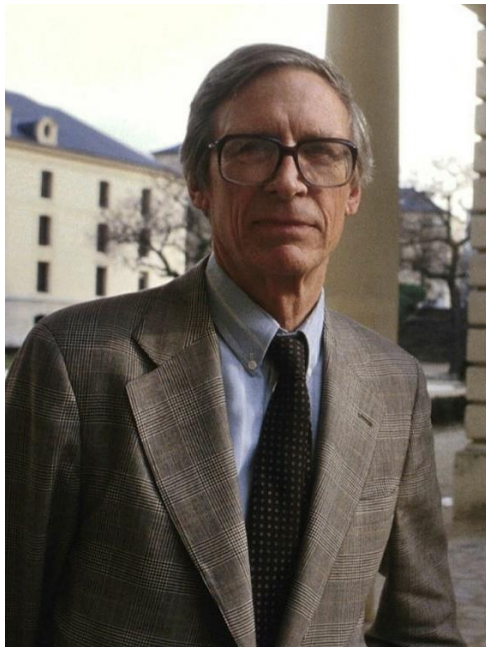
Above mentioned elements of political science have been discussed by philosophers during the Greek, Roman and Medieval eras. However, in these early eras these elements seem to lack a common stand. In the modern era many more political philosophers have discussed these elements in a more organized manner.

Theme	Political philosophers (of classical, medieval, early modern and contemporary time periods.)
Justice	Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Thomas Hobbes, Michael Sandel, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Martha Nussbaum, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, Mahatma Gandhi.
Equality	Aristotle, Hugo Grotius, Hobbes, Mahatma Gandhi, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, John Michael Walzer, Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, Charles Taylor, Tocqueville, Herbert Spencer, Ronald Dworkin.
Rights	Kant, De Tocqueville, Locke, David Hume, Isaiah Berlin, Adam Smith, Marx, Montesquieu, Ronald Dworkin, John Rawls, Charles Taylor.
Liberty/Freedom	Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Isiah Berlin, Friedrich Engels, Marx, Jeremy Bentham, Friedrich Hayek, John Rawls, Philip Petit.
Nature of Politics	Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Niccolò Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Roseau, Kant, Hegel, Marx.
Nature of the State	Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Roseau, Marx.



As a subject philosophy had a prestigious position in political science until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century political philosophy suffered a setback due to the rise of behaviouralism.

The foundation of political philosophy was mainly focused on searching for answers and normative goals. The behaviouralist political scientists came up with a more empirical, fact-based and a scientific version of political science. However, during 1970's behaviouralism faced a setback. This shift began with the book "A Theory of Justice" (1971) by John Rawls. This book discussed the importance of political philosophy which inspired political scientists to bring back political philosophy.



John Rawls and his book 'A Theory of Justice'

## **Political Ideologies**

Political ideologies such as Liberalism, Socialism, etc. are considered as important areas of political science. A political ideology can be defined as a set of political ideas that influence politics in society, guide political actions and has a capacity to attract followers to follow its beliefs, visions and principles. In modern context political movements and political parties are given the theoretical guidance by political ideologies. In general, a political ideology has following features,

- Being consisted of a cohesive set of ideas.
- Being capable of shaping and adjusting a political consciousness, political beliefs and perspective of various sections of the society.
- Being capable of guiding sections of the society for political actions.

The main political ideologies that are consisted of above features are as follows:

- Liberalism
- Socialism
- Nationalism
- Social Democracy
- Fascism
- Welfare State
- Neoliberalism
- Democracy

Some of the above ideologies can be briefly explained as follows:

### **Liberalism**

The concept of liberalism is based on the fundamental idea of individual freedom. Liberals believe that the individual freedom and individual autonomy as the cornerstone of Liberalism. The freedom of society as a whole is consisted of freedom in economic, social, political and cultural domains.

The rise of liberalism is closely connected to the rise of capitalism. The economic theory of capitalism acts as the conceptual comparison for the political concept of liberalism. Other than the rise of capitalism there were many other reasons behind the birth of liberalism.

- The fall of feudalism
- The industrial revolution
- Scientific discoveries (heliocentric theory)
- Geographical discoveries (South & North American, Australian continents)
- Protestant religion reforms
- Muslim invasions
- The development of currency exchange (circulation of money became more common)

The liberal political theory was in fact created in order to support the economic theory of capitalism.

The capitalistic economy theory is based on the idea of a free market. This theory required a political theory that was compatible. Therefore, liberalism was created since it was an ideal political foundation for the free market.

Liberalism features a government that governs less, which supported the free market theory. In the initial period this idea was applied in an extreme level where the government simply limited their tasks to protecting law and order and nothing else.

These liberal principles were quite parallel which the fundamental features of democracy. Therefore, governments that applied the liberal theory were recognized as liberal democratic governments.

Liberalism as a political ideology has provided major contributions to change the shape of many political institutes, principles and political practices.

E.g.: 1. Institutions – Parliament, political parties, mass media, judiciary, etc.

2. Principles – Individual freedom, separation of powers, rule of law, checks and balances, fundamental rights.

3. Political practices – Free & fair elections, duties of the government, separation of religion & state, limits to political power, etc.

## **Socialism**

Socialism originated in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a general political theory and was later evolved into an influential political ideology by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Socialism includes both a political theory and an economic theory which provides an alternative for liberalism and capitalism.

As a political ideology socialism mainly focuses on the basic idea of absolute equality. This includes equality in to political, social, economic and civil areas as well as a social ownership of property. This is known as a public property system.

In general socialism is a collection of many political ideologies that focuses on creating social equality and equity. The concept of communism was developed by Karl Marx. This concept provided a much more effective and radical version of socialism. Basically, Karl Marx provided an organized criticism of capitalism and class difference. Also, Marx believed that an equal society can only be built by overthrowing the capitalistic system. This way the working majority becomes the ruler through a social revolution in order to create a society without a class difference.

As a political ideology socialism has contributed to politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These contributions can mainly be summarized under 4 features.

1. Presenting itself as a powerful alternative to the liberal ideology and providing alternatives to the sub concepts of liberalism. Such as freedom, equality, social emancipation.
2. Advancing the vision of socialism as an alternative to liberal democracy.
3. Presenting a radical critic of explanation, social oppression and social inequalities. Since liberalism had above weaknesses socialism criticized them radically.
4. Socialism remaining as a powerful political ideology that provided a vision and guidance to mass movements in everywhere around the world (initially in Europe, later outside Europe).

## **Nationalism**

Nationalism is one of the important ideologies in political science which initially came to the spotlight during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The ideology of Nationalism is strongly connected to the evolution of state.

With the fall of feudalism, the format of state was transferred into nations where each nation was a state. In basic terms, a state was a group of individuals living in the same territory with a sovereignty power who identifies themselves as one national unit. Initially a national unit shared a common language, common religion, a common culture etc.

However, in recent times due to immigration and other reasons, nation states seem to have multi ethnic backgrounds where many languages, many religions and many cultures are shared by the members of the same nation.

This multi ethnicity was the very reason behind the development of nationalism as a political ideology. Members of a nation state were identified as a political community who possessed the right to their state as citizens. This idea was developed under the name nationalism as a political ideology that helped to maintain the unity among members of a nation who belong to different ethnicities.

As a modern political ideology nationalism was initially emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. Subsequently by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century it went in to Asian, African and Latin American continents.

In general, the political idea of nationalism can be summarized as follows.

1. It is nationalism as a political ideology that enables communities with shared cultures or linguistic identities to imagine themselves as distinct political communities as nations. Language, religions, culture and the territory are the identities through which communities imagine themselves to be a nation as a political community.
2. The modern nation state is essentially constructed within the framework advanced by nationalism. It basically believes that each nation has a right to form its own political unit. This also means that modern nation states should be politically homogenous despite linguistical cultural diversity.

## **Political Theory**

Political theory can be considered as one of the main areas of the field of political science. Political theory is quite important to define political phenomena in the society.

Following examples explain how a theory can explain a phenomenon.

E.g.: 1. Objects falling onto the ground fall at the same speed. This is a natural phenomenon that is explained by the theory of gravity in physics.

2. When goods are rare in a market the prices go up accordingly. This a social phenomenon that is explained by demand & supply theory in economics.

3. When social and economic transformations lead certain social groups into conflicts, this social phenomenon can be explained in political science under the theory of relative deprivation.

4. The reason behind different governments following different foreign policies in post independent Sri Lanka can be explained with the theory of realism or natural desires.

Therefore, it can be seen that a theory defines the entire phenomena instead of defining elements one by one. In other words, the political theory is an instrument used by political scientists to explain a political phenomenon.

In a science (natural or social) the general task is to gather and comprehend knowledge. Therefore, this should happen in a theoretical foundation. "A theory is a representation of how we see the world, therefore a theory is a window to see the world".

The world is an unorganized complex entity. Under this complexity the world can only be properly understood with the guidance of a theoretical approach developed by political scientists.

In political science a theory has 2 definitions.

- Normative theory
- Scientific theory

## Normative theory

This is usually identified with political thought and philosophy. This originated in ancient Greece with the contributions by Aristotle, Plato etc. and still continues to be important in modern political science as well. The best feature of this theory is the commitment to propose better alternatives in politics. This includes,

1. A better state
2. Better system of governance
3. Better public policies
4. A better position for the citizens
5. Better rights and liberty

These proposals are based on value judgments and ethical considerations.

Therefore, the concept of normative in normative political theory has two objectives.

- To politically imagine better political alternatives
- To practically prescribe those proposed alternatives

Therefore, it can be said that political theories both critical and prescriptive in the normative form.

Influential names in normative political theory.

- a) John Rawls (theory of justice)
- b) Philip Petit (theory of republican freedom)
- c) Jürgen Habermas (theory of public sphere)

## Scientific theory

The idea of scientific theory as opposed to the traditional normative theory is considered as much more recent. This theory came into spotlight with the rise of behaviouralism.

By 1930's social scientists were inspired with the methods that were used in natural sciences. When social scientists applied these natural scientific methods, they were known as **scientific terms in the study of social sciences.**

The term scientific in political science has the same meaning as natural sciences. Therefore, the task of scientific theory is to explain why things occur. Similar to natural sciences, in political science also it is explained why political phenomena occur in accordance with a law such as regularity.

Developing a political theory scientifically is basically discovering such laws. When social and political scientists develop such laws by engaging in research it is known as a theoretical system.

Scientific theories are different from normative theories. Basically, in one fundamental aspect scientific theories are known as empirical theories since they are based on empirical data and evidence. Although normative theories do employ evidence they are mostly reflected on personal beliefs and value judgments.

The tradition of scientific theory in political science is called “positive political science”. In this way, ‘Positivist’ is another term of expressing implicit. In modern political science the theory of political modernization, theory of political systems, the theories of behaviorism are developed as scientific and positivist theories.

### **Conclusion**

The modern political theory is consisted of both normative and scientific theories. There are several political theories that are consisted of both.

1. Liberal political theory
2. Republican political theory
3. Marxist political theory
4. Post Marxist political theory
5. Theory of political modernization
6. Post-modern political theory
7. Post-colonial political theory
8. Feminist political theory

Therefore, it can be seen that a theory represents the window to see the meaning of the world. Since the world is unorganized, complex and mixed up it is important to have a proper window to witness the world with clarity. Science has many such windows. Scientists who are near each window, invite us to walk up to that window and to have a better vision of the world.



## **Political Institutions**

In any political society the element of politics is structured with institutes. Therefore, studying political science requires a thorough understanding of these institutions. In studying political science, we focus on political institutions mainly since, politics itself is institutionalized in a variety of ways.

Most political parties & processes have been developed around political institutions. When we study institutions, it can be seen that there are laws and regulations, practices and ethical standards associated with them. They also have specific purposes and objectives. Institutions in society can be classified into two.

- i. Formal institutions – They are established and governed by formal laws, rules and regulations. Mostly those are tangible and visible as they have buildings, premises and personnel.  
E.g.: School, university, the parliament, municipal councils and administrative officials.
- ii. Informal institutions – These exist in the society conceptually rather than materially. Hence, they are not visible/tangible however despite that we constantly encounter them.  
E.g.: Family, social classes, ethnic groups, etc.

These are four important political institutions in a country that are more effective than others.

- 1) The state and the government
- 2) Political parties
- 3) Pressure groups
- 4) Civil society





## **Political Parties**

In general, political parties can be defined as a group of people who are gathered together in order to pursue political power. Basically, a political party is known as an agent of informal political education, social reforms and representative democracy.

Political parties do not have a long history comparing to other concepts in political science. However, despite having a short history political parties have become one of the most important elements in the political society. Therefore, political parties are an integral element of modern politics.

Despite coming into existence after thousands of years after the birth of democracy, in the modern context political parties have become an essential element to protect democracy. In fact, some political scientists have defined political parties as the blood of democracy.

Political parties were initially developed with the development of representative system of governance. Later with the spread of universal franchise political parties were further embraced by the general public.

The birth of political parties can be seen in North America & Europe. With the influence of colonizing, political parties were introduced in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century to Asian and African countries.

The main task of a political party is to gain political power. It has to be through democratic means as the most common method is elections. Political parties contest in elections to gain political power from people. Depending on the influence and the capacity, different political parties expect different levels of political power. Major political parties contest for the government power, moderate political parties contest for influential political bargaining power and minor political parties contest for representation.

Also, political parties have a task to take members in as well as to train future political leaders. In general, it is considered as having more members is better for a political party. Other than this political parties also have a task and a duty to listen to the public and make policies. An election is basically an approving process for political party policy papers. If a political party wins an election, it means that the public has approved their policy paper. Hence the party is bound to implement these policies.

## **Main features and tasks of a political party**

### **1. Pursuing political power**

The main purpose of a political party is to pursue political power through democratic means. Every political party is engaged in this game of gaining political power.

### **2. Organizing the public opinion**

The public opinion is a strong political element which is highly influential within a political system. However, the public opinion can lose its effect due to being unorganized. Political parties fulfill the duty of organizing the public opinion into a unit, in order to make it politically powerful.

### **3. Providing informal political education**

Political parties act as one of the most influential sources of informal political education. People continuously receive political education informally from political parties and this comes to a climactic point during election seasons.

### **4. Making policies**

Political parties are supposed to pay attention to the general public and make policies to address public issues. Once political parties receive governmental power, parties are bound to implement those main policies.

### **5. Providing membership and training leaders**

Political parties are required to take members in, as the existence of the party depends on their members. Also, each political party has senior leaders as well as secondary level leaders to take over the party or even the country. Therefore, a political party is a training academy for future leaders.

## **Classification of political parties and party systems**

Political parties, functions of political parties, political party system and their strategies are generally categorized by political scientists.

### **Political party classification**

There are several ways to categorize political parties.

1. Cadre-based parties & mass parties (non-cadre)
2. Representative and integrative parties
3. Constitutional parties and revolutionary parties
4. Left-wing parties & right-wing parties

#### **1. Cadre based parties and mass parties (non-cadre)**

A cadre-based party is basically a political party funded and ran by upper class of the society. This includes businessmen, aristocrats and rich people in general. These cadre-based parties are only active during election seasons and their representation is mostly limited to rich politicians.

E.g.: Democratic & republican parties in the U.S.

Conservative party in the U.K.

Non cadre parties are basically political parties funded and run by the middle class and lower class of the society. This includes union leaders, professional, activists, laborers, middle class and lower class in general. These non-cadre parties are active even during non-election seasons and their representation mostly consists of middle-class and lower-class people.

E.g.: Labor party in the U.K.

Libertarian party in the U.S.

## **2. Representative and integrative parties**

Representative parties represent the public opinion as it is, while integrative parties attempt to shape and mobilize the public opinion. Therefore, representative parties seem to have a conservative approach while integrative parties have a liberal approach. E.g.: The Republican Party in the U.S. sticks to the conservative public opinion and defines their stance against LGBT rights, abortion, immigration, anti-gun laws while democrats are attempting to shape the public opinion on above matters.

## **3. Constitutional parties and revolutionary parties**

A constitutional party is a political party that sticks to the constitutional means within the democratic format to gain political power. A revolution party can go beyond constitutional and democratic methods in order to achieve political power such as revolutions, coups.

E.g.: UNP & SLFP are two Sri Lankan political parties that have attempted to gain governmental power only through constitutional elections.

JVP on the other hand who initiated as a revolutionary party which attempted to gain the power of Sri Lanka through two armed revolutions in 1971 and 1988/1989, before turning into a constitutional party in 1994.

## **4. Left wing & right-wing parties**

This categorization is based on the economic theory the political party is associated with. Right wing parties are mostly capitalistic, while left wing parties follow a socialist approach. According to some political scientists there is a third category also as moderate parties. However, most of the political scientists categorize moderate parties either as left wing or right wing.

E.g.: In Sri Lanka UNP & SLFP are right wing capital friendly parties while JVP and old leftist parties are socialist-oriented left-wing parties.

## **Political party system categorization**

Every political system has a number of political parties. Depending on the number of political parties in existence and their influence in the political system, political party systems can be categorized. Mainly there are 3 political party systems,

1. One party system
2. Two party system
3. Multi-party system

### **One party system**

This a system where a solitary party functions in the political system. This can be seen in fascist and communist countries. In this system elections take place among candidates of the same party. Especially in fascist countries forming new parties is a punishable offence.

The main idea of a one-party system is to protect the consistency of state policies. In a one-party system, changes in the government and elections do not compromise the consistency of the state policies.

The communist party system in general, is largely expanded up to the grass root level. The solitary party allows a huge number of members to join.

E.g.: In the soviet communist party, the membership was given to 9% of the entire population.

In China 4% of the entire population has the communist party membership.

These members are bound together with the communist vision. Elections are contested between communist party members themselves and to all the positions in the administration, people are appointed by the communist party.



The communist party is developed on the theoretical foundation of centralized democracy. Basically, the communist parties are developed on following fundamentals,

- 1) Every organization in the political system being consisted of elected members on the vote of party members.
- 2) Lower institutes of the political party being responsible to higher institutions.
- 3) Solid disciplinary rules and dominance of majority opinion.
- 4) Decisions of higher institutions of the party, being followed and respected without being questioned by lower institutes.

From 1920's til 1940's many fascist movements arose to power. Which is when these one-party fascist systems came into existence in Germany, Italy, etc.

E.g.: National Socialist party in Germany (Nazi party) led by Adolf Hitler.

Fascist party in Italy led by Benito Mussolini.

Similar to a communist system the fascist system also acts quite strict on the theory of having a single party. However, unlike communism the fascist system does not follow a proper economic, political or social theory. Fascist governments make decisions according to the situation, therefore fascist one-party systems use force to keep members and citizens together. Unlike communist parties these parties do not exist for a long time as the death of the leader eventually concludes the existence of the party as well.

In addition to these two systems, in some Asian and African countries another one-party system was developed during post colonization times. In these countries the national movements against the colonizers were led by famous personalities. Once independence was granted, such national movements turned into political parties under these famous leaderships. Due to this popularity, people largely embrace this party instead of forming other parties. This one-party system is not organized as communist parties nor authoritative as fascist parties.

E.g.: 1. The political party of Tanzania by President Julius Nyerere

2. The political party of General Arshad in Bangladesh

### **Advantages of a one-party system**

- 1) Stability of the governments
- 2) Consistency of political, economic and social policies
- 3) Efficiency in administration
- 4) Less political divisions in the society
- 5) Possibility to protect unity and discipline

### **Disadvantages of a one-party system**

- 1) Lack of democracy
- 2) Dictatorship and autocracy
- 3) Failure of rights and liberty
- 4) Failure to represent desires of everyone in a plural society



The Chinese Communist Party is the only political party in China

## **Two party system**

In a two-party system many political parties exist, although two of the parties are active and influential in the political system. Minor parties do manage to win some representation yet their power is not effective enough to support or challenge major parties. Therefore, the power of governance is generally targeted by two parties. They are 3 sub categories/features of two-party systems,

- 1) A system where many parties exist yet only two parties having the capacity to form a government
- 2) A system where a large party controls the country alone while the other party fulfills the duty of the opposition
- 3) A system where two parties come into power in turns  
E.g.: Democratic and Republican parties in U.S.A.  
Conservative and Labor parties in Great Britain

There are two main reasons behind the formation of a two-party system,

- 1) The electoral method
- 2) Unity of the social system

In general, the two most commonly used electoral methods are simple majority method and proportional method. The simple majority method chooses the leading candidate in each territory as the winner. While the proportional system divides the number of seats on the percentage of votes each party has obtained. Therefore, the simple majority system generally discourages minor parties, as a result simple majority method supports a two-party system.

Also, when a society has divisions, it creates a foundation for many parties to be born. Therefore, a united society is most likely to create a two-party system. This social element is even more powerful than the electoral method.

E.g.: 1. India has a multi-party system despite following the simple majority method.

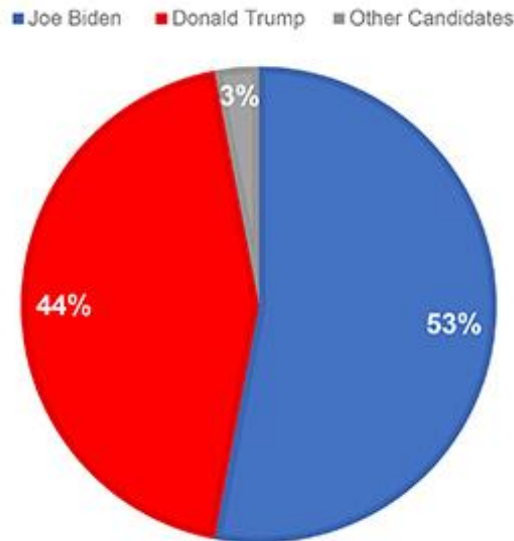
2. U.S.A. and Great Britain have strong two-party systems due to their less plural societies.

### Advantages of two-party systems

- 1) Strong and stable governments
- 2) Strong and undivided oppositions
- 3) The people having the power to directly decide the government
- 4) Possibility to implement state policies from a long-term foundation
- 5) Responsible governance
- 6) The executive being solid and strong

### Disadvantages of two-party systems

- 1) Voters receiving limited options in their ballot papers
- 2) Autocracy of the majority party
- 3) Not every opinion being represented in the legislature
- 4) The nation being divided into two camps



2020 US Presidential Election results from a county in California shows the dominance of Democratic and Republican party candidates and the insignificance of smaller parties.

## **Multi-party system**

This is a political party system where more than two parties are politically powerful and influential. Therefore, in such a system the representation in the legislature is divided among many mainstream political parties and as a result none the parties are capable of winning a majority to form a government. As a result, this system creates coalition governments.

There are two main reasons behind the birth of a multi-party system.

- 1) Social plurality
- 2) Electoral method

A plural society that has multiple races, religions, language etc. Therefore, many political parties could come up based on the differences of ethnic & cultural foundations. Also, the proportional electoral method that awards representation based on the percentage of votes obtained also encourages minor political parties to contest in elections.

As examples for the multi-party system the political party system in France, Italy, India and Sri Lanka can be pointed out. However, there are two sub categories to the multi-party system in addition to the pure multi-party system.

1. Multi-party system with two party dominance
2. Multi-party system with one party dominance

### **Multi-party system with two party dominance**

This is a system where the political system has more than two influential and powerful political parties, yet only two of those parties are capable of forming governments. However, these two parties essentially require the support of the minor parties to form governments or to topple governments.

For example, the Sri Lankan political party system where many influential parties are capable of forming governments with the support of minor parties.

## **Multi-party system with one party dominance**

This is a political party system where many influential parties exist yet only one of the parties have a nationally expanded political influence. In such systems the dominating party generally creates a monopoly in the political system single handed. Minor parties of the system, form alliances to collectively challenge the dominance of the solitary large party.

Examples: 1. The congress party of India being in power from 1947 to 1977, 1979 to 1999 and 2004 to 2014.

2. The liberal Democratic Party in Japan being in power for 38 years continuously.

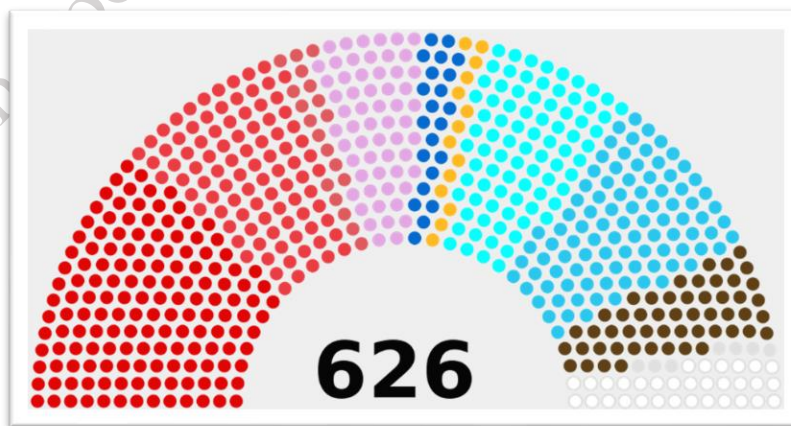
3. The African National Congress being in power since 1993 in South Africa.

## **Advantages of the multi-party system**

- 1) More political opinions and social communities being represented.
- 2) The voter receiving a wide range of options in the ballot paper.
- 3) Minority groups receiving political representation.
- 4) The reputation of the legislature being protected.

## **Disadvantages of the multi-party system**

- 1) The formation of weak coalition governments.
- 2) State policies lacking consistency.
- 3) The reputation of the executive being damaged.



The seat division in the French Parliament (lower house) is a clear indication of the multi-party system and the necessity of coalition governments.



## Pressure Groups

In the modern context of politics, pressure groups can be considered as one of the most influential and important political institutes. The basic definition of a pressure group is that “a group of individuals that has organized its members as a unit of citizens, to pressure the government in order to make an impact on the decisions, state policies and laws of the government”.

However, pressure groups do not pursue power or political power by any means. Instead, their motive is to press the authorities that have the power to make decisions. These pressure groups are generally based on profession, religion, race, cast, etc.

However, every social group that have been formed to win desires are not defined as pressure groups. In fact, only formally organized groups that are capable of pressing the government on policy formation and implementation are defined as pressure groups. According to H. Ziglar a pressure group is a group of individuals who are gathered not to handle political power yet to influence the decisions of the government.

According to Henry A. Turner pressure groups are organizations that have been developed to pressure the policies of the government, yet not politically divided into groups. According to Turner pressure groups do not present their own policies to political parties neither attempt to gain governmental power.

However, Turner points out that pressure groups have the habit of pressuring political parties to make and implement policies in their preference. Therefore, pressure groups take the support of every political party and they attempt to exhibit that they are not connected to any political party.

However, Turner also points out that when political parties choose candidates, pressure groups attempt to include their members.

In the current context of Sri Lanka, it can be seen that at times pressure groups are funded, supported and politically used by the government and political parties at times.

Pressure groups became a main stream topic in political science with the contributions of American and European political scientists. American political scientists commonly used the terms desire groups and lobby groups to refer to pressure groups. In Britain it was generally known as pressure groups. Although these three terms generally refer to the same meaning, in terms of definition the three terms have slightly different interpretations.

### **Pressure Groups**

A pressure group is a group of individuals who are gathered together in order to pressure the decisions and policies of the state. These groups attempt to pressure political parties to include their candidates in elections. Therefore, these groups attempt to represent their requests in the legislature through these candidates.

### **Desire Groups (interest groups)**

A desire group is a collection of individual citizens to win a specific desire or a specific purpose. These groups have a specific goal to achieve or to develop form the existing political system. Since these groups are based on a specific desire they are known as desire groups (interest groups).

### **Lobby Groups (lobbying groups)**

Lobbying groups are organizations that can be defined as a professional version of pressure groups. Therefore, members of lobbying groups professionally act by meeting and consulting politicians on policies. These groups are consisted of professional specialists that provide their services for a salary. In fact, a lobbying group is a profit earning business entity in a political system.

These lobbying groups are reasonably active in the U.S. as lobbying groups are actively engaged in convincing congressmen and members of the cabinet to follow their desires. These groups are capable not only of shaping the desires of politicians but even capable of changing judicial judges and the public opinion.



Therefore, other than pressure groups, interest groups (desire groups) and lobbying groups (advocacy groups) all are important in political science. Even in Sri Lanka several groups in the society have formed pressure groups to their desires.

1. Businessmen and entrepreneurs
2. Factory owners
3. Farmers
4. Executive officers
5. Religious groups
6. Professional groups
7. Women

Above mentioned groups and many other groups in the society have formed pressure groups to win their desires. These examples can be pointed out as examples from Sri Lanka.

1. Government Medical Officers Association (GMOA)
2. Planters Union
3. Ceylon Board of Commerce
4. Old Ceylon Buddhist Association
5. Sri Lanka Teachers Association

Most pressure groups are developed on a solitary theme such as protecting the environment, protecting the rights of teachers, protecting the rights of railway workers, etc. Some pressure groups seem to function with wider agendas and goals such as democracy, human rights, women's rights, media freedom, etc.

In day-to-day political application, some identify labor unions and social movements as pressure groups. However, in modern political science they belong to a different category.

### **Arguments for pressure groups**

1. The requests, interests, necessities and complaints that are ignored by the government and political parties receiving a platform.
2. Becoming a media to cover the loopholes of public political participation in addition to political parties.

3. Making deep political discussions in the society and emphasizing democracy by organizing citizens to discuss and criticize state policies and decisions.
4. Keeping checks on the stubborn behavior of government in order to develop the democratic capacity of the society.

### **Arguments against pressure groups**

1. Since pressure groups are handled by educated, rich and privileged citizens, these organizations representing the interest of a specific group and also profits being made by upper layers of the society.
2. Pressure groups representing narrow and specific requirements of a social group instead of representing the entire society.
3. In some countries pressure groups lack legitimate political power due to the lack of public participation.
4. Although the democratic process is open, these organizations tend to make the policies and decisions with the government closed doors.



GMOA – Government Medical Officers Association is one of the most influential pressure groups in Sri Lanka

## Differences between political parties and pressure groups

Political parties and pressure groups both are equally important players in the game of politics. In terms of influence both these entities are capable of making rapid changes in a political system.

However, the main difference between these two are the fact that political parties pursue power by contesting in elections, while pressure groups pursue specific request by engaging in activities such as protests.

Therefore, the second difference is the common factor that binds members in the two organizations. Members of pressure groups share a common interest as the main reason behind the formation is achieving that specific request.

Political parties and pressure groups differ from each other in terms of motives. Since political parties pursue power their motive and tasks are much wider hence, they have to address every problem of the society. Pressure groups have narrow motives as their interests always revolve around a specific matter.

In terms of permanent existence pressure groups and political parties are different as the existence of a political party does not end. Since the main purpose of political party is to gain power, a political party can never fully accomplish their goals. Pursuing power is a continuous struggle as the process that starts capturing power is continued with establishing power and expanding power therefore political parties constantly exist as a group that pursue political power. Pressure groups on the other hand are built on a specific interest. Therefore, once the requirement is fulfilled the pressure group get dissolved itself following the accomplishment.

<b>Political parties</b>	<b>Pressure groups</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Pursue power</li><li>2. Members are not bound with a common interest</li><li>3. Common motives and responsibilities</li><li>4. Continuously exist</li></ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Pursue specific interests</li><li>2. Members are bound with a common interest</li><li>3. Specific motives and responsibilities</li><li>4. Gets dissolved once their need is met</li></ol>

## **Civil Society**

Although civil society is the political entity that is given the least attention in politics it is the largest and the most powerful entity in the modern context. Unlike political parties and pressure groups the civil society does not have specific organizational structure nor official members. In general, the civil society is defined as the social platform of individual citizens to get united outside the state for their common motives.

Although citizen organizations and social movements are defined as the civil society that is in fact a narrow and limited interpretation of civil society.

According to modern democratic principles, the civil society is given prominence as a main feature of democracy. Having a strong and active civil society is considered as a reflection of a strong democratic system.

In the modern political context of Sri Lanka, the term civil society is used in many different contexts. The first interpretation is that the society consisted of active citizens. This means citizens of the political society being actively engaged in discussion, criticisms etc.

The concept of civil society has existed for a long time since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, after many developments and evolving civil society became an important element of political science in 1980s.

The civil society reflects the democratic status of a country since a non-democratic system would have either a weak civil society or no civil society at all. Since Aristotle defined humans as “political creatures”, the human cannot live outside a political system. Therefore, inside a political system, humans create a web of political connections with each other. In this web of connections humans discuss many social facts including politics. At times these discussions can evolve into criticisms and movements. Through these humans get united for a common social political course as citizens. These citizens act independent from the state to be organized for common motives. The space that these citizens function in known as the civil society and their organizations are known as the civil society organizations.

Therefore, civil society is a space that is external from the state and outside the authority of the state. This space is in social atmosphere that allows citizens to act without a state authority in following areas,

1. Cultural activities
2. Religious activities
3. Political activities
4. Economic activities
5. Professional activities
6. Social activities

The civil society represents the right to organization of a citizen. Therefore, a citizen can form an organization in this social space outside the authority of the state. These organizations are as follows;

1. A professional union
2. A sports union
3. A non-governmental organization
4. A religious union
5. An organization of ladies
6. A youth organization
7. A welfare union
8. The organizer's union of a religious institute

The context of civil society was initiated in the 17th century though it evolved into a main stream topic in 1980s. The discussion on the civil society can mainly be divided into 3 eras.

1. The discussion in the constitutional state following the classic liberal state in Europe (Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Immanuel Kant were the main stream philosophers).
2. The discussion in the capitalist, economic and social system in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Hagel, Karl Marx etc. are considered as mainstream philosophers to make notable contributions.)
3. The initial stage that suggested the civil society is independent from the state.

Under the discussion of the civil society, civil society has different interpretations in modern political science.

- Classical Liberal interpretation
- Original Marxist interpretation
- Neo- Marxist Gramscian interpretation
- Associational Democratic interpretation
- As a space for democratic social & political activities
- As a space for social movements

### **Classical Liberal interpretation**

Classic liberalism came to the spotlight as a political theory around the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, the theoretical foundation for classic liberalism did develop since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. When the civil society is studied from a classical liberalism point of view following philosophers are considered to be important;

1. Thomas Hobbes
2. John Locke
3. Immanuel Kant
4. Hagel

The concept of civil society was initially established in Europe in the process of the origin of the national state. The term civil society was initially used by the British philosopher Thomas Hobbes in his book Leviathan in 1652. Even John Locke and Immanuel Kant both have interpreted civil society as the same concept therefore these three are commonly known as **social convention theorists**. According social convention theorists the human society is divided into two eras.

1. The era before state – pre state era (natural society)
2. The era after state – post state era (civil society)

In the pre state era the state did not exist hence humans were not ruled. Humans lived a life where every person had natural rights under the natural law. This means every human had the space to do anything without any restrictions. The social convention theory believes that due to this freedom the society ended up in a complex entanglement.

Therefore, humans in the natural society took steps to unite together and develop an authority through a social convention. The society that had an authority to govern the humans was known as “the civil society”.

Under this definition the society where the human desires and activities are not controlled is the natural society, where the desires and activities are controlled are known as civil society.

John Locke and Thomas Hobbes both provide that the beginning of the civil society was done through a social convention in order to make the society a much more civilized place. However, Hobbes believed that the convention was between people and the ruler is simply a result of the convention. Hence Hobbes provides that the ruler is not bound to people for his actions. However, John Locke believes that the convention was between people and the ruler hence the ruler to be responsible to people.

The opinion of individual citizen having natural rights laid the foundation for the concept of the classic liberal theory.

With the development of capitalism, the concept of civil society grew further. The civil society received a new interpretation under this economic foundation.

The traditional idea of the state being linked to every entity of the society was denied by this time. This was due to the fact that the concept of civil society grew as a separate entity from the state with Locke’s opinion and the economic process was defined as a separate entity under capitalism. This was further supported by the book “Wealth of Nations” by Adam Smith and the book on essay on the history of civil society by Adam Ferguson.

Hegel believed that the civil society is the space in between the state and family. According to Hegel the family represents the personal field and the state represents the common field. The space in between is the civil society. This space is not a capital market but something generated by the capital market.

According to Hegel the society has 3 fields;

1. Family
2. Civil society
3. State

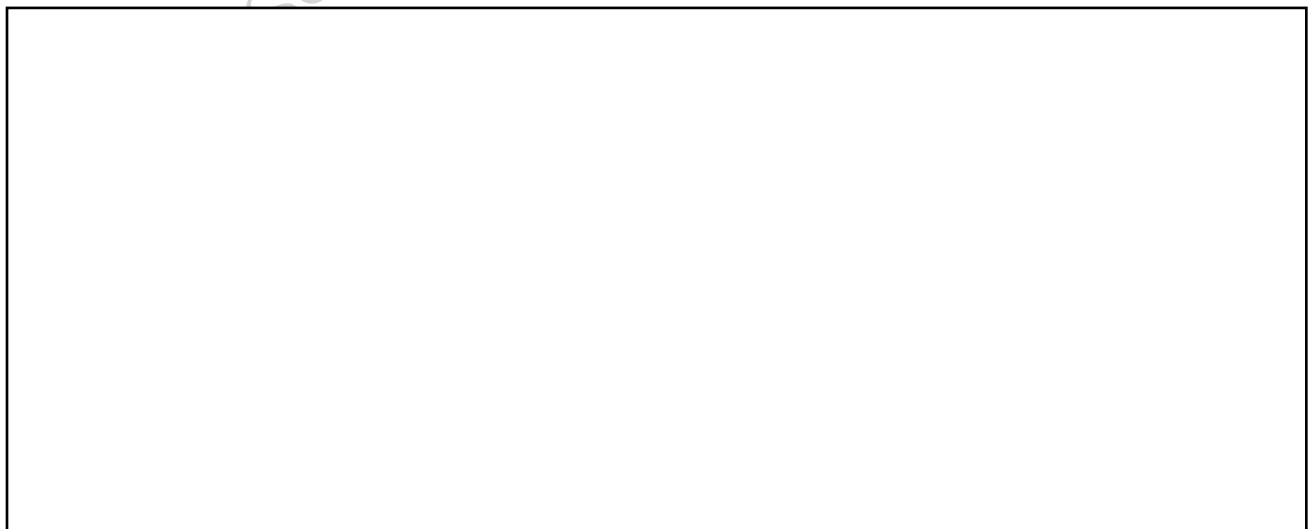
In a family, problems are solved with emotions, love and affection. However, with the competition created by the capitalistic market these elements cannot be seen in the civil society. Hegel believed that the civil society would fall due to the selfishness of the capitalistic competition and the lack of love, affection and ethics. Under these circumstances the state requires to intervene for common requirements. Hence, Hegel denies the stateless civil society system suggested by Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson.



Hegel



Immanuel Kant





### Original Marxist interpretation

This interpretation was developed against the concept of Hegel. According to the political economic approach & communism, the civil society **is the capitalistic market itself**. However, Hegel disagrees and provides that the civil society is the space between the state and the family. Hegel further states that the civil society s originated with influence of the capitalistic market and at one point it turns into conflicts due to lack of love and affection. Therefore, Hegel expects state interventions to handle this situation.

In the Marxist interpretation of civil society Karl Marx criticizes the opinion of Hegel. This criticism was published by Marx in his book “A Criticism on Hegel’s State” in 1843. Marx agrees with Hegel up to the point where it says the civil society to be a capitalistic society, the capitalistic society to be the field of selfish competition and the lack of love and affection in the civil society.

However, Hegel’s opinion of state involvement to solve problems in the civil society is completely denied by Marx. Marx believed that the problem in the civil society can only be solved by breaking the capitalistic system, through a working-class revolution.

Instead of Hegel’s system of tackling conflicts in the civil society by state involvements, Marx suggested to solve civil society conflicts within the civil society itself. Although Hegel believed the state to be a representation of the common field Marx points out that the state is the creation of the rich class itself. The Marxist interpretation believes that the civil society is the social space for the poor class, to take over the state and create a socialist system where unfair labor is no more.



### **Neo- Marxist Gramscian interpretation (New Marxism)**

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist philosopher who took forward the Marxist civil society interpretation even further.

According to this interpretation the civil society is consisted of unions developed by citizens. Therefore, this includes sports unions, cultural unions, labor unions, etc.

Gramsci's interpretation of civil society arose as a result of his attempt to find answers to the question "why does the labor class in Italy fail to capture the state power?"

In Italy Marxists managed to find political power due to the failure of capitalism. Yet they failed to convert that into governmental power. As a result, the governmental power was captured by Fascists. Under this circumstances Gramsci studied the method used by the Italian state for successful governance.

According to the Marxist interpretation the state is consisted of suppressive institutes. The military, police prisons, administration are such institutes. Marxists believe that attacking the capitalistic society can be done by taking over the institutes mentioned above.

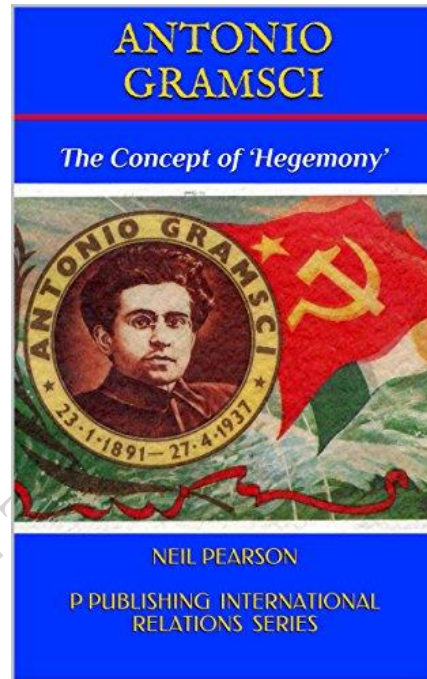
However, Gramsci points out that the state is not simply consisted of the above institutes hence in order to capture the state power it is necessary to take over other external ideological fields as well.

Gramsci identifies the civil society as one of these fields. Therefore, religious organization, trade unions, professional unions, women's organizations, art unions and sports associations etc., which are formed external to the state are also dominated by the rich class.

Therefore, Gramsci points out that the state dominance is not limited to military, police, prisons, and administration, etc., even the civil society is dominated by the state religiously, culturally, educationally and ideologically.

Gramsci further points out that the state uses patriotism, nationalism and social welfare as methods to establish their dominance in the state as well as in the civil society, hence the civil society is a field external from the state that is ideologically dominated by the rich class.

In conclusion it can be seen that Gramsci has further developed Marxism. According to his interpretation the labor class in Italy failed to capture governmental power since taking over the state not only includes suppressive institutes but it includes dominating the civil society as well.



Antonio Gramsci and his books



### **Associational Democratic interpretation**

Out of the six interpretations, this interpretation provides the most approximate and familiar one to the modern context. Therefore, the civil society is interpreted as an entity consisted of citizen unions for personal and common desires of people. Specifically, in terms of democracy this is considered extremely important.

The initial theoretical idea of this interpretation was given by Alexis De Tocqueville in his book “Democracy in America” in 1835. Tocqueville’s opinion of civil society comes from the criticisms of democracy. In a democratic rule the opinion of the majority is given prominence to respect the will of the majority. However, Tocqueville points out that democracy disregards the opinions of the minority. Under this the liberty of the minority is fallen which is in other words a failure of the democratic system.

Tocqueville observed that the remedy for this criticism is having an active civil society. He pointed out that America has a system that does not exist in Europe. This is a system where citizens forming unions on religion, business, occupation, education, common good, etc. in order to represent their desire. Tocqueville pointed out that this entity shields the minority needs under a majority rule. Therefore, despite the government bearing a different opinion, citizens can solve problems through discussions instead of forcefully enforcing opinions on each other.

Tocqueville referred this American system as associated democracy or else united democracy. This system also emphasizes political activism of citizens. Therefore, according to Tocqueville, the civil society is a system where active citizens politically participate to be organized for their personal and common requirement external from the state.



Alexis De Tocqueville

### **Civil society as a space for democratic, social & political activities**

The concept of civil society was redefined in 1970s and 80s. Therefore, civil society was considered as an essential feature of political and social democracy. During the time 1920 to 1980 many political movements were born against totalitarian governments in Latin American, Eastern European and Asian countries. Due to the lack of organized political parties these movements were founded on labor unions, religious organizations, farmer's movements, cultural and art organizations, student unions, etc.

These organizations fulfilled the duty of political parties and the function of these organizations was known as the civil society.

### **Civil society as a space for social movements**

The term civil society is defined as social movement with citizen participation. Therefore, many citizen organizations are born for political goals in democratic as well as non-democratic countries.

E.g.: farmers' movements, youth movements, feminist movements, religious movements, racial movements, professional trade movements, environmental movements, human rights movements.

These citizen movements are different from political parties. However, they have clear goals and policies. The collection of these movements is known as the civil society.



### Why does Political Science have an interest in Civil Society?

- Civil society groups and movements engage in politics parallel and sometimes complementary to political parties.
- Civil society represents a political space which is outside and autonomous of the state and of political parties.
- Civil society offers new space and opportunities for the political participation of citizens, which are not fully available with political parties.
- An active civil society helps strengthen democracy.
- In political mobilization, civil society take up important public issues that are usually ignored by political parties.
- By mobilizing citizens on common issues, civil society movements empower citizens.

Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

## Comparative Politics

In comparative politics, political elements in the society are studied in a comparative perspective. Since many political scientists in the history have studied politics in this approach comparative politics was developed as a methodology in political science for a quite a long time.

Comparative politics became a part of mainstream political science, mostly in the post-world war era. This was initiated in American political science and later was established in global political science. American and European political scientists often used to study third world countries and socialist countries.

However comparative politics has a history that goes up to ancient Greece. Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle followed comparative politics to suggest better models of state. Also, Niccolò Machiavelli applied comparative politics to write his book “The Prince”.

Comparative politics was used to study different rulers, ruling methods etc. however in modern political science comparative politics is applied to study much more specific elements such as voter’s behaviors, religious influence, social systems, class differences, etc.

American political scientists specifically suggested a few areas to be studied in comparative politics;

1. Political behavior
2. Political culture
3. Political socialization

Following works (outcomes) are examples for studies based on comparative politics;

1. Patterns of Democracy by Arend Lijphart (1999)
2. The Third Wave by Samuel P. Huntington (1991)

The above-mentioned studies statistical data is studied comparatively which prevents any normative values.



### **Why does political science emphasize comparative politics?**

1. The possibility to compare your country with other country to understand pros and cons better. This is known as “cross nation comparison”.
2. In terms of knowledge, it is important to comprehend the political systems of several countries.
3. Comparative studies often result in common and general conclusions.

### **How does comparative methodology work?**

1. Political scientists can compare political elements of different countries. This is known as “cross nation comparison”.
2. It is also possible to study political elements of a single country through comparative politics. This is known as “within country comparison”.
3. Comparatively studying a specific theme on a global scale is known as “international comparison”.











## Unit 03 - The State

- Understanding the state
  - i. Pre-state and the natural society
  - ii. State and its functions
- The State as the central institutional expression of political power in society
  - i. Aristotelian and Weberian interpretations of the state
- Theoretical approaches to the nature of the state
  - i. Social contract theory
  - ii. Marxist theory
  - iii. Liberal theory
  - iv. Feminist theory
- Modern state
  - i. Modern territorial state
  - ii. Modern nation state
  - iii. Globalization and the nation state
- State Forms / Models and Classification
  - i. Tribal state
  - ii. Greek city state
  - iii. Monarchy
  - iv. Liberal democratic state
  - v. Socialist state
  - vi. Fascist state
  - vii. Colonial state
  - viii. Post-colonial state
  - ix. Neo-liberal state

- Political concepts relating to the state
  - i. State and sovereignty
  - ii. The state and its citizens
  - iii. State, Government and Regime
  - iv. What is a Regime?

Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

## Understanding the state

In basic terms the state can be defined as a social phenomenon that has evolved historically, this means as a social institution, state has taken different formats throughout history.

Therefore, the power, the connection between state and citizens, the expansion, etc. have been drastically changed from time to time. These changes have occurred due to historical conditions hence the evolution of state is significantly visible from tribal state to modern state.

In human civilization the state has become an extremely important organization as the political power is centralized within the state. From the birth till death every human is subjected to the function of the state.

According to Aristotle *“Only a God lives above the earth or an animal in the jungle could be capable of living outside the influence of the state”*

However, the state did not exist throughout human history. In fact, at one point, the state came into existence along with the civilization which is considered a landmark in human history. Therefore, human history can be divided into 2 main eras.

1. The society before the state
2. The society after the state

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## **Pre-state period**

### Thomas Hobbs on pre-state

In his famous book “Leviathan” Thomas Hobbs pointed out that, the society before the state was violent, uncivilized and indecent. According to Hobbs people in the early society entered into a social convention to form the state, to make the society a peaceful, civilized and decent place.

As a philosopher Thomas Hobbs appeared for power politics therefore, Hobbs believed that the ruler and the state should be supremely powerful.

The social contract concept of Thomas Hobbs presents the idea that the contract took place between people, and the ruler was a result of the contract. Hence the ruler is not bound to people and people are supposed to follow the ruler without questioning.

### John Locke on pre- state

Similar to Thomas Hobbs, John Locke also believed that the society before the state was violent, uncivilized and indecent. Also, John Locke believed that, people in the pre- state society entered into a social convention to make the society a better place. John Locke presented this idea in his book “Two treaties on the Civil Government.”

However, the social contract concept of John Locke differs from Thomas Hobbs, as John Locke believes that the social contract took place between the people and the ruler. Therefore, the ruler is a party of the convention not a result. Hence, the ruler is responsible to the people.

Since John Locke supported democracy, his idea of social convention also supported the idea of democracy. While John Locke attempted to improve the power of the parliament, John Locke attempted to restrict the power of the ruler.

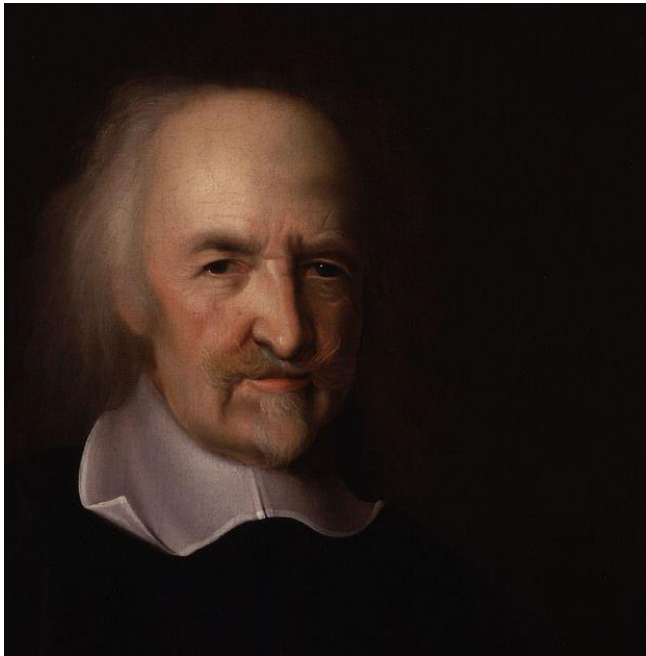


## Karl Marx on pre-state

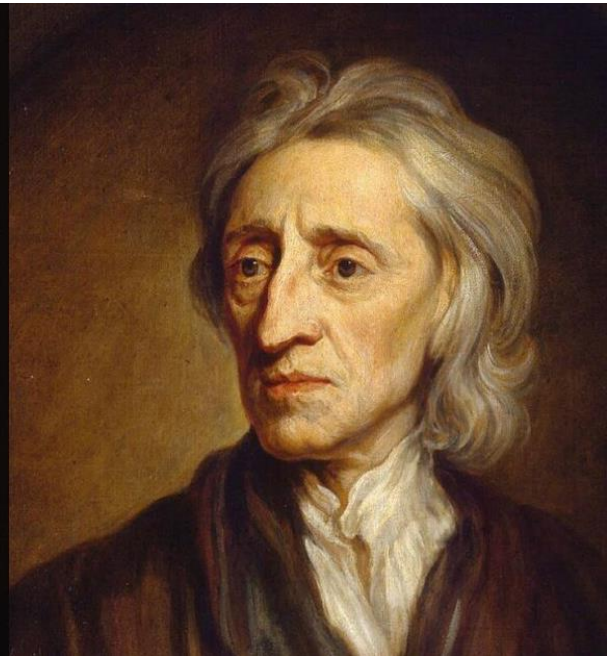
Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels developed the concept of ‘communism’. Under this concept Karl Marx divided the human society into 6 social eras. According to communism the earliest social era was the *primitive communist society* which was the pre-state society.

According to Karl Marx, the state was created by the dominating minority in the slave society in order to suppress the slave majority. Therefore, Marx believes that the state was created by the dominating class to fulfill their desires.

Under the communist view the society before the state was a fair, decent and a civilized system. The society after the state is an unfair system due to the class struggle.



Thomas Hobbes



John Locke

## **State and its functions**

Basically, the state can be defined as the sum total of the structures and institutions of political power that have been to rule over the society. Therefore, the traditional understanding of the state is constructed on three spheres of functions:

- 1) Legislative functions (passing laws)
- 2) Executive functions (deciding & implementing laws)
- 3) Judicial functions (administration of justice)

Although in practicality, functions of the state are much more advanced and complex than its basic definition. Therefore, the role state plays in a civilized human society are as follows:

### **1. The trusteeship over the law, social order & property**

- As the unique supreme authority in society the state has a trusteeship over the law, social order and property. This is basically the oldest function of the state which comes with the following responsibilities:
  - a. Ensuring law and order in order to establish social peace. (through the police and the armed forces are necessary)
  - b. Dispensation of justice, administration of judicial institution and punishment.
  - c. Making and interpreting the law.
  - d. Policy making and implementation.

### **2. Economic management and direction**

- The state has a main responsibility to handle the financial status of the country. Mainly two tasks come under this among many other responsibilities
  - a. Taxation
  - b. Directing the economic trajectories under economic plans.

### **3. Social contract, direction and management**

- The state is basically considered as the agent of social reforms. Therefore, the state has a responsibility to handle the society
  - a. Determination and management of the patterns of income and wealth distribution of the society.
  - b. Deciding standard of the economy and commerce.
  - c. Social welfare, social protection and other welfare measures such as poverty elevation.
  - d. Creating public policies on health housing, education, transport and other similar social domains.

### **4. Maintenance of law and order**

- The state has a responsibility to maintain law and order, and create a safe society within its boundaries. In order to achieve this feat, the state has the authority, institution, resources and persons to actively take steps. The police forces and the judiciary are institutions that act as tools of the state to maintain law and order.

### **5. Declaration of war and peace**

- This responsibility is solely handled by the state. The state has to get engaged in internal as well as external wars. Internal wars are necessary for the state to ensure the security of the state from internal threats. External wars occur in instances when the security of the state is threatened by external enemies.

## The state as the central institutional expression of political power in society

The most unique feature of human civilization is the fact that, the humans organizing themselves into communities in order to achieve things that cannot be achieved individually. Therefore, humans collectively try to achieve cultural, religious, economic, political goals by forming organizations. The political organization humans have collectively formed is the “state”. This organization is superior to all other communities, this is the basis for Aristotle’s statement that “the state is a human association, yet it is superior to all other association”

In political science the statement that “*the state is the highest human community*” has two definitions, traditionally and in modern times:

1. Aristotelian definition
2. Weberian definition

1. Aristotelian definition

In his book “Politics” Aristotle has emphasized the concept of state as a human association. However, it is also considered as the highest human association since its purpose is the betterment of the entire society. Other associations simply look into the welfare of their members.

2. Weberian definition

Max Weber was a German social theorist of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He was also the founder of modern western sociology. In his lecture “**Politics as a vocation**” which was delivered in 1914, the state was defined as the following.

**“The state is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within a given territory”**

In Weber’s definition the special feature of the state is compared with other political entities in society. Therefore, Weber emphasizes on the monopolistic right to use legitimate violence.

This shows that the Weberian definition is mostly focused on the power of the state rather than the format of the state. Hence, Weber’s definition is a power-based interpretation. Specially Weber’s vision emphasizes on the legal right the state has to use violence legitimately as the source of state.

Even in Marxism legitimate use of violence is identified as the source of the state. Therefore, the Weberian definition is somewhat parallel to Marxism.

Although, Weber is not a Marxist, he expected to develop alternative options for Marxism. Marx and Weber both mutually agree on the idea that, the state is an institute of force. However, Weber believed that citizens should obey the state authority while Marx believed that citizens should not.

As far as both Aristotelian and Weberian definitions are concerned, state has a wide authority within its territory. State has the final power to direct people, control people, discipline people and to punish people. The powers, authority, regulations, organizations and people to implement this process are possessed by the state.

Weber points out, the state is invested with a unique and supreme set of institutions such as the executive, judiciary, the parliament, the forces, the police, the administration, the prisons etc. This structure is unique and supreme which generates an authority known as **sovereignty**, due to sovereign power the state can make decisions within its territory without any internal or external influence. This power is only given to the institute of state. Other organization receive a limited power under the authority of the state.

Therefore, Weber's definition on the state explains the state is an authoritative organization that uses force and violence legitimately.

The next question regarding the state and its power is the reason behind citizens following the authority of the state. According to Weber there are 3 internal justifications as factors to provide legitimacy to the force of the state:

- 1) Traditional authority
- 2) Idealistic authority
- 3) Legal authority

- Traditional authority: It is the basic idea of the state being more powerful and supreme since ancient times, since the beginning of human civilization people have been treating state as a supreme authority where it has become a political tradition in the modern society.
- Idealistic authority: It is the basic idea of the state being treated as a superior figure in the mindset of citizens.
- Legal authority: It is basically the sovereign power a state has, being the origin of the legal system.

## **Theoretical approaches to the nature of the state**

### Social Contract Theory

The social contract theory emerged as a replacement for the divine theory which suggested that the state was a creation of God during the feudal state. Once feudalism came to an end, the concept of social contract was suggested by several political scientists.

After feudalism the Aristocratic classes attempted to replace the Aristocratic rulers with the rich class. With this idea of the state being a creation of God was denied and it was accepted that the state was an entity created by humans. The basic fundamental of this idea was that the state is a product of an agreement made by human beings organized in the society.

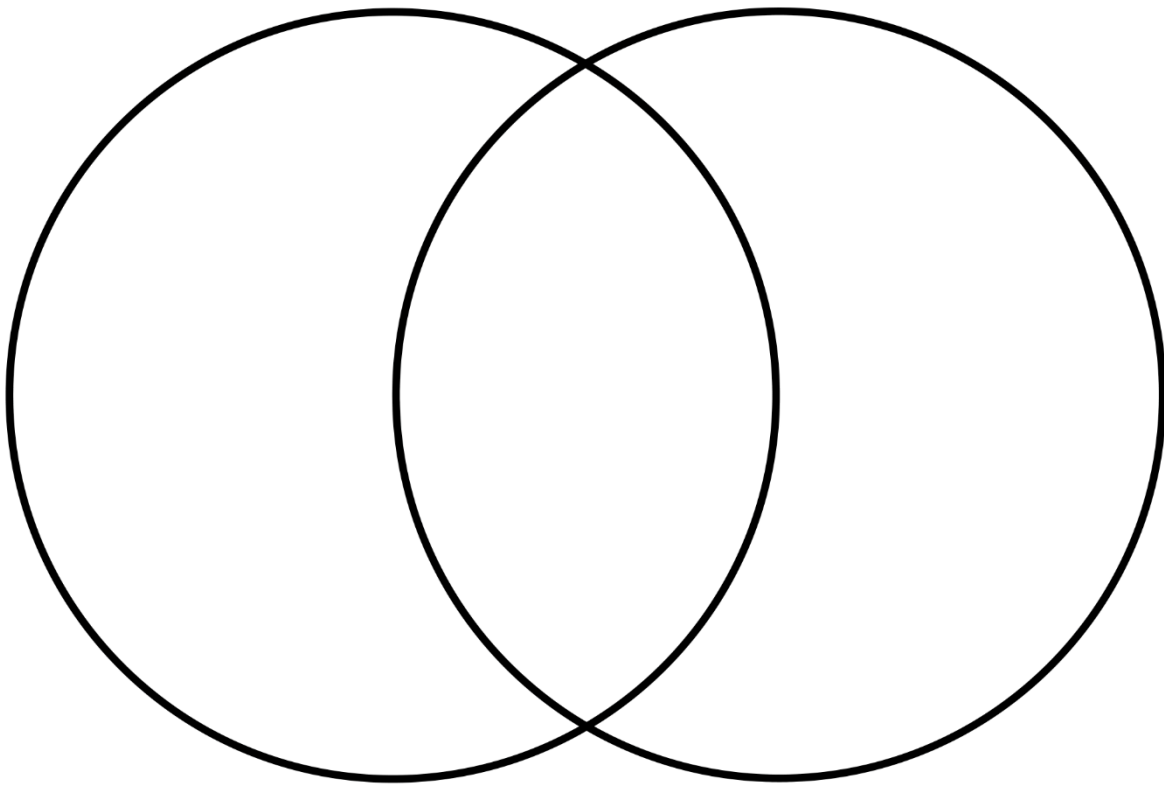
Thomas Hobbs, John Locke, Immanuel Kant and Jean Jacques Rousseau are considered as the pioneers of social contract theory. Although these theorists had different interpretations of the theory.

According to Thomas Hobbs, the social contract theory makes the ruler more powerful. In his book '**Leviathan**' in 1652 Hobbs suggested that the social contract took place between people hence the ruler is a result of the contract and not a party. Hence, the citizens are bound to follow the ruler without questioning. Hobbs basically intended to make the king more powerful during the power struggle between the king and the parliament (civil war period)

However, John Locke supported the other camp in this struggle. Locke represented the interests of the new merchant capitalistic class that was looking for political power. Therefore, his version of the social contract theory suggested that the contract was between citizens and the ruler, hence the ruler is a party of the contract. Therefore, the ruler is bound to be responsible towards citizens. Also, it should be mentioned that Locke's view founded the modern concept of liberal democracy.

Rousseau who lived in France during the era of French revolution was also against the idea of monarchy and supported the idea of popular sovereignty. Therefore, his idea of social contract theory is the foundation of sovereignty of the people.

Despite all these different interpretations the social contract theory has a common fundamental idea of the state being a political entity created by humans on a common agreement. This mutual agreement creates an organized political society in order to avoid anarchy.



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## Marxist Theory

Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels founded the theory of Marxism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which redefined concepts in political science in a whole new perspective the state to be a man- made concept rather than a natural concept. However, Marxism provides a completely different origin story for the birth of state.

Marx points out that the state is a result of class struggle and they identify state as a class instruments used by the dominating minority. Briefly the Marxist idea of origin of the state can be summarized as follows:

- a. In the beginning of human existence, a classless equal society existed hence this was a classless and stateless phase of human history. This is commonly known as “*primitive communist society*”
- b. With the development of equipment and techniques, humans started to cultivate and hunt in bigger quantities which resulted in a remainder of food and resources. This eventually created a private property-owning system which resulted in a class division.
- c. Due to this division the upper class and the lower class of the society created a class conflict due to their conflicting economic interests.
- d. The dominating minority creates the instrument of state in order to suppress the lower class as a result of this conflict. After the beginning of the state the dominating minority has continued to use this instrument of state throughout different phases of human history.

Marxism further provides that this system should be changed through a social revolution. The Marxist theory also says that it is the historical task of the working class to abolish the capitalist state.

The first stage of this process is the overthrow of the capitalist class from power by capturing the capitalist state. This event is called in the Marxist theory as the “working class revolution”. The communist party was supposed to provide leadership to the working class in the revolution.

Socialism is the stage of historical development after capitalism, which the Marxist theory predicted. Under socialism the state was called as the “*socialist state*”, Socialists believe that the socialist state should not be the one like the liberal democratic state. It should not allow the capitalist and exploiting class to politically organize themselves. Only the communist party of the working class can exist under socialism. Thus, the socialist state in Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been “*one party states*”. The socialist state has thus been described by the socialists themselves as “a dictatorship of the Proletariat”

Marxism further provides that; the socialist era should be the final stage of the state that exists. After socialism, the instrument of state fades away as the need for such instrument is no more. This is known as “*withering away of the state*”. However, in practical politics the withering away concept has not achieved success. The closest it has gone was the Soviet Union, which eventually collapsed in 1980’s.



Statues of Lenin being removed after the collapse of the Soviet Union

## Liberal theory

The liberal political theory was born following the fall of feudalism. Liberalism was established alongside capitalism.

The concept of individual freedom was further elaborated by the works of 'John Locke' and 'Immanuel Kant' to create the theory of liberalism. Other than this the contributions of Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, James Mill and Adam Smith also strengthened the development of liberalism.

Briefly the development of liberalism can be summarized as follows:

1. Initially John Locke emphasized the importance of individual freedom, which established a contracted obligation for the state to protect the life, liberty, private property of systems.
2. Immanuel Kant continued with the social contract theory and developed a sophisticated idea of individual autonomy. This was a further development of Locke's idea.
3. Montesquieu took this further by limiting the power of the government through the concept of separation of powers.
4. Jerome Bentham was the first liberal thinker to bring the role of the government to the modern liberal theory of the state. This was due to social issues and mass poverty caused by classic liberalism. Bentham suggested the welfare state and utilitarianism for social welfare as the role of the state.

Therefore, we can see that the concept of liberalism has evolved through many stages in history.

These stages can be categorized as follows:

**a. Classic Liberal**

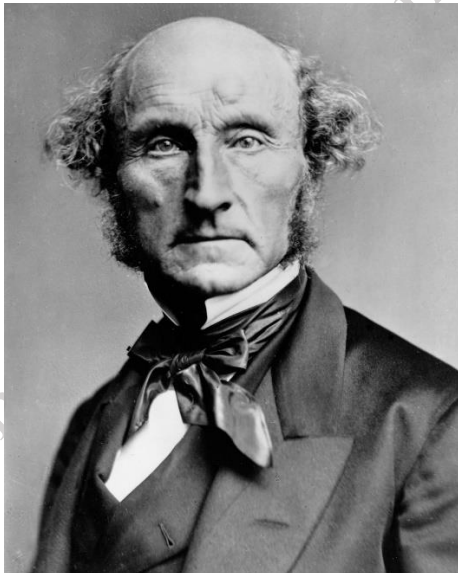
- This meant the state should protect and promote individual freedom. The state and government were separated during this period and the state merely protected law & order and did not do anything beyond that.

**b. Modern Liberal**

- This is also known as post classical, new liberal or at times welfare state. This period focused on government intervention to ensure social welfarism. (The contributions of T.H. Green and Leonard Hobhouse are important in this.)

**c. Neo Liberal**

- This emerged during 1980's following the failure of the welfare state. This basically was a return to free market capitalism with limited government. This was commonly known as "*minimalist state*"



John Stewart Mill



James Mill

## Feminist theory

The feminist political theory does not have its own theory of the state. It is more of a theory of power, that can be applied to state.

Gender is a core theoretical category of feminism. The term gender is not limited to biological differences but rather socially constructed as differences between men and women. Feminism strongly criticizes and rejects gendering human relations on the basis of biological differences in sex.

It further criticizes romanticization of male and female biological differences as it leads to ideologies and structures of male supremacy over women.

Thus, the concept of gender is a socially constructed system of unequal power relations between men and women. On this basis male authority and dominance is secured and women are marginalized and oppressed. According to feminists, patriarchy is the key social institution that reproduces gender-based inequalities and oppression.

As a theory feminism is not united with its followers and it has many groups in different streams. Liberal, radical and communist can be considered as the three main feminist schools.

Due to the absence of a specific feminist theory of the state, the approach of the feminists to the state has to be identified either with Liberalism or Marxism.

The Marxist feminists as well as liberal feminists both believe that the state is an instrument of male domination and that it is essentially an embodiment of patriarchy.

The key difference between these two is that, Marxist feminists see patriarchy as linked to capitalism and argue for the abolishment of capitalism for the emancipation of women. In contrast liberal feminists argue for reforming the patriarchy through legal and policy reform.

The feminist movement throughout the world have also emerged as major, social and political movements in the contemporary world. However, it has suffered and continues to suffer from lacking unity as a movement and also from heavy criticisms.

Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

## **Modern State**

### **Modern territorial state**

The state has been evolved from time to time and currently it exists in the format of national state.

The political circumstances in Europe after the 14<sup>th</sup> century created the foundation for the establishment of the national state. Every national state is developed on four main elements:

- a. Defined territory**
- b. Nation hood**
- c. Government**
- d. Sovereignty**

### **Defined territory**

This is considered as the physical element of a state. The defined territory of a national state includes three elements:

1. Land area inside the territory
2. Sea area around the land
3. The air space above the land and sea

The term defined territory refers to the fact that the, territory of a state should be accepted and respected by other states and international law. In the beginning of the national state, these territories were quite flexible, while in the modern national states, states are much stricter and more serious on their borders.

## **Nationhood**

Another important element for the completion of a national state is the nationhood. The nationhood is the visionary element of a state. The modern state is developed on the concept of “**one nation one country**” therefore, despite the racial and ethnic differences all the citizens who are members of a state are considered as one nation that shares a common identity.

Ex: Before modern state, the state existed in the format of feudalist state. During this time the power was handled by the Aristocrats and the society was divided into many layers on religious, racial and ethnic differences. With the beginning of the national state these domestic political communities were fallen, and the power was centralized, hence, ethnic divisions were overruled by nationality.

## **Government**

The government is the political element of a state that represents the political foundation of a state. The government is the institutional process that implements the power of the state, in other words the government is the practical hand of the state. Therefore, the state cannot fulfill its functions without a government hence, it can also be explained as the **state as the master** and the **government as the servant.**

The citizens within the state territory are properly controlled by the government, this means the lack of a government can create anarchy and chaos. Each government is consisted of three institutions:

1. Executive
2. Legislative
3. Judiciary

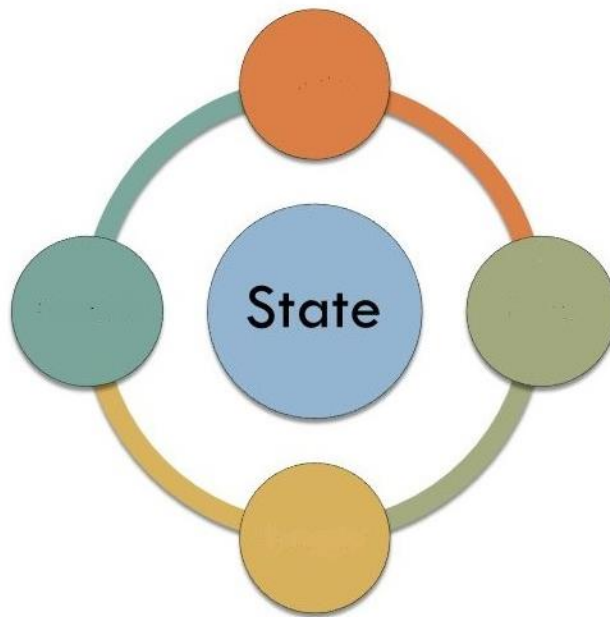


Although every government is structurally similar to the above-mentioned format, in terms of powers and the theories they are associated with; different governments can be different in nature:

- I. Democratic governments
- II. Dictatorship governments
- III. Authoritative governments
- IV. Socialist governments
- V. Monarchial governments
- VI. Parliamentary governments
- VII. Presidential governments
- VIII. Mixed executive governments

### **Sovereignty**

Sovereignty basically means, the supreme and unique power and authority that is possessed by the state. Due to this power, the state can use force and violence legitimately in order to control their citizens as well as to punish them. This element makes the state a unique organization.



## Foundation of the Modern Nation state

The most recent development of the state is the modern nation state, which accepts the state to be a unit based on the concept of “one nation one country”

The origin of national state can be found in Europe. Although the birth of national state can be traced to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the foundation for a national state was developed a few centuries prior to this time.

The Aristocratic state system that existed in Europe during the feudalist state was founded on Agriculture. Specially the economy was based on agricultural production on land. In such a system as such, the ownership of the land becomes an extremely important economical factor. Main features of this system are as follows:

- The economical process being dependent on economical production on land.
- The ownership of land being centralized among a few owners.
- The cultivation being done by peasants and the farmers lacking any ownership to the cultivated lands.
- The farmers being allowed to live in lands. (no rights were allowed, only possession)
- Nearly 75% of the production being owned by the owner.
- The land owner having so much power over the farmers, including conflict management.
- Small land owners paying taxes to larger land owners, the larger land owners paying taxes to the divisional ruler, and the divisional ruler paying taxes to the king.
- The political power being de-centralized and in-organized as a system. Since, there were so many sources of political power, such as: the king, divisional kings, and the Aristocrats.

The political power was not properly centralized to a solitary source.

- The loyalty of divisional Monarchs and Aristocrats was not consistent as at times these leaders tend to go against the king therefore, most of the time, the rule of the king itself depended on the stance of the divisional monarchs.
- The king and the peasants had a politically distanced relationship as the peasants were generally ruled by divisional monarchs.
- Borders and territories of the state being flexible due to the in-organized political system.
- The concept of citizenship had different application in this era as being a citizen basically meant being under the rule of the state.

Therefore, the idea of being a citizen was drastically different than the Greek and Roman era.

These above-mentioned features are related to the European feudalist state. However, similar features could be seen in other areas of the world as well. This shows the fact that, feudalism and Aristocracy were not limited to Europe.

Additionally, during the feudalist times Europe experienced a religious extremism as well. The power and influence of the catholic church and the pope had increased the religious influence over politics. In fact, in some situations the Pope possessed a larger political power than Monarchs.

However, by the 15<sup>th</sup> century the feudalist state started to politically decay due to many reasons. Following the feudalist state an authoritative state was born. Which was a state in between feudalism and nation state.

### Authoritative state

The authoritative system of state was initiated roughly during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This system basically created a supremely powerful monarchist system.

Although the feudalist state was based on an aristocratic economic system, during the feudalist era itself a new economic system was developed with the rise of capitalism. With the rise of heliocentric theory and the Copernican revolution, many new geographical discoveries were made. As a result, European nations reached other continents on the globe. Which eventually founded an economic system which was based on money.

This capitalistic economy required a centralized political system instead of unorganized feudalist system. Therefore, capitalism required a political system based on a solitary law and a solitary rule. As a result, monarchs took the support of the capitalistic business class to overrule divisional kings and to develop a united centralized state. These states had:

- a. A solitary taxation system
- b. A unitary administrative system
- c. A unitary process to sustain law and order
- d. A standard and armed army

Under this system a solitary king single handedly ruled an extremely large territory within the borders. The power of the king could not be challenged by any other entity therefore, this form of state was basically a monarchy, hence concepts such as liberty, equality and fraternity were not protected. Other than the political power being centralized and the rule of the king, no politically bold move took place in this era.

As a result, people in this system of state went up to the extent of initiating revolutions against supremely powerful monarchs. For example,

- 1789 French revolution
- 1688-89 English revolution
- 1775-83 American revolution

As a result of these public uprisings, the authoritative monarchical state was changed into a modern national state. In terms of power centralization and structure, the modern national state and the authoritative monarchical state were quite similar but the nation state was much more liberal and democratic, which suited the capitalistic economic theory.



French revolution



English Revolution



American Revolution

## Modern Nation State

Following a set of public uprisings and revolutions, the modern nation state was established. This format of state is developed on the concept that “one nation one country” therefore, a state system where many different ethnic groups live within specific territories, in a specific land that has a centralized authority power which is chosen by the people is the nation state system.

Therefore, the nation state is a plural state where citizens to share a common identity despite their ethnic differences:

Ex:

Within certain territories the land of India is considered to be a nation state therefore, every member of this state shares the citizenship of India despite being belonged to different ethnic groups such as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Punjabi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu etc.

Currently the world functions under this nation state system.

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## Globalization and the state

The capitalistic economic system which was originated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century has been developed gradually for centuries. The birth of nation state was the most prominent political reason behind the establishment of capitalism. However, the birth of communism and the Russian revolution in 1917 posed a large threat on capitalism as many countries embraced communism over capitalism.

Capitalism was basically based on three economic concepts:

1. Private property system
2. Free entrepreneurship
3. Open market

Under this system, many multinational companies were born. They mainly targeted global economic dominance. However, the existence of the Soviet Union and their allies was a major obstacle for multinational companies.

Communist countries which nearly covered 1/6 of the globe closed their territories to capitalistic countries and multinational companies, in order to prevent their money from being taken.

Due to this socialist state system, the capitalistic economy could not cover the entire world, throughout the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. However, by 1980's following the fall of the Soviet Union, socialist countries embraced the capitalistic theory, Therefore, democracy, liberalism and capitalism received a new space to be established on a global scale. This process was known as “**globalization**”. In addition to this, the political background, the development and advancement of tele-communication also aided the globalization process.

Under globalization, all the states and their processes are interconnected, which has created a globalized state system. Therefore, the action of a state could have a direct impact on another state despite the distance.

Ex:

- 1) The conflict between North and South Korea has a direct impact on the Sri Lankan economy as Sri Lanka receives a large number of foreign profits from the Sri Lankan workers employed in South Korea.
- 2) A war in the central American region could have a direct impact on the American economy as a large number of U.S shipments take the route through the Panama canal.
- 3) The project to connect Sri Lanka and India through a bridge could be beneficial to the U.S economy as U.S products can reach Indian market through Sri Lanka.

Following main features can be seen in Globalization:

- a. The capital being globally positioned.
- b. The capitalistic economic system expanding on a global scale.
- c. The world market being globally expanded.
- d. The modern technology being globally expanded.
- e. The labor being transactive on a global scale.

Based on the above-mentioned facts, the production companies in capitalistic countries established a global scale. As a result, the economies of countries that were isolated eventually became stake holders of a global economy. The rapid development of tele-communication and transportation further supported this situation, as it created a globalized village.



Therefore, states became much closer to each other, and the world became a smaller place. In this global village, capitalism became the common economic foundation. This rapid development was visible and experienced by individuals, societies and states.

Globalization is a vast topic, that is connected to so many areas. In terms of politics, globalization was rapidly influential due to the rise of capitalism. By 1970's the modern liberal welfare state system suffered a setback and the neo-liberal minimal state concept was applied.

Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

## Neo-Liberalism

Liberalism is the political take of capitalistic economy, in other words any country that follows capitalism inevitably, has to follow the liberal political theory. Initially Liberalism was originated in Northern America and Europe. With time Liberalism has evolve into three different eras.

1. Classic Liberalism
2. Modern Liberalism
3. Neo-Liberalism

In the classic era, the state was a Laissez-faire state. In the modern era, it was a welfare state. While in the neo-liberal era, the state acted as a management figure.

Therefore, it can be seen that, as neo-liberalism is the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter of liberalism, this was the alternative option after the failure of modern liberalism. The intellectual contribution for neo-liberalism was in fact given by the Austrian economist "**Friedrich Hayek**" and American economist "**Milton Friedman**".

At the initial stage of liberalism, the state simply protected law and order and restrained from any other activity. During the modern liberal era, the state actively got engaged in welfare services to ensure the best possible life for their citizens.

In order to find the capital to handle such activities, the state had to tax certain layers of the society as well as to get involved in the market economy to find revenue. However, the market involvement of the state was unsuccessful hence, state institutes started to suffer losses.

The neo-liberal state suggested a system here the state played a role in between classic and modern states. Therefore, main features are as follows:

- A. The state distancing itself from the economy, which means that the state should not act as an investor nor as an entrepreneur.
- B. The state does not get involved in controlling. Therefore, the neo-liberal allows the market to be controlled naturally and does not take steps such as controlling the imports and exports plaining the economy.
- C. Limitation of social welfare. Neo-liberal state believes that, welfare services are an additional cost. Hence, this should not either be limited or stopped.
- D. Restricting power of trade unions.
- E. Releasing the economy to achieve the maximum possible development.
- F. Minimizing the public sector. This is done in order to limit the expenses of the government as well as to maximize economic development.

The above-mentioned policies clearly show that neo-liberalism expected to release the market similar to classic liberalism. This theory was initially adopted by the **U.S President “Ronald Reagan”** and **British Prime Minister “Margret Thatcher”**. Therefore, the developed capitalistic countries started to follow neo-liberalism as that theory was much more convenient for capitalism to move ahead.



Milton Friedman



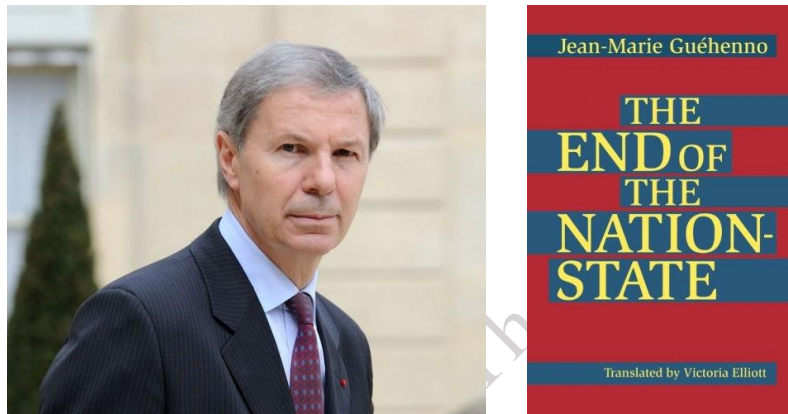
Friedrich Hayek



Ronald Reagan & Margret Thatcher

## The End of the Nation State

When defining the impact globalization on the national state, a group of political scientists believe that, the nation is coming to an end within globalization. One of the pioneers of this theory is the French political scientist “*Jean-Marie Guéhenno*”. His book “The end of nation state” suggests this idea.



Jean-Marie Guéhenno and his book.

The concept of nation state is based on the idea that, each country and each nation have a separate state. Each nation state, is based on four elements as territory, nationhood, sovereignty and government. Therefore, a national state constantly emphasizes on territorial boundaries. However, in the modern age these territorial restrictions are not influential due to many reasons. Also, entities such as information, technology, human organizations and capital are globally expanded without the application of boundaries. Therefore, according to Jean-Marie Guéhenno globalism is a direct attack on the foundation of the nation state. Hence, the nation state has lost its basis. According to the traditional interpretation of the nation state the members are bound together with a common identity and common desire. **(nationhood)** As Guéhenno points out that, people in the modern world are rather bound together more strongly by non-political reasons.

For example, social media platforms unite people despite geographical borders. Therefore, it can be seen that in the modern context the concept of nation is not important to keep citizens united.

People are mostly attached with technological and economic factors than territories of the state. These modern challenges haven't been handled well by the nation state as most of the modern national states have lost their influence within globalization.

Sovereignty which is one of the main elements of a state has become quite inapplicable in most of the situations therefore, the world is currently heading towards one world state.

This can be seen in two areas:

1. Global economy

- In the modern world the economic system seems to be centralized around a global source. The production, distribution, transferences and financial transaction take place in a global scale. The independent states are incapable of making financial decisions alone. Therefore, the economical factor has gone out of the authority of the sovereign state.

2. Global politics

- Since the global economy has been a system beyond sovereign states the political decision-making process has also become a task beyond the sovereign state. In the global political system, most of the important decisions are made by bigger and powerful states and powerful international organizations. Therefore, the global political system has also evolved into a larger system beyond sovereign states.

## The Nation State Adjusting into Globalization

As mentioned before a group of political scientists points out that, globalization ends nation state. However, another group of political scientists provides a different interpretation by mentioning that the state in fact gets adjusted to globalization.

According to this group globalization is not an external process that challenges the nation state, instead a process handled by the sovereign state itself, this means Although information, technology, capital etc. none of these entities can function without the state.

Therefore, this group emphasizes the supremacy of the sovereign state and points out that elements of globalization cannot exist outside of the state territory independently. Marxists also seem to have a similar approach to address globalization as Marxists believed that, capital and the state are pretty much the same inter-connected unit rather than two separated entities.

### Timeline of the state

## **State Forms / Models and Classification**

The concept of state has been developed and evolved throughout the human civilization. Therefore, the state has existed in many forms and models throughout the history. These models were traditionally classified into five:

1. Greek city state
2. Roman empire
3. Feudalist state
4. Modern authoritative state
5. Modern nation state

However, in modern context, considering the historical development of the concept as well as the different formats adapted by different countries that state forms can be classified into many:

- 1) Tribal state
- 2) Greek city state
- 3) Monarchy
- 4) Liberal democratic state
- 5) Socialist state
- 6) Fascist state
- 7) Colonial state
- 8) Post-colonial state
- 9) Neo-liberal state

### 1) Tribal state

The tribal state is a state form that existed during the earliest stages of human civilization as a primitive political unit.

The most primitive organization in the society is the family. (A collection of individuals forms a family; a collection of families forms a tribe.) During the early periods of human civilization, each tribe had a territory where the authority was applied. However, these tribal states did not have a specific governmental format.

During this era stronger tribes invaded weaker tribes to develop tribal kingdoms, however despite lacking a common format each tribal state had a few of common features:

- a. Each tribe being controlled by a leader.
- b. Political power not being centralized.
- c. Leaders taking collective decisions which was later developed into tribal councils.  
Ex: "*Lichhvi*" council in India.
- d. Tribal leaders mostly being warriors. This was mostly due to the fact that tribes often fought for resources and religious grounds.
- e. Political practices being based on traditions and rituals.
- f. Governance being deviated between authoritative and non-authoritative governance, depending on the leader.

All through the tribal state is considered as a form of state it is not considered as a politically conscious state format.



## 2) Greek city states

This was the first politically conscious state form to exist. Following the tribal state, the Greeks gradually developed a politically organized state format based on each city.

A city is basically an organized set of citizens within a small geographical unit. Greek city states were based on this foundation. Therefore, these states had specific territories unlike the tribal state.

In ancient Greece a huge number of city states existed:

Ex:

- Athens
- Sparta
- Troy
- Thebes etc.

The main features of Greek city states are as follows,

1) Since, a specific population lives in a specific land with a political identity Greek city states can be identified as a territorial state.

2) The society with a class division, therefore the Greek society consisted of two classes as citizens and non- citizens.

(Citizenship was awarded by bloodline, therefore only Aristocrats received citizenship which was a small percentage from the entire population. Citizenship was not awarded to women, slaves, immigrants, merchants and other lower-class people.)

3) All political rights were limited to citizens. Therefore, people who did not have citizenship rights could not take part in politics or decision making by any means.

- 4) The political system being based on direct democracy therefore, citizens gathered within a specific place of the city to make political decisions. These were known as “**citizen councils**” which directly fulfilled the duties of legislature, executive and judiciary.
- 5) The day-to-day life of a citizen was divided into two fields as personal and public. Public meant the connection between citizen and state. Personal meant the connection between the citizen and his family.

Different city states followed different political formats in governance. Therefore, single ruling systems, republican systems, totalitarian systems, autocratic systems etc. existed in different states.

Aristotle studied the political format of 158 Greek city states to write his book “*politics*”

This system existed in ancient Greece during the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century. The Greek city state system later collapsed after suffering from many conflicts, due to various reasons:

- a. The rapid expansion of population
- b. The class struggle between the upper and lower class
- c. The wars between city states
- d. Foreign invasions
- e. Power struggle between citizens

As a result of these reasons, Greek city states were eventually toppled. Specially the internal collapse of city states exposed them to external threats hence, the era of city states came to an end with the rise of Roman and Macedonian empires. However, in terms of political science Greek city state are extremely important since this founded the politically conscious format of the state and seeded many important modern political concepts which as “**democracy**” and “**republicanism**”.

### 3) Monarchial state

This format existed for an extremely long period in human history. This is recognized as a pre-modern state which existed in many societies in the world. When human histories analyzed, monarchies can commonly be seen in eastern civilization as well as western civilization. Even in Europe, monarchies existed as the authoritative state prior to modern nation state.

A monarchy can be defined as a political system handled by a solitary person, chosen based on the bloodline. Therefore, a king or a queen received the political power from traditions the divine theory of the state supported the monarchial system as it suggested that the state was a creation of God and the monarch was given power by God. Hence, monarchial systems exhibit the features of a divine theory state. Under this, the Monarch receives an autocratic rule hence in the monarchial state rulers were essentially orders of the monarch.

Within monarchial systems the political institutes displayed an extremely lower level of development executive, legislative and judicial all powers were centralized at the king or the queen.

In this system the concept of citizen did not exist as people were more commonly identified as the ruled therefore, unlike democratic governance people did not receive political, economic and social rights instead they received duties.

#### 4) Liberal democratic state

Liberalism is one of the mainstream political concepts that exists in the modern world. This concept was originated in North America and central Europe during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Basically, liberal democracy is the political face of the capitalistic economic theory.

The main fundamental of liberalism is individual freedom. This means the main idea of liberalism is to create personal freedom in order to create social betterment. According to liberalism, since the society is consisted of persons, social and personal betterment can properly be achieved when individual freedom is established in economic, social, cultural and political areas.

Liberalism expected the state to restrain from economic involvements. This was the main foundation of liberalists in the classic era. The state made some economic involvements during the modern era, however neo era brought certain limitations again.

In simplest terms, 'democracy is people governing people', hence democracy is a ruling method.

When liberalism and democracy are combined it is basically a combination of the capitalistic economy and popular sovereignty. Therefore, liberal democracy can be defined as a system with a **capitalistic free market economy** and a **political system with representative governance** and **popular sovereignty**.

In terms of the political nature of a liberal democratic state, the most important element of democracy is "public representation". This means that the government of a liberal democratic country should consist of representatives chosen by the general public. The main feature of a liberal democratic country as follows:

- a) Individual freedom
- b) Equality
- c) Prioritizing the majority will
- d) Popular sovereignty
- e) Constitutionalism
- f) Rule of law
- g) Independence of the judiciary
- h) Responsible governance
- i) Free and fair elections
- j) Competitive political party system

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## 5) Socialist state

Socialism was suggested as an alternative option for capitalistic and liberalist systems. Although the idea of socialism has existed in the world for a long time. This was politically organized by **Karl Marx** with his concept of communism (Marxism). This was developed as a political concept during the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the books “**Das Capital**” & “**Communist Manifesto**” by Karl Marx. However, this was developed as a form of state in the 20<sup>th</sup> century following the Russian revolution and the formation of the Soviet Union.

Marxists identify several stages of social evolution. They are:

1. Primitive communist society
2. Slave society
3. Feudalist society
4. Capitalistic society
5. Socialist society
6. Advanced communist society

Therefore, the socialist state exists between capitalistic society and advanced communist society.

Socialist state is established after the fall of the capitalistic state. The capitalistic system is toppled by the labor class through an organized revolution. The main motive of a socialist state is to create a system where the economy, politics and society are managed to achieve a classless equality.

Main features of a socialist system are;

- ❖ The poor class of the society becoming the owners of the state power
- ❖ The foundation of the political system is the dominance of poor instead of liberal democracy

- ❖ The state has dedicated themselves to assure quality in standards for every citizen in basic requirements such as education, housing employment, health etc.
- ❖ The economic equality being valued over political freedom therefore, the freedom to have a political opinion or to criticize the government is compromised to assure equal economic privileges to everyone. This means the socialist state prioritizes economic equality over political rights.
- ❖ Private entrepreneur is not allowed as the state controls every wing of the government including production, distribution, exchange etc.
- ❖ Since having different political opinions is not allowed a competitive political party does not exist. A socialist system one party system which is the communist party of the country.
- ❖ Although state exists in a socialist system the socialists do not recognize the state as an essential political organization. According to the socialists the state is an instrument created by the rich class to suppress the poor majority. As socialists believed the state was created as a result of the class struggle, therefore the poor class uses the instrument of state, to attack class struggle itself. Hence once an equal society is formed the necessity for a state is no more and the political institute of state is faded. (withering away of the state.)

The socialist state system that is based on these fundamentals was applied and attempted by countries such as Russia, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, North Korea etc. However, following the fall of the Soviet Union, the socialist theory was heavily criticized. And currently, socialism is hardly considered as an alternative option for liberal democracy, instead it is mostly considered as a unique political concept itself.

## 6) Fascist state

The concept of fascism mainly supports the concepts of a dictator; therefore, the fascist theory creates a power centralized rule with an autocratic or totalitarian government. **Benito Mussolini** is considered as the father of fascism and **Adolf Hitler** is also important as a fascist leader.

In basic political terminology, the term fascism is generally used to define dictatorship governments. Although it should be noted that, not every dictatorship is fascism, as fascism has its own unique features.

In another way of definition fascism is an abnormal development of a capitalistic system. Which means the rich class chooses fascism when it is not possible to continue capitalism inside democracy. Features of a fascist state are as follows:

- i. Considering state as a supreme all mighty organization. Therefore, no other power can go above or parallel to the state.
- ii. In addition to the supremacy of the state, the supremacy of the nation is also emphasized. Therefore, Hitler points out that the state is the reflection of the nation.
- iii. State is considered not as a social organization rather an organization above the society
- iv. Fascism does not provide an organized or detailed explanation for the origin, existence, future of the state.
- v. Fascism gives complete prominence to state therefore, the individual and the society are considered less important and meaningless. According to fascism the task of the society and the individual is to support and contribute to the development of the state



- vi. The leadership of the country is considered to be a divine figure in a fascist system; therefore, the citizens embrace their leader as a figure of intelligence, philanthropy, bravery, patriotism, etc. Fascism points out that the citizens should obey and worship such a great leader. Also, the media of a fascist country often uses propaganda to promote the character of the leader.
- vii. Citizens do not have the right to be organized inside a fascist system, hence formation of new political parties is not allowed in a fascist state. Fascism functions with a one-party system, for example during Mussolini's reign, Italy only had the fascist party, while during Hitler's period Germany only had the Nazi party.
- viii. Fascism rejects the political participation of citizens. Therefore, the state is controlled on the discretion of the leader. This means that people are not allowed to take part in governance through elections or political expressions by any means.
- ix. The fascist state is based on force, under this system a fascist society is heavily militarized, in other words fascism considers peace as a dream of cowards and believes in the policy of blood and iron. Therefore, peace and reconciliation are not considered as an option by fascists was and violence
- x. Fascism has an invasive foreign policy where fascist countries invade other countries with the intention of building an empire. Therefore, fascism applies violence within as well as outside the state to maintain the fascist system. Groups with different political views are openly suppressed in a fascist system.
- xi. The fascist state is often associated with racism as they believe in the concept of a pure supreme race, for example Hitler ran a mass Jew execution during his fascist reign.
- xii. Fascism believes in inequality.

## 7) Colonial state

By the 15<sup>th</sup> century European nations started to geographically be interested in other continents of the world. Due to Muslim invasions in Europe (specially the Turkish invasion of Constantinople in 1453) Europeans focused on capturing new territory to expand their rule. Countries in;

- i. **Asian**
- ii. **African**
- III. **American** (North and South)

were invaded and colonized by European nations. This colonization was aimed at three main goals;

1. Gaining economic benefits (spices, minerals, etc.)
2. Spreading their religion
3. Gaining international dominance and reputation

In order to achieve these goals many European nations such as Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, Spanish nations were in a competition.

The state model that was developed in colonized nation due to the political influence of European nations is known as the colonial state. Until the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and even at times 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Asian, African and American countries were conquered by monarchies while, some African and American countries even had tribal states.

During the colonized period the nature of the state of these countries drastically changed as a result of political, economic and social reforms introduced by the colonizers. The main political transformations of colonies are as follows:

- a. **Asian, African and American countries existed as in organized state structures before the colonization period. These states lacked a centralized powered entity. The country was normally divided into several divisional rulers and separate legal system existed in different divisions. Colonizers defeated these divisional rulers to unite the state under one rule and one power center. This had lead foundation for geographically large countries.**
- b. **Although bold democratic features were introduced during the colonial period, colonizers established and maintained their rule through force, therefore it can be seen that the colonial state was developed as a military state.**
- c. **Although colonizes introduced many democratic features to their colonies they hesitated to allow advanced democratic features until the very late period of colonized state. Even Great Britain which was considered the pioneer of modern democracy still followed the framework led by a military governor held a similar status as a monarch in terms of power.**

However, colonies allowed locals to take part in the governing structure. This was later expanded by minimizing the number of locals and minimizing the number of colonizing officers. However, these locals did not represent their local communities, instead supported the colonizers. This elite class was created by allowing locals in the western education system, these locals served the colonizing nation by collecting taxes, supporting the ruler to ensure law and order etc.

This social class was intentionally and tactfully created by the colonizers to conquer the colonies more effectively. In conclusion the colonial state is not a democratic state but a strong state developed on militarization and administration.

## 8) Post- colonial state

Following the second world war plenty of new states were added to the world state system as a result of de-colonization. These countries that were given independence by colonizers existed in different state formats.

Ceylon, India, Pakistan and several other Asian countries were the earliest post- colonial states as they were established in 1947/1948 period. Following this, African and Latin American colonies were also given independence.

The theory of post- colonial state was developed by a British political scientist with a Pakistan origin named “Hamza Alavi” in his 1972 article “**State in Post- Colonial Societies, Pakistan and Bangladesh**” this theory was presented.



Hamza Alavi

This article was published in a British magazine named “**New Left review**” which was known as a radical Marxist magazine. Based on Hamza’s work and other post- colonial reviews main features of post- colonial state are as follows:

- ✓ The post- colonial state continued the structure of the colonial state with minor changes. Political independence did not mark a break with the colonial past
- ✓ In post- colonial societies, democratization did not reach completion after independence. Overthrow of democratic civilian governments by means of military coups and establishment of the authoritarian state has been a common feature among many such societies. The exceptions are very few, like India and Sri Lanka
- ✓ A special feature of the post- colonial state is the presence of a strong military bureaucratic apparatus as the central structure of state power which is the legacy of the colonial state. Political independence did not alter the existing system in post-colonial states. They were more powerful than civilian political institutions and political parties.
- ✓ The presence of strong military and bureaucratic institutions over civilian political institutions has been an obstacle to the democratization process in these societies

In post - colonial states the political societies tend to continue the political format and traditions that were introduced to them by their colonizers. Hence, these countries have not gained independence from colonizing formats despite gaining independence from colonizers. Commonwealth countries seem to be continuing with the British parliamentary format while, American and French colonies have adopted to similar formats as their colonies. This shows that post-colonial states have failed to come up with their own political formats.

Another significant feature of post-colonial state is that the failure to establish pure democracy unlike their colonizers. Although colonies adopted the democratic elements from their colonizers in practical politics, post-colonies have a weaker version of democracy. In general, the government and rulers tend to centralize and abuse political power.

In these countries the majority of the general public do not strongly resist this or at times positively support this, due to the lack of knowledge on pure democracy.

As a result, some post-colonial countries have failed to maintain consistency in democracy due to political and military coups. In fact, **Sri Lanka** and **India** are the only two countries in the South Asian region that have kept a democratic rule since independence. (In 1962 a military coup took place in Sri Lanka which was unsuccessful)

Also, post-colonial states inherited another anti-democratic feature from their colonizers which was the existence of a strong military and civil authority. As a result, political parties and leaders became much weaker in the political system. The lack of unity between political leaders and parties also contributed to this weakness.

Due to the above reasons, the political systems of post-colonial countries suffer from the lack of political concentration, in other words citizens of post-colonial countries are not united under the concept of state. Before colonization these countries maintained suitable political systems. These were based on regional rulers and regional political systems etc. which depended on the regional identity.

Colonizers took steps to change this system by establishing a centralized solitary rule in order to develop the national state. Therefore, this transformation was not natural nor gradual and it was done by force.

Post-colonial stuck to the centralized state format, instead of going back to their former political systems even after independence. In this centralized governance the political dominance was eventually taken by the majority of ethnic groups.

Ex:

- 1. The political dominance of Sri Lanka being handled by the Sinhalese**
- 2. Political dominance of India being handled by the Hindus**

As a result of this, minority groups in these counties have been tempted to stand against the majority rule to break their own territory.

Ex:

- 1. The Tamils of Sri Lanka attempting to create the state “Eelam”**
- 2. Muslims of India creating Pakistan**
- 3. Bengali Muslims of Pakistan creating Bangladesh**

Therefore, it can be seen that post-colonial states suffer from lack of ethnic unity. However, the routes of this problem go up to colonial times as colonizers themselves created separation between ethnic groups by introducing communal representation. This was done to prevent national movements against the colonizers. However, this “**divide and conquer**” concept created long lasting conflicts in post- colonial states.


### 9) Neo-liberal state

The concept of welfare state which was introduced by modern liberalism was declining due to many weaknesses by 1970's. Also, the collapse of the Soviet Union removed the socialist threat on Liberalism, which resulted in capitalism and liberalism being expanded around the world with a new face as neo-liberalism

The initial face of the liberal market followed the policy of laissez-faire state which meant that the government should allow the economy to function on its own, through market mechanism without state intervention. The second face of the liberal market replaced this theory with social welfarism which suggested that the state should intervene in the market.

Neo-liberalism is in fact the 3<sup>rd</sup> face of liberalism which places the state somewhere in between classic and modern liberalism. This suggests that the state should allow the market forces to run and manage the economy by dismantling the welfare state and privatization of the public sector of the economy.

The role of the state under neo-liberalism is known as '**governance functions**' which means getting involved in the functions of running the government and not getting involved in economic functions. The only economic function the state handles is deciding the economic policy framework.

Under neo-liberalism the state is described as minimum government if not minimal state. This means neo-liberalism reforms the role of the state as a managerial state.

In the neo-liberal framework, the government should keep the national economies open to international capital, technology and labor, this is known as liberalization of economy or opening up of the economy.



## The political ideological background of neo-liberalism

The American political scientists ‘**Robert Nozick**’ and the Hungarian Austrian economist ‘**Friedrich Von Hayek**’ are considered as the pioneers of the neo-liberal theory. The basic political idea of neo-liberal state is that the state involvement to protect the rights of citizens to be minimal. Robert Nozick argued that the powers and functions of the state should not go beyond policing functions. Also, the primary function of the state is the protection of property and it should not exceed that limit. This idea inspired the concept of minimum state governance which was further developed and advanced by the neo-liberals.

The idea of non-interventionist state suggested that the state should not intervene in controlling the economy and social spheres. The neo-liberalists believed that the welfare state has too much involvement in market control and price control. Therefore, they suggest de-welfare of the state which meant **outsourcing** welfare social activities to non-governmental organization.

In conclusion the concept of minimalist state means the state intervention being limited to managing political and social peace. Also, the workload of the state is reduced with the support of private sector and non-governmental organizations. The state entities that suffer from losses are given to the private sector in order to make more profit and the expenditure of the government is reduced by outsourcing welfare services to non-governmental organization.



Friedrich von Hayek



Robert Nozick

## Political Concepts Related to the State

### **1) State and sovereignty**

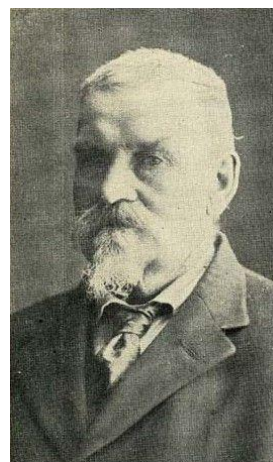
Each state is based on four main features as defined territory, nationhood, government and sovereignty. Therefore, sovereignty is one of the main elements required for the completion of the state.

The simple meaning behind the term sovereignty is supreme authority. Therefore, sovereignty is the supreme power of the state. State is the one and only organizations which possess the power of sovereignty. There is no other person or authority that can go above, parallel or challenge the sovereign power of the state.

The concept of sovereignty was discussed in political science for many centuries and it was given more attention with the formation of national state. This concept was theoretically developed by Jean Bodin and later developed by John Austin. According to his belief the power of sovereignty is supreme, unitary, indivisible and cannot be delegated.



Jean Bodin



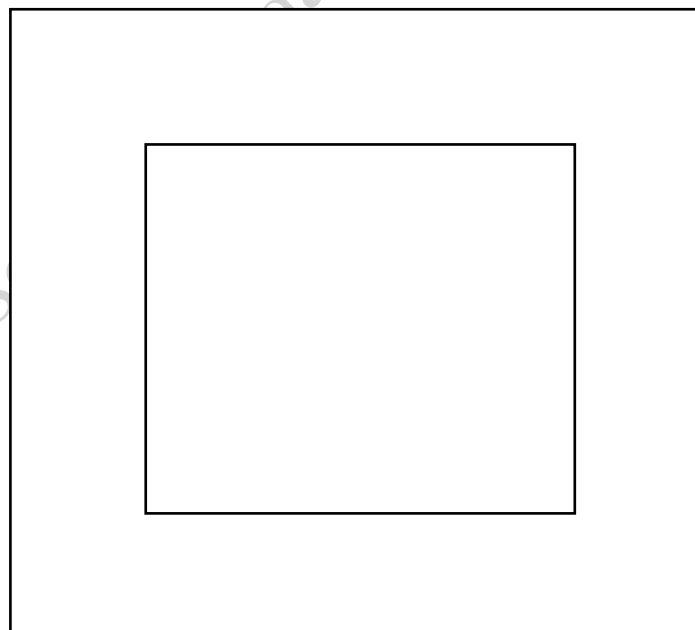
John Austin

In practicality, sovereignty functions in two different ways as internal and external. Internal sovereignty means that any independent state has power and authority to seek and secure the obedience and loyalty of any individual within its territory. External sovereignty means that a state with sovereignty does not submit to another sovereign state.

This allows a sovereign state to maintain its internal policies without the influence of an outside power.

However, in practical politics the theory of sovereignty has been challenged by federalism the concept of sovereignty is divided as 'shared sovereignty'. Under globalization the supremacy of individual states has been challenged.

Therefore, the classic idea of sovereignty has been heavily criticized and has become quite ineffective.



## 2) The state and its citizens

The concept of citizen and citizenship existed since the Greek era and currently it has become a core element of state. The simple meaning of the word citizen is ‘**city dweller**’. Although, in legal definition it refers to the membership of a state.

The concept of citizenship was initially defined by Aristotle as “*a citizen is a person who actively takes part in public affairs or affairs of the government*”. Therefore, the Greek idea of citizenship suggests an active citizen.

However, since direct democracy was replaced with indirect representative democracy the citizens became less active in taking part in public affairs in large and complex societies.

Unlike in ancient Greece where duties of a citizen were divided into two as:

- a. Personal duties
- b. Public duties

In modern political societies citizens do not directly take part in governance. Instead, the membership of a state is identified as the citizenship. Being born in a state and followed by the birth being registered in state are the basic methods of obtaining citizenship. This membership exists until the death of a person, unless the person changes the citizenship by immigration.

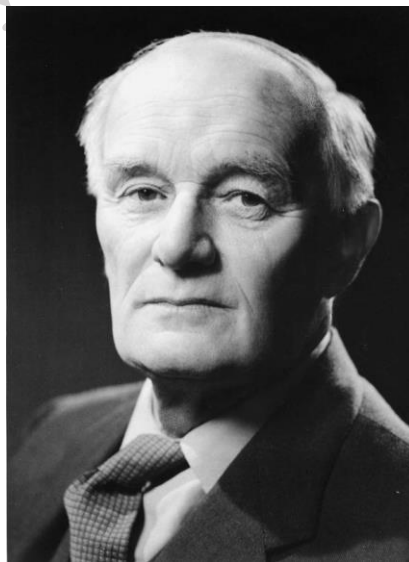
Therefore, a citizen and the state have a strong relationship based on two main features:

- Political rights that are engaged by citizens
- Political obligations of citizens

The primary political obligation of a citizen is to obey and serve the state with loyalty, in return citizens are given political rights to vote, take part in politics, criticize the government, etc.

In modern political science the citizenship has three conceptual bases:

- Liberal, passive citizenship
  - Republican, active citizenship
  - Social citizenship
- ❖ Under passive citizenship, citizens are entitled to certain rights by the mere fact of them being members of the state. Under this, citizens do not have to fight for their rights since the liberal state inevitably grants those rights
- ❖ The republican concept of active citizenship is based on the republican political theory. This basically means rights are not enabled by simply being members but they should be demanded and fought for by citizens through active participation in politics
- ❖ The social citizenship concept suggests that in societies with deep inequalities, poor citizens do not have access to rights therefore, the state has to provide welfare services as a bridge for poor people to access political rights. This concept was named by the English sociologist **T.H. Marshall**.



Thomas Humphry Marshall (T.H. Marshall)

The question of “why should citizens be obliging to the state?” has different answers proposed by different political theorists:

- According to Aristotle citizens obey the state, since it is the highest organization in the society which provides the highest welfare to its citizens
- According to the social contract theory the state and citizen relationship defined by the social contract that sets up the state. Therefore, the state and its citizens have a mutual obligation. Therefore, the state provides security and protection of citizens and for the protection and security the citizens obey the state
- According to the liberal political theory it is the state that protects the natural rights of the citizens therefore the citizens have the right to obey the state
- According to Rousseau’s republican theory, the state represents the “general will” of the society. Therefore, all citizens are obliged to obey the state.

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### 3) State, Government and Regime

The state and government are the most central and fundamental political institutions of the society. All other political and administrative institutions in the society are derived from the state and government. However, the state and government are not clearly identified separately. Although in their functions are separate, at times they seem to be overlapping. In popular use these two concepts are often used to refer the same entity. However, in political theory these two are two different concepts.

The state is the final institutional entity in society that embodies the sovereignty of a nation. The government is the functional agent of the state which puts sovereignty into operation. Thus, the government subordinate to the state. In other words, the government is the practical hand if not the practical instrument of the state.

However, this distinction has not always been clear in political science. The clarity of this distinction was more apparent in modern liberal democracy.

In the pre-modern and pre-democratic state forms the ruler was both the state and the government. Since there was no institutional separation between the executive, legislature and judiciary all the powers were concentrated at the monarch. For example, “**King Louis XIV**” once stated that “*I am the state*”.

It was under liberal democracy that this was changed as the functional spheres of the state powers were separated and the government emerged as the political institution, which is composed of people representatives.

The government is the principal institution through which the state operationalizes its sovereign power. Parliament and the cabinet are the co-institutions of the government. The bureaucracy helps the government to implement its plans.

Due to the elected principal a government is usually appointed for limited period of time. In contrast the state on behalf of which the government functions have a relatively long timespan. This is one of the key differences between state and government.

The government is consisted of the legislative and executive branches of the state. In fact, the legislature is consisted of elected representatives of the people that approves decisions while the executive is consisted of the leader of the country, cabinet of ministers that makes decisions and the bureaucracy that implements approved decisions.

The executive has two parts as the political executive and the permanent executive. The political executive is the part which is elected by people and the permanent executive is the bureaucracy (the public service sector) which is not an elected body.

Although the judiciary is one of the 3 wings of the government in practicality the judiciary exists external from the other two wings in order to assure independency.

A government can be sent out of power in an election. However, a state can only be overthrown by an external war (invasion) which would violate the sovereignty.



#### **4) What is a Regime?**

A regime is a concept that has recently received political attention in Sri Lanka. However, this attention features a negative idea. In political science the term 'regime' is a neutral concept with a specific meaning. This term is somewhat similar to government however it is slightly different.

As discussed before a government institutional structure that exists in the legislative and executive. This includes some members of the legislature, cabinet of ministers and leader of the country. However, when the term regime is applied, it reflects such specific identities of the government.

**i. To characterize a government as a regime in relation to its leader.**

Ex - Jayewardene regime, Rajapaksa regime, Bandaranaike regime

**ii. To characterize a government in relation to its composition.**

Ex - A coalition regime, multi-party regime

**iii. To describe a government in reference to its class nature.**

Ex - A bourgeois regime, an intermediate class regime, working class regime

**iv. To identify governments through its ideological orientation and policy commitments.**

Ex - Welfare regime, socialist regime, nationalist regime, democratic regime.



## Unit 4 - Forms of Government

- Forms of government according to how Sovereign power is shared and organized
  - i. Unitary model
  - ii. Federal model
  - iii. Semi-federal model
  - iv. Confederate
  
- Forms of government according to the structure of the executive
  - i. Cabinet format
  - ii. Presidential format
  - iii. Mixed (semi-Presidential/hybrid) format
  - iv. Autocratic executives
  - v. Unique/Special formats
  
- Other formats of governments.

## **Forms of Government According to How Sovereign Power is Shared and Organized**

Although in theoretical politics sovereign power is indivisible and impossible to share, in practical politics sovereign power is often shared and organized in different formats.

Governments can be categorized according to this fact:

1. Unitary model
2. Federal model
3. Semi-federal model
4. Confederate

### **Unitary Model of Government**

In the unitary model of government sovereign power is located at the central government. Although local government authorities exist their power is under the authority of the central government. This creates a system of centralized government power, which means that local government bodies are incapable of acting independently.

The unitary model is usually suitable for geographically smaller countries with less ethnic diversity. In comparison to the federal format the unitary structure is far less complex. However, there are different formats for the connection between the central government and local government authorities in a unitary country as well:

- 1) Deconcentration
- 2) Decentralization
- 3) Devolution

### **Main Features of the Unitary Model:**

1. The sovereign power of the state is vested in one solitary national-level political institution.
2. The central government possesses all the sovereign power without sharing any with regional bodies (a less supreme political power is delegated to the regional government).
3. Local government authorities do exist on a regional grassroots-level although the central government has complete authority over these bodies.
4. The legislature of the central government has the option of being either unicameral or bicameral unlike a federal system, where it is compulsory to have a bicameral legislature. Most unitary countries prefer a unicameral legislature although some unitary countries such as Great Britain and France have bicameral legislatures by choice.
5. In general, in comparison to federalism, the unitary system is considered to be less expensive and more efficient. (this can change in practical politics due to various reasons)

### **Recent Developments in the Unitary Format:**

Although unitary governments are supposed to centralize political power within the central government, recent developments have introduced several methods to make regional governments powerful within a unitary country. Since having powerful regional government bodies is considered an important feature of democracy, various methods are used to delegate more power to regional governments without compromising the unitary format.

In Sri Lanka this has been a trending topic since the early '90s as a result of the ethnic conflict. In every election pretty much, every mainstream candidate has focused on this topic in their policy papers.

### **Different Methods of Dividing Power Within a Unitary Format:**

#### **1) Deconcentration –**

Deconcentration is an entirely administrative measure in this system; staff of the central government are relocated to various local locations with the objective of expanding public administration. This is done in order to make the administrative system more accessible to citizens as well as to lower administrative costs.

#### **2) Decentralization –**

This is aimed at transferring responsibilities of policy implementation to sub-national units. Under this system local government authorities are allowed to implement welfare services which do not necessarily require the approval of the central government. This system is applied in Britain as well as in Scandinavian countries.

#### **3) Devolution –**

This is considered the most effective method of delegating power. Devolution is aimed at transferring a range of legislative and decision-making powers—including executive and judicial powers—to local institutions. This is widely used in France, Italy etc.

Even the United Kingdom applied devolution to grant powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in 1999. However, the British format of devolution is favourable to the central government as the given power can be taken back at any time through a parliamentary act.

All these power-dividing methods inside a unitary country are generally done through the ordinary law (a parliamentary act). Therefore, these given powers are not supreme and can be taken back by the central government at their discretion.

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## **Federal Model of Government**

The federal format is not simply a coordinating administrative system, rather can be considered a governmental system where sovereign power is shared with a multi-level government. Therefore, in a federal system legal sovereignty of the state is shared between the central government and the regional units. These units in the periphery have a certain degree of autonomy from the central government. The units cannot alter the powers of the central government and similarly, the central government cannot alter the powers of the units one-sided.

Unlike in a unitary country where they receive power from ordinary laws, federal regional governments are empowered by the constitution itself. Regional governments of a federal country have a much wider power since it is provided by the fundamental law (the constitution) of a country.

The conceptual foundation of federalism is unity within diversity, which means allowing cultural and ethnic identities while uniting all groups as a nation. However, the level of diversity and the strength of unity depends on the power division between the central government and the units. Therefore, the federal format requires bargaining and negotiation between the central government and units. Therefore, the federal format of government seems to be a complex system of government in the modern context of politics.



When it comes to federalism there is no common federal format to be used. Instead, in different countries federalism seems to have different applications depending on certain factors.

e.g. USA, Canada and Germany have federal systems with greater autonomy for regional units while countries such as India follow a federal format that is more favourable to the central government.

However, despite the differences in practical application the concept of federalism has a few common features:

- 1) The structure of the government consists of two levels:
  - i. National (central)
  - ii. Regional (provincial/state)
- 2) Both central and regional governments have extensive powers and both governments enjoy autonomy in their layer of government.
- 3) Both levels of government are entitled to their own powers and tasks, as allocated by the constitution. In general, the central government is entrusted with national subjects such as defense, foreign affairs, finance and immigration. Provincial governments are entrusted with grassroot-level duties such as education, agriculture, health, local government and welfare activities.

4) In a federal country a written constitution is a necessity. Since there are two levels of governments, it is necessary to clearly elaborate the division of powers in order to avoid conflicts of power. Therefore, the federal constitution provides a legal framework to divide power between the center and regions clearly.

5) A federal system requires a rigid constitution as it is necessary to prevent the central government from changing the constitution arbitrarily in their favour. A federal constitution requires the approval from both central and regional governments for an amendment.

e.g. The US constitution requires a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority approval from both houses of the central government legislature as well as  $\frac{3}{4}$  approval of states.

6) In federal systems it is necessary to allow regional representatives to take part in the central government. This is due to the right regional representatives have to sit in the central government as well as due to the necessity to maintain the coordination between the central and regional governments. The institutional mechanism for this process is the establishment of a bicameral legislature.

The upper/second chamber of the central government legislature provides representation for regional leaders.

7) Due to the complexity of administration, federal governments are often met with administrative conflicts. Due to these disputes between the central and regional governments it is necessary to have an independent judiciary. When powers and tasks are executed, conflicts can occur quite often. (Either **between states and states** or **between states and the central government**). Therefore, the Supreme Court has an extremely important duty to interpret the constitution in order to solve these matters.

8) Forming a federal constitution is a complex task since it involves plenty of negotiation, bargaining and compromise. In contrast, forming a unitary constitution is a much easier task.

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Reasons for Setting Up Federal Governments:

- 1) Federal governments are generally formed among independent political units in order to create political unity. Since it is possible to achieve political and economic development, security etc. being united as a federal government is always a better option for independent political units.

Ex – Member states of USSR, Switzerland.

- 2) Since it is difficult for a solitary government to rule a geographically large country, dividing the country into regional units is an ideal way for convenient governance.

Ex – USA, Canada and India

- 3) When the population of a country is diverse in language, religion, culture and history it is known as a multi-ethnic country. Such countries could use a governmental system that allows diversity yet unites the population as one nation. Hence federalism can be considered a good option.

Ex – India, which has a diverse population with many languages, religions, races and ethnic identities, follows a federal system.

Advantages of Federalism:

- 1) A federal system is a constitutionally established democratic platform for local and provincial representatives to voice their demands/interests. This way it is possible to prevent regional political leaders from taking non democratic political options to gain power such as armed revolutions, separatism and even terrorism.

Ex – The regional power struggle in Sri Lanka, between the Tamil population of Northern, Eastern provinces and the majority Sinhalese Sri Lankan government, eventually turning into a civil war in Sri Lanka fought between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan troops. This caused more than 100,000 lives and a heavy toll on the Sri Lankan economy.



Area claimed by the LTTE as Eelam



Sri Lankan civil war which caused deaths in north as well as the south



Sinhalese victims



Tamil victims

Sri Lankan political leaders who were assassinated during the civil war period



- 2) The upper house of the legislature, a compulsory feature of a federal country, is an institutional space for the periphery to take part in national-level governance.
- 3) Due to the existence of regional governmental bodies and decentralization of power, a federal country has an effective checks and balances system over the central government. This is considered a positive democratic feature.
- 4) Federalism allows diversity while protecting the unity of the nation. Belgium is considered the best example of unity via diversity in a federal system.
- 5) Governing geographically large and highly populated countries is done much more efficiently.
- 6) Smaller countries near large federal countries have the option of joining a federal country as a state for economic and political stability.

Ex – Fourteen countries joining Russia to form the Soviet Union.

Disadvantages of Federalism:

- 1) Since federalism allows regional powers to be independent from the central government the sovereignty of the state is damaged.
- 2) Based on the experience of how federalism works in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in most contexts, federalism has failed to prevent the centralization of state power and administration.
- 3) Due to the existence of two levels of law-making authorities the process of law-making becomes much longer, more complex and inefficient. This leads to internal conflicts, overlaps of laws and confusions. It is also difficult to face emergency situations under federalism.
- 4) The concept of unity via diversity could work in an alternative way and result in diversity being more prominent than unity in the nation. Therefore, at times citizens of a federal country may create severe divisions based on their diversity and refrain from being united as a nation.
- 5) Sustaining federal status is a much more expensive process in comparison to a unitary system.
- 6) Federalism is always associated with the risk of states breaking away as separate countries. Since each state has the independence to function alone breaking away is a possibility.

e.g. the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, East Timor, Catalonia in Spain



### Historical Incidents of States Breaking Away:

- ❁ The Soviet Union was formed in 1917 following the Russian Revolution. It was consisted of fourteen countries including Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan etc. At the end of the Cold War following the fall of communism the Soviet Union was dissolved and its member states became independent countries.
- ❁ Yugoslavia, which existed as a single country until the mid-1990s, then broke away into six countries and possibly seven in the future. (Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia and possibly Kosovo, which is currently planning to break away).
- ❁ Timor, which was a state of Indonesia, underwent a similar situation and East Timor broke away as a separate country.
- ❁ The state of Catalonia has decided to break away from Spain, which is likely to cause a civil war.
- ❁ In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, the Southern states of the USA attempted to break away as the Confederate, which resulted in the American civil war.



Breakup of the Soviet Union



East Timor breaking away from Indonesia



UN troops arriving in East Timor



Catalonia breaking away from Spain



Independence movement for Catalonia in Spain





Breakup of Yugoslavia



Yugoslavian War in the 90's



Yugoslavia during the war



Southern US States which attempted to break away as the Confederate of America

## **Semi-federal Model of Government**

This format of government consists of both unitary and federal features. Therefore, in simple terms this format is a cross between the unitary and federal models.

The ideal example for semi-federalism is the Indian constitution. India features a system where the power of governance is systematically shared between the state governments and the central governments. This system can also transform from a unitary format to a federal format and vice versa depending on the circumstances.

Each state government consists of its own legislature and a council of ministers headed by the chief minister. The state governments have extensive powers including police powers etc. However, these state governments do not have full or complete autonomy like other federal countries such as the US, Canada, Germany or Australia.

Although the Indian constitution has federal features it does not call itself federal, neither does it call itself unitary. The constitution does, however, feature several elements of both unitarism as well as federalism. The power the central government has over the states, to dissolve and control the country in emergency situations is a significant unitary feature. During emergency situations the Indian central government receives vast powers including handling executive functions of the state and making laws. Basically, India functions as a 'typical' unitary country during emergency situations.

The Indian constitution identifies three types of emergency situations:

1) National Emergency:

This is a situation of either an invasion on India, a national-level war or an internal political crisis. According to Article 352 of the Indian constitution all the states are brought under the control of the central government in such circumstances.

2) State Emergency:

This is a situation where a crisis occurs within a particular state. In this case the President can declare an emergency situation over that specific state and bring it under the control of the central government according to Article 356.

3) Financial Emergency:

This is when the country is facing a severe financial crisis.

In the above-mentioned situations the central government can dissolve state legislatures and state executives.

Each state has an office called the state governor to handle the coordination between the state and the central government. When the central government takes over a state the central government administers the state through the government. Usually, it is the President who handles the task; hence it is known as “the imposition of the President’s rule in states”. However, since India has a cabinet system the official action of the President is in fact a decision of the Prime Minister.

Ex – During the term of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi from 1975 to 1977 an emergency was declared and India functioned as a unitary country for 18 months.

According to the Indian constitution the central government can make laws for states even in normal circumstances without any emergency situation. Therefore, due to the dominance of the central government the Indian federal system has been heavily criticized by political scientists. Hence K.C. Wheare has described the Indian constitution as a semi-federal system that is more likely a unitary format with federal features than a federal format with unitary features.



## **Confederate Model of Government**

The basic idea of the term confederate is 'the agreement'. Therefore, a confederation is basically an agreement between multiple independent states entered through a constitution.

This common constitution creates a confederation in order to allow the independent states to tackle difficult challenges such as defense, foreign diplomacy etc. in a better manner.

Therefore, a confederate can be explained as a political system where many sovereign states create a common government for special tasks.

In a confederation most of the powers are held by regional/state governments and the central government has limited powers. Hence the direction of the central government is decided by state governments.

The ideal historical example for a confederation is the US constitution, which was developed on 'Articles of Confederation'. A modern example would be the confederation of Switzerland.

A confederation is a system in between a unitarism and federalism. This is basically a union of states developed on a mutual agreement over a common goal (defence or a financial goal).

The unique feature of a confederation is that the central government is reasonably weaker than the state governments. Since a confederation is built on a mutual agreement between member states, they determine which powers are to be given to the central government.

Therefore, it can be seen that a federal system and a confederate are extremely different from one another. These differences can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Unlike in a federal system the central government of a confederation does not have a legislature.
- 2) A federal system is basically the combination of several states to create a solitary state. Within a confederation multiple states exist.
- 3) In a federal system the central government is given power through the constitution. All important tasks and functions are mentioned in the constitution itself, but in a confederation the central government is given power at the discretion of the member states.
- 4) The central government of a federal system can implement its powers over the citizens of the country, but the central government of a confederation does not have this power as they have a very limited influence over the citizens of member states.
- 5) The central government of a federal system consists of a properly organized structure of institutions, but the central government of a confederation does not consist of such a structure.  
  
e.g. In the American confederation the Congress existed as the common institution for all member states which did not have a properly organized structure. Some member states had more than 7 representatives while some states only received 1 representative.

However, this type of confederation cannot be seen in the modern world and the examples for confederations can only be found in history. The American confederation of 1789 as well as the Swiss confederation of 1921 both eventually advanced into federal systems. Therefore, some political scientists identify confederations as the beginning of a federal state.





Swiss Cantons



13 original American states which formed the United States

## Forms of Government According to the Structure of the Executive

A democratic government consists of three main institutes:

1. Executive
2. Legislature
3. Judiciary

Out of these three the executive holds most of the powers and responsibilities. The decision making and policy implementation are both done by the executive of a country. In other words, the executive is the captain that steers the ship.

Different states follow different executive structures. Therefore, in political science, governments can be categorized according to the format of the executive:

1. Cabinet format (Parliamentary/Prime Minister/Westminster)
2. Presidential format
3. Mixed (Semi-Presidential/Hybrid) format
4. Autocratic format
5. Unique/Special formats

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## Cabinet Format



The cabinet format is a system where the executive of a government consists of a cabinet. The Prime Minister and other ministers are collectively known under the name of the cabinet. The cabinet exists and constantly depends on the parliament. This is known as the Westminster tradition (hence also known as parliamentary/Prime Minister tradition).

Every government has four main head positions to be handled by the executive.

- 1) Head of the state
- 2) Head of the executive
- 3) Head of the government
- 4) The highest commanding officer of armed forces

In a Cabinet system, the Prime Minister only gets the head of the government position while all other head positions belong to the nominal executive. (In a Presidential system all four head positions belong to the President.)

In relation to these positions:

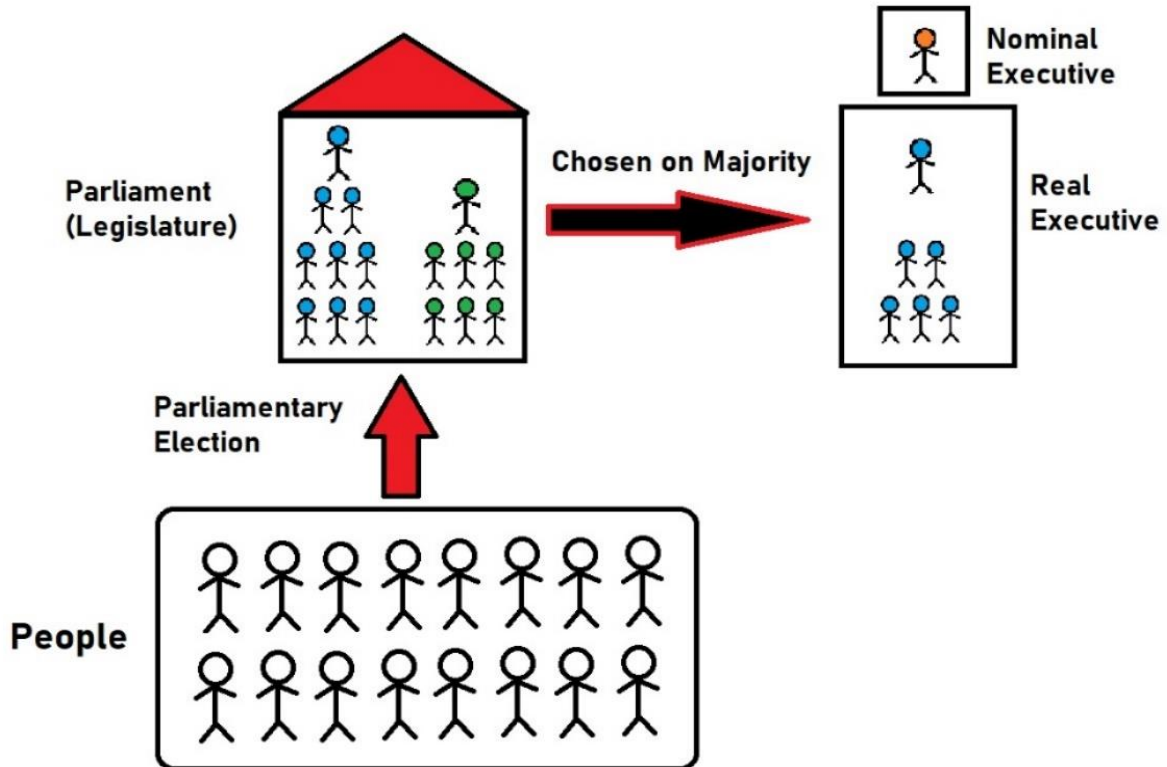
- ❁ The head of the state appoints the head of the government. As discussed previously the nominal executive is considered the head of the state in a country with a parliamentary system. The Prime Minister and the cabinet—which is the real executive of the country is appointed by the nominal executive.

After a parliamentary election, once members of the parliament are chosen, the nominal executive observes the legislature and appoints the Prime Minister based on the majority of the legislature.

- ❁ The board of ministers and the cabinet are chosen by the Prime Minister. Once the Prime Minister is appointed by the nominal executive, he/she chooses several members from the legislature to be appointed as cabinet ministers. Based on the selection of the Prime Minister the nominal executive appoints the cabinet ministers.

This format of the executive was originated in Great Britain. Therefore, as a result of British colonization, this format was adopted by many Commonwealth countries.

The cabinet system creates a government where the executive and the legislature are closely attached, unlike in a Presidential system. The executive and legislature are not separate from each other.



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## **Main Features of the Cabinet Format:**

### **❁ Dual executive –**

The cabinet executive consists of two parts: the nominal executive and the real executive. The nominal executive is a non-political position which is not appointed by the people.

e.g.

- ❁ Great Britain, Australia, Canada – Queen
- ❁ Japan – Emperor
- ❁ India – President
- ❁ Sri Lanka – Governor General (1947 to 1972)

These nominal executives hold the main positions of the government as a political tradition.

The nominal executive has three main roles. (Head of the State, executive and armed forces.)

### **❁ The collective responsibility of the cabinet –**

Since the cabinet executive system consists of a multi-member executive, its members are bound to be collectively responsible to the legislature. The executive in a cabinet system constantly depends on the legislature for their existence; hence collective responsibility is a necessity.

### **❁ Members of the cabinet being members of the legislature as well –**

The board of ministers and the cabinet including the Prime Minister are chosen from within the legislature itself. Unlike in a Presidential system, the executive essentially has membership in the legislature.

❁ **The individual and collective responsibility of the cabinet members –**

Being a member of the cabinet brings with it two levels of responsibilities as each member has a responsibility both as an individual as well as collectively as a group.

❁ **The close connection between the executive and the legislature –**

The parliamentary system of the executive is not associated with the concept of separation of powers. Therefore, the executive and the legislature have a close relationship as they exist together and depend on each other with a set of mutual members. Due to this close relationship the collapse of one of these institutes eventually results in the collapse of the other.

❁ **The executive and the legislature being able to remove each other –**

In a cabinet system the executive and legislature are capable of removing each other. The Prime Minister, who is the real executive, can decide to dissolve the legislature. However, the official order should be issued by the nominal executive. Therefore, the Prime Minister advises the nominal executive to dissolve the legislature. However, the dissolution of the legislature would result in, the end of the term of the Prime Minister and the cabinet as well.

The legislature is also capable of removing the executive. This can be done in various ways:



- i. By passing a no-confidence motion (against the government, Prime Minister or any other member of the government)
- ii. By not approving the annual budget
- iii. By not approving the Throne Speech (Policy paper of the government)
- iv. By not approving any other law

However, the legislature removing the executive by one of the above methods eventually results in the legislature being dissolved as well.

❁ **The Parliament being considered as an important institution –**

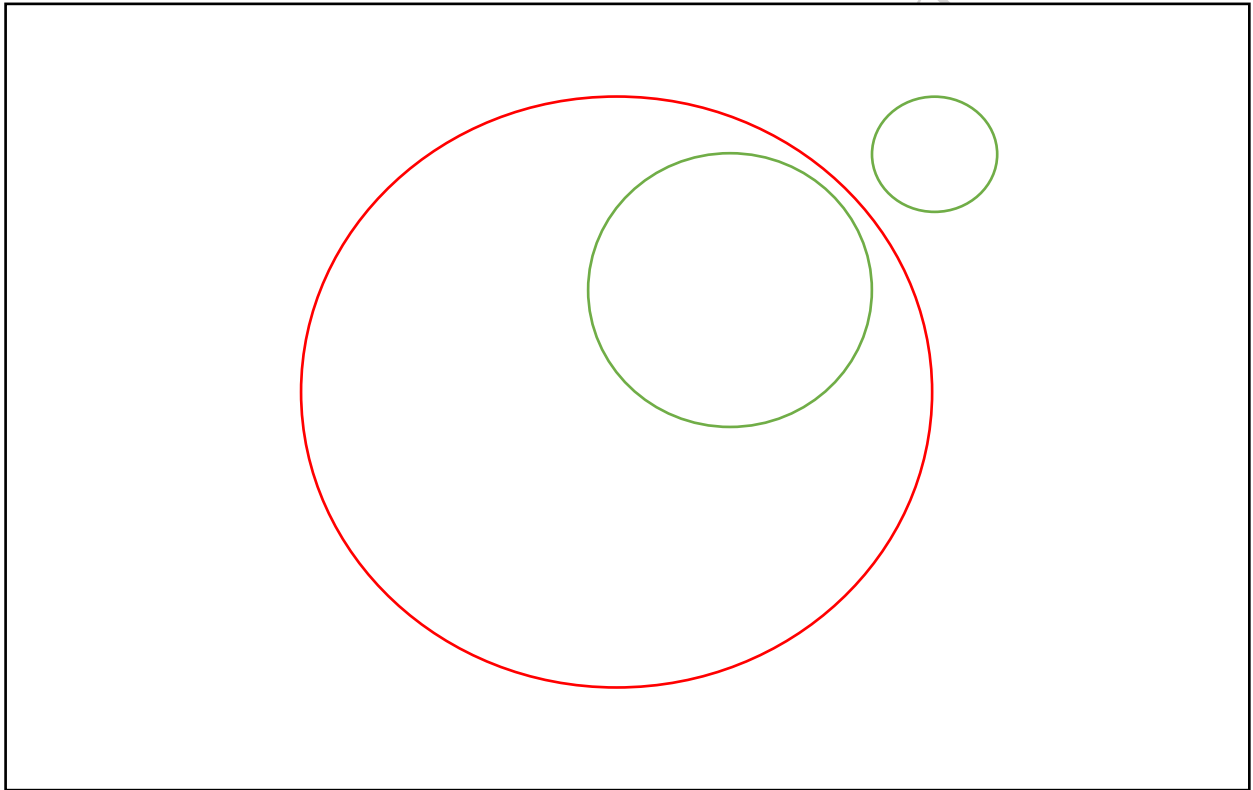
The legislature of a cabinet system is the parliament. Therefore, the entire governmental format is based on the parliament. Hence it is considered as the most important institution of the system. Countries such as Great Britain have gone up to the extent of making their parliament supreme by means of the concept of parliamentary sovereignty.

❁ **The importance of the opposition party –**

Since the executive exists within the parliament, depends on the parliament and is responsible to the parliament, the legislature is capable of directly questioning the executive. This allows the opposition party to play a better role in controlling the executive, unlike in a Presidential system.

❁ **The necessity of a political party system –**

A parliamentary system is based on an executive that has the majority representation in the legislature. Therefore, a cabinet executive requires a political party system to create this collective government. Unlike in a Presidential system where the President could be a non-party candidate, the Prime Minister must have a political party system to form a government.



## **Advantages of a Cabinet System:**

### **1) More suitable for Democracy –**

It is generally accepted that the cabinet system is considered more democracy-friendly for several reasons:

- i. The executive being responsible to the legislature
- ii. The legislature having better control over the executive
- iii. The Prime Minister having to make collective rather than solitary decisions
- iv. The possibility of removing the executive by the legislature being made easier

### **2) Responsible governance –**

The cabinet form of government creates a system where the executive must be responsible to the legislature. Unlike in a Presidential system, where the President is not directly responsible to the legislature, in this system the existence of the executive depends on the legislature.

### **3) More membership in the executive –**

Unlike in a Presidential system where all the executive powers are centralized within one person, the cabinet system allows more membership for the Prime Minister and other ministers. Therefore, it is possible to provide representation for different groups (ethnic, age, gender, social class, political) in the executive.

### **4) Having seniors and training future leaders –**

Since the cabinet system has multiple members, it is possible to gain contributions from other senior cabinet ministers in addition to the Prime Minister.

This also creates an opportunity to train future Prime Ministers, as handling the responsibilities of a senior cabinet minister is an ideal training for a future Prime Minister.

**5) Flexibility of governance –**

This is a unique feature of the cabinet system. Due to the close relationship the executive has with the legislature it is possible to amend the constitution easily in order to face emergency situations.

e.g. The British government and the opposition working together to extend the term of the parliament during the Second World War. (this was revoked after the war)

**6) The emphasis on the importance of political parties –**

Political parties are considered by political scientists to be the blood of the body of democracy. Therefore, the fact that a cabinet system requires a political party system emphasizes that it is very democratic.

**7) Sovereignty of the people being upheld –**

The legislature of a country consists of representatives chosen by the public. Therefore, the fact that the legislature has more control over the executive means that the public representatives have control over the government. This upholds the concept of people's sovereignty.

**8) Individual members receiving more value –**

Since the cabinet system allows more members to take part in the executive, each individual member receive a better value. The fact that the legislature is also capable of questioning, controlling and removing the executive also contributes to this individual value.

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## **Disadvantages of a Cabinet System:**

### **1) Unstable governments –**

Since it is necessary to have a majority power in the legislature to form a government, there can be times when not a single party manages to secure a majority alone. This often happens under multi-party systems. In such situations several parties enter into alliances to form a coalition to reach the majority number of seats. These governments are highly unstable since making decisions is difficult with different opinions being present in the government.

Even when a solitary party manages to form a government, instability still exists due to the constant dependency on the legislature. Therefore, the cabinet governments face a constant threat of being toppled from its formation.

### **2) Inefficiency –**

Though the cabinet executives allow more members than a solitary leader as well as that their dependency on the legislature is democratic, on the other hand these facts restrict the ability of the executive to handle governance efficiently. This problem can be more severe with a coalition government.

### **3) Political conflicts –**

Since the executive has more people and parties with different desires (especially in coalition governments) it is more likely for political conflicts to take place in a cabinet system. The conflicts between the executive and the legislature are also more frequent in a cabinet system.

**4) The Prime Minister not representing the whole country –**

Unlike a President a Prime Minister is not chosen through an island-wide election. The Prime Minister is in fact voted for by people in a solitary electorate, similar to any other member of the legislature.

**5) People being unable to choose the Prime Minister directly –**

Unlike in a Presidential system, people are not allowed to directly choose the Prime Minister, in a cabinet system. The election is simply a process where people vote and send representatives to the legislature. The Prime Minister is in fact appointed by the nominal executive based on the majority in the legislature.

**6) The Cabinet dictatorship –**

Although the fact that the executive is dependent on the majority of the legislature is considered a positive feature, it also means that every cabinet government essentially has majority approval of the legislature. This basically means that most legislative members are in fact loyal to the executive. Therefore, a cabinet dictatorship can be seen in this system.

The legislature acting as a completely independent institute and questioning the executive can only be seen in a Presidential system.

e.g. US system

**7) The possibility of government maintenance being prioritized over national requirements –**

Since it is difficult to maintain an unstable government, it is possible for the Prime Minister to focus on protecting the government rather than serving the country.

**8) The possibility of the monopoly of officials –**

The cabinet consists of public representatives who were sent to the legislature by the people. Therefore, cabinet ministers are more likely to focus on maintaining their popularity among the people rather than managing their ministries.

As a result, public officials in ministries and other relevant industries are more likely to dominate administration in the absence of ministers. Hence government officials would create a monopoly in administration.

e.g. Former British Prime Minister Ramsay Moore once mentioned that the British administrative system is monopolized by public officials due to the absence of ministers. Moore stated that these officials are powerful enough to make decisions even related to annual budgets.



## Presidential Format



This system originated in the USA as an alternative to the British parliamentary format. However, unlike the cabinet system, this system is not widespread, being limited to the US, Latin American countries and some Asian countries such as the Philippines.

Unlike the cabinet system this system is based on a format where the executive and the legislature are disconnected from one another. This is known as **separate origin** and **separate survival**.

According to Professor Garner “a Presidential system is a format where all executive powers are centered on the position of the President and where the President is independent and not responsible to the legislature for his policies.”

Therefore, the executive and the legislature are chosen by the vote of the people in separate elections. Therefore, they originate and survive separately. Also, members of the executive the legislature are properly separated. Therefore, it can be seen that the Presidential system is based on the concept of separation of powers.

The executive is not allowed to dissolve the legislature. The legislature can also only remove the executive through a difficult impeachment process.

Therefore, both these institutes get to complete their official terms. These two institutes are also not responsible to each other.

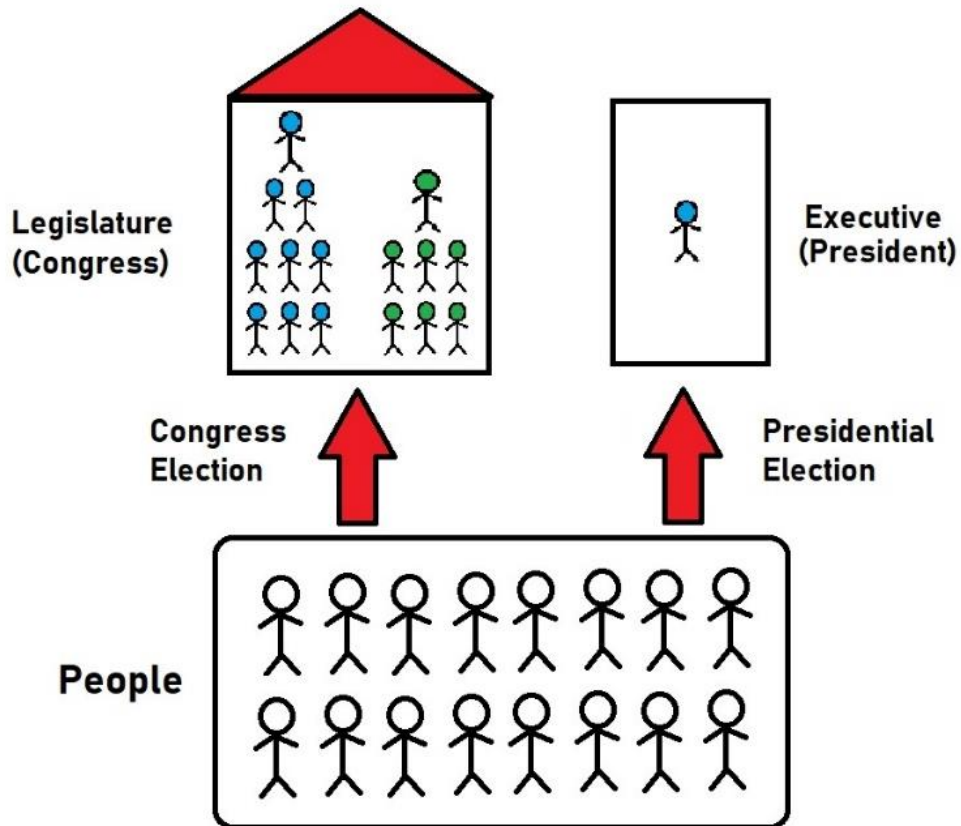
In a Presidential system the cabinet does exist although it is completely different from a cabinet in a cabinet system. This cabinet is merely a board of advisors that assist the President in carrying out tasks. Members of the cabinet are also not members of the legislature. If a member of the legislature is appointed to the cabinet, it is necessary for them to resign from the legislature.

All four head positions of the country are given to the President:

- Head of the state
- Head of the executive
- Head of the government
- Head of the armed forces

The fundamental feature of a Presidential system is that powers of the legislature and the executive are properly separated in order to prevent any autocratic governance.

As a result of this power separation system the checks and balances system has been established when the executive, legislature and the judiciary are capable of controlling each other.



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## Features of a Presidential System

### ❁ **The executive being appointed and functioning outside the legislature –**

The President of a Presidential system is elected by the people and exists outside the legislature. Therefore, the executive and the legislature have a distanced connection. The two are separately appointed by the people, exist separately and fulfill their tasks separately.

### ❁ **The executive and the legislature being unable to remove each other –**

The executive and the legislature of a Presidential system are chosen by the people through separate elections. Each institute serves a separate official term due to this reason. The two also have a distanced relationship; therefore, the President does not have the power to dissolve the legislature. The legislature only dissolves once it has completed its official term. Although the legislature is technically capable of removing the President, it requires an extremely difficult legal process which is practically impossible. This process of removing the President is called impeachment.

### ❁ **Solitary executive –**

The Presidential system does not have a dual executive unlike a cabinet system.

This means there are no two positions as nominal and real.

❁ **The executive being directly responsible to the people instead of the legislature –**

The President is not appointed through the legislature. In fact, the President is chosen by the people themselves through an election. Therefore, a President is not responsible to the legislature but instead is directly responsible to the public (it is, however, not possible to implement this responsibility practically).

❁ **The government being solitary instead of collective –**

The cabinet system depends constantly on the legislature. It is therefore necessary for the members of the government to always protect its collective responsibility. However, a Presidential system features a solitary President who does not depend on the legislature. Therefore, the members of the President's party do not have to be collectively responsible to protect the government. Due to this it can be seen at times that members of the party of the President do not agree with the President as well as members of the opposition supporting the President.

e.g. During the term of US President Bill Clinton most of his tax-related laws were disapproved by his own democratic party and supported by members of the opposing Republicans party.

## **Advantages of a Presidential System:**

### **1) Political stability –**

Since the Presidential system creates a stable executive, eventually it creates political stability. A Presidential executive normally completes its official tenure with no interruptions. Therefore, it does not suffer premature terminations and sudden collapses. Hence the executive can also function without continuously worrying about government collapses. This entails more political stability to the entire political system.

### **2) Efficiency –**

Since the President is capable of handling Presidential power solely, it is more convenient for the government to make decisions much more efficiently. The President does not have to consult fellow cabinet ministers or get official approval from the nominal executive.

Besides this, the President is also hardly controlled by the legislature. Therefore, the Presidential executive is considered to be much more efficient than that of a cabinet system.

### **3) Ideal for emergency situations –**

Since the Presidential executive is more efficient it is convenient for a President to make decisions in an emergency situation. A country that experiences war in particular would prefer to have a Presidential system.

**4) The President representing the entire country –**

Unlike a Prime Minister who represents the voters of single electorate a President is chosen from a country-wide election where the candidate obtains votes from the entire country.

**5) People being able to choose the Head of State directly –**

Unlike in a cabinet system where the person who steers a country is chosen by the nominal executive based on the majority power of the legislature, the Presidential system allows the people to choose the leader.

**6) Prevention of a Cabinet dictatorship –**

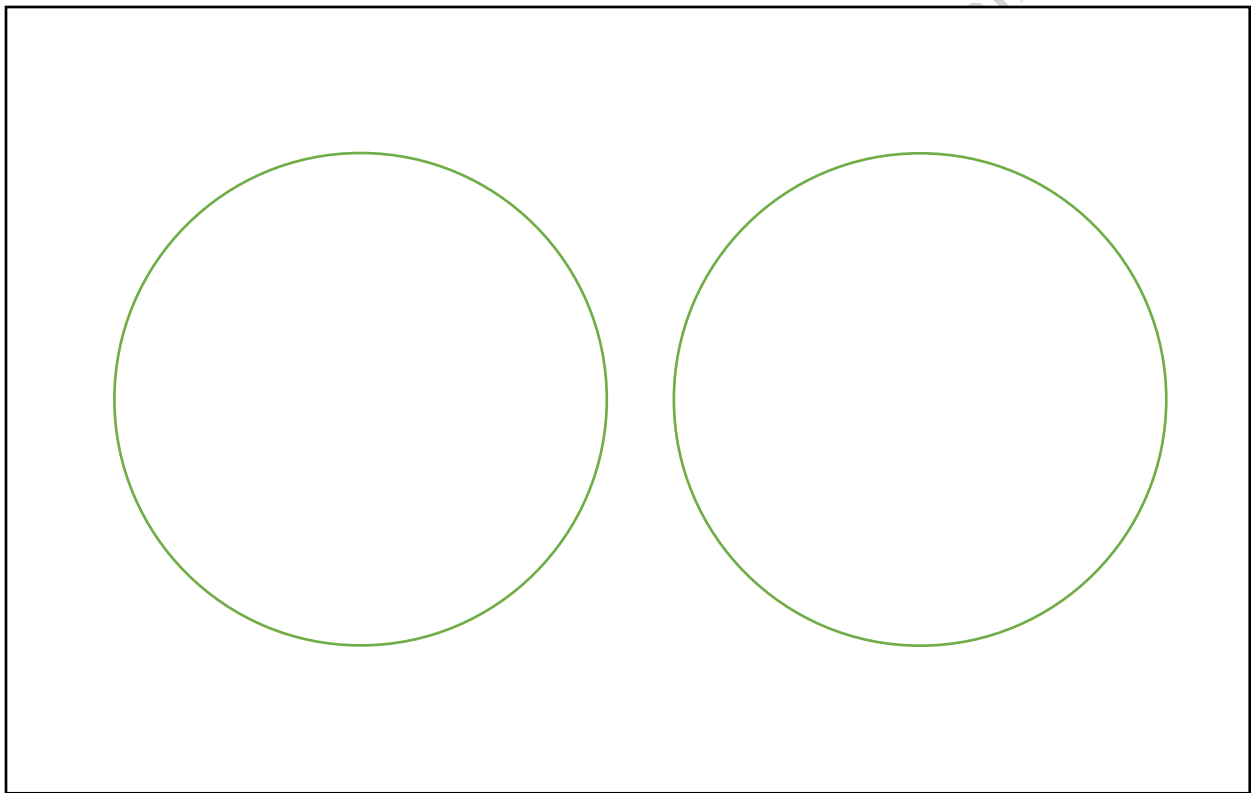
In a cabinet system the existing government has majority power in the legislature anyway. Therefore, expecting the legislature to control the executive is not completely practical in a Presidential system. However, the executive does not necessarily have the majority power in the legislature. The members of the President's party have the freedom to criticize and oppose their own President.

**7) The Executive being able to prioritize national requirements –**

Since a Presidential executive does not have to constantly worry about protecting the government it is possible for the President to focus on national duties.

**8) Cabinet members not being controlled by the people and the monopoly of public servants being prevented –**

Since the cabinet members of a Presidential system do not face elections, it is not necessary for them to pursue popularity or votes. As a result, cabinet members are capable of focusing on their duties and public servants in administration do not have the opportunity to create a monopoly.





## **Disadvantages of a Presidential System:**

### **1) Autocracy of the executive –**

Since a President does not share his powers with a nominal executive or other members of the cabinet, he/she has too much political power centralized at his/her position. Also considering the fact that the President is not responsible to the legislature and cannot be removed easily, he/she is hardly controlled by any other authority. Therefore, a Presidential executive is most likely to create a constitutional dictatorship.

### **2) Less democratic –**

Due to the amount of power that is centralized at the position of the President, this system is considered to be less democracy-friendly than the cabinet system.

### **3) Limited membership of the executive –**

Since the Presidential system has only one seat for the executive it does not allow different parties to participate in executive decision-making. Unlike in a cabinet system, it is not possible to provide representation for different races, genders, ages, communities etc.

### **4) Conflicts between the executive and the legislature –**

Since the executive and the legislature are appointed and exist separate from one another, the possibility of the two institutes being elected from two different parties is quite high. This increases the conflicts between the houses more frequent. In addition, since the two houses do not remove each other on simple disagreements, both houses tend to disagree with the other house quite often due to not having sever consequences.

## **The Difference Between Cabinet and Presidential Systems:**

The Presidential and cabinet systems are the most common executive formats in the world.

The difference between these two systems is quite significant since each system has unique features. This difference can be identified on the basis of several factors:

- 1) The institute that implements executive power
- 2) The connection between the executive and the legislature
- 3) Whether the power of the executive is centralized or not
- 4) Efficiency
- 5) Responsibility and accountability
- 6) Stability
- 7) Democratic nature

### **1) The institute that implements executive power –**

In a cabinet system executive power is implemented by the Prime Minister and the cabinet who are appointed by the legislature. The cabinet system also has a nominal executive.

However, the Presidential system functions on a directly appointed President. Executive powers are solely handled by the President since there is no nominal executive or other cabinet members.

### **2) The connection between the executive and the legislature –**

The cabinet system is based on a close connection between the executive and the legislature. The Prime Minister and the cabinet are chosen from the legislature and hence can be easily removed from it as well. The executive is inevitably responsible to the legislature.

However, in a Presidential system the President is appointed separately and exists outside the legislature. Hence it is difficult for the legislature to remove the President. Therefore, it can be said that under the cabinet system the executive and the legislature have a close connection while under the Presidential system the two have a distanced relationship.

**3) Whether the power of the executive is centralized or not –**

The Presidential system is essentially about the power of the executive in order to increase efficiency and stability.

The cabinet system, on the other hand, does not centralize executive power as the Prime Minister shares his powers with the nominal executive as well as other cabinet ministers.

**4) Efficiency –**

The Presidential system is considered a much more efficient system, given the power and stability it provides. Therefore, a Presidential system is ideal for a country with political divisions and conflicts as well as to face emergency situations.

The cabinet system is considered less effective since cabinet governments can easily be removed and the Prime Minister lacks stability.

**5) Responsibility and accountability –**

The cabinet executive is considered to be a more responsible executive since the Prime Minister and cabinet depend on the legislature for their existence.

The President, however, is not responsible to the legislature as he/she is appointed separately and exists separately from the legislature. The President is in fact directly responsible to the public.

**6) Stability –**

The cabinet executive is not a stable political system. Since the legislature is capable of easily removing the Prime Minister and the cabinet, the cabinet executive faces a constant threat of being prematurely removed. Therefore, most cabinet governments seem to be falling before completing their official term.

The Presidential executive however, faces very little threat as removing a President is a very difficult task. Therefore, most Presidents complete their official term without much trouble.

**7) Democratic nature –**

The cabinet system is considered the most suitable in terms of democracy since the Prime Minister and the cabinet are under the constant control of the legislature and since the executive can be easily removed. A Prime Minister is highly unlikely to turn into a dictator. The prime minister is also supposed to share his powers with members of the cabinet as well as the nominal executive. Due to these reasons the cabinet executive protects democratic stability much better.

The Presidential system is not democracy-friendly in contrast to the cabinet system. Since the legislature has a very limited control over the President and the removal of the President is a very difficult task, hence the President is more likely to turn into a dictator. The President also does not share his powers with any other entities.

Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

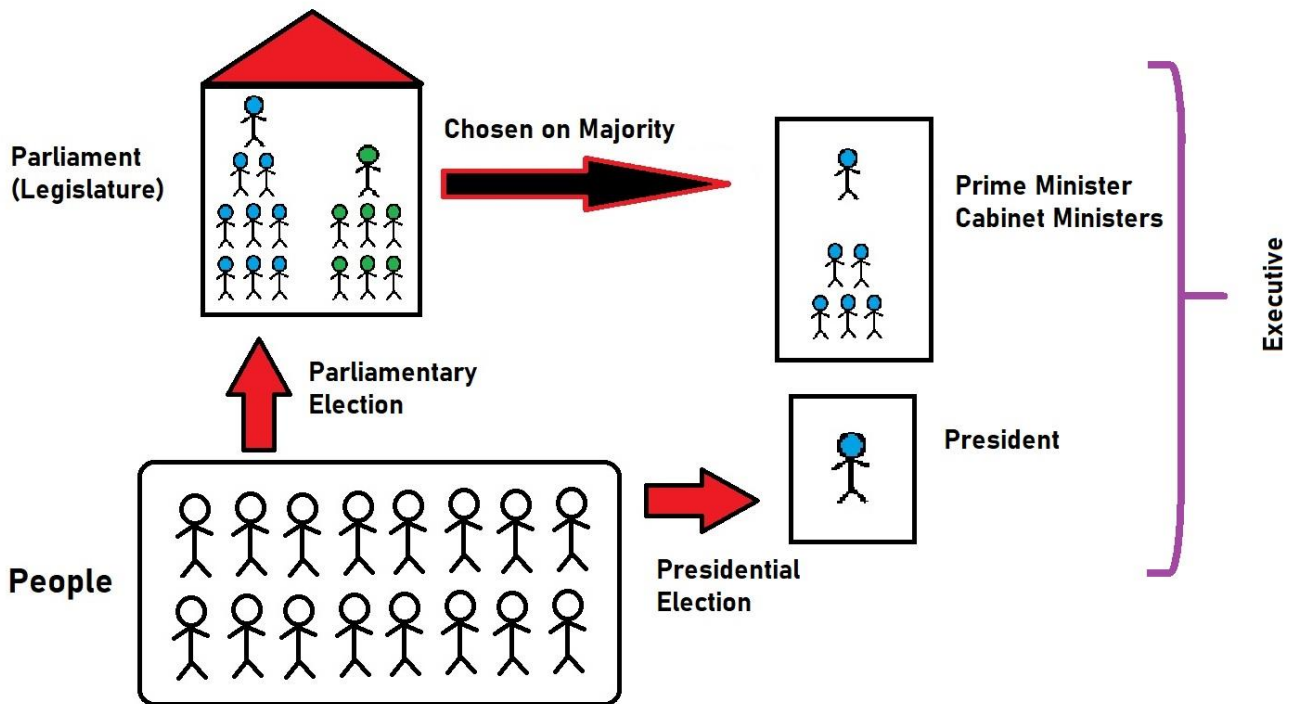
## Mixed (Semi-Presidential/Hybrid) Format



The mixed system of executive is a general term that is used to refer to a governmental system featuring elements from different executive systems. Some countries seem to follow combinations of monarchies and republics as well as Presidential and cabinet formats. In political science the mixed system of Presidential and cabinet format is considered the most important.

The executive systems with cabinet and Presidential features combined are known as semi-Presidential systems. Under these systems the executive consists of a directly appointed President as well as a Prime Minister and a cabinet appointed through the legislature.

This system was initiated in France under the 5<sup>th</sup> Republican constitution. Charles de Gaulle was the French leader who created this format by adopting and amalgamating both the British and American constitutions. It is currently in use in countries such as Bulgaria, Lithuania, Madagascar, Mali etc. Sri Lanka adopted this system in 1978 under the second Republican constitution of the country.



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## **Main Features of the Semi-Presidential System:**

### **✿ Mixed executive –**

A semi-Presidential system consists of two parts. A President is directly appointed and the Prime Minister and the cabinet are chosen from the legislature. The President appoints the Prime Minister and the cabinet based on the parliament majority. This is similar to the duty of the executive of a cabinet system.

### **✿ The President being the main role –**

Despite the existence of the Prime Minister and a cabinet, the President still holds important powers and tasks of the system. Therefore, the positions of:

- 1) Head of the state
- 2) Head of the executive
- 3) Head of the government
- 4) Highest commanding officer of the army

are given to the President. The Prime Minister and cabinet are simply there to support the President.

### **✿ A Part of the executive being controlled by the legislature –**

The Prime Minister and the cabinet of a Semi-Presidential system are controlled by the legislature. The President is free from the control of the legislature.

### **✿ Cohabitation Governments –**

Cohabitation governments are a unique feature of semi-Presidential systems. This occurs when the Presidential election is won by candidate representing a party and the parliamentary election is won by another party. Hence the President and the prime minister represent two different parties.



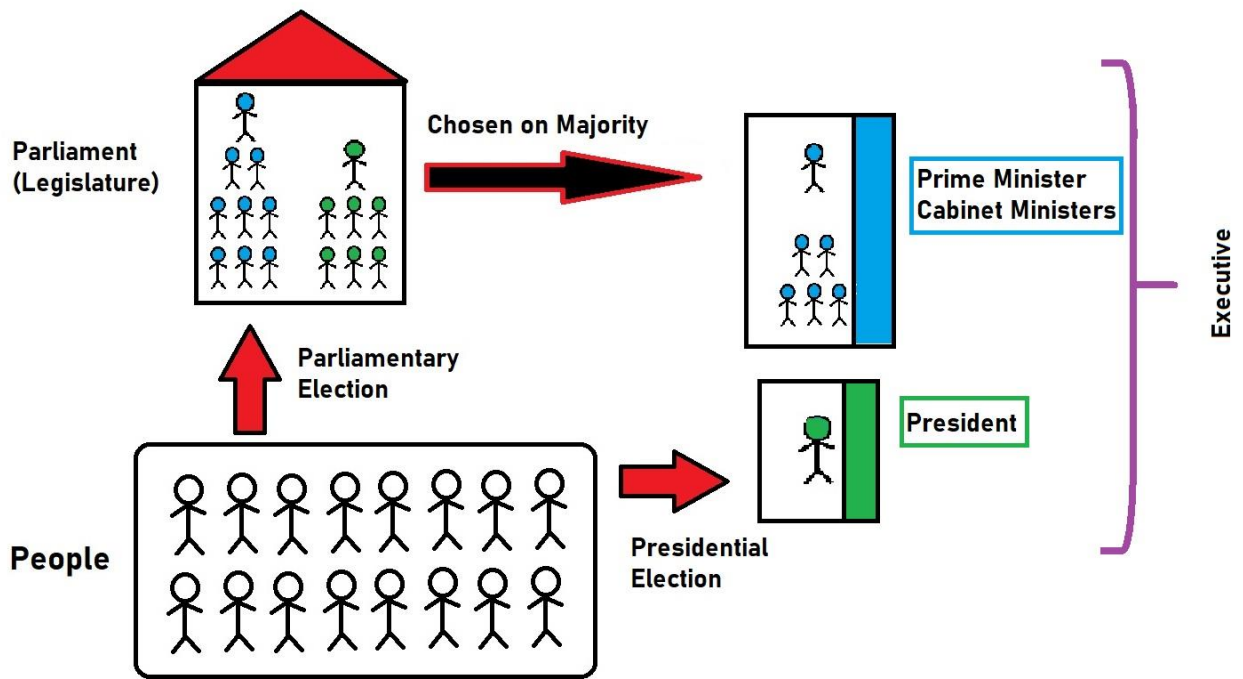
Although the President has the main role in a semi-Presidential system, under cohabitation the Prime Minister practically becomes more powerful due to the support of the legislature. Therefore, the President practically becomes a nominal executive and stays away from governance.

Even in a cohabitation theoretically the President still holds all four positions as head of the state, executive, government and armed forces. However, the Prime Minister **practically** acts as the head of government. Hence, it can be seen that the Semi-Presidential system generally functions as a Presidential system and under cohabitation it functions as a cabinet system.

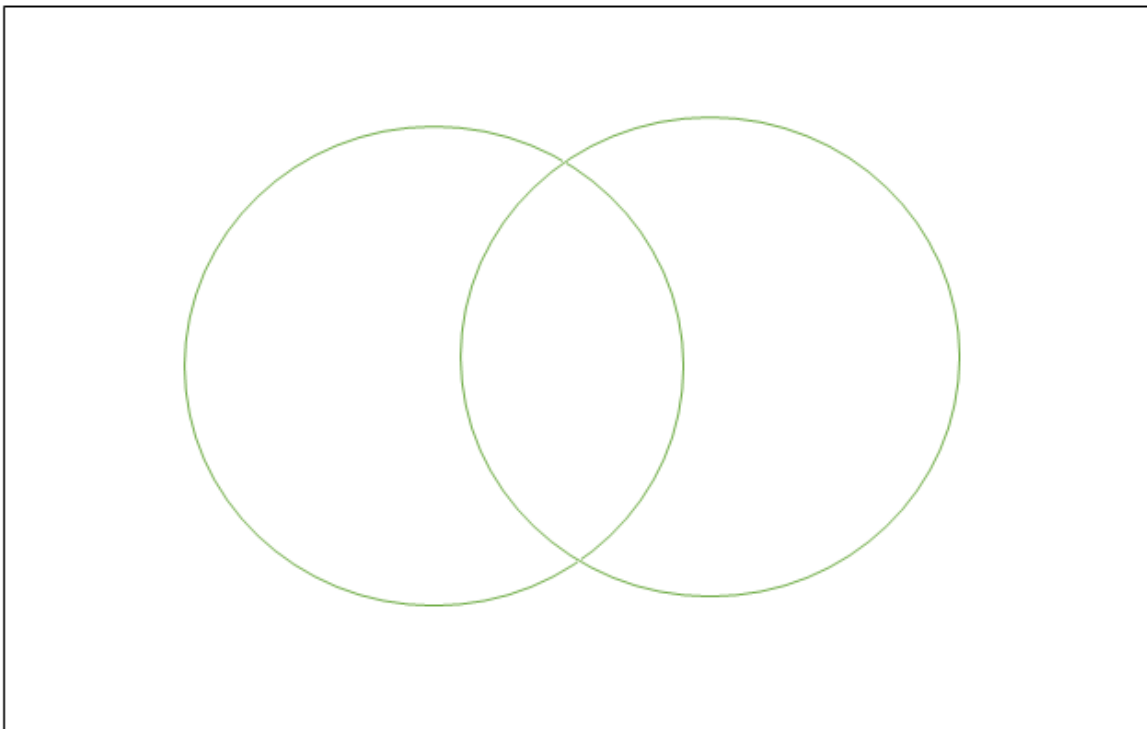
It is also important to mention that cohabitation governments often result in political conflicts as the President and the Prime Minister represent two different parties.

e.g. In 2002 the parliamentary election was won by the UNP; hence its leader Ranil Wickremasinghe became the Prime Minister while President Chandrika Bandaranaike was still in power. This resulted in a cohabitation government where the Prime Minister and the Cabinet ministers belong to one party while the President represented the opposition party at parliament.

As usual this cohabitation government too, suffered from internal conflicts and the government came to a premature ending in 2004.



Co habitation government with a President and the Prime Minister from different parties.



### Advantages of a Semi-Presidential System:

#### **1) Protecting both efficiency and democracy –**

Since the mixed executive system has a President as well as a Prime Minister who is responsible to the legislature it protects efficiency as well as democratic nature.

The President has the opportunity to make strong decisions while the Prime Minister and the cabinet maintain accountability within the legislature.

#### **2) Allowing more members to the executive –**

The mixed executive system allows many more people to participate in the executive and handle the responsibilities of the Prime Minister and other ministers.

#### **3) Having Experienced Future Leaders –**

Since the mixed executive system consists of both a President and a Prime Minister the country has a leader as well as a deputy leader. The position of the Prime Minister has more practical tasks and responsibilities than a vice President in a Presidential system. Therefore, the Prime Minister in a mixed executive system is more qualified as a future leader. Other senior ministers also have sufficient experience to fill in the role of the Prime Minister. Therefore, it can be seen that the mixed executive system has a very effective system of training future leaders.

**4) The responsibility of uniting the country while protecting diversity –**

The President of a mixed executive system can act as a solitary leader who represents every citizen while the Prime Minister and the cabinet can in fact provide representation for different ethnic groups for their desires. Therefore, this system could be ideal in a multi-ethnic country as a means of uniting the nation without compromising diversity.

**5) Creating a checks and balances system –**

Since the mixed executive system has two institutes in the executive, both the President and the Prime Minister do not have the opportunity to exercise unchecked power. This means that the President and the Prime Minister would control each other as a checks and balances system.

**6) The possibility of determining public opinion more frequently –**

A mixed executive system requires two national elections: The Presidential election and the parliamentary election. Therefore, in a mixed executive system, elections are more frequent. Therefore, these elections provide frequent opportunities to determine public opinion without waiting for the completion of a term.

e.g. In 1999 President Chandrika Bandaranaike was elected for a six-year term.

However, two years later her party lost the parliamentary election to Ranil Wickremasinghe's UNP, which showed that public opinion had changed within two years. In 2004 the UNP lost the parliamentary election, which showed that public opinion had changed yet again in less than three years.

### Disadvantages of a Mixed Executive System:

#### **1) The President being too powerful –**

Although the mixed executive system features both a President and a Prime Minister, in practical politics the powers are dominated by the President except in cohabitation governments, while which the Prime Minister and the cabinet hardly have any reasonable influence on the political system. The President already holds the positions of head of state, executive, government and armed forces, which makes the Prime Minister a supporting character. This has led some political scientists to define the mixed executive system as a Presidential system in disguise.

#### **2) Internal political conflicts –**

Due to the fact that the mixed executive system consists of two authorities, it is more likely for a power struggle to occur within the executive itself. The President and the Prime Minister could engage in political sparring due to a difference in opinions. This is more observable in cohabitation governments.

#### **3) Conflict of Interest of the President in Cohabitations –**

When a mixed executive system is experiencing a cohabitation government, the President of the country is in fact a member of the opposition party of the parliament. Although the President is expected to act as a nominal executive, technically he/she is still the head of the executive. The President still sits in the main chair in cabinet meetings; which a conflict of interest as a member of the opposition sitting in a cabinet meeting, compromises the confidentiality of the meeting.

**4) Both efficiency and democracy being compromised–**

Although it is argued that the existence of a strong President and a responsible Prime Minister would protect both efficiency and democracy, it is also argued that these would, on the contrary, compromise them. The arbitrary power of the President compromises democracy while the instability of the Prime Minister and the cabinet result in inefficiency.

**5) Being more expensive –**

Since the mixed executive system has two executive institutes, two separate elections should be held. In addition, the administration requires funds and resources twice. Therefore, the mixed system costs more than a cabinet or Presidential system.

**6) The reputation of the Prime Minister, Cabinet and President being undermined –**

The parliamentary system is a political tradition that was introduced to the world by Great Britain. In the cabinet form of government, the institute of the parliament, the position of the Prime Minister and other cabinet ministers are considered highly respectable and reputable concepts. However, these concepts are quite ineffective and powerless in a mixed system due to the powers of the President. This creates a weak political image of these institutes in the political world.

## Autocratic Format



An autocratic executive is basically a non-democratic executive which is not appointed by the people, responsible to the people or can be removed by the people. This governance could be led by a single person or a single party. Modern day autocratic governments are mostly either absolute monarchies or dictatorships.

e.g. Absolute monarchy – Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Brunei

Dictatorships – North Korea, Belarus, Eritrea

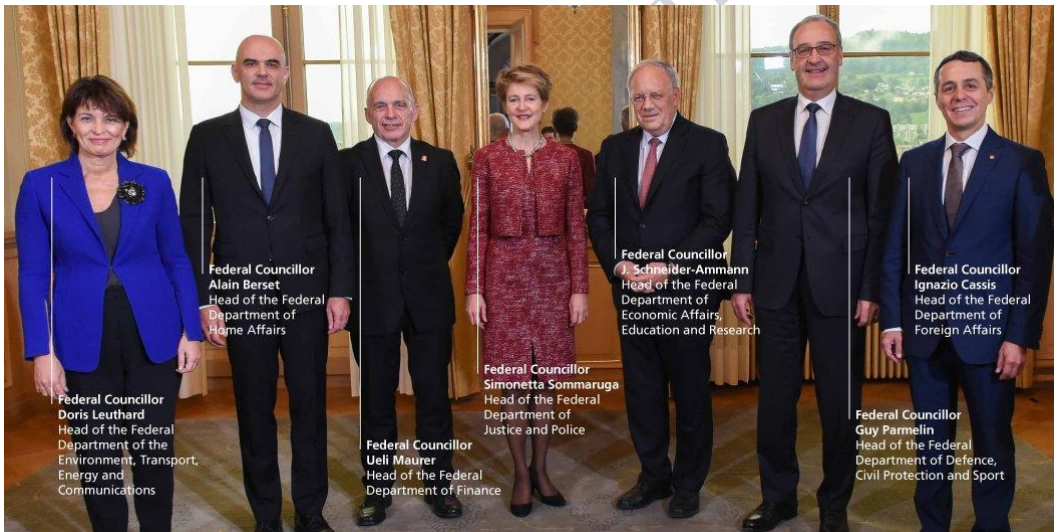
An autocratic government is basically a power-centralized system. This means that the executive holds all the powers without a limit and the legislature and judiciary either have very limited power or do not exist at all.

The term dictatorship is mostly associated with a single-person-based autocracy. A group-based-autocracy is generally known as a totalitarian government. Meanwhile the political theory of Fascism is a theory on the state that supports the idea of an autocracy. However, not all autocratic governments and dictatorships are considered Fascist since Fascism has unique features as a theory.

## Unique/Special Formats

Certain countries in the world have opted to follow unique executive formats which are different from parliamentary, Presidential, mixed or autocratic systems. These can be categorized as special executives.

e.g. Switzerland has a special executive which is known as the Federal Council. It is a council of seven members that functions as a collective executive. This council is chaired by a chairman who is known as the President. However, this chairman has no special powers besides those of his fellow members. The chairman also changes every year.



Members of the Swiss Federal Council

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## Other Categorizations of Governments

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About the Author,



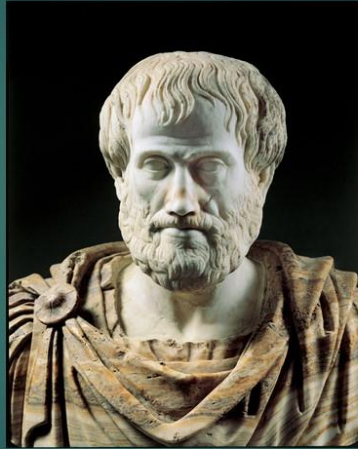
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- Author of 5 books including ‘කතීර සටන - ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට නව මැතිවරණ ක්‍රමයක්’ (2016) which suggested a new electoral method for Sri Lanka.

(The electoral method was officially submitted to the Commission of Public Representation on Constitutional Reforms in 2016)

- Served as the Political Science (English medium) teacher in charge for Royal College from 2017 to 2019.
- Was in charge of making and marking term test papers for Political Science for St. Bridget’s Convent (2016 to 2018) and St. Peter’s College (2018 to 2020).
- Currently acting as the coach for the English debating team of St. Peter’s College.
- Has been a private tutor in political science for more than 6 years. (since 2015)

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