



# **Democracy and Distributive Politics**

**Ruben Blanchard**





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## **Chapter 1**

# **Introduction**

## **Democracy**

### **Meaning of democracy**

Democracy is a shape of government and an ideal, an aspiration and an average. The center unit of democracy is self-rule. The origin of the word democracy can be traced back to ancient Greece. Derived from the Greek term '*demokratia*', it means rule through the people. In the literal sense, it rejects the isolation of the two, i.e., flanked by the ruler and the ruled. It is motivating to note that unlike the words communism and socialism, which has a point of reference in Marxism, democracy has not been associated with a specific doctrinal source or ideology. In fact, it is a byproduct of the whole growth of Western culture and so, tends to be used rather loosely. Therefore, the history of the thought of democracy is rather intricate and is marked through conflicting and confusing conceptions. It is confusing because 'this is still an active history' and also because the issues are intricate.

Though, it has been justified and defended on the grounds that it achieves one or more of the following fundamental value or goods like equality, liberty, moral self-growth, the general interest, private interests, social utility etc.

## **Several Meanings**

Varied meanings have been attached to the term 'democracy'. Few of them are since follows:

- A shape of government in which people rule directly;
- A society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege;
- A organization of decision-creation based on the principle of majority rule;
- A organization of rule that secures the rights and interests of minorities through placing checks upon the authority of the majority;
- A means of filling public offices by a competitive thrash about for the popular vote;
- An organization of government that serves the interests of the people regardless of their participation in political life.
- An organization of government based on the consent of the governed.

## **Linking Government To The People**

From the dissimilar meanings that are associated with democracy, one item that becomes clear is that democracy links government to the people. Though, this link can be forged in a number of methods depending upon the superior political civilization of that society. Due to this, there have been ideological differences and political debates concerning the exact

nature of democratic rule. Nonetheless, any discussion on democracy tends to address three significant questions:

- Who are the people
- In what sense the people rule
- How distant should popular rule extend

## **Direct Democracy**

Direct Democracy is a shape of self-government in which all communal decisions are taken by participation of all adult citizens of the state in the spirit of equality and open deliberations. Deliberations or discussions are significant because decisions arrived at by discussions are bigger informed, logical and rational. This is because discussions allow a group to reconcile dissimilar interests, inform members in relation to the several issues and attract on the group's expertise. In other terms, debates enable people to both power and to be convinced through the group. The significant characteristic of direct democracy is the mechanism that 'all command each and each in his turn all'. It was achieved in ancient Athens by a shape of government brought in relation to the since a result of a size meeting. Its contemporary manifestation is the referendum. 'Gram Sabha', since envisaged in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, is an example of direct democracy in rural India.

## **Principles Governing Direct Democracy**

In a direct democracy, so, the best decisions can never be arrived at by voting. The principle of direct democracy is to govern by

consensus, which emerges from cautious deliberations of options or alternatives. In the absence of formal representative organizations, people create decisions themselves by public discussions. In other terms, the following principles apply in direct democracy:

- People are sovereign
- Sovereignty is inalienable and cannot be represented
- People necessarily express their common will and create decisions directly by referenda
- Decisions are to be based on majority rule

To sum up direct democracy is based on direct, unmediated and continuous participation of citizens in the tasks of government. It obliterates the distinction flanked by government and the governed and flanked by state and civil society. In direct democracy, state and society become one. It is an organization of popular self-government.

### **Merits of Direct Democracy**

The merits of direct democracy contain the following:

- It heightens manage that citizens can exercise in excess of their own destinies, since it is the only pure shape of democracy.
- It creates a bigger informed and more politically sophisticated citizenry, and therefore it has educational benefits.

- It enables the public to express their own views and interests without having to rely on self-serving politicians
- It ensures that rule is legitimate in the sense that people are more likely to accept decisions that they have made themselves.

### **Greek Democracy since Direct Democracy**

The classic instance of a direct democracy is that of ancient Athens throughout the 4th century BC. It can be measured since the only pure or ideal organization of popular participation recognized therefore distant. It had a specific type of direct popular rule in which all-important decisions were taken however size meetings.

The Assembly or *Ecclesia* to which all citizens belonged made all biggest decisions. This assembly met at least 40 times a year to settle issues put before it. When full time public officials were required, they were chosen on the foundation of lots. This procedure was adapted to ensure that they were a section of the superior body of citizens.

The posts were, though, not fixed and were rotated in quite a frequency therefore that all citizens gained experience in the art of governing and therefore, tried to achieve the broadest possible participation. A council consisting of 500 citizens acted since the executive or steering committee of the assembly and a 50 strong committee in turn made proposals to the council.

## **Athenian Democracy: Causes For Its Fame**

It is significant to understand what made Athenian democracy therefore extra ordinary. Athens, in fact, symbolized a new political civilization enfranchising the entire citizenry. The citizens not only participated in regular meetings of the assembly, but they were in big numbers, prepared to undertake the responsibilities of public office and decision-making. Formally, citizens were differentiated on the foundation of rank and wealth in their involvement in public affairs. The demos held sovereign authority, i.e., supreme power to engage in legislative and judicial behaviors. The Athenian concept of citizenship entailed taking a share in this function, participating directly in the affairs of the state.

Athenian democracy was marked through a common commitment to the principle of civic virtue which actually meant commitment and dedication to the republican municipality-state, the subordination of private life to public affairs and the attainment of general good. In other terms, there was no isolation of public and private life and individuals could attain self-fulfillment and live an honorable life 'in and by the poleis, i.e. the municipality-state. For instance, citizens had rights and obligations but not since private individuals, rather since members of the political society. There were, therefore, public rights and good life was possible only in the polis. Therefore, 'In the Greek vision of democracy, politics is a natural social action not sharply separated from the rest of life. Rather political life is only an extension of and harmonious with oneself'. It looks that the

Athenians whispered in a 'free and open' political life in which citizens could develop and realize their capacities and ability and the *telos* of the general good. And justice meant securing and realization of the citizen's role and lay in the municipality-states.

### **Aristotle's 'The Politics'**

We discover the mainly detailed and extra ordinary explanation of ancient democracy in Aristotle's well-known job *The Politics* which was written flanked by 335 and 323 BC. His job examines the claims, ethical standards and aims of democracy and states distinctly, the key characteristics of a number of Greek democracies. Liberty and equality are connected jointly, particularly if you claim to be a democrat. Without the subsistence of one, the other is hard to achieve. There are two criteria of liberty: a) to rule and in turn being ruled and b) livelihood since one chooses. If one wants to execute the first criterion since an effective principle of government, it is necessary that all citizens are equal. Without numerical equality, it is not possible for the majority to be sovereign. Numerical equality here means that everyone has an equal share in the art of ruling. The classical or the earlier democrats felt that numerical equality was possible to achieve because a) citizens are paid for their participation in government and so, are not losers because of their political involvement, b) citizens have equal voting authority and c) in principle, everyone has an equal opportunity to hold office. In a nutshell, what we can understand from this is that equality is the practical foundation of liberty and it is also the moral foundation. Therefore, on the foundation

of Aristotle's explanation, classical democracy including direct democracy entails liberty and liberty entails equality.

### **Limitations of Direct Democracy**

A distinctive characteristic of direct democracy since practiced in ancient Athens was its exclusivity. The Municipality-State was marked through unity, solidarity, participation and a highly restricted citizenship. There was no isolation flanked by public and private life and even however state and government were inextricably connected with the lives of the citizens, it only involved a little part of the population. It is motivating to note that the Athenian political civilization was an adult male civilization, i.e. only men in excess of the age of 20 years were qualified to become citizens. It was a democracy of patriarchs in which women had no political rights and even their civic rights were strictly limited. There were also other kinds of residents who were ineligible to participate in formal proceedings; like 'immigrants' who had settled in Athens many generations earlier, but were not the original inhabitants. Though, the slave population constituted, through distant, the mainly politically marginalized people. Here, what we discover is that 'political equality' since practiced in Athens did not mean 'equal authority' for all. It was rather a shape of equality that was applicable to those having equal status and in the Athenian context, it was meant for only males and Athenian born. Therefore, several were a minority of the superior citizenry. Unquestionably, the politics of ancient Athens rested on a highly undemocratic foundation.



## **Flaws of Athenian Democracy**

What we can conclude from the above account is that democracy practiced through ancient Athens had serious flaws. If contemporary democracy is based on the market economy, Athens was a democracy built on slavery; the labour of slaves created the time for the citizen elite to participate. The lack of permanent bureaucracy contributed to ineffective government, leading eventually to the fall of the Athenian republic after defeat in war. It is motivating to note that the mainly influential critic of this shape of democracy i.e. direct democracy was the philosopher Plato. Plato attacked the principle of political equality on the grounds that the masses are not made equal through nature and so, cannot rule themselves wisely. This is because they possess neither the wisdom nor the experience to do therefore. The solution since stated in his well-known job *The Republic* was that the government be placed in the hands of a class of philosopher-kings, the Guardians, whose rule would be something same to what can be described enlightened dictatorship. At a practical stage, though, the principal drawback of Athenian democracy was that it could operate only through excluding the size of the population from political action. This was possible only in little city-states with limited populations and not in superior contemporary democracies with better populations since they exist today. Despite its flaws, the Athenian model was crucial in establishing the democratic principle. Finer, 'The Greeks invented two of the mainly potent political characteristics of our present age: they invented:

- The extremely thought of citizen since opposed to subject and
- They invented democracy.

## **Direct Democracy in Contemporary Times**

The classical model of direct and continuous popular participation in political life has been kept alive in sure sections of the world, notably in community meetings of New England in the USA and in communal assemblies which operate in smaller Swiss cantons. The mainly general way used in recent times is referendum since compared to the size meetings of ancient Athens. Referendum is a vote in which the electorate can express a view on a scrupulous issue of public policy. It differs from an election in that the latter is essentially a means of filling a public office and does not give a direct or reliable way of influencing the content of a policy. A device of direct democracy, referendum is used not to replace representative organizations, but to supplement them. They may either be advisory or binding; they may also raise issues for discussions.

## **Representative Democracy**

### **Limited and Indirect**

Representative democracy is a limited and indirect shape of democracy: It is limited in the sense that participation in government is infrequent and brief, being restricted to the act of voting every some years. It is indirect in the sense that the public

does not exercise authority through itself, but selects those who will rule on its behalf. This shape of rule is democratic only since distant since representation establishes a reliable and effective link flanked by the government and the governed. The strengths of representative democracy contain the following:

- It offers a practicable shape of democracy, since big populations cannot actually participate in the governmental procedure.
- It relieves the ordinary citizen of the burden of decision-creation, therefore creation it possible to have division of labour in politics.
- It maintains continuity through distancing the ordinary citizen from politics thereby encouraging them to accept compromise.

### **Synonymous with Electoral Democracy**

Though, although these characteristics may be a necessary precondition for representative democracy, they should not be mistaken for democracy itself. The democratic content in representative democracy is the thought of popular consent, expressed by the act of voting. Representative democracy is, therefore, a shape of electoral democracy, in that popular election is seen since the only legitimate source of political power. Such elections necessity respect the principle of political equality based on universal adult franchise, irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex, religion or economic status. The center of the democratic procedure is the capability of the people to call politicians to explanation.

In short, the essence of representative democracy lies in:

- Political pluralism
- Open competition flanked by political philosophies, movements, parties and therefore on

## **Dissimilar Views on Representative Democracy**

There are dissimilar views on representative democracy. The first implies that in representative democracy, political authority is ultimately wielded through voters at election time. Therefore, the virtue of representative democracy lies in its capability of blind elite rule with an important measure of political participation. Government is entrusted to politicians, but these politicians are forced to respond to popular pressures through the easy information that the public put them there in the first lay, and can later remove them. The voter exercises the similar authority in the political market since the consumer does in economic markets. Joseph Schumpeter summed it up in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy through* describing representative democracy since that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the authority to decide through means of a competitive thrash about for people's vote.

## **Pluralist**

Democracy is pluralist in nature. In its broader sense, pluralism is a commitment to variety or multiplicity. In its narrower sense, pluralism is a theory of sharing of political authority. It holds

that authority is widely and evenly dispersed in society, instead of being concentrated in some hands since the elitists claim. In this shape, pluralism is usually seen since a theory of 'group politics' in which individuals are mainly represented by their membership of organized clusters, ethnic clusters and these clusters have access to the policy procedure.

### **Elitist**

It refers to a minority in whose hands authority, wealth or privilege is concentrated justifiably or otherwise. Elitism believes in rule through an elite or minority. Classical elitism, urbanized through Mosca, Pareto and Michele, saw elite rule since being inevitable, unchangeable information of social subsistence. What is majority rule? Few view democracy since a majority rule. Majority rule is a practice in which priority is reported to the will of the majority. What is majoritarianism? Majoritarianism implies insensitivity towards minorities and individuals.

### **Rival Views**

There is a considerable amount of conflict in relation to the meaning and significance of representative democracy. Few questions raised through scholars are since follows:

- Does it ensure a genuine and healthy dispersal of political authority?
- Do democratic procedures genuinely promote extensive-word benefits, or are they self-defeating?
- Can political equality co-exist with economic equality?

In short, representative democracy is interpreted in dissimilar methods through dissimilar theorists. Mainly significant in the middle of these interpretations are advanced through Pluralism, Elitism, the New Right and Marxism. For several political thinkers, representative's democracy is basically larger to every other shape of political system. Few argue that representative democracy is the shape of government that best protects human rights, because it is based on the recognition of the intrinsic worth and equality of human beings.

Others consider that democracy is the shape of government which is mainly likely to take rational decisions because it can count on the pooled knowledge and expertise of a society's whole population.

Others claim that democracies are stable and extensive-lasting because their elected leaders enjoy a strong sense of legitimacy.

Still others consider that representative democracy is mainly conducive to economic development and well being.

Few consider that in representative democracy, human beings are best able to develop their natural capacities and talents. Yet, democracy remnants a job in progress – an evolving aspiration rather than a finished product.

# **Fundamental Principles Of Representative Democracy**

## **Popular Sovereignty**

It means that the ultimate source of all public power is the people, and that the government does what the people want to be done. Four observable circumstances can be recognized in popular sovereignty:

- Government policies reflect what the people want
- People participate in the political procedure
- Information is accessible and debate takes lay
- Majority rules, i.e., policies are decided on the foundation of what a majority of people want.

## **Political Equality**

Each person carries equal weight in the conduct of public affairs, irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex or religion. But political thinkers whispered that great inequalities in economic conditions can eventually turn into political inequality. Robert Dahl describes the problem in following terms, 'if citizens are unequal in economic possessions... they are likely to be unequal in political possessions; and political equality will be impossible to achieve.' Particularly significant in contemporary times is the unequal power in manage of information, financial contributions to electoral campaigns. This unequal power symbolizes a serious

barrier in achieving a complete democracy. The ideal society for the practice of democracy was the one with a big transitional class – without an arrogant and overbearing prosperous class and without a discontented poverty-stricken class.

## **Political Liberty**

The citizens in democracy are protected from government interference in the exercise of vital freedom, such since freedom of speech, association, movement and conscience. It is said that liberty and democracy are inseparable. The concept of self-government implies not only the right to vote, right to run for public office but also the right to expression, to petition the government, to join any political party, interest group or social movement.

In the practice of democracy, though, it has appeared that liberty can be threatened through democracy rather than being an essential ingredient. Following are the largest criticisms that are leveled against democracy:

‘Majority Tyranny’ threatens Liberty: Majority tyranny implies the suppression of rights and liberties of a minority through the majority. It is whispered that unbridled majority rule leaves no room for the claims of minorities. Nevertheless, the threat of majority tyranny can be exaggerated. Robert Dahl points out that there is no proof to support the belief that the rights of ethnic and religious minorities are bigger protected under alternative shapes of political decision-creation.

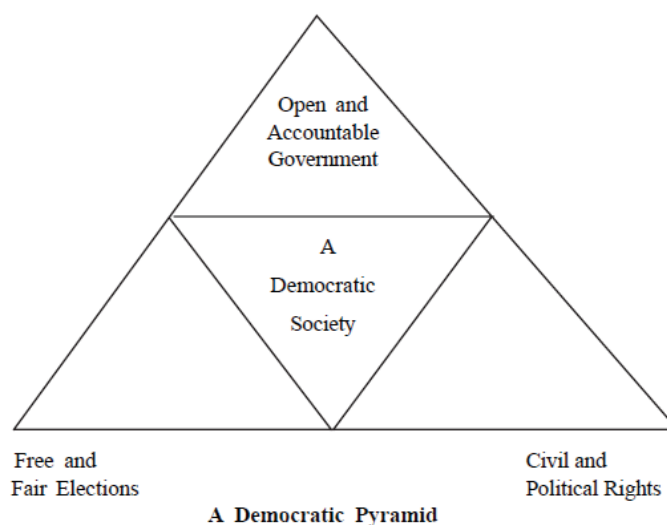


Democracy leads to bad decisions: It is argued through few that representative democracy, which is majoritarian through nature, is not perfect. They say that there is no guarantee that representative democracy will always lead to a good decision. A majority, like the minority, can be unwise, cruel and uncaring and can be misled through unscrupulous or incompetent leaders.

## **Representative Democracy in Practice**

Having said this, let us now pay attention to the actual working of representative democracy. The chief features of a functioning democracy are:

- Free and fair elections
- Open and accountable government
- Civil and political rights
- The table given below provides a good thought of these characteristics.



*Political Parties:* Political parties play a crucial section in the political procedure. In a big measure, political parties determine the operational character of the democratic organization. They give a biggest political dynamic for the working of formal organizations of the organization.

A political party consists of a group of citizens more or less organized, who act since a political element. Through the exploit of their voting authority, they aim to manage the government and carry out their common policies. Few of the essential characteristics of a political party are:

- People constituting a political party have a sure degree of agreement on fundamental principles.
- They seek to achieve their objectives by constitutional means.
- A political party aims to further national interest rather than sectional interest.
- It seeks to capture political authority to enable it to further public interest.

*Political parties* constitute the backbone of democracy and perform the following *functions*:

- *Parties mould public opinion:* Political parties stimulate the interest of public on dissimilar issues troubles such since housing, livelihood standards, education, foreign dealings, budget etc.

- Parties play a role in the conduct of elections: Elections to the legislature are held on party rows. Political parties select appropriate candidates for party tickets. On the day of voting, parties ensure the maximum turnout of voters.
- Political parties shape the government: The party which secures the majority shapes the government. If no single party secures the majority, then a combination of parties, described coalition, shape the government.
- The opposition acts since a check on government: The opposition party keeps a vigilant eye on the actions and policies of government and highlights its lapses and failures.
- Political parties shape a link flanked by government and people: Parties explain the policies of government to the people and convey reactions of the people to parliament and public officials.
- Political parties impart education to people: Political parties create the people aware of their political rights and stakes in government.
- Political parties act since a unifying force: Political parties are compelled to seek support of all parts of people, livelihood in dissimilar sections of the country. Therefore, they act since a unifying force.

## **Democracy and Elections**

Contemporary democratic states have representative governments. Big mass and population of contemporary

democratic states create it hard to practice direct democracy since a shape of government. Hence, all contemporary democracies have indirect or representative governments, which are elected through people. These representatives are chosen through people by elections. Therefore, elections have assumed an extremely significant role in the formation of contemporary representative democracy. An election is a contest flanked by dissimilar political parties for receiving people's support. At times, an individual can also contest an election since a self-governing candidate. The advantages of contesting elections since a party candidate are since follows:

- Political parties follow specific policies; so, when a candidate symbolizes a party, it is easier for voters to know what he stands for.
- Party candidates get funds from political parties to organize election campaigns.
- Party volunteers may be provided through the party to the candidate throughout the procedure of electioneering.
- Familiar leaders of the party canvass for party candidates and address their rallies.

## **The Election Procedure**

Elections in a democratic organization are based on the principle of equality i.e. *one person, one vote*. All persons irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex or religion enjoy sure political rights. In the middle of these rights, the mainly significant right is the

right to vote. In politics, everyone is equal-every person has an equal say in the formation of government.

*Secret Ballot:* The voter casts his vote secretly in an enclosure; therefore that no one comes to know of the choice he has made. In representative democracy, secret voting is preferred; otherwise, the voter may not exercise his true choice openly due to fear of intimidation and undue power.

*Constituency:* Constituencies are marked in order to carry out the election procedure with efficiency. Constituency is the territorial region from where a candidate contests elections. If only one person is to be elected from a constituency, it is described a *single member Constituency*. If many representatives are elected from the similar constituency, then it is described a *multi-member constituency*.

The whole election procedure, e.g. in India, is mannered, controlled and managed through a self-governing body described the *Election Commission*. It ensures free and fair elections. The Election Commission fixes and announces the dates of elections in our country. The Election Commission has another extremely significant responsibility. It makes certain that the party in authority does not get undue advantage in excess of other parties. The procedure of election runs by many formal levels. This procedure includes of:

- Announcement of dates
- Filing of nomination papers
- Scrutiny of applications

- Withdrawal of applications
- Publication of the final list
- Campaigning
- Casting of votes
- Announcement of results

In fact, the moment the Election Commission announces the dates of elections, political parties start their behaviors. The first task of political parties becomes the selection of candidates who are going to contest in elections since their party candidates. Contemporary electioneering is a cumbersome procedure. It requires a vast system to control it, which is provided through political parties.

Moreover, elections need a reasonable amount of finance, which is also provided through political parties.

### **Selection of Candidates**

In the functioning of representative democracy, the role of political parties has become both, indispensable and extremely significant. In fact, political parties have given an organized form to democratic politics.

Political parties field and support their candidates, and organize their campaigns. Every political party announces specific programmes and promises to implement these programmes in case it comes to authority. Voters while casting votes for a candidate of a scrupulous party do therefore knowing fully well the programmes and policies of that party.

## **Nomination**

Once election dates are announced, political parties have to choose their candidates by a procedure of selection. Then, candidates have to file their nominations to election offices which are appointed through the Election Commission. There is a last date for filing nomination papers. After all nominations have been filed, there is a procedure of scrutiny. It is done to check whether all information given in nomination papers is correct. If there is a doubt or a candidate is not establishing eligible, his/her nomination paper is rejected. Once the scrutiny is in excess of, candidates are given a date for withdrawal. The withdrawal procedure makes certain that There is since small wastage of votes since possible and That all names printed on ballot paper are those of serious candidates.

## **Representations**

Political parties have representations which are allotted through the Election Commission (EC). The EC allots representations to each political party and makes certain that they are not same because they can confuse voters. In India, representations are important for the following causes:

- They are a help for illiterate voters who cannot read names of candidates.
- They help in differentiating flanked by two candidates having the similar name.
- They reflect ideology of the concerned political party.

## **Campaigning**

Campaigning is the procedure through which a candidate tries to persuade voters to vote for him rather than for others. Each political party and every candidate tries to reach since several voters since possible. A number of campaign techniques are involved in election procedure. Few of these are:

- Holding of public meetings which are addressed through candidates and a number of regional and national leaders of a party.
- Pasting of posters on walls and putting up big and little hoardings on roadside.
- Distinction of handbills which highlight largest issues of their manifesto.
- Taking out procession in support of dissimilar candidates.
- Door-to-door appeal through influential people in party and locality.
- Broadcasting and telecasting speeches of several party leaders.

## **Counting of Votes and Declaration of Results**

After voting is in excess of, ballot boxes are sealed and taken to counting centers. Throughout counting, the candidate or his representative is present. After counting, a candidate receiving an easy majority is declared elected. At times, easy majority leads to troubles. The elected candidate symbolizes majority when there are only two candidates, but not therefore if there are three



or more candidates; e.g. if A gets 40 and B, C and D get 20 votes, then A is declared elected. Now, however A has got 40 votes he does not reflect the majority because 60 votes are actually against him. Elections are an extremely significant section of democracy because the whole fortification of a democratic organization depends on how elections are held.

### **Democracy and Alienation**

Alienation amounts to isolation from one's genuine or essential nature. What passes for democracy in the contemporary world tends to be a limited and indirect shape of democracy, thereby alienating the individual citizen. This democracy is small more than, what Joseph Schumpeter referred to since an 'institutional arrangement' for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the authority to decide through means of a competitive thrash about for peoples' vote.

This institutional arrangement has been criticized through radical democrats for reducing popular participation to a close to meaningless ritual, i.e., casting a vote every some years for politicians who can only be removed through replacing them with another set of politicians. In short, people never rule and the rising gulf flanked by government and people is reflected in the spread of inertia, apathy and alienation.

### **Democracy and Public Opinion**

To a great extent, democracy depends on public opinion. In a representative democracy, every government has to think of what

will be the public reaction to its policies. All parties want to capture and retain authority. Coming back to authority in the next successive election depends on what people think in relation to the job when the party was in authority.

Strong public opinion plays an extremely important role in capture of authority and forming government through a single party or a combination of parties, described coalition. If the public is alert and intelligent and keeps itself informed, government cannot take the risk of disregarding people's aspirations. If it disregards their aspirations, it instantly becomes unpopular. On the other hand, if public is not alert and intelligent, government can become irresponsible? At times, this might threaten the extremely foundations of democracy.

*Formulation of Public Opinion:* Public opinion is shaped in several methods and many agencies contribute in shaping public opinion. For a healthy public opinion, citizens should know what is happening approximately them, in their own country and in the world at big. A country's government makes policies not only in relation to the internal troubles, but has a foreign policy also. A citizen necessity hears dissimilar opinions in order to create up his/her mind. Therefore for democracy to job well, citizens require to apprise themselves of several views. In the middle of the agencies, which help in formulating sound public opinion are the press, the electronic media and the cinema. Democracy allows a person to contribute his/her share of opinion in decision-making. For all this, there is a must of free discussion and argument.

Democratic government provides a lot of freedom to the ordinary citizen. Though, citizens have to exploit freedom with responsibility, restraint and discipline. If people have few grievances, they necessarily illustrate them by channels provided through the democratic organization. Acts of indiscipline on the section of citizens might wreck the democratic set up of an organization.

### **Gender and Democracy: Participation and Representation**

The third wave of democratization which began in the mid 1970s brought in relation to the competitive electoral politics to several countries in Latin America, East and Central Europe and sections of Africa and Asia. It was seen since a triumph for democracy since the number of electoral democracies increased from 39 in 1974 to 117 in 1998. Though, since in the earlier longstanding democracies, the stages of women's representation in new democracies are still low in both legislatures and executives. The thrash about for political citizenship was for an extensive time a significant goal of women's movements. The suffrage campaigns that took lay in several sections of the world in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries were based on the assumption that right to vote and participate in electoral procedures was an significant section of being a citizen.

If democracies now guarantee all citizens the right to participate in the political arena, why are women therefore poorly represented? Does the low participation of women mean that

democracies are undemocratic? Theorists of democratization have a diversity of definitions of what counts since a democracy.

At one end of the continuum, there is a minimal definition which implies that all that is needed is competitive elections.

Mid-range definitions also emphasize requires for freedom and pluralism, such since civil rights and freedom of speech, therefore that state may be measured a liberal democracy.

Neither of these definitions makes the distinction flanked by *right to participate and the skill to participate*. Only the more utopian definitions that believe the 'excellence of democracy' emphasize that democracy also implies the enjoyment of full citizenship in its broadest sense.

Citizenship is defined not presently in words of civil and political rights, but also in words of economic and social rights that can facilitate the full participation of all in the political sphere. Democracy can be vibrant and effective only when citizens take section in an active civil society. The 'public' and the 'private': Feminists have argued for an extensive time that there are a number of troubles with the methods in which democracy is defined, theorized and practiced. Liberal political theory is based on a division flanked by public and private sphere. Within this model, men seem since the head of households and since abstract individuals active in public sphere, while women are relegated annalistically to private sphere. The 'political' is, so, defined since masculine in an extremely profound sense.

In practical words, the manner in which political action is mannered in democracies and nature of mainly women means that they participate to a distant lesser extent than men, particularly at higher stages of conventional political action. For instance:

- Several women discover approach and object of politics forbidding
- Even if they do decide to pursue a political career, women often experience difficulties in receiving selected on winnable seats on the party's list

Further, since in other areas of public sphere, women discover that constraints placed on them through their responsibilities in 'private' sphere also reduce their skill to participate in conventional political action on similar words since men.

It would be incorrect to provide an impression that there is an agreement on nature of democracy. Lenin, for instance, has argued that liberal democracy is a screen which hides use and power of the masses. More recently, Carole Pateman has argued that democracy necessity also extend to the workplace – where mainly people spend a great section of their day – before we can be said to live under democratic circumstances. A dissimilar kind of criticism of democracy argues, through pointing out that even democracy can go dangerously wrong. Aristotle reminded us that for its proper functioning, even a democracy requires a stable organization of law. Democracy can otherwise become the arbitrary dictatorship of the several, i.e., the mob rule. In a same

vein, De Tocqueville argued that democracy creates the possibility of a new shape of tyranny – the tyranny of the majority. Madison warned of the danger of factions, which means a group-big or little – whose interest does not reflect the common interest of the people, and who effort to subvert the democratic organization for their own purposes. Contemporary democracies tend to make bureaucratic systems approximately themselves. According to Max Weber, the interest of the bureaucratic systems creates a tension in democratic practice, since the bureaucracy created through democracy will have a tendency to choke off the democratic procedure. Pareto argued that, howsoever democratic a society may claim to be, it will be inevitably ruled through a powerful elite. But, it can argued that the thought of isolation of Powers and the concept of Checks and Balances can go an extensive method in avoiding despotism. Moreover, we require to ensure that those people who create laws do not enforce them also.

## **Democracy and the Internet**

No other invention of this new technical period has proliferated since rapidly since the Internet. The internet has rapidly accelerated the growth of transnational dealings fostering a type of mutual power and interdependence. The Internet affects democracy in a number of methods. Its role in combating totalitarian regimes is, indeed, positive, for it creates access to information and therefore, undermines the monopoly of the government in question. But on the other hand, the Internet creates troubles for democracy insofar since it weakens the

state's regulative capability. The transnational interpretation of civilizations through the Internet undermines the capability of government to govern effectively. Further, since distant since national security is concerned, the Internet has opened up new possibilities for asymmetrical conflicts. States can sustain huge damage from net based attacks, not from other states but from individuals. Nevertheless, the new information technology will almost certainly, on balance, reinforce the existing authority buildings rather than weaken them.

## **Socialist Democracy**

### **Democracy and Modern Socialism**

Let us first analyze the concept of contemporary democracy before Karl Marx. It is significant to note that his secure associate Friedrich Engels does not speak in relation to the democracy, but always in relation to the pure democracy. Through this he meant a bourgeois state, in which common suffrage prevails, but private property is not touched. It meant that it was either possible to erect a socialist state directly after the overthrow of feudal and military monarchy or pure democracy, that is the bourgeoisie capitalistic republic, would first approach into authority. At that time, people came to accept a democratic state, since a bourgeoisie state governed through a way of common suffrage.

When Marx began his political behaviors, he establishes democracy to be already a great international movement. The

history of European democracy extended back two and a half millennia. In the republics of ancient Greece, the political shape of democracy was the contract to aristocracy or oligarchy, to the rule of the 'minority' of the rich or noble. In contrast to this, democracy was the rule of majority, of the masses in common, whereby the owners of property or the bearers of nobility had no privilege to claim. Greek political science already engaged itself with the question, whether every state in which will of the majority of citizens decides is a democracy, no matter what the composition of this majority is and how it arises or whether a definite class character belongs to a democracy. Aristotle answered the question therefore: that democracy is nothing more than the rule of poor in the state; presently since oligarchy is the rule of the rich.

In the transitional ages, democratic shapes showed themselves in urban communes. Throughout transition to contemporary times, the radical religious sects became the bearers of democratic ideas. Therefore, democratic masses and their leaders were united in a distrust of contemporary growth, and their view that both republic and democracy were primarily a moral matter, a moral renewal of the human race, already contained a condemnation of contemporary economic and social growth.

Today, the democratic ideal is more than a mere composite of individualism, socialism and nationalism. It is based upon the acceptance and promotion of features of life of each group of men, therefore uniting individualism with a shape of regionalism or nationalism and on the other hand, it implies a system of any



one group, which is less homogenous than that implied in the earlier shapes of socialism. For democracy, implies a freedom of voluntary association and the performance through such associations of several functions which the earlier socialists would have left to the state.

Democracy is to begin with a principle of legitimacy. Authority is legitimate only when it is derived from power of the people and based upon their consent. From a normative standpoint, the definition of democracy strictly derives from the literal meaning of the word-'Authority of the people'. It is recognized positively through the subsistence of urbanized representative organizations and through the establishment of constitutional government. It presupposes not a direct exercise of authority, but delegation of authority; that is an organization of 'manage' and 'limitation' of government. From the time the word 'demokratia' was coined in the fifth century B.C until roughly a century ago, democracy was used since a political concept. Tocqueville was struck, though, through the social characteristic of American democracy and we therefore speak of 'social democracy'. Marxism has popularized the expression 'economic democracy' and guild socialism; Webb's book '*Industrial Democracy*' has given currency to the label 'industrialist democracy'. The labels people's democracy, soviet democracy and the like, pose a special democracy. When the socialist movement revived in Europe in the late 1860's, mainly socialist leaders were under the power of Marxism. In 1881, the German Social Democratic Party and in 1897 the Swedish Democratic Social Party, carried public ownership of all means of manufacture, sharing and swap since

their objectives. Other socialist parties adopted the similar objectives in their constitutions or manifestoes, and even the British labour movement, which had not carried socialism till 1918, adapted too little extent the aim of public ownership.

Now after a lapse of a small in excess of three decades from the end of the Second World War, the picture is dissimilar. In all urbanized democratic countries of the West, except for Italy and France, communist parties have been reduced to nullities, and even the Italian and French communist parties have been diminishing in strength. In the communist countries of Eastern Europe, there are rising revisionist tendencies while in Russia itself, there seems to be a rising acceptance of Khrushchev's dictum that it is possible for communist parties to ignore the question of means. On the other hand, social democratic parties have grown in strength in all European countries. They have either been in authority or have shaped the largest opposition. They no longer seek to replace the entire capitalist order through an economy based on public ownership of means of manufacture, sharing or swap. They are reconciled to a mixed economy accompanied through full employment and social security. The authors of 'twentieth century' socialism have stressed that socialism should be defined in words of vital values of equality, freedom and fellowship and not in words of any scrupulous means through which those values may be realized. Same changes have taken lay in the programs of all European Socialists – these parties are taking a much more discriminating attitude towards public ownership; though, social democracy

supports the public demand that it is necessary to safeguard significant public interests.

Therefore, the socialists in the underdeveloped world can attract few precious lessons from a survey of these changes in the fortunes of communism and social democracy in Western countries and the altered objectives of social democratic parties.

### **Western Liberal Democracy**

Contemporary liberal conception of politics acquired a realistic, pragmatic, secular and scientific orientation. State became the pivotal political system. Rousseau introduced the thought of popular sovereignty and democracy. It was recognized that within the reach of the people, organizations such as state, government and semi-official organizations etc began to be treated as centers of political action. Rights of private property, and individual liberty began to be asserted. In the advanced liberal concept, the state is viewed as a positive welfare organ. Liberal democracy assured a competitive party model as essential to symbolize the wishes of people. This involves eliciting people's opinion by periodic elections to legislatures. Further, government is seen as limited and as operating in a world of voluntary associations. Society is viewed as pluralistic, which means that it is composed of autonomous parts and associations. Hence, government sets out to rule in general interest.

Western liberal democracy is a political theory that appeared in Europe throughout the seventeenth century and has sustained to

this day since one of the dominant theories and ideologies in the world. This excludes the socialist countries with dictatorships of dissimilar types. Locke contributed the ideas of limited government, constitutionalism, individual rights and the rule of law. Bentham's contribution place in the utilitarian conception of majority interest calculated in words of individual utility. Mill contributed the thought of individual liberty, plurality of opinions, and the principle of growth of individual personality.

When we describe the liberal state to be politically democratic, we should note that it refers not only to the electoral procedure, but also to characteristics like the rule of law and right to property. In a liberal organization without any written constitution such since in the United Kingdom, this means the law enacted through parliament is supreme. And the property rights granted in liberal democratic states prevent the government from creation drastic changes in economic matters. This is the cause that the radical view criticizes liberal democracy, for not laying emphasis on economic equality. They described themselves people's democracy, which implies that the means of manufacture are socially owned.

Therefore, the above provides a fairly good picture of liberal conception of democracy which is based on a number of assumptions; first, it holds that an individual is endowed with an autonomous mind, cause and will; that is, he is a rational being. Therefore, he can decide what is best for him. Second, the individual is a moral being, which means that they are all equal. Each one should have an equal opportunity to participate in

politics. Third, truth is comparative and multi-dimensional and is not absolute. So, at a scrupulous moment, truth can be recognized only by a free inter-play of ideas. That, tolerance is the essence of democracy was strongly argued through Mill in 'On Liberty'. Truth in a democracy implies that everyone can participate in politics and it is the government of all people; so, a democratic government acts in the interest of all. Competition in the middle of leaders and parties ensures popular manage in excess of government and maximum liberty for individuals. Rule of law, equality before law and vital minimum rights are features of a Western liberal democracy.

### **Non-Western Shapes of Democracy**

It may be surprising to few those countries like the erstwhile USSR, Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam, to name but some claim to be democratic. Indeed, they claim to be the only true democracies. In order to understand that exact nature of this claim, it is significant to go back to Marx. He whispered that the politics of the West was characterized through class conflicts, and that competition flanked by parties would be no more once the feud flanked by classes ended. True democracy he idea, would exist only where one class predominated, embodying the overwhelming size of the people. All other shapes of democracy were denounced since bourgeois. If an authority clash lived on a competitive foundation, therefore that it might be convinced through wealth, Marx measured that democracy to be bourgeois, and so, unworthy of any name.

Competitive politics is condemned through communists for being a fraud. They themselves claim to have no other classes because they say that all the exploiting classes were eradicated in the early days of the Russian revolution. Soviet lawyers and political apologists argue that the West's adaptation of democracy is a sham and fraud because of the subsistence of an economic organization- Capitalism- which favors the rich.

### **Socialist Democracy**

In the west where capitalism has prevailed, this takes the shape of accommodation of progressive dilution of the socialist principle. We all know what socialism is. In company with other ideological concepts, socialism has a double reference. On one hand, it refers to the ideals, values, properties of what is often described the socialist vision. On the other hand, it refers to empirical characteristics of social and political organizations which embody the vision. At the stage of values, the significant ones are those of freedom, equality, society, brotherhood, social justice, a classless society, co-operation, progress, peace, prosperity, abundance and happiness. Sometimes, the value components are stated negatively: socialists are opposed to oppression, use, inequality, strife, war, injustice, poverty, misery and dehumanization. At the stage of organizations, the adherents and opponents similar would say that socialism is opposed to capitalist private enterprise organization, which it seeks to replace through a organization of manage in excess of wealth and property and the social supervision of system of economic action;

this is summarized in the formula, the general or public ownership of means of manufacture.

Names in political communication have shown themselves to be unstable in excess of times. John Ruskin, for instance, proudly described himself a communist, while he repudiated socialism, republicanism and democracy. For H.M Hyndman, the word socialism denoted mild, Christian-liberal do-goodery, while the word social democracy meant for him militant Marxism. Today, of course, the opposite would be the case. It was Proudhon, not Marx and Engels, who first described his doctrine 'scientific socialism'. Bakunin, at one time, held a system which was described the Alliance for Socialist Democracy. Marx himself in his youth dismissed communism since being only an 'imperfect realization of socialism'; later Marxian usage became more systematic, however never entirely free from ambiguity.

### **Four Vital Tendencies of Socialism: The Essence of Socialist Democracy**

An effort is made in this element to provide a more systematic outline to the tendencies, which jointly create up socialist idea, reflected in the concept of socialist democracy.

*Egalitarianism* is the first tendency, which is the classical principle of socialism. The dominant notion of equality culminates in a conception of society. Politically, egalitarianism obviously demands complete democracy, but democracy in its easy, classical, unitary sense, without enduring party divisions.

*Moralism*, the next tendency, constitutes the Christian principle of socialism; that is, it stresses on high ideals which seek to bring justice through replacing enmity with mutual help, and fostering feelings of brotherly love and understandings in the middle of human beings. The political shape mainly harmonious with moralist values is, again democracy, possibly tempered through mild notions of paternalism and certainly presupposing a sense of moderation and responsibility on the section of individual principles. Little and big societies governed through a majoritarian organization are fitting vehicles for the realization of the moralist ideal.

*Rationalism* is the third tendency, in on behalf of the principle of enlightenment. Here, the chief values are individual happiness, cause, knowledge, efficiency in manufacture and the rational purposeful system of human society in the interest of progress. The political shape that rationalism leads towards is also democracy, as this tendency tends to acknowledge the fundamental equality of human beings and believes in self – sufficiency of individual human cause. It believes, though, that democracy should be tempered with meritocracy, consistent guidance through experts, scientists, technicians, and intellectual people who are to be trusted with the promotion of common happiness.

*Libertarianism*, which could be termed the romantic principle of socialism, is the last of the vital tendencies in the sense that it is extreme and radical in the middle of socialist principles. It centers on the ideal freedom, in the sense of total absence of



restraint, internal and external. Here, it would be hard to talk in words of a favored political arrangement. Anarchy is what comes adjacent to its ideal; but again libertarianism too goes with the acceptance of equality in a fundamental sense. Libertarianism is the gentlest and the mainly tolerant of socialist tendencies.

These are the four tendencies of socialism, which reflect the essence of socialist democracy. The comparative weight of each tendency, though, varies from case to case. In other terms, we discover that one or another tendency assumes predominance in excess of others in the case of a given country, doctrine, movement or historical era. This is why the predominance of libertarianism in the Western New left is in a big section due to the rising moderation and integration of social democracy.

## **Chapter 2**

# **Democratic Techniques and Politics**

## **Trend towards Democratic Socialism**

The rise of fascism in Europe and the continuance of dictatorship of the Communist Party in erstwhile Soviet Union also led several socialists throughout the thirties to provide rising attention to the techniques of democracy under a collectivist regime. While the socialist movement in common had for several years maintained that collectivism without democracy was a distant cry from socialism and that there could be no socialism without the accompaniment of thorough-going democratic processes in the economic, political and social organizations of the country, there were several who took the location prior to the thirties that all that was necessary to do was to transfer industry from private to public ownership and democracy would take care of itself. Experiments in state ownership and manage in communist and fascist countries and even in lands with a democratic shape of government, both in times of peace and war, proved a rude awakener to these students of the movement and caused big numbers within and without to think by methods and means of safeguarding and strengthening the democratic procedure under

a co-operative organization of industry. This examination caused them to place rising emphasis on:

The require for preserving and strengthening democratic forces of the population such since the deal and industrial-union movement, the consumers and producers co-operatives, labors, socialist and progressive political parties, educational and cultural movement of the masses, and for endeavoring to create these movement thoroughly democratic.

The require for bringing in relation to the secure co-operation in the middle of industrial workers, the therefore-described transitional class, the cultivation population, in the thrash about for bigger social arrangements.

Require for applying effective democratic techniques to regional, state, and federal governments therefore since to create them thoroughly responsive to the will of the people.

The require for encouraging, under a co-operative organization of industry, an long organization of voluntary co-operative enterprises, since a supplement to publicly owned industries, especially in agriculture, the distributive trades and in cultural action.

Require for establishment within each industry of processes whereby consumers, workers, and technological and administrative clusters would be adequately represented in determination of policies.

Require of experimenting with the corporate of public ownership of a semiautonomous character, and of decentralizing manage and management of public ownership since much since seemed compatible and socially efficient.

The require for developing administrative processes directed toward efficient, honest, and democratic management by a sound organization of civil service, public accounting, communal bargaining, personal dealings etc. Techniques should be devised for stimulating industrial incentives by a proper organization of rewards for job well done.

The must of preserving civil liberties and preventing discriminatory practices against any part of population because of race, religion, color, or national origin.

Require for co-operating with other countries with a view to eliminate the reasons of war, of abolishing imperialistic controls, and of raising livelihood standards during the world.

The goals of democratic socialism have one item in general; that is to create democracy more real through broadening the application of democratic principles from political to non-political areas of society. Freedom of worship and freedom of political associations are still the mainly essential foundations of democracy. The Socialists concentrate on the promotion of these 'finer points of democracy'. In contrast, socialist parties have fought an uphill and usually a losing thrash about in nations where democracy is not a livelihood item, but an aspiration, a

hope, and thought yet to be realized. This happened for instance, in Germany, Italy and France.

## **Democratic Socialism in England**

England urbanized parliamentary organizations, which were conducive to the development of socialism. England moved with the times, and brought in relation to the compromise flanked by democracy and socialism. Socialism was allowed to emerge peacefully without require to have a bloody revolution. Democracy tolerated the rise of social principles. In Britain, there was no require for workers to revolt on a size level against the government, since the government itself took necessary steps to promote their interests. British soil was appropriate for the development of democratic socialism, while on the other hand, in Russia and China the climate was not favorable since the government neglected the interests of the poor and tried to suppress them. Since a result, revolutionary socialism rose and its tide swept the government off its feet.

Democratic socialism has no high priest like totalitarian communism. It has no Marx or Lenin. The mainly influential socialist thinkers in England have regularly been without any official location. Their impact has been due to their moral power and felicitous literary approach. The movement owes much to the ideas of Robert Owen, Sidney and Beartrice Webb, R.H. Tawney, G.D.H Cole, Harold Laski and several others. But the philosophy still remnants undefined. 'The nature and content of democratic socialism cannot through any means be defined. It is a broad framework wherein we have to fit in our ideas of democracy and

socialism in tune with our political backdrop and cultural and spiritual heritage.' Therefore there is no definite form of democratic socialism. It is to be dissimilar in dissimilar countries according to requires and circumstances. Still we can point out sure broad principles of democratic socialism.

### **Broad Principles**

Democratic Socialism lays great stress on the importance of the superior interests of society since an entire, against the narrow and selfish interests of the individual. It is against individualism or laissez-faire, it is a theory of society welfare. It promotes cooperation instead of competition and removes antagonism flanked by the employer and the employee. Socialism stands for the principle of economic equality. The state should prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of some individuals therefore that the gulf flanked by the rich and the poor classes may not be wide. Though, democratic socialism does not aim at establishing absolute equality, which is approximately impossible. Its aim is to remove glaring inequality of wealth through progressive taxation of the rich. It stands for equitable opportunities for all.

Democratic socialism also stands for general ownership of significant means of manufacture, which are to be utilized for general good. It is in favor of granting full civil, political and economic rights. The individual is free to lead his own method of life, outside intervention. It stands for extension of democracy from political to economic and social meadows. Therefore, there is a desire to widen the foundation of democracy. If democracy is

to be real, it should go distant beyond the frontiers of politics and enter the economic field. It is against the ownership of land, factories and other means of manufacture through some at the cost of the society. It necessity be clearly noted that democratic socialism is not against all shapes of private property, but only against such private property, which becomes the means of use. It allows little plots of land, homes and other limited property, since these cannot be put to anti-social uses. In conclusion, we may say that democratic socialism is neither merely anti-capitalism. 'There is no use of man through man, no injustice, oppression, or denial of opportunities.'

One of the extra ordinary results of the victory of democratic socialism in Britain was the elimination of communism since a significant factor in British politics. Even in developing countries, democratic socialism gives an alternative to the extremes of communism and capitalism through bringing in relation to the much needed socio-economic transformation of civilizations.

### **New Leftism: Attack on Soviet Marxism**

The New Left has a scrupulous feature of its own. It believes in socialism and yet strives to promote and protect humanism that had become a scapegoat under the 'socialist' organization of the former Soviet Union. That is, while the achievements of socialism is the bedrock of traditional Leftism, socialism integrated with democracy and humanism is the keynote of, what is usually recognized since, New Leftism. What keeps the New left at a fundamental variance with the Old left is its stern emphasis on

pursuing positive social and political goals. It believes in freedom and democracy, and is prepared to fight for these ideas.

The New Leftism is a product of the post-Second World era. Its development is an explanation of three factors: stern reaction against the adaptation of official Marxism since given through the great comrades of the former Soviet Union, vehement protest against the social, economic and political create up of affluent civilizations of advanced Western countries, and extremely strong emphasis on the worth and dignity of man. That is, the movement came since a result of a multi-stage protest—protest against Stalinist excesses, against the dogmatic and mechanistic adaptation of Marxism since given through the Soviet leaders, against centralized and undemocratic methods of doing things and against anti-humanistic, bureaucratic and bourgeoisie society of oppression.

The mainly recent land spot is the reappearance of the New left, which may be termed 'New Socialism'. The fight of the American Negroes for civil rights, the student revolt in France aimed at changing the education organization, the thrash about of workers in Spain for democratization of the political organization are few of the momentous measures that inspired New Leftist thinkers to say that youthful units can bring in relation to the desired state of affairs. What is needed is change: change towards real democracy, which can be brought in relation to the through youthful parts of people. This is because they alone can understand the pernicious dimensions of a socialist organization and then fight for restoration of a free, democratic and dignified



life. In brief, the aim of the New Leftists is to attack the diversity of Marxism that urbanized in the former Soviet Union. Instead, they think in words of a new diversity of socialism based on practicable portion of Marxism. Socialism of this kind necessity is in consonance with premises of a democratic organization. Therefore that people may have the boons of freedom, growth and happiness.

### **Challenges/Difficulties in the Implementation of Socialism by Democratic Processes**

To say that it is possible to achieve a change in excess of to socialist rule with democratic means does not necessarily imply, though, that it is possible also to implement and uphold socialism with such means. Communist theory has persistently alleged—and on this point it has not yet changed—that it is impossible to carry by socialism under a organization of free elections, freedom of speech, free association and free majority decisions.

Soviet theorists do not stand alone in their contention that the implementation and maintenance of socialism are impossible with democratic means. Right-wing liberals, like Friedrich Hayek, agree with them on that count. Their interest is, of course, the opposite: they hope to see democracy maintained and socialism abandoned. But on the biggest issue under discussion here—whether it is possible to have both democracy and socialism—he two opponents are agreed. It is impossible, they say. In his 'Road of Serfdom' Hayek predicts that socialism will inevitably lead to the abolition of democratic liberties. One of his chief arguments

is that socialism needs centralized scheduling and that, even in the event that there is a big majority for socialism, there regularly will be no majority able to agree on particulars ends and means. In such a case, he says, a democratic parliament 'cannot direct'.

In appraising the Lenin-Hayek theory of incompatibility flanked by democracy and socialism, we necessity not underestimate the strength of their combined arguments. They competently point to grave difficulties and dangers. But they fail to prove the impossibility. Their allegations are half-true at best. It is a strong argument that those who are to lose their privileges are likely to rise in violent resistance when a radically socialist legislation issues from a pro-socialist majority in a democratic legislature. This was strikingly illustrated after the Spanish Revolution of 1931, when the democratic majority in the newly elected parliament occupied in simultaneously frontal legislative attacks against all vested interests monarchists, army, church, large land owners and large industrialists- before it had built up sufficiently strong armed forces of its own for support of the republican government. Though, there is no justification for a scientific verdict that it was impossible to avoid a same outcome when an effort is made to carry by socialism with democratic processes.

Another strong argument of this problem is that workers who have won parliamentary majorities may be impatient in their desire to close tangible benefits quickly and beyond reasonable limits. In order to cope with this danger, it will be necessary to

educate people in advance therefore since to prepare them for a meaningful exercise of majority powers. That may not be simple, but it is not necessarily impossible. Finally, it is a weighty argument when Hayek warns that the majority is likely to split whenever biggest decisions on scheduling become necessary. But once this danger has been well understood in advance, it may not be impossible to meet it through proper device, such since a cautious preparation of master plans and delegation of the authority to create current economic decisions under such plans to few board or commission. The question of compatibility of democracy and socialism, so, is still an open one. There is good cause to consider that it is necessary to go all the method beside the totalitarian road, if a majority should be bent on carrying by socialism, although sure modifications in the procedure of economic legislation and management will be necessary.

Establishment of a penetrating and reassuring political theory concerning the compatibility of socialism and democracy could also offer encouragement to whatever tendencies there may develop in present Soviet Russia or few of its satellites towards introduction of more democratic organizations. It would create possible a stronger and more precise language in international political discussion in relation to the both democracy and socialism, and coexistence since well.

Democracy is a form of political organization in which all people, through consensus (consensus democracy), direct referendum (direct democracy), or elected representatives (representative democracy) exercise equal control over the matters which affect

their interests. The term comes from the Greek: – (*dēmokratía*) "rule of the people", which was coined from (*dêmos*) "people" and (*Kratos*) "power", in the middle of the 5th-4th century BC to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens following a popular uprising in 508 BC. Even though there is no specific, universally accepted definition of 'democracy', equality and freedom have been identified as important characteristics of democracy since ancient times. These principles are reflected in all citizens being equal before the law and having equal access to power. For example, in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight, no restrictions can apply to anyone wanting to become a representative, and the freedom of its citizens is secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are generally protected by a constitution.

There are several varieties of democracy, some of which provide better representation and more freedoms for their citizens than others. However, if any democracy is not carefully legislated – through the use of balances – to avoid an uneven distribution of political power, such as the separation of powers, then a branch of the system of rule could accumulate power, thus become undemocratic.

The "majority rule" is often described as a characteristic feature of democracy, but without governmental or constitutional protections of individual liberties, it is possible for a minority of individuals to be oppressed by the "tyranny of the majority". An essential process in "ideal" representative democracies is

competitive elections that are fair both substantively and procedurally. Furthermore, freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are considered by some to be essential so that citizens are informed and able to vote in their personal interests.

Popular sovereignty is common but not a universal motivating subject for establishing a democracy. In some countries, democracy is based on the philosophical principle of equal rights. Many people use the term "democracy" as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include additional elements such as political pluralism; equality before the law; the right to petition elected officials for redress of grievances; due process; civil liberties; human rights; and elements of civil society outside the government.

In the United States, separation of powers is often cited as a supporting attribute, but in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, the dominant philosophy is parliamentary sovereignty (though in practice judicial independence is generally maintained). In other cases, "democracy" is used to mean direct democracy. Though the term "democracy" is typically used in the context of a political state, the principles are applicable to private organizations and other groups also.

Democracy has its origins in Ancient Greece. However other cultures have significantly contributed to the evolution of democracy such as Ancient Rome, Europe, and North and South America. The concept of representative democracy arose largely

from ideas and institutions that developed during the European Middle Ages and the Age of Enlightenment and in the American and French Revolutions. Democracy has been called the "last form of government" and has spread considerably across the globe. The right to vote has been expanded in many Jurisdictions over time from relatively narrow groups (such as wealthy men of a particular ethnic group), with New Zealand the first nation to grant universal suffrage for all its citizens in 1893.

The term *democracy* first appeared in ancient Greek political and philosophical thought. The philosopher Plato contrasted democracy, the system of "rule by the governed", with the alternative systems of monarchy (rule by one individual), oligarchy (rule by a small élite class) and timocracy (ruling class of property owners). Although Athenian democracy is today considered by many to have been a form of direct democracy, originally it had two distinguishing features: first the allotment (selection by lot) of ordinary citizens to government offices and courts, and secondarily the assembly of all the citizens.

All citizens were eligible to speak and vote in the Assembly, which set the laws of the city-state. However, the Athenian citizenship was only for males born from a father who was citizen and who had been doing their "military service" between 18 and 20 years old; this excluded women, slaves, foreigners and males under 20 years old. Of the 250,000 inhabitants only some 30,000 on average were citizens. Of those 30,000 perhaps 5,000 might regularly attend one or more meetings of the popular Assembly.

Most of the officers and magistrates of Athenian government were allotted; only the generals and a few other officers were elected.

A possible example of primitive democracy may have been the early Sumerian city-states. A similar proto-democracy or oligarchy existed temporarily among the Medes (ancient Iranian people) in the 6th century BC, but which came to an end after the Achaemenid (Persian) Emperor Darius the Great declared that the best monarchy was better than the best oligarchy or best democracy.

A serious claim for early democratic institutions comes from the independent "republics" of India, *sanghas* and *ganas*, which existed as early as the 6th century BC and persisted in some areas until the 4th century AD. The evidence is scattered and no pure historical source exists for that period. In addition, Diodorus (a Greek historian at the time of Alexander the Great's excursion of India), without offering any detail, mentions that independent and democratic states existed in India. However, modern scholars note that the word *democracy* at the 3rd century BC and later had been degraded and could mean any autonomous state no matter how oligarchic it was. The lack of the concept of citizen equality across caste system boundaries lead many scholars to believe that the true nature of *ganas* and *sanghas* would not be comparable to that of truly democratic institutions.

Even though the Roman Republic contributed significantly to certain aspects of democracy, only a minority of Romans were citizens. As such, having votes in elections for choosing

representatives and then the votes of the powerful were given more weight through a system of Gerrymandering. For that reason, almost all high officials, including members of the Senate, came from a few wealthy and noble families. However, many notable exceptions did occur.

## **Middle Ages**

During the Middle Ages, there were various systems involving elections or assemblies, although often only involving a small amount of the population, the election of Gopala in Bengal, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Althing in Iceland, the Løgting in the Faroe Islands, certain medieval Italian city-states such as Venice, the tuatha system in early medieval Ireland, the Veche in Novgorod and Pskov Republics of medieval Russia, Scandinavian Things, The States in Tirol and Switzerland and the autonomous merchant city of Sakai in the 16th century in Japan. However, participation was often restricted to a minority, and so may be better classified as oligarchy. Most regions in medieval Europe were ruled by clergy or feudal lords.

A little closer to modern democracy were the Cossack republics of Ukraine in the 16th–17th centuries: Cossack Hetmanate and Zaporizhian Sich. The highest post – the Hetman – was elected by the representatives from the country's districts. Because these states were very militarised, the right to participate in Hetman's elections was largely restricted to those who served in the Cossack Army and over time was curtailed effectively limiting these rights to higher army ranks.



The Parliament of England had its roots in the restrictions on the power of kings written into Magna Carta, explicitly protected certain rights of the King's subjects, whether free or fettered — and implicitly supported what became English writ of habeas corpus, safeguarding individual freedom against unlawful imprisonment with right to appeal. The first elected parliament was De Montfort's Parliament in England in 1265.

However only a small minority actually had a voice; Parliament was elected by only a few percent of the population, (less than 3% as late as 1780, and the power to call parliament was at the pleasure of the monarch (usually when he or she needed funds). The power of Parliament increased in stages over the succeeding centuries. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the English Bill of Rights of 1689 was enacted, which codified certain rights and increased the influence of Parliament. The franchise was slowly increased and Parliament gradually gained more power until the monarch became largely a figurehead. As the franchise was increased, it also was made more uniform, as many so-called rotten boroughs, with a handful of voters electing a Member of Parliament, were eliminated in the Reform Act of 1832.

Democracy was also seen to a certain extent in bands and tribes such as the Iroquois Confederacy. However, in the Iroquois Confederacy only the males of certain clans could be leaders and some clans were excluded. Only the oldest females from the same clans could choose and remove the leaders. This excluded most of the population. An interesting detail is that there should be

consensus among the leaders, not majority support decided by voting, when making decisions.

Band societies, such as the Bushmen, which usually number 20-50 people in the band often do not have leaders and make decisions based on consensus among the majority. In Melanesia, farming village communities have traditionally been egalitarian and lacking in a rigid, authoritarian hierarchy. Although a "Big man" or "Big woman" could gain influence, that influence was conditional on a continued demonstration of leadership skills, and on the willingness of the community. Every person was expected to share in communal duties, and entitled to participate in communal decisions. However, strong social pressure encouraged conformity and discouraged individualism.

### **18th and 19th centuries**

Number of nations 1800–2003 scoring 8 or higher on Polity IV scale, another widely used measure of democracy. Although not described as a democracy by the founding fathers, the United States founders shared a determination to root the American experiment in the principle of natural freedom and equality. The United States Constitution, adopted in 1788, provided for an elected government and protected civil rights and liberties for some.

In the colonial period before 1776, and for some time after, only adult white male property owners could vote; enslaved Africans, free black people and women were not extended the franchise. On the American frontier, democracy became a way of life, with

widespread social, economic and political equality. However, slavery was a social and economic institution, particularly in eleven states in the American South, that a variety of organizations were established advocating the movement of black people from the United States to locations where they would enjoy greater freedom and equality.

During the 1820s and 1830s the American Colonization Society (A.C.S.) was the primary vehicle for proposals to return black Americans to freedom in Africa, and in 1821 the A.C.S. established the colony of Liberia, assisting thousands of former African-American slaves and free black people to move there from the United States. By the 1840s almost all property restrictions were ended and nearly all white adult male citizens could vote; and turnout averaged 60–80% in frequent elections for local, state and national officials. The system gradually evolved, from Jeffersonian Democracy to Jacksonian Democracy and beyond. In the 1860 United States Census the slave population in the United States had grown to four million, and in Reconstruction after the Civil War (late 1860s) the newly freed slaves became citizens with (in the case of men) a nominal right to vote. Full enfranchisement of citizens was not secured until after the African-American Civil Rights Movement (1955–1968) gained passage by the United States Congress of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The establishment of universal male suffrage in France in 1848 was an important milestone in the history of democracy. In 1789, Revolutionary France adopted the Declaration of the Rights of

Man and of the Citizen and, although short-lived, the National Convention was elected by all males in 1792. Universal male suffrage was definitely established in France in March 1848 in the wake of the French Revolution of 1848. In 1848, several revolutions broke out in Europe as rulers were confronted with popular demands for liberal constitutions and more democratic government.

The Australian colonies became democratic during the mid-19th century, with South Australia being the first government in the world to introduce women's suffrage in 1861. (It was argued that as women would vote the same as their husbands, this essentially gave married men two votes, which was not unreasonable.)

New Zealand granted suffrage to (native) Māori men in 1867, white men in 1879, and women in 1893, thus becoming the first major nation to achieve universal suffrage. However, women were not eligible to stand for parliament until 1919.

Liberal democracies were few and often short-lived before the late 19th century, and various nations and territories have also claimed to be the first with universal suffrage.

## **20th and 21st centuries**

Since World War II, democracy has gained widespread acceptance. This map displays the official self identification made by world governments with regard to democracy, as of March 2008. It shows the *de jure* status of democracy in the world.

20th century transitions to liberal democracy have come in successive "waves of democracy," variously resulting from wars, revolutions, decolonization, religious and economic circumstances. World War I and the dissolution of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires resulted in the creation of new nation-states from Europe, most of them at least nominally democratic.

In the 1920s democracy flourished, but the Great Depression brought disenchantment, and most of the countries of Europe, Latin America, and Asia turned to strong-man rule or dictatorships. Fascism and dictatorships flourished in Nazi Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal, as well as nondemocratic regimes in the Baltics, the Balkans, Brazil, Cuba, China, and Japan, among others.

World War II brought a definitive reversal of this trend in western Europe. The successful democratization of the American, British, and French sectors of occupied Germany (disputed), Austria, Italy, and the occupied Japan served as a model for the later theory of regime change.

However, most of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet sector of Germany was forced into the non-democratic Soviet bloc. The war was followed by decolonization, and again most of the new independent states had nominally democratic constitutions. India emerged as the world's largest democracy and continues to be so.

By 1960, the vast majority of country-states were nominally democracies, although the majority of the world's populations

lived in nations that experienced sham elections, and other forms of subterfuge (particularly in Communist nations and the former colonies.)

This graph shows Freedom House's evaluation of the number of nations in the different categories given above for the period for which there are surveys, 1972–2005. A subsequent wave of democratization brought substantial gains toward true liberal democracy for many nations. Spain, Portugal (1974), and several of the military dictatorships in South America returned to civilian rule in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Argentina in 1983, Bolivia, Uruguay in 1984, Brazil in 1985, and Chile in the early 1990s). This was followed by nations in East and South Asia by the mid-to-late 1980s.

Economic malaise in the 1980s, along with resentment of communist oppression, contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the associated end of the Cold War, and the democratization and liberalization of the former Eastern bloc countries. The most successful of the new democracies were those geographically and culturally closest to western Europe, and they are now members or candidate members of the European Union. Some researchers consider that in contemporary Russia there is no real democracy and one of forms of dictatorship takes place.

*The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index* as published in December 2010. The palest blue countries get a score above 9 out of 10 (with Norway being the most democratic country at

9.80), while the black countries score below 3 (with North Korea being the least democratic at 1.08).

The liberal trend spread to some nations in Africa in the 1990s, most prominently in South Africa. Some recent examples of attempts of liberalization include the Indonesian Revolution of 1998, the Bulldozer Revolution in Yugoslavia, the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, and the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan and the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia.

According to Freedom House, in 2007 there were 123 electoral democracies (up from 40 in 1972). According to World Forum on Democracy, electoral democracies now represent 120 of the 192 existing countries and constitute 58.2 percent of the world's population.

At the same time liberal democracies i.e. countries Freedom House regards as free and respectful of basic human rights and the rule of law are 85 in number and represent 38 percent of the global population.

As such, it has been speculated that this trend may continue in the future to the point where liberal democratic nation-states become the universal standard form of human society. This prediction forms the core of Francis Fukayama's "End of History" controversial theory. These theories are criticized by those who fear an evolution of liberal democracies to post-democracy, and others who point out the high number of illiberal democracies.

## **Forms**

Democracy has taken a number of forms, both in theory and practice. The following kinds are not exclusive of one another: many specify details of aspects that are independent of one another and can co-exist in a single system.

## **Representative**

Representative democracy involves the selection of government officials by the people being represented. If the head of state is also democratically elected then it is called a democratic republic. The most common mechanisms involve election of the candidate with a majority or a plurality of the votes.

Representatives may be elected or become diplomatic representatives by a particular district (or constituency), or represent the entire electorate proportionally proportional systems, with some using a combination of the two. Some representative democracies also incorporate elements of direct democracy, such as referendums. A characteristic of representative democracy is that while the representatives are elected by the people to act in their interest, they retain the freedom to exercise their own judgment as how best to do so.

## **Parliamentary**

Parliamentary democracy is a representative democracy where government is appointed by parliamentary representatives as opposed to a 'presidential rule' wherein the President is both



head of state and the head of government and is elected by the voters. Under a parliamentary democracy, government is exercised by delegation to an executive ministry and subject to ongoing review, checks and balances by the legislative parliament elected by the people.

## **Liberal**

A Liberal democracy is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities.

## **Bureaucracy and Democracy**

As American public administration theory and practice began developing, the Progressives were faced with their first challenge. They had to find a way to make the modern administrative state strong enough without risking the democracy in which it operates. The two principles they applied were hierarchy and authority. The application of these two principles would promote efficiency and accountability. It ultimately would remove administration from the political corruption and safely settle the conflict of reconciling bureaucracy and democracy and structure the work within clear boundaries. By the 1960s, and despite its several problems, the prevailing approach used by traditional

public administration proved to be still working. However, political scientists rejected its premises and were searching for their own solution for the dilemma-- how could the unquestionable power of bureaucracy be reconciled with accountability? In other terms, how could bureaucracy and democracy be in good terms without compromises? To answer this first question they reached out for formal theories and theoretical perspectives that applied economics principles-- such as transaction costs and principal agent theories.

This newly introduced approach to the study of bureaucracy and its relation to bureaucratic and political institutions had a significant impact on both fields' theoretical development and on the course of the relationship between the two disciplines. It not only provided answers to the theoretical problems that had long plagued the field of public administration, but it also provided both clear analysis and strong predictions that could be empirically tested. This approach and its related methodologies drove public administrationists out of political science into public policy and public administration schools. On the other hand, most public administrationists, having had little training in applied calculus and formal models, chose to remain in the traditional public administration home.

The fundamental precepts of American political science--the self-evident worth of democracy, a pluralistic polity, political participation, and equality under law are examples of these precepts—"continued to hold sway among even the most independently minded public administrationists". The influence

of “democratic progress” on public administration is another trend worth considering in this study.

Democracy, as a theory of government and a way of life, has the effect of “subjugating and instrumentalizing public institutions”. Cook further argued that this enhancement of the representative character of government action was meant to reshape the administrative power embedded in bureaucracy as an agent of democracy. He actually recommended a first step that needs to be taken to prevent the tragedy of “denigrating public administration as to utterly impair its capacity” to assist the American people in their struggle to realizing their aspirations to self-government.” This step must be a broad-based, concerted effort to fashion a constitutional theory of public administration for the American regime”.

The best of scholarly attempts to reconcile bureaucracy with American liberal democracy has been impressively creative. Several scholars have attempted to reevaluate another popular view of the role of public administration. The former is regarded as a tool in a democracy. As early as Minnowbrook II, Cleary (1989) observed that one of the critical themes that dominated the conference was that of the difficult and yet necessary relationship between bureaucracy and democracy. It was argued that “public administrators have a keen responsibility to take the requirements of democracy into account in the performance of their duties—whether these duties are programmatic, managerial, contractual, or in other functional areas”. Conferees clearly agreed that the need to maximize the value of the administrator’s

role in protecting and even advancing popular democracy requires a “slowed-down” bureaucracy, one that is concerned more with dialogue and consensus.

More recently, Cook (1996) argued that the political system has to resolve its bureaucracy problem, acknowledge that public administration has powerful constitutive effects, and ultimately work to make those effects beneficial. Furthermore, he made the distinction between the American’s narrow and naïve instrumental view of public administration and the constitutive qualities of public administration.

## **Theory and Practice**

There is a dual function of the academic research in both public administration and political science. It can be pursued for its own sake, as part of the “objective” attempt to understand the political or administrative system (how, what, and why), and at the same time it contributes to an improvement in the administrative or political techniques (the what, the how to, and when). While scholars may often seek knowledge for its own sake, the professional instructor wants to improve performance. The two are obviously linked. The administrator will gain something from an academic approach to the subject, and the academician will benefit from a practice-oriented perspective. In all social sciences, especially in the more applied fields, the quest for theoretical development is more than an academic exercise. It has profound implications for the improvement of the human condition in general. In the case of public administration and political science, its implications are more specific. Theory

building contributes to the improvement of government effectiveness and efficiency on one hand, and facilitates the conduct of American democracy as it shapes the relationship between government and the public.

Undoubtedly, every academic discipline, especially in the applied social sciences, has struggled with its practical realities and its theoretical aspirations. political science and public administration are no exceptions. The former was torn between the pressing urge to become scientific and the irresistible desire to still be connected to the realistic aspects of politics. The latter's challenge was to balance the theory building development with the practical problem solving process. This process was always guided by a certain theory, one that might have been considered less vigorous, at one point in time, by some of the public administration community and by the majority of the political science community as well.

Without a doubt, the practical side of the public administration has always had an uneasy place within political science. There were always concerns about the development of a theoretically oriented administrative science. These concerns were mostly focused on the establishment of adequate training programs in public administration. Public administrationists worried that political scientists had little appreciation for the need to train individuals in the practice as well as the study of government. Meanwhile, political scientists worried that a focus on training would lead to neglect or at least less attention devoted to the

task of building the intellectual foundation of the new field of public administration.

## **Public Administration as Discipline vs. Application**

Discussion turns now to the relationship between public administration as an academic discipline and public administration as an applied subject. Without a doubt, it is the practitioner that makes public administration different from political science. In the 1960s, public administration was often labeled the applied interdisciplinary field that bridged the social sciences. From its origins, American public administration had attempted to be practitioner-oriented and to be involved with the real world rather than to seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge.

However, soon after the pragmatists helped found the American Political Science Administration, public administrationists tried to split off in a separate movement to train public managers. Although their efforts failed, as described earlier, it led to the ongoing intellectual conflict that preoccupied Public Administrationists for most of the last century. The discipline's practitioners always sought to develop training programs for the public service, while theorists aimed at gaining a legitimate place in academia. By the middle of the Twentieth Century, public administration's struggle to fit within the other social sciences, and still cater to its practitioners, reached its nadir. It sought to

gain an accepted place in academic theory and retain its role in the practical arena. Well into the 1960s, graduate schools of public affairs found themselves in an awkward position of trying to teach activists in an environment designed to produce scholars. Scholars generally considered schools of public affairs not to be very scholarly, while practicing administrators were disappointed in them for not contributing enough to the practical political and administrative world.

In 1988, among the several themes that dominated Minnowbrook II, one key theme dealt with the relation between theory and practice. Substantial attention was given to the subject of what academic public administration has to offer practicing public administrators. Later on, and at the same time that the field was still dealing with what has been known as its intellectual crisis, public administration found itself under attack from the practitioner community as well. As managers realized the inadequacy of many of the old theories, they embraced the Reinventing Government movement of the 1990s that was rejected by many of the field's scholars. The result was a growing gap between the academic world and the practical one.

However, toward the end of the Twentieth Century, the growing complexity of public policy problems increasingly confounded theory in the field. Public administration found itself "trying to span growing gaps: between its intellectual heritage and the emerging realities of the twenty first century administration; and between its own intellectual pursuits and those of the other social sciences" Academics continue to emphasize methodology,

especially quantitative techniques, whereas practitioners emphasize substantive knowledge about how government actually functions, and expertise in specific policy areas. When public administrationists started developing methodologies of their own, such as the one associated with the newly established program of evaluation, they intended to focus on the applied aspect of their discipline. The emphasis of these methodologies was on the need, efficiency, and effectiveness of the various public programs. In other instances, they borrowed techniques from other disciplines with a clearly “applied research cast”.

For political science the dilemma of theory and practice was less intense. For the greater part of the Twentieth Century, the goal of political science was to have a strong analytical framework that generates replicable propositions. The search for “prescriptions” in the course of the field’s academic research based on “predictions” was the main concern of the discipline. Scientific theory –building came first, as theory without the ability to predict and understand something real is not worth having. In fact, it was the political scientists’ belief that any political action in the American political system that is lacking a theoretical structure is risky. Furthermore, they believed that administration without a guiding theory is dangerous and that the theory had to connect to action to be meaningful. They considered the former their immediate priority.

Political science, by tradition, was always considered one field that may be less concerned with addressing problems of action, practice, or grassroots. Equally important, at its root the field



may have been, for the most part of its intellectual history, hostile to concerns related to “education for knowledgeable action”. In fact, the relatively smooth departure of public administration from political science attested to this distinct feature of the latter. The calmness that the political scientists of the seventies showed at that time is indicative of their eagerness to distance themselves “from a field that has always taken a pride in having a practical turn of mind”. Interestingly, Henry (1987) added yet another contributing factor for the acceptance on the part of political scientists for the departure of public administration. The inclination among political scientists to distance themselves from any kind of academic enterprise that deals with domestic concerns was also evident through the increasingly short shrift within major political science departments given to urban politics and criminal justice related courses.

As early as the mid 1930s, political scientists had begun to question public administration’s action orientation. Political scientists, rather than advocating public service and training programs as they did in 1914, began calling for “intellectualized understanding” as Caldwell (1965) called it of the executive branch rather than “knowledgeable action” on the part of public administrators. This was a common and widespread theme throughout the literature of the late part of the second quarter of the Twentieth Century.

Despite this general feeling among political scientists toward both the practical and theoretical aspects of public

administration, there were some concerns within the Association about the “a practical” focus of the discipline. A comparison of a 1976 survey of chairpersons of political science departments and directors of interdisciplinary programs with a 1975 survey of members of APSA who were holding positions in federal, state, or local governments, resulted in many recommendations. These recommendations focused on how political science training can better prepare people for working in government, or doing work outside of government that is relevant to government decision making. Articles such as Nagel and Neal’s “The Practitioner’s Perspective” appeared in PS in 1975.

The article summarized the findings of a questionnaire directed to APSA members holding government positions. It was “designed to determine how political science has been and can be used in federal, state, and local government agencies and in administrative, legislative, and judicial positions”. The respondents generally implied that political science has the “potentiality of making a substantially greater contribution to both research communication and training for government placement”. Nagel and Neal (1975) commended any efforts that should help build closer relations among academics and practitioners and thereby provide the increased application of political science to important policy problems.

In addition more recent APSA’s presidents have called for a more engaged political science. In his presidential address at the 2002 APSA annual meeting, Robert (2004) also called for further intellectual and practical engagement on the part of political

scientists. Putnam (2003) advocated a new kind of political science, one with both scientific rigor and public relevance, as both are “at the core of our professional obligations”. To foster such kind, “we need to make special effort, both in the research we publish and in the courses we teach, to combine careful attention to facts and careful examination to values, while recognizing the difference between the two.

Meanwhile, public administration is still trying to solve the dilemma of bridging the gap between theory and practice. Kettl (2002) argued that in a century, the discipline had gone from playing a central role in academic research to being a relatively marginal player. Practitioners sought solutions outside the field and favored new approaches to implementation, leadership, and public management, whereas academicians were still seeking theoretical foundations for their research. He further observed that political science’s push toward behavioralism and formal theory had, for quite a while, left public administration on the sidelines.

## **Government And Democracy**

The greatest irony about modern democracy is that it is in the name of democracy and consent that vast powers have been accumulated by government and the liberties and real wishes of the people denied. Modern democracy was the product of the struggle to contain the power of government, then represented by the King. The King was able to govern against the wishes of the people on account of his extensive prerogatives and the vast patronage he commanded with which he was able to control even

members of Parliament. After a century of struggle Parliament was able drastically to reduce the King's power and, to extend the franchise to the people. The Ministers of State became responsible to Parliament rather than to the King and Parliament itself became representative of the people. A century later, the wheel appears to have turned the full circle. Governments are no longer effectively responsible to Parliament and Parliament has largely ceased to represent the actual wishes of the people. The government is led by the party which has come to power by making extravagant promises to the electorate. Actual government policy is determined by trade-offs between powerful interest groups.

Looking back at the decades of socialisation, social control and steadily expanding government, one finds it difficult to understand how a population mainly committed to so called conservative values has permitted such a development. The popular belief is that the welfare state and the immense powers needed to administer it were created by the people's democratic choice. In recent years a wealth of information has emerged from the work of economists and philosophers which effectively disproves this theory. This work, mainly represented by the so called "public choice" theorists have demonstrated that what has been implemented as popularly accepted programs have more often than not been measures which have been directed to serve particular sectional interests. They have shown that the way in which modern democracy operates has been conducive to the prevalence of special interests over the interests of a genuine

majority of people. What passes for majority opinion is often a deal struck among collusive interest groups and government.

An important reason why the welfare state was not resisted was because the public was neither aware nor informed about the costs it entailed in terms of money and personal freedom. At elections governments merely promise welfare. They do not at the same time demand extra revenue or enlarged powers. If such demands accompanied the promises it is highly unlikely that the people would have accepted them. Once elected on such a platform governments assume that they have the mandate to impose taxes and to regulate personal lives and the economy in order to deliver on their promises. It took a long time even for economists to realise the full cost of welfare in economic and social terms.

However there is another explanation of the growth of the welfare state which is rarely considered in the discussion of public policy. That is the extent to which the proponents of socialisation and big government have perfected and applied the art of public deception. The recent and contemporary political history of Australia is replete with evidence of such deception. Not only does government ignore the broader interests but it often successfully hides its true intentions in proclaiming and implementing policy. Programs are dressed in moderate garb and are presented to the electorate as measures consistent with the liberal and individualistic tradition widely shared in the community. In truth they represent radical measures aimed at transforming the economic and social life of the community.

*Medicare* and *Affirmative Action* are prime examples of this type of deception.

Although the welfare state was not initially the product of the genuine wishes of the people, it has now made large numbers of people dependent upon it. It has produced a kind of social addiction to welfare. People are reluctant to relinquish benefits they have learnt to take for granted. If the size of government is to be scaled down, it is essential to communicate the message that there is no such thing as a free lunch and that the welfare philosophy has been mainly responsible for the economic decline and the social decay of this nation (Australia).

## **Developed Democracy Government and the Poor**

Developed democracies have a highly developed industrial and technological base, and also have complex government systems. And in such developed democracies, most of the population will be relatively affluent - but with some substantial minority actually rich and some substantial minority relatively poor. Of course within and across the economic groups, there will also be non-economic population differences including ethnic, religious, age, gender, disabled, housing-disadvantaged and other social groups.

What is social exclusion? Some of such minorities are likely also to be excluded from obtaining many of the socially significant

things that the majority can obtain (which might include reasonable work, education, or holidays etcetera or generally equal opportunity and fair treatment) - which is what 'social exclusion' is really about. It is a major continued failing of most developed democracies (allied perhaps to the 'international exclusion' of poor countries), and at the extreme may involve some minorities being treated as social Lepers and Scapegoats. Fixing poverty itself or disability itself (or changing the social groupings that people are in), may be social or political issues but they are not social exclusion issues - which are basically about treating low-income and other minorities reasonably.

### **Government for the majority**

Government in developed democracies depends on getting the support of some majority of the population, and so may simply tend towards following the 'middle class' majority on most of its policies - and disregard its minorities. But this simple approach to developed democracy government will generally not give the best results for such societies or such governments. Social cohesion and stability are maximised if all voters feel that government fairly considers at least some of their main concerns - and this also maximises voter support over voter apathy.

Voters in democracies may at times prioritise religious, nationalistic or other issues - but in developed democracies their support for government will largely be based on what they see as chiefly affecting their own financial wellbeing and this will become governments priority also. Hence the general level of

taxation affecting themselves, and the level of public services affecting them, will be the two chief policy areas to chiefly determine the majority's government support. Public opinion and government responses on these will tend over time to swing between the 'less tax, less services' and 'more services, more tax' positions. While it will be reasonable for governments to follow such swings, developed societies and their government will prosper most if extremes are avoided. Democratic government will often need to follow, but also need to moderate, such voter fickleness if it and society are not to be adversely affected by extreme swings. And developed democracy voters who prioritise wellbeing, will reject the economic inefficiencies of both extreme central regulation which discourages personal achievement and extreme non-regulation which encourages exploitation.

The big weakness of central-planning government is that its target-making encourages lying about target-achieving, and the big weakness of democratic government is that its promise-making encourages lying about promise-achieving. Under both types of government more effort tends to be put into deceiving well than into doing well, and the same weakness can easily afflict many private businesses also.

### **Government for minorities**

Minorities in developed democracies will generally support government chiefly on the same basis as the majority - on the general level of taxation affecting themselves, and the general level of public services affecting themselves. This will often mean



the rich minority being concerned chiefly about general wealth taxation and policing, with the poor minority being concerned chiefly about general state welfare benefits and consumer taxes. Both can be strongly affected by the particular ways in which a welfare state actually administers its benefits. These issues, like many other issues, may be of only secondary concern to the majority so that often democratic governments can reasonably formulate policy positions that do not follow the views of the middle class majority - but instead best suit social stability and economic prosperity.

Some minority issues will tend to impact on the major majority concerns. Hence, large changes in welfare benefit levels can affect the general level of taxation and in such policy areas some reasonable balance is needed. However, there will be minority issues that need have little or no impact on the major majority concerns. Merely having laws that supposedly protect some minorities on some issues, often ineffectively anyway, is not good enough.

### **Government by the majority**

Developed democracies with a highly developed industrial and technological base, will need more complex government systems which will need to be run by those more skilled and educated. While this can basically work well, it commonly involves some significant problems, chiefly in government by middle-class professionals tending to have little or no real knowledge of the poor. Government handling of the poorest and their children can then be very inadequate, causing substantial problems.

Government experts are imagined to be anybody with a classics distinction from Harvard or Oxford, or a social science degree from Downtown College - or even just if they work for a significant relevant body - though they have no experience of poverty. Of course the cleverest are entirely dumb about things they have no experience of. The middle-class have built up a theoretical 'false-expertise' on the poor, which they believe to be the truth though it is often far from it. Generally based on the idea that the poor and scapegoats are necessary to the prosperity of society, when they necessary only to a few selfish individuals who can prosper only by exploiting others. The main problems of the poor in advanced countries like the USA and UK today are often less about their poverty than about their mistreatment and misgovernment by middle-class society. Even where governments genuinely do 'recruit minorities', which can be of some limited help, they will generally recruit middle-class professional minorities and a middle-class Indian is likely to have little or no real knowledge of many of the problems of poor Indians. And where government tries to consult with the poor directly, which can also be of some limited help, it will generally be asking middle-class questions of poor who know little of the government systems needed. Many real poverty problems and solutions do not register with governments.

Developed democracy governments need to identify and use the very few middle-class professionals who may come from poor families and have maintained substantial real contact with the poor and so have the relevant street-wise knowledge of the poor's actual problems needed as well as understanding the government

systems that could be used best. Older poor children treated ridiculously by governments will increasingly react against it badly. The young are often the most disbelieving of 'education' by government or by parents so actually mistreating them while telling them they are being treated fairly will not work but turn them to gangs, crime, drugs, violence and even guns. Some relevant actual fairness is actually needed.

### **Good Government And Poverty**

The relative poor minority in developed democracies have problems additional to poverty, but their chief poverty concerns are about general welfare benefit and consumer tax levels and the extent of demoralising means-testing. And a major concern of government will also be the undesirable social consequences of the poor becoming excessively welfare dependent with their demoralised children turning to drugs, crime and social disorder.

If the unskilled unemployed are welfare dependent to the extent of say £200 per week when the average unskilled wage is £100 per week, then they may have little incentive to work and government have little incentive to increase welfare levels.

Hence a legal minimum wage system may be needed to ensure that wage levels are above welfare levels. But 2009 saw Europe having legal Minimum Wage levels varying from around £200 a month to around £1,200 a month, with some high wage unionised countries having no legal minimum wage as in Scandinavia. Developed democracy governments need to deliver needed help to

their poor more, but in ways that will promote welfare dependency less. Possible solutions include as follows:-

- A universal right welfare, like the UK's Child Benefit where everyone with children (rich, poor, unemployed or working) has a right to a small state payment for each child. Such a universal right welfare helps the poor and needs no means-tests, and creates no welfare dependency problems as long as the amounts are well below the average wage - and even the rich take it as a welcome part tax-refund for them so everybody is relatively happy with it. Universal benefits tend to having better coverage, lower administration costs and less legal and other problems than attempted-targeting benefits. And while charities may need to use only attempted-targeting means-tested welfare, universal welfare for all better fits democratic government. Such a Universal Benefit approach could easily be extended further to all adults, and at a lower level to all older children also, to useful effect. Universal provisions like free education, free medicine and free school meals can be useful alternatives or additions to this approach, and can have some advantages or disadvantages of different kinds as against an equivalent amount of universal money benefit. (The UK government has been examining the possible benefits of universal free school meals, running free meal trials. But 2011 sees them also considering changing the UK's current Child Benefit from universal to means-tested, and changing

the UK's current Old Age Pension from means-tested to universal. Seemingly they expect these two opposite changes to somehow both give cost savings to government, and are not ignoring any wider social costs.

- A semi-targeted consumer taxation, with taxation concentrated on luxury goods consumed less by the poor and essentials like food having low or negative taxation. This again helps the poor but creates no welfare dependency problems, and needs no means-tests.

3. Targeted subsidised products for-the-poor-only (as often with social housing), or free-to-the-poor-only state provided or backed products (as often medicines). This needs means-tests, but done through non-profit bodies can be made to seem less like a state handout to the poor who hence feel less of a welfare dependency effect. Means-testing generally should always be the minimum necessary, and should really be confined to adults and used only after considering any alternative possibilities.

- A negative income tax system to help low-wage workers, as in the UK, does need means-tests but can seem less like a state handout to the working poor who hence feel less of a welfare dependency effect.
- Means tested state handouts of cash to the poor, like UK 'Income Support' and rent support, are the worst form of help for the poor for promoting welfare

dependency and its undesirable social consequences - and are open to more benefit fraud than some of the above. If multiple approaches to dealing with poverty are to be used, then the extent of the welfare dependency, and benefit fraud, produced by this handout approach can be reduced if combined with a greater use of some of the approaches above. Of course governments do face real problems in trying to deal with poverty because the actual issues vary greatly. Hence even with two seeming equally poor neighbouring families, the poverty may in one family be equally spread between all family members but in the other family be concentrated on eg the wife or the children. But 2011 unfortunately sees a UK government scrapping the previous government's small education attendance grant for 16-18 year old children, of £10 to £30 per week, the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA), without any kind of replacement.

Trying to target poor people can create too many problems, so that often poor people can be helped more by targeting them less.

Democratic government will be supported that regulates and taxes its voters, only if it also gives them reasonable services and rewards in exchange. And can rely on voter support more if it also treats its minorities such as its poor, its children and its ethnic minorities fairly. But it is certainly unfortunately

common that those offering help to the poor and other minorities, do it so inappropriately as to do more harm than good.

## **Power**

To act on their values, citizens need power. But to many Americans, power is bad. It's always corrupt, coercive, self-serving.

But in living democracy, power is seen as a dynamic, enabling relationship, not a one-way force. After all, power comes from a Latin word meaning, simply, "to be able." Understood this way, power is no longer a zero-sum concept. As one person or group gains abilities, another doesn't necessarily lose. In fact, as one becomes more able to shoulder responsibility and solve problems, many others gain from these accomplishments as well. The concept of power becomes one of mutually expanding horizons.

This differs from the long-held Western view of powerholders who get all the credit and blame, and victims who are powerless but innocent. When power is understood as derived from relationships among people, not from authority over people, suddenly the categories of actor and acted-upon are no longer mutually exclusive. Each person's action influences the actions of others. From this insight it follows that no one is ever completely powerless. People can learn to identify, claim and build upon their individual sources of power. A relational approach to power alters the practice of politics, making it more interactive. Politicians and organizers become less concerned

about selling solutions to passive voters than they are about discussing perceptions, concerns and values with their constituencies. Charismatic leadership becomes less valuable than enabling leadership which brings people together to develop the capacities of everyone involved.

There's an interesting way this approach is being used in the field of human services. One Hollywood shelter and support program for street kids with drug problems goes beyond therapy to empowerment. Instead of saying, "we're going to save these helpless, lost youth," they involve the kids in decision-making. A three-person Youth Council helps govern the shelter. Its elected members serve two-week terms. They not only represent their peers as issues arise but share responsibility for working out the consequences when rules are violated.

Most politics sees public life as a fight over power. Living democracy, which sees power in terms of enabling relationships, approaches public life as an opportunity to expand the power of all concerned, to transform people's sense of themselves, to strengthen the bonds between them. Citizens who live their democracy are discovering power in their own knowledge, in their determination, their vision, even their humor. And their power increases as they practice the arts of democracy.

## **Self-Interest**

The idea of self-interest is also being re-thought by those who are bringing democracy to life. It's no longer selfishness. It's no



longer something to be squelched. It involves the full range of things that matter to us, that we legitimately bring to public life.

A citizen in rural Pennsylvania caught the thrust of this new view: "My self-interest includes all the things I really care about. But how can I achieve it unless others are also able to achieve their self-interest?" In this new, richer concept self-interest embraces our commitments to family, heritage, country, faith, health, favorite pastimes, and personal goals. It includes our need to feel useful to others and to be respected. Self-interest also includes our strongly felt commitments to the larger world - such as to a restored natural environment or an end to needless hunger. It is related to who we are at our very core.

We can't get very far with our self-interest by ourselves. Not only do we need to work with others to get what we want, but what we want evolves as we interact with others. It seems that some of our deepest human needs cannot be addressed outside of public life.

Citizenship doesn't demand that we give up our interests for the sake of others. It means learning to see our self-interests embedded in other's self-interests. Whether we're concerned about environmental health and neighborhood safety, or effective schools and job security, we can't achieve our political goals by ourselves. We each depend on the needs of others being met as well.

In this light, we see that selfishness - narrow preoccupation with self - can actually be an enemy of real self-interest. Looking out

for ourselves alone can undermine the community and natural environment upon which we depend. A truly self-interested person, on the other hand, wants to live well and fully in a community and environment that work. That requires creatively merging the self-interests of all involved. And that is an art worth learning.

## **The Arts Of Democracy**

Citizens of a living democracy are not born. We learn the arts of democracy - just as we learn sports, history, or reading. We learn by experience, training and practice. The arts of democracy are essential to effectiveness and pleasure in public life. Like all arts and sports, we enjoy them more as we learn to do them well. If we focus on learning democracy, then individual and group progress is more important than success or failure. Failure becomes just as much an occasion for learning as success. Cultivating human capabilities becomes the centerpiece of action, not just victory on an issue.

The democratic arts are capacities that citizens cultivate in order to act with power, wisdom and effectiveness in public life. There are dozens of them. We find it useful to place them into four categories - communication in public dialogue, the resolution and management of conflict, thinking, and group facilitation. These categories are not distinct, but weave through each other to create the fabric of living democracy. Here are some examples of democratic arts worth learning:

**Active Listening** - When the leadership of a citizen group in Baltimore first visited their Senator, the politician smiled, pulled out his yellow pad and said, "What can I do for you?" The leaders replied, "Nothing. We're here to find out who you are, what you're concerned about, and why you ran for the senate. We think understanding each other's points of view will produce a better public relationship over time."

Active listening has no pre-set agenda. It probes for the speakers' self-interest and values. It allows the development of public relationships based on a mutual recognition of legitimate interests and values. It senses beyond what is said to what is not said. It reflects back what is heard and allows both the listener and the speaker to find greater understanding through the listening process.

Citizens in North Carolina began a community outreach program called The Listening Project. They went door to door just to listen. When a middle-aged white man declared that what bothered him were the rowdy black teenagers, they didn't argue or label him a racist. They listened. By the end of the evening, the man had himself re-thought the problem: It's the lack of jobs and recreation for youth, he realized.

In public life, as in private, we discover that listening can be a tool for helping people think through their own reality and solve problems.

**Public Dialogue** - Dialogue is not debate or casual conversation. It is open public talk about what matters most in the larger

world, about what's happening in our shared "commons." In public dialogue we learn as well as teach. Dialogue is the basis of political imagination, for, as Benjamin Barber notes, "Political talk is not about the world; it is talk that makes and remakes the world." ("Public Talk and Civic Action: Education for Participation in a Strong Democracy," *Social Education*.) Public dialogue requires conscious commitment to exploration: to asking why - why do you and I think as we do and toward what ends? It requires attention to creating an environment (even mutually agreed upon "rules" to insure full participation) in which differences are used as occasions for examining underlying assumptions and sources of information.

Dialogue encourages participants to risk asking new questions and listening to points of view they do not share. Through dialogue, our values take shape and deepen.

Dan Kemmis was instrumental in reducing the divisiveness of Missoula, Montana's politics. He and a fellow alderman who opposed him on an important issue were embarrassed about the way citizens became so confrontational. They each agreed to invite two other people to talk about how to do things differently. Soon the group grew to a dozen from each side and was calling itself the Missoula Roundtable. They struggled to master the art of dialogue.

Slowly they developed the confidence to tackle an issue together. A proposal to build a ski resort threatened Missoula with years of divisiveness. They invited citizens from both sides to talk in a

way that "does the least harm to the community" and to jointly collect needed data. The situation resolved when everyone realized there wasn't enough snowfall to warrant the project. Had Missoula remained polarized, much bad blood might have been generated before that vital piece of information was discovered.

Subsequently, explains Dan, "because of the culture of the Roundtable, [candidates] agreed to try to run campaigns that do as little harm as possible." After such a campaign he became Mayor and created the Mayor's Roundtable, to which he now brings big and divisive issues.

Through dialogue, we learn that effective communication can be a positive, creative form of power.

**Creative Conflict** - In West Berkeley, California, a new zoning plan was stalled. Workers were worried that low-wage service companies were replacing higher-paying manufacturers. Their interests clashed with environmentalists, who were applauding the departure of polluting industries. The City Planning Commission brought the two sides face to face. Self-righteous positioning gave way to real dialogue which, after many tense months, generated a solution no one had thought of before. Their hard-won consensus was so solid that, when it came before the City Council, every citizen who testified spoke for it. Speechless, the Council passed it immediately.

Creative conflict requires critical, constructive, honest, open confrontation. This is difficult for most of us because it "disrupts easy explanations, it challenges values, and it often places people

under public scrutiny." (Mitchel Thomashow, "The Virtues of Controversy," *Bulletin of the Science and Technology Society*, Vol. 9, 1989, 66.) And conflict can so easily turn ugly, most of us have learned to avoid it.

Healthy public life depends on creating spaces - from classrooms to public hearings - where we can come together to overcome our fear of conflict by experiencing its rewards. In such environments we can confront each other critically and honestly over alleged facts, imputed meanings, or personal biases and prejudices. The rewards of creative conflict include clarity and learning. Each side comes to better understand how and why the other side feels as they do. And each becomes more clear about their own values and ideas in relation to the views of others. Everyone becomes more involved in and more knowledgeable about the issues. Since good solutions depend on accurately defining problems and on avoiding jumping to conclusions, conflict can increase the quality of problem-solving by helping us see the whole picture. Conflict becomes truly creative when, in addition to heat, fighting generates light and energy to find new options.

Negotiating interests is a major part of creative conflict. Negotiation means moving beyond pre-set positions, knowing what you're willing to compromise and what you're not - and being able to reach beyond compromise, when possible, to win-win solutions that meet the shared interests of all parties. Because people are different, conflict is inevitable. Groups become more confident and powerful when they welcome conflict and make creative use of it.

**Political Imagination** - Political imagination is the capacity to actively suspend the "givens" of life, to see things from new perspectives, to create new possibilities.

For example, in public life we are often called upon to put ourselves in others' shoes. Political imagination helps us suspend our own views and see another's viewpoint. It helps us accept the reality of diverse interests and values and, given these varied perspectives, to acknowledge that ambiguity is inevitable.

Active listening demands that we exercise our political imagination. English Professor Peter Elbow at the University of Massachusetts uses a tool he calls "the believing game." Anybody who feels that an idea is not being understood by the others can require that, for, say, five minutes, everyone work as hard as possible to believe, develop and strengthen that idea. During those five minutes no one can criticize the idea. But, much more than that, everyone must search for its virtues - whether or not they actually believe in it.

Political imagination also involves the capacity to suspend current social and political arrangements and to "re-image" the future. The world is not static. It is remade daily by our choices. To know today what we must learn in order to create the world of tomorrow, we must be able to imagine that future world. This motivates us and enables us to set goals.

In Kentucky, the Local Governance Project helps citizens develop a "vision for the future of their communities." At one of their gatherings citizens were invited to design a front page of their

county newspaper as it might appear in 1994 and 2012. In Morgan County, the newspaper for the year 2012 heralded the end of smokestack industry and roadside dumping, clean streams, theaters and galleries flourishing in countywide arts districts.

With political imagination, we expand our understanding of what is and what could be.

**Reflection/Evaluation** - To improve in public life, we need to continually incorporate the lessons of our experience. Every meeting, every discussion, every significant public event becomes an opportunity for evaluating changing power relationships, the effectiveness of our actions, even our goals.

We can ask ourselves and each other: How do you feel about what happened? (Answers to this question need to be one word emotions; no intellectualizing.) What worked? What didn't work? What could we do better?

Some citizens groups use evaluations to build up their members' leadership strengths. They try hard to avoid letting criticism demoralize people. In Brockton Interfaith Community, organizer Scott Spencer explains that after any action they always begin by encouraging people to evaluate their own performance first, before anyone else makes a critical comment. Acknowledging our own mistakes is easier for most of us than hearing others' criticisms, and fosters self-awareness, as well. Successful reflection consciously builds a collective memory from which we can draw over time. Group memory can also be built from group



rituals and from consciously rekindling memories of efforts of those who have gone before us or of "the way things used to be." Group memory can root us more firmly into our history and into our social and biological environments.

**Public Judgment** - Public judgment emerges only in hearing other points of view, thinking through the clash of values and perceiving the ground from which differences come. Public judgment differs from simple public opinion, which is the undigested mass of private thoughts about issues and controversies. Public opinion is what gets "polled" in surveys that register only our knee-jerk reactions.

Organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the National Issues Forums encourage in-depth citizen discussions of key public issues. The dialogues they sponsor make problem solving possible and help citizens accept the consequences of decisions. Such dialogues enable public judgment to emerge.

Trade-offs that are forced on people by experts, politicians and others are understandably resisted. However, when citizens themselves have weighed the alternatives and made the decisions, the trade-offs are their own, and they can better accept the consequences.

Public judgment involves learning to be discriminating. A barrage of information hits us daily. What is useful? What sources can we trust? To answer these questions, we must explore the values behind our opinions and those of others. Issue positions turn out

to hinge largely on how we define our underlying values. They provide the framework from which we form our judgments.

One of the most powerful examples of public judgment in America comes from Oregon. The nonprofit group Oregon Health Decisions engaged thousands of homemakers, businesspeople, officials, nurses, physicians, social workers, teachers, ministers and other citizens from 1983-1991 in an interactive series of discussion meetings, review committees and "health care parliaments" to wrestle with difficult public health care policy decisions. They struggled with the trade-offs between curing and prevention, and the inevitable rationing of expensive health care services. A consensus emerged that these life-and-death decisions were community matters, not to be left simply to experts or market forces. They had to be made by the community, consistent with community values. Twenty thousand volunteer citizen hours went into compiling an unprecedented priority listing to guide the use of limited public health dollars - 800 "condition / treatment pairs" weighted by cost, benefit and other factors. The idea is catching on and citizens in other states are now experimenting with similar massive efforts at facilitating public judgment.

Public judgment is the process of communities generating community wisdom about community affairs.

### **Training For Citizenship**

Within the most vital citizen organizations we've encountered, learning is emphasized more than winning. They do weekly training sessions, have ongoing study activities, share their

reflections, write up power analyses of their region, discuss case studies, maintain loose-leaf training manuals that are always being updated, practice with role plays, and are always learning in countless other ways.

We even found cities who train their citizens. For example, Seattle resident Ellen Steward told us about her city's Department of Neighborhood, which actually organizes community councils and empowers grassroots organizations:

"The Department has had a series of training workshops for people in leadership skills. In a couple of nights, you can learn how to run meetings, resource development, evaluation, how to negotiate, how to develop membership and write newsletters, etc. And all free of charge for community people, in different parts of the city. It's part of the empowerment process."

Schools are also getting involved. Through movements for cooperative learning, community service and democratic education, some American schools are returning to their original mission: transforming a diverse population into citizens who can communicate and make decisions together. Students are beginning to consider the public questions that will affect their future and the processes of social change they find most compelling. They are doing democracy while they learn it. The Amesville [Ohio] Sixth Grade Water Chemists, for example, tested the water in their town creek, and learned communication, negotiation, planning and judgment in the process. At the Institute for the Arts of Democracy [which became the Center for

Living Democracy], we are networking all these activities, spreading the word on all the good work that is being done, and developing training materials to enable everyone to learn the arts of democracy.

## **The Great Citizen Experiment**

Living democracy opens new possibilities for America and the world. It's not anti-government. In living democracy, citizens are not seeking more government.

They're not seeking less government. Instead they are developing appropriate and effective roles for government - made accountable to citizens' real concerns. It's not anti-market or business. In living democracy, the marketplace and business are not the enemy. Instead, citizens ask: How can the market and business be made to serve our community's needs and values.

It's not about simple volunteerism. In living democracy, individual volunteerism is not considered The Solution. Rather it is considered a means of building citizen organizations and citizen skills in order to reshape our communities ever closer to our values.

It's not about ideology. In living democracy, citizens are seeking practical solutions, freed from fixed dogma. They're letting go of the notion that there is one formula to fit all communities, all societies.

*Democracy and Distributive Politics*

They're experimenting to find what works. They are trusting their own experiences and insights, free to change as they learn new lessons. These citizens know they don't have a democracy. Democracy is something they are doing, as they rebuild themselves and their communities and go about solving today's unprecedented problems together.

## **Chapter 3**

# **Accountability and Democratic Control on Administration**

## **Accountability**

Public accountability pertains to the obligations of persons or entities entrusted with public resources to be answerable for the fiscal, managerial and program responsibilities that have been conferred on them, and to report to those that have conferred these responsibilities. From this definition of public accountability it is clear that the public entities that utilize public resources have an obligation to account for the way these resources are allocated, used and the results these spending have achieved. In other words, the main objectives of all public accountability initiatives are to ensure that public money is spent most economically and efficiently, that there is minimum of wastage or theft and finally that public actually benefit from public finance.

In response to these accountability requirements of public sector spending, most governments have put in place various expenditure tracking and reporting systems and of these, the most important one happens to be the audit. The Supreme Audit Institutions (SAI) has been set up in most countries to conduct regular audit of public expenditure and report, where such

arrangements exist, to the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of the parliament for review and scrutiny of the veracity of such expenditure. The whole idea of SAI audit and reporting is to detect anomalies (if any) and by doing so, ensure cost-efficiency and integrity in public expenditure. Indirectly, the objective of SAI audit is also to curb malfeasance in public expenditure and thus ensure corruption free and a results-based outcome of public finance. However, in recent times it has been observed that in spite of increased budget of SAIs across the world, the impact on corruption control and service delivery tend to remain somewhat uneven. Based on the results of primary research done at the United Nations (UN) this paper argues that the capacity of audit to curb corruption and improve service delivery depends on a range of issues, some of which are outside the control of the SAIs themselves and these involve the overall socio-political governance environment within which audits are undertaken. Regardless of how well budgeted an SAI is and however technically competent its auditors are an unhelpful socio-political governance arrangement can easily stymie its capacity to access.

### **Research On Public Accountability**

By drawing lessons from a recent United Nations survey<sup>5</sup>, the paper examines the effectiveness of SAIs in relation to its impact on corruption and service delivery within the context of overall governance environment of a country. This is done to see whether differences in governance environment make any difference in audit effectiveness. The paper also highlights some emerging

cases of collaborative or “participatory audit” that engages civil society organizations and/or Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) in the audit process and argues that such initiatives not only strengthens the formal processes of audit, but in some cases, seemed to have contributed to removal of a major governance related barrier that constrained all accountability measures in that country. In summary, the paper presents, with empirical evidence, two inter-connecting reform issues concerning effective public accountability – firstly, without the required governance enablers audit’s capacity to hold state accountable will always remain a problem and indeed, in such situations, audit will make little or no impact on either controlling corruption or improving service delivery and therefore, investment in overall governance reform is a *sin qua non* in achieving effectiveness in public accountability; and secondly, the potential of participation of civil society organizations/Non-Government Organizations and its capacity to enhance public accountability including encouraging related governance reform should be given due consideration.

## **Facts And Findings Of The Public Accountability Research**

*(i) Trends in Audit Expenditure and their Relationships to Country Characteristics (‘governance environment’)* To overcome the challenges of corruption and deteriorating service delivery, many countries have since been taking initiatives to strengthen their



public accountability systems, especially audit. In this regard most increased also increased the operational budgets of their respective SAIs, with the hope that such increase that also induces increased coverage of audit of public expenditure, that in turn would intensify tracking of expenditure, would stem acts of malfeasance in public sector.

The United Nations survey collected budget changes of 124 SAIs from around the world, compared these changes (both increase and decrease) and their impact on corruption and service delivery within the context of differing governance variables. The results of this survey indicate that impacts of audit on corruption control and service delivery differ under differing governance environment, where 'governance environment' is broadly categorized under three types of political regimes - 'free', 'partly free' and 'not free'. Budget Changes of Supreme Audit Institutions by Categories of Political Regimes When SAI budget changes are compared within the context of differing 'governance environment', it becomes apparent that on an average, countries that are "free" with regards to political rights and civil liberties increase their budgets on audit more significantly than those who are "partly free" and "not free". Furthermore, though during the reporting period, the "partly free" countries demonstrate that they spend more on audit than their "not free" counterparts, compared 2001 the "partly free" countries actually reduced their overall SAI budget in 2005. This may be an indication of how commitment to public accountability can become quite vulnerable in "partly free". *(ii) Impact of Audit on Corruption under Differing Governance.*

The survey further reveals that between 2001 and 2005, political rights in 103 countries remained largely unchanged while civil liberties marginally improved by 0.47 units. As a result and due to lack of any major improvement in either of these two factors of freedom, corruption fractionally deteriorated (CPI falling by 0.02 units<sup>12</sup> and COC failing by 0.05 units<sup>13</sup>) and status of public service delivery remained at moderate levels (5.06)<sup>14</sup>, even though average audit expenditure experienced net increase of US\$ 10.78 million during the same period in these countries.

*(iii) Impact of Audit on Corruption under Differing Governance Environment: Trends by Regions* Regionally, one can find significant differences in 'governance environment' indicators and their impacts on corruption. The survey shows that while globally, improvement of political rights by 1 unit reduces corruption by 0.65 units, the same change induces as much as 0.88 units and 0.71 in corruption reduction in Latin America and the Caribbean and the Asia Pacific region respectively. Similarly, improvement in civil liberties by 1 unit reduces corruption by 0.93 units globally and by as much as 0.99 and 1.52 units in the Latin America and Caribbean and the Asia-Pacific region respectively, signifying that for audit to reduce corruption the aspects of political rights and civil liberties must be given due considerations in these regions.

Due to lack of adequate data on corruption, no reliable conclusions could be drawn either for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) or the Western Europe and North American (WENA) countries. None of the 10 ten MENA countries score below 4 in

either Political Rights or in Civil liberties, indicating that none of these countries are free. The reverse holds true here for the 23 WENA countries who enjoy full political rights and civic freedoms (except Turkey) and therefore, region wise, their CPI average is better than all other region.

*(iv) Impact of Audit on Corruption and Service Delivery by Differing Governance Environment: The Trends in Developing Countries as a Group* Of the 84 surveyed developing countries surveyed, 36 “free” countries spend twice as much as on audit than those of the “partly free” countries and nearly 6 times more than their “not free” counterparts. Additionally, the average increase in audit expenditure from 2001-2005 in “free” developing countries is more than 7 times the increase in countries that are “partly free” or “not free” at all. The average status of public service delivery in “free” developing countries is moderate at 5.5, similar to the global average of 5.06 (Service Delivery, score of 1 best, 10 worst), meaning that free ‘governance environment’ is a generically proven effective ingredient of good service delivery. This becomes more evident when public service delivery score is compared with the “partly free” or “not free” developing countries, where it averages at 7. The status of CPI (Corruption Perception Index) in “free” developing countries is close to 4 (where 1 is worst and 7 is best), it is better than “partly free” or “not free” developing countries that average a score below 3, indicating that absence or quasi-improvement in the conditions of political rights and civil liberties will continue to deter positive impacts of audit on corruption in these countries. “Free” developing countries also

fare moderately on World Bank's control of corruption rating (2.2= Corruption under control; -2.2= Widespread corruption) with a score of 0.06; whereas "partly free" and "not free" countries score poorly, at -0.6. The survey indicates that during the reporting period, civil liberties have recorded moderate improvements though unevenly, for both the "free" as well as the "partly free" developing countries, by 0.59 and 0.51 units respectively. In terms of the governance indicators relating to "political rights" and "civil liberties" the "free" developing countries recorded positive change from 2.42 unit to 1.83 unit and "partly free" countries from 3.96 unit to 3.45 unit respectively. As can be expected "not free" countries did not record much improvement in any of these governance indicators. Again while civil liberties recorded only moderate improvement in both 'free' and 'partly free' countries, Political Rights recorded somewhat disappointing trend, improving only marginally by 0.2 units in "free" developing countries and actually declining by -0.03 units and 0.15 units respectively in developing "partly free" and "not free" countries respectively. below shows these changes, along with the changes in the status of corruption and service delivery in these countries.

Again, it is also evident that all other variables being equal, developing countries with greater political rights and civil liberties (e.g. "free" countries) invest more on audit and experience improved public accountability and thus improve service delivery and reduce corruption better than their "partly free" and "not free" counterparts. The foregoing discussions highlight following lessons: - regardless of how much well

budgeted and technically how well equipped these are, the SAIs/audit on their own and without the enabling governance environment of full political rights and civil liberties, will have little or no capacity to produce the desired outcomes of corruption control and quality service delivery in any country;

- “free” countries not only enhance the capacity of audit institutions and create positive impacts on both corruption control and improvement of service delivery, but improved political rights and civil liberties attributable to quality democracies, equally create necessary internal socio-political dynamic to attach higher priority to the issues of public accountability including audit in every country;
- though “partly free” countries fare better than the “not free” countries in controlling corruption and in improving service delivery, absence of sustained efforts to transform the former countries to “free” status, run the risk of reverting back to “not free” conditions and de-emphasize the importance of accountability in these countries;
- “not free” MENA’s good record in service delivery is more of an exception than rule; and finally, - investments in democratic reforms in terms of granting of political rights and civil liberties that include free and fair competitive elections, rule of law, right to information, free media etc. pay significantly high dividends in strengthening public accountability and consequently, reducing corruption and improving

service delivery. In addition to the important role the governance enablers can play in enhancing audit effectiveness, in recent times, many “free” developing countries are also experimenting with the notion of engaging civil society organizations into the formal accountability processes of the government. This, often termed as “participatory audit” or “alternative audit”, is done to strengthen or incorporate the demand side or the citizens’ perspectives into the formal processes of audit.

## **Participatory Audit**

As explained above, some countries while recognizing the important role democratic reform can play in enhancing effectiveness of public accountability and thus reduce corruption and improve service delivery are extending the logic of this reform even further and are incorporating direct civic engagement in the audit process. For example, South Korea has broken away from the past tradition whereby, what would or would not be audited, would be strictly determined by their Supreme Audit Institution (SAI) and created legal space for direct public enquiry into public finance. To complement its Anti-Corruption Act, government of Republic of Korea has introduced the concept of “Citizens Audit Request System” which allows Civil Society Organizations and voluntarily organized citizens groups to seek audits of institutions and programmes that they regard as important requiring scrutiny.

Similarly, demanded by the civil society organizations, India's national programme of rural employment has made it mandatory the inclusion of NGOs and civil society organizations into the on-going monitoring and audit of the programme, especially at the grass-roots level. In Mexico, the Civil Society Organizations Act as well as the General Law of Social Audit (2004) empowered CSO's to participate in the "social audit" of social development programmes of the government. To encourage greater compliance of audit recommendations, in South Africa in one province, a civil society organization regularly publishes audit findings through media and thus draws public attention for necessary follow up. The "participatory audit" is a new phenomenon and as is evident from the few examples cited above, does not follow a generic model, suited to its own need each country seems to follow its own strategy. However, what is clear is that the rise of democracy and increasing citizen clamour for greater transparency and accountability in public governance is pushing the boundaries of traditional norms of accountability mechanisms and leaping into new opportunities of greater civic engagement. Going beyond their traditional role of development broker, many of the civil society organizations are now engaging themselves in greater affairs of public governance including audit. While these initiatives are new, in several instances, for example in India, South Korea etc., these seemed to be yielding positive results. The tensions and opportunities of partnerships between the Supreme Audit Institutions and the Civil Society Organizations on Audit. As this concept of "participatory audit" is new and appears as somewhat contrary to the traditional notion of independence, objectivity, standards and norms espoused by

the audit community, many Supreme Audit Institutions (SAIs) are ambivalent about inclusion of outside agencies in the audit process. They are concerned that the involvement of CSOs in the audit process runs the risk of compromising the independence, objectivity and rigor of audit. At the same time, the CSOs also complain that traditional audit are either too embedded within bureaucratic control of the executive and thus is structurally stifled to be useful, especially in less democratic conditions or the manpower and budgetary resource allocated to audit institutions are too inadequate to allow intensity required expenditure tracking, especially its impacts at the beneficiary level. They therefore, believe that there are real opportunities of complementarities – where the SAIs can bring the element of objectivity and independence in the analysis assessment of propriety in public expenditure, the civil society organizations can bridge the gap of information on by collecting and providing data from the beneficiary or programme level.

Happily, the emerging successful cases of ‘participatory’ audit indicate that many of the existing concerns and mutual suspicions of collaboration have since been largely overcome and mitigated through dialoguing and better understanding of each others position as well as through sustained collaboration. Successful cases of “participatory audit” highlight following key lessons:

- India’s social or participatory audit catalyzed a major governance reform – the enactment of the Right to Information Act.



- In recent times, UNDESA in partnership with the International Budget Project (IBP), Eastern Organization of Public Administration (EROPA) convened the meeting “Dialogue on Civil Society Engagement in Public Accountability” during - There is a need for a legal basis for the civil society organizations to engage in public accountability issues (as in South Korea);
- Piloting training of both SAIs and CSOs in collaborative audit;
- Creation of enabling governance conditions and removing barriers to access to information;
- Free media and active participation of media in public interest issues including audit; and
- Documentation of best practices for information exchange and technology transfer.

Both the frameworks and methodologies of ‘participatory audit’ would continue to vary from country to country. However, further innovations in this field are possible only when there is continued commitment to public accountability and the realization that in an ever changing complex world partnership between government and civil society is an essential element of all aspects of good governance including public accountability.

Various expressions like responsiveness, responsibility, accountability and control are used to ensure the subservience of public officials. The word ‘Accountable’ seems to have come into usage in the English language for the first time in 1583 in the

financial context. Even today, financial accountability is an important part of the concept which is a comprehensive one and covers all the activities undertaken by the Government. Accountable means liable to be called to account. Accountability means that the administration has to be accountable for the exercise of authority which it possesses. Accountability in Public administration becomes necessary because of the nature of the job performed and power exercised by the public officials.

Accountability may refer to the legal and hierarchical views of responsibility. It denotes the specific methods and procedures which help to enforce the responsibility of civil servants. Sri Ram Maheshwari says, "Administrative accountability is an organisational imperative because first and foremost, it purports to evaluate its performance in terms of its goals. The goal is split up into definite tasks and responsibilities, and it is the individual administrators who are called to render an account of how they are discharging their responsibilities... concepts like hierarchy, span of control, unity of command, supervision, etc. are all accountability promoting and enforcing mechanisms. So, in the annual budget, accountability carries meaning only when it closely and firmly relates itself to the basic tasks and objectives of an organisation."

Thus, accountability means liability to give a satisfactory account of the exercise of the power of discretion vested in some authority to which it is due, failing which, some kind of punishment may follow. The civil servants are accountable to the political executive and courts of law. The civil servants generally enjoy

security and it is difficult to make them responsible for policy decisions. Administrative accountability seeks to ensure optimisation of the available resources and at the same time to realise the organisational goals.

## **Control**

Every organisations, whether government or non-government, business or non-business, require control over the use of their human and material resources. Public administration all over the world is exhibiting an unmistakable trend of expansion. The phenomenal increase in governmental functions is a continuing process. Consequently, administration is today drapped with unparalleled powers. Control may be defined as the process of checking whether actions are being taken as planned or in the desired way and taking corrective action to make them conform to decisions. Control process tries to find out deviations between planned performance and actual performance and to suggest corrective action when needed.

The expansion of the functions of the administration and the consequent increase in power has brought to the fore, the fear that the civil servants may abuse and misuse their powers, may act in a despotic manner is that of the excesses committed on the people by Public administration under the 'internal emergency' which lasted from June 26,1975 to March 23,1, or, may develop an irresponsible attitude. Numerous instances, from all parts of the globe, can be cited in support of Lord Acton's statement,

“Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. ” One such instance from the Indian situation 1977. During the period of internal emergency, all mechanisms of control were made ineffective and as a result public administration went amuck. Administrators were seen signing blank warrant forms to have innocent citizens arrested. The history of the nineteen monthlong emergency is replete with such instances. Its memories are still fresh and will always be a pointer to the need for control over administration by devising effective means for the purpose.

## **The Foundations Of Critical Theory**

Given this richness, let us try to place NPM within the tradition of European social, political, and administrative theory. As previously mentioned, fertile exploratory ground exists within the framework of the “critical theory” of the Frankfurt School, particularly the ideas of Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, Jurgen Habermas, and their followers in Europe, America, and the world. We are aware of the many critiques of critical theory, but given the constraints of this paper, we will not address these critiques unless they are clearly important to our aims. Placing NPM within the European tradition of critical social theory has the potential to provide NPM with a philosophical and ethical foundation that clarifies and critiques its status as an ostensibly general solution to problems of administrative reform. This permits a systematic critical assessment of NPM’s strengths,

weaknesses, and possibilities within the tradition of European public administration. We believe that much of this European tradition, like much of its American counterpart, continues to represent a highly developed form of instrumental rationality and bureaucratic government. Although NPM has no explicit philosophical, ethical, or empirical foundation, such a foundation may be established by learning from critical social theory and the problems it was designed to address.

Critical theory was centrally concerned with the same problem as NPM—*namely, the problem of bureaucracy and the bureaucratization of state and society*. The originator of the tradition of discourse and writing on bureaucracy, Max Weber, argued that bureaucracy was the perfect embodiment of instrumental rationality. In Weber's words:

The decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organization has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs—these are raised to the optimum point. Thus described, bureaucracy is the main point of departure for Habermas in many of his works. In *Toward a Rational Society* (1970), he presents a frontal attack on bureaucracy in his critique of the domination of public life by instrumental rationality. Although instrumental rationality has achieved its most developed form in the modern period, its origins lie in the universal drive towards the domination of human and material nature. In the modern period, science,

technology, and professional expertise take on this role, so that the task in today's society is to recognize that science and technology—including “social technologies” such as public administration and policy analysis—represent the domination of instrumental rationality, especially in the public sphere.

Instrumental rationality represents but one form of rational inquiry and problem solving. There are two others, one based on the hermeneutic (interpretive) tradition established by Vico, Weber, and Gadamer; the other based on a more general critical (emancipatory) tradition of ethical and moral thought in Europe and North America. In this context, there are three interdependent interests which underlie and guide three different types of rationality:

*Instrumental Rationality.* This form of reasoning guides the empirical-analytic sciences and social and management technologies, including public administration and policy analysis and the latter's embodiment in Regulatory Impact Assessment (RIA) within the European Union. The primary interest underlying instrumental rationality is the *control* of human and material nature. □ *Hermeneutic (Interpretive) Rationality.* This form of reasoning guides the interpretation of written texts (originally Biblical texts) and, more importantly, texts in the form of subjectively meaningful human actions. The “hermeneutic sciences” include a range of qualitative methodologies such as phenomenology, ethnomethodology and, in a specific sense, the *verstehende sociologie* of Weber and successors. The primary interest underlying hermeneutic rationality is understanding the

language and purposive actions of individuals and groups, so as to reduce or eliminate the distorted communication created by the sciences, social technologies, and expert professions.

*Critical (Emancipatory) Rationality.* This form of reasoning guides the process of achieving freedom from distorted communication, freedom from reified concepts (e.g., “customer”) created by the professions and sciences, freedom from false beliefs that political and economic institutions (e.g., markets) are “natural” entities governed by immutable laws (e.g., “privatization produces efficiency”), from political and bureaucratic domination (e.g., the alienation of civil servants in command and-control ministries), and many other constraints on freedom of choice and the creative acts of individuals, groups, and organizations. The primary interest underlying critical rationality is the emancipation of individuals and groups through critical self-reflection and the creation of new institutions, norms, values, and goals through moral discourse and ethical reflection. These three interdependent aspects of critical theory may be understood in terms of the analogy (it is *only* an analogy) of the “psychoanalytic encounter”. The *analyst* brings to his patient a reflective science, in this case, Freudian psychoanalysis, although it should be stressed that reflective science is also embodied in a large number of self-reflective problem-solving tools used to structure problems of management, policy, and planning. The procedures and techniques of reflective science are brought to bear on the problems of *analysands* (citizens, clients, customers, co-workers) by, first of all, understanding their language and interpretations, so as to achieve undistorted communication between the *analyst*,

on one hand, and the *analysand* on the other. Understanding is not enough. It could result in further domination and control by developing more effective mass communications, advertising, marketing, and propaganda. Thus, the *analysand* can achieve emancipation only through critical self reflection and creative changes in behavior, which the *analyst* steers but does not dictate.

The point of the analogy of the “psychoanalytic encounter” is to show the interdependencies among technical, hermeneutic, and emancipatory interests. Authentic emancipation depends on all three types of rationality.

Critical theory is clearly different from the traditional scientific and legal theory of public administration in the United States and Europe. Traditional theory in the European context, for example, is characterized almost entirely by instrumental rationality. Even advocates of NPM are guided by instrumental rationality, where strategies and recipes for improvement are seen as instruments to achieve economic and financial gains through down-sizing (so-called “right-sizing”), tax reduction programs, and privatization programs designed to achieve new efficiencies. Although democracy and power sharing are also values, it is not always clear whether these are ends, or means to efficiency improvement—that is, another form of instrumental rationality. For example, as Carole Pateman (1973) has documented so well, agency and community participation are often seen as instruments for overcoming resistance to change and facilitating implementation.



## **Applying Critical Theory To Npm**

In the first section of this paper we presented the various interrelated principles and strategies of NPM. Notably, the strategies begin with Cs--Core, Consequences, Customer, Control, and Culture. In this concluding section, we add to each of these C Strategies a corresponding amendment drawn from critical theory. In this way we seek to integrate NPM and critical theory as part of an action plan for administrative reform. *The Core Strategy: Critical Discourse Amendment.* The core strategy of NPM is designed to help public systems clarify their fundamental purposes, eliminate functions that do not serve those purposes, and organize programs and policies so that organizations and communities are free to create their own defined visions, missions, and goals, all of which contribute to the system's overall purpose. This core strategy needs to be amended so that public discourse about purposes—both “instrumental” (means) and “consummatory” (ends)—form part of open, critical discussion and debate among politicians, managers, employees, and members of communities. “Value-critical” discourse focuses on ends as well as means, so that the exclusive focus on means does not revert simply to another and perhaps more advanced form of instrumental rationality, which is the *essential feature of all bureaucracies.*

To be sure, ends justify the means. But ends themselves must be justified. Among those ends are justice, equity, liberty, fairness, and procedural predictability, none of which serve the ends of

economic efficiency, per se, because they are often ends in themselves. Regrettably, for many advocates of NPM in the United States and the United Kingdom economic efficiency in its various forms (employee productivity, budgetary discipline, optimal staffing) is the main justification of NPM interventions such as privatization, contracting out, and new personnel appraisal systems. Frequently, even discussions of employee and citizen participation, which at first glance seem to be associated with democratic governance, reduce to purely instrumental arguments about the effects of participation in enabling or constraining productivity. This is pure instrumental rationality, with no consideration of other public ends. As Deborah Stone has shown, it represents the confinement of public discourse to the *uncritical* discussion of values associated with the “market,” ignoring those of the “polis”. *The Customer Strategy: The Reflexivity Amendment*. Although terms such as “customer” point to the non-coercively empowered citizen as one who should make choices on the basis of the quality of services and products, this and other terms (another is “twinning”) are and should be the subject of critical self-reflection. A reflexive strategy not only examines the special conditions under which such terms arise (e.g., customer is a creation of late 20th-century “marketized” societies), but also looks at the changes in behavior that result when information about an individual’s or agency’s behavior are made available—they change their behavior in unanticipated negative (and positive) ways. Police departments, when their annual budgets are being made, make more arrests, but these arrests later fail because they are “false” arrests. When new student achievement tests are used to provide increases or decreases in teacher pay,

teachers “teach to the test” and partly invalidate the test. This reflexive property of human behavior is so widespread and important that it has been elevated, through the phrase “reactive measures”—to a major principle of the social and behavioral sciences. When students and their families in state-funded schools are labeled “customers,” evaluations of teachers (and professors) naturally focus on *customer satisfaction*, which sometimes has nothing to do with education or knowledge. “Customer” can imply that people are simple commodities in the language of instrumental rationality. “Customer” in a critical theory perspective can also imply that individuals can and must act in world governed by non-coercive discourse. To have free choice is the ultimate act of non-coercion. Whether we, as individuals, act as utility maximizing self-interest ones or altruistic community oriented ones is theoretically immaterial to the point that non-coercive choice is an inherently necessary condition for other forms of rationality contemplated by critical theory. In general, it is the essence of the rejection of the commoditized notion of customer that can be a foundation of NPM. *The Control Strategy: The Emancipation Amendment*. Managerial and employee titles, along with their roles and institutions, are not “natural” entities. The problem, as Horkheimer put it, is that these days “the whole perceptible world of administration is seen as simply factual; it is there and must be accepted.” In addition, often there is an “illusory coherence” believed to characterize agencies and ministries. The “naturalization” and “reification” of roles, positions, and institutions—including the “market,” “socialism,” and

“capitalism”—need to be the subject of critique and public discourse in order to achieve authentic power sharing.

Empowerment of organizations, employees and communities is an act of decentralization and an abandonment of exclusive reliance on instrumental rationality and its focus on technical control. The center and the bureaucracy need to relinquish traditional forms of command and control. In the process, it opens the avenues for other forms of rationality for communities to reach their decisions and for those communities to reach a non-coercive consensus with the center.

*The Consequences Strategy: The Hermeneutic Amendment.* Incentives and disincentives mean something different to different people. It is fatuous to believe that incentives have the same meaning and consequences everywhere; that individual managers and employees are “copies” of one another. Hermeneutics and the “sciences of interpretation” are vital aids to NPM.

*The Culture Strategy: The Communicative Competence Amendment.* A “holy grail” of human relations approaches has been to wed the needs of the organization with the needs of the individuals who constitute that organization. Habermas’ notion of ideal speech is one in which a symmetry or equality of power among participants is created that prevents communicative distortion brought about by domination. To win the hearts and minds of employees by making them empowered decision-makers is a form of equality that may well be an early form of non-coercive discourse that

integrates the needs of the organization and the needs of the individual in a way that serves both well.

## **Concluding Thoughts**

Critical theory demands that a free and open society have maximum, if not total, participation in the public sphere. Given the domination of purposive-rational action in today's societies, discourse in the public sphere has been more narrowly confined to instrumental rationality. As such, open discourse about the normative agenda of society excludes the type of communication that critical theorists believe are necessary to emancipate the individual. The new public management, perhaps unwittingly, seems to require the notion of interpretive or practical reason that lies at the core of critical theory. For this reason, among others, NPM represents a decision-making system that is a rejection of pure instrumental rationality. Finally, we will be the first to admit that this essay is more theoretical than practical. Whether the NPM makes operational sense, given the economic, political, and ethnic inequalities of most of the planet, is another question for another day. What is of importance is that insight can be gained from recognizing that some of the attack on NPM is unwittingly an attack on the practicality of critical theory. For what lies at the heart of the debate is the inability of advocates and critics alike to see that the issue is really about the nature and meaning of non-coercive discourse. As Merrien had already pointed out, from the success and failure of the Copernicus reform two elements may contribute to construct a critical

understanding of the NPM instruments. First, the Copernicus reform assessment attracts the attention to the perverse effects that such reforms can generate. Second such an assessment intends to attract the attention to a more fundamental dimension since it invites the researcher to question the ambitions of the reforms designed under the NPM label. Actually, if the majority of administrative reforms undertaken in the OECD countries since 1990's sought to build public action on the basis, the assessments carried out on these reforms tend to question the capacity of NPM's tools to reach the objectives that they have contributed to set up.<sup>56</sup> It is then advisable to admit the low capacity of market driven instruments to seek effectiveness at least in the public sector. While some instruments (such as the contract) were assessed positively, their successes fall short to counterbalance the perverse effects generated by others.

From these two critics, we assume that the Copernicus reform weakens the administrative actors' capacity to see their responsibility engaged whether it is towards their minister, towards parliament or towards citizens. The incapacity of the latter to take part in the construction of the administrative reform appears to be a crucial point in the failure of the reform. In these circumstances the administrative authorities are in the incapacity to face the new plurality of the requests, that they must manage anyway. This situation creates then an ambiguous interaction between the public action planification and the necessity to adapt this last one to the specific circumstances.<sup>57</sup> From this point of view, the NPM's mistake is to set up instruments that force the top-civil servants to direct their action

exclusively towards results. By doing this, top-civil servants do not anymore consider the new social requests (more transparency, plurality, demands for participation...) like fundamental questions for public action. We then attend a paradoxical situation in which, whereas the performance of public administrations improve (in quantitative term), the extent of the social question intensifies. The administrative reform, whereas its principal objective was to support public action legitimacy, tends to discredit and consequently to weaken the public action legitimacy. The Copernicus reform appears consequently as a good example of this paradox. Indeed, the Copernicus reform makes possible to highlight the differential which can exist between the importance of the objectives or the stakes underlying the administrative reforms and the weakness of the results that they induce. In this perspective, the NPM, by artificially focusing on instruments, tend to forget that the quality assessment of management processes should be investigated by the process itself rather than by its outcome, as in the long run, good decision making processes are more likely to generate good outcomes.<sup>58</sup> Consecutively, we would agree, that the NPM can be understood as a myth, as Gusdorff has pointed out <sup>59</sup>, since it maintains, independently of the obvious failures of its instruments, an anthropomorphic, cosmomorphic and theomorphic truth. <sup>60</sup> If the mythology of the NPM is still applied in the OECD countries it seems to us that can be explained by two reasons. The first would be that, as NPM cannot be understood as frontal neo-liberal revolution, it avoids strong social counter-mobilization.<sup>61</sup> But the tools of the NMP still find partisans because the managerial reforms are less visible than

other types of reforms and have the advantage of reversing the responsibility's locus from the political actors to the top civil servants or the administration perceived as a whole.<sup>62</sup> This is why the NPM techniques were and still are the main reference frames while reforming the Welfare state.<sup>63</sup> These techniques appear as the focal point of a coherent corpus of thought whose main goal is to present their solutions or their referential as naturally the most obvious compared to traditional solutions. The NPM's partisans techniques justify their position on the basis of a list of "good practices" resulting from case study in which their instruments are presented as making a difference between the success and the failure of a public administration reform. The prevalence of these instruments is then ensured by the construction of a set of concepts that are supposed to act as ideograms but whose senses remain obscure for the actors who mobilize them.<sup>64</sup> These ideograms, if their purpose is not to highlight what has to be understood as "true" or what has to be understood as "bad", are however thought as strategic tools to interest and enroll actors in a shared worldview. By doing so, NPM techniques and concepts try to offer to public actors the idea of a perfect unity between public and private sector. However, if public and private actors may have some constraints in common, they appear quite differentiated in reference to public responsibility toward social demands. The idea that rational public instruments, inspired from the private sector, are an efficient answer to the modifications of the social and cultural environment in which public action is supposed to be designed and implemented appears to be inadequate. The Copernicus reform seems, in this perspective, quite evident. It illustrates the



possible tensions between the concomitant search for quality and search for efficiency in public action. It helps us to understand that by offering the same answer to different crises (public action legitimacy crises, trust in public action crises and institutionalized expertise crises), it leads to an artificial focusing on instruments.

## **Distributive Tendency**

The **distributive tendency** is the propensity of the United States Congress to lean towards distributive politics, especially to gain political support and credit claim. Through the distributive tendency, Congress' bills evolve over the drafting process to become more broad and reaching with their benefits. Legislation that follows the distributive tendency has benefits that flow to many districts and can come in many forms, though in current day they are often monetary.

The distributive tendency is a form of distributive politics, which is the spreading of benefits across different areas, interests, and constituencies in one piece of legislation. The term was "first coined for nineteenth-century land policies, but easily extended to include most contemporary public land and resource policies; rivers and harbors programs; defense procurement and R&D; labor, business, and agricultural 'clientele' services; and the traditional tariff." In fact, during the nineteenth century, a majority of policies devised by the federal government were distributive. To be considered distributive, a piece of legislation

should be disaggregable, universal, and omnibus. Distributive politics is in contrast to regulatory and redistributive programs. The distributive tendency is related to distributive politics, distributive benefits, distributive policy, and distributive legislation and is closely linked with logrolling and pork barrel legislation. The distributive politics is similar to 'pork-barrel politics.'

### **Characteristics of Distributive Politics**

According to many, distributive politics must be in some way disaggregable. That is, the legislation must be able to be broken down into multiple benefits dispersed among recipients and "what is being distributed can be dispensed in small units". Lowi says distributive policies "are virtually not policies at all but are highly individualized decisions that only by accumulation can be called a policy."The concept of universalism also defines distributive politics. Universalism refers both to the broad allocation of benefits to recipients and the wide support these legislative measures receive in Congress. In terms of the people's reception of benefits, universal distributive policies benefit wide ranges of people and the "unanimous inclusion of representatives' projects in omnibus-type legislation produced by one committee." Universalism also points to the legislative support needed to pass these distributive measures and the "coalitions of near-unanimous size rather than coalitions of narrower or minimal winning size" that pass distributive legislation. Universalism has two variants, one broad-based universalism which is more inclusive and the narrow based

universalism or universalism among "own" party members or districts ruled by them. The latter kind of universalism is called particularism (see Cox and McCubbins' universalism-within-party hypothesis). Weingast notes that universalism should not be taken as the sole definition of distributive politics and that "universalism is one principle among many that govern congressional behavior over distributive politics." Chanchal Kumar Sharma notes that both particularistic and universalistic tendencies are a part of the game of distributive politics. The ultimate objective, however, to maximize political/electoral gains at the expense of economic efficiency or equity.

Distributive legislation is considered omnibus and combines the small, divisible pieces that cater to many districts. This allocates funds for a collection of independent, local projects, which vary in size, scope, and dollar amount. Oftentimes, pieces of the omnibus legislation are unconnected, so "owing to the unrelatedness of issues in distributive politics, the activities of single participants need not be related but rather can be specialized as the situation warrants it." With omnibus packages, benefits that only serve small populations are more likely to gain majority support for Congressional passage.

## **Competing Theories**

There are several competing theories on the precise definition of distributive politics, as political scientists approach the concept from different angles. The distribution and overall concentration of benefits and projects is how Lowi defines distributive politics, saying they are those that "can be disaggregated and dispensed

unit by small unit, each unit more or less in isolation from other units and from any general rule.”

Ferejohn and Rundquist also accept the disaggregation as a main part of defining distribution, but they refine their definition by only including those pieces of legislation that are dispersed geographically. Ferejohn and Rundquist rely on the notion that Congressmen strive only to serve their constituents, who are part of geographically sorted voting districts. Fiorina subscribes to this same idea, noting “Congressmen understand national interest only when it speaks in a local dialect.”

The role of targeted populations and recipients of distributive benefits is debated among scholars. Stockman claims that distributive policy is actually less efficient than alternatives, as it creates a widespread blanket of benefits rather than concentrating those benefits on the needy populations. Lowi and Schneider argue that distributive policies are rather more concentrated on those “powerful and positively constructed” groups, such as the elderly, business, veterans, and scientists. These groups are given more benefits because they hold less opposition and controversy and are “met instead with general approval.”

Other contributions to the definition of distributive politics emphasize the evolution of policy and how this impacts the creation of a distributive bill. Sharma argues that if a party controls majority seats in the national legislature as well as a vast majority of the state legislatures, then the distributive funds

(or pork barrel funds) are allocated to 'own party' ruled states (i.e., affiliated states). However, if the ruling party loses support in a vast majority of states then it alters its distributive strategy to appease those constituencies which it has lost, leading to more welfare-grants being channeled to nonaffiliated states, although affiliated states continue to receive a respectable amount of such (visible or credit conferring) grants. This theory has been termed as "situational theory of distributive politics". More precisely, the theory holds that particularization or universalization of federal grants depends on the party system type under which the national government is operating. It states that incentives for exclusive targeting of affiliated states in dominantā party systems drive national ruling parties towards particularism, while the shrinking opportunity to indulge in such a policy in multipartyā coalition systems creates a universalisation effect. Stockman argues that distributive legislation begins as a narrow bill, and expands to incorporate more projects to gain a broader support base of legislators. Stein strays away from the idea that Congressmen's main motivation for distributing benefits is for constituent support, as he claims there is no way to fully ensure reasons for voting, and "the electoral impact of helping to direct benefits to the district will be muted to the extent that voters are unaware of the benefits and to the extent that voters do not credit their member for securing them."

Overall, these theories all accept the idea that distributive politics must in some way be disaggregable, universal, and omnibus.

# **Implications**

## **Uncontroversial Passage of Legislation**

The combination of multiple projects benefiting multiple districts helps ensure the uncontroversial passage of legislation. In contrast to regulatory or redistributive programs, the benefits from distributive programs benefit every district. This encourages members who might have opposed a particular project, to support the distributive bill because of the benefits of a different included project in her district. A measure proposed in Congress requires so much support by many different people to pass through the legislature that it must be supported in some way by a large numbers of legislators with broad interest bases, contributing to the range of benefits included in distributive legislation and majority approval in Congress. The cost of distributive programs contributes to their uncontroversial passage and is carried by the general public not a specific group of people. This contributes to the difficulty of removing distributive programs and annual fund allocations, as legislators find it more challenging to end a program after it has been initiated and the benefits have reached their districts. Allocations of distributive programs and particularized benefits are often made strategically in order to cater to a particular group and build and maintain political support for members within their districts. Distributive programs thrive on political gain because "congressmen are motivated by a desire to serve the economic interests of their constituencies." Oftentimes, the benefits are distributed geographically to match voting districts, but distribution is not limited strictly to

geographic location. Other interest groups such as senior citizens and environmentalists are influential in the distribution of benefits and the support incentives of Congressmen. Modern political scholars argue that distributive policies encompass programs and grants that emphasize the general taxation distributing benefits to narrow constituencies. These include the traditional pork barrel of public works, rivers and harbors projects, highway construction, categorical grants-in-aid, urban renewal, mass transit, sewage treatment plants, model cities, and military procurement. Rivers and harbors legislation during 1889 and 1913 is a representation of distributional practices occurring in the House of Representatives over the appropriations of “oversized coalitions of districts.” These distributive policies are distinguished from non-distributive programs in that non-distributive policies are often designed to serve nongeographic constituencies. The most representative example is entitlement programs targeting specific socioeconomic groups in mind, such as “the malnourished (food stamps), the unhealthy (Medicare), the poor (welfare), the retired (social security), the injured worker (workmen’s compensation), or the automobile driver (automotive product safety).

## **Social Policy and the Welfare State**

Social policy is an inclusive disciplinary, which means to provide solutions to address needs of social life. Social problems change based on economic and environmental factors. These changes also differ based on social structure and state policies.

The historical background of social policies is in parallel with important events in the human history. An important cornerstone in the world history, industrial revolution, is an economic revolution on one side, but it increased the social problems on the other side. From industrial perspective, societies can be regarded as preindustrial society, industrial society, and postindustrial society. It is also possible to say that social policies that provided solutions to social problems also changed based on the conditions of the period.

It is seen that traditional methods were used to satisfy social needs, and the groups in need of protection were tried to be protected through social aid and services in the preindustrial period.

The period which began with the industrial revolution caused varied social problems as from the second half of eighteenth century. Seeking solutions to address the poverty and social imbalance, which were caused by the industrialization, social policy tried to make balance between economy and social policies. The migrations to industrialized regions with the impact of industrialization caused new professions, negative life and work conditions, and poverty. In the face of this change in the demographic structure, states adopted the liberal economic understanding as a solution. Free market economy that emerged as a result of concerns that state interventions would damage economic and social balances helped a part of society to have welfare but caused workers who constituted the majority of society to impoverish. Liberal economy understanding's failure to



ensure social welfare resulted in criticisms and the rise of neoliberal approaches. The fact that liberal state understanding's limited approach caused negative results on social policies led adopting a more interventionist and regulating state model. Because social expectations that the state should meet social needs increased, the state got a new character to solve social problems. Affected by the wars which broke out in the first half of twentieth century and 1929 economic crisis, the concept of state changed in favor of social policies. With Keynesian economic approach, it paved the way for more inclusive interventions and adopted "welfare state" approach. However, also affected by globalization, the interventionist approach of welfare state to ensure economic and social welfare failed to ensure economic growth, and the position of state was discussed again.

In this new period, where the increase of social expenditures and taxes was perceived as a threat, it was suggested that the social responsibilities of the state should be reduced. The crises beginning in 1970s and the problems which increased with the effect of globalization led to a transformation in the welfare state. The crisis of welfare state and the constantly increasing discussion about the role of state to determine social policies caused states to plunge into new quests.

Although the quests for the welfare state of Golden Age were different, it is possible to say that the basic attitudes were neoliberal attitudes like increasing the effectiveness of local administrations, leaving ensuring welfare ton on profit

organizations, and leaving social services to private sector. Therefore, the Welfare State mode that emerged with industrial revolution was restructured with the “Information Age” and globalization which emerged in the last quarter of twentieth century. In this period, social policies are determined by civil society, international, and supranational organizations instead of traditional means, and social policy understanding turns into new forms.

In spite of all criticisms, welfare state still regulates and implements social policies today. Exposed to some transformations and to some extent replaced by neoliberal policies as a result of changes caused by the globalization and information age, the welfare state is predicted to continue its existence in new forms and remains as an important power to regulate social policies in future.

In this study which has been made under the light of this information and predictions, first of all, the conceptual foundations, targets, and means of social policy will be explained with the factors which paved the way for its emergence in the historical process. After that, the concept of welfare state and the effects and events, which paved the way for its emergence, will be handled in the historical process. Welfare state crisis and globalization will be explained under different headings and determinations, and predictions will be made about today and future, discussing their impact on the social policy. Social policy is referred to as “social policy” in Continental Europe, but it is referred to as “social welfare policy” in the North American

literature. Some authors argue that these two concepts have the same meaning but some others argue that social policy is a frame concept which encompasses various policies, including social welfare policy.

Differences regarding the definition of social policy also arise from periodic conditions. To Wagner, social policy means the measurements taken by state to protect workers, while to Kessler, it means the movements and struggles of social class and state's attitude against this struggle. To Lauber, social policy is a set of measurements taken at national level in order to change and regulate the financial and cultural life conditions in a definite period of time. Albrech defines social policy as all measures and institutions that are taken to protect the part of society which is in need of economic protection and to ensure social security and peace. Marshall defines social policy as a set of policies developed by state to ensure welfare in order that it obtains service and income. Hagenbuch asserts that social policy is an effort to make sure that individuals have minimum standards and opportunities.

In narrow sense, social policy is an attitude to address the disputes, imbalances, and conflict of interests between employers and employees and to ensure harmony between classes in capitalist systems. In narrow sense, the aim of social policies is to find solutions for the problems emerging in industrial societies. From this perspective, it serves ensuring the social justice for ending the social inequalities that have been caused by the industrial revolution in social policy. In narrow sense, it

represents the policies for making a balance between labor and capital because it encompasses only problems of worker and labor classes. These policies also include the provision of social justice.

In narrow sense, political policy approaches the working life as the basic element that can explain the society. In this context, it also deals with issues such as wages, working conditions, trade unionism, and collective bargaining.

In a broad sense, the concept of social policy means comprehensive practices which address not only the problems and needs of working class but also those of the other segments of society. With a definition from this perspective, it is possible to say social policy discipline addresses the problems of urbanization, environment, health, and education and those of all segments of society such as workers, the disabled, the elders, children, and immigrants. In a board sense, social policy emerged together with the concept of welfare state after World War II. Therefore, social policy includes health services, social security, city, environment, and struggling against unemployment and poverty that affect social welfare. In a broad sense, the final target of all these practices is to ensure social peace, social justice, and equality between different groups.

Social policy is determined on the basis of redistribution. The regulatory and distributive view of policies serves to ensure that everyone living in society has social freedoms and equal opportunities. Ensuring the welfare of each individual is the

main objective of the state and other organizations that are social policy practitioners. The members of society have such needs as education, social security, health services, and housing. Social policy aims to ensure the welfare of individuals through legislative regulations. Because social policy is affected by social developments, it changes based on the needs of individuals. State makes new regulations based on needs. It is possible to make separate regulations for those who are in need of protection from social policy perspective for children and youth, for the disabled, for families with low income, and for the elders.

The factors which affect and determine social policy are not only the needs of society and individuals but also are ideological movements, crime rates, unemployment, media, politics, industrial groups, and violence, such economic factors as debit and recession and the nature of welfare state (social democratic, liberal, etc.). Social policy can be defined as an area consisting of decisions taken with the participation of many individuals and parties, which is put in force after the state determines its basis. There is a mutual interaction between social policy and economic policies. Thus, the development of a country is not possible only through economic growth but also by achieving a fair and balanced growth to solve social problems. From this perspective, the problems in economy and those in social policy need to be handled together.

### **Principles and concepts of social policy**

To achieve its goals, social policy needs to have some principles regarding the policies it will determine.

The social policy, which is put in force by the state and other institutions, affects the welfare of society directly. A state's regulations regarding welfare need to be determined by analyzing its social policies. The subjects and basic principles related with social policies are social needs and social problems, equal rights and social justice, efficiency, equity and choice, altruism, reciprocity and obligation, and division, difference, and exclusion.

Welfare state should provide some rights to the people. These are elaborated below.

**Equality:** Achieving equality underlies social policies. Resources need to be distributed fairly in order to achieve equality. Equality has different types: equal outcome, equal opportunity, or equal treatment.

**Equal opportunity:** It means that equal groups should be treated equally. Equal opportunity needs to be given to people regardless of their sex or group. Moreover, all people must have the same opportunities in educational system or in the labor market.

**Need:** Basic needs are food, caring, and housing. Needs are not limited, and it is not certain which needs should be covered by states.

**Freedom and rights:** There are different types of rights. Civil rights mean the absence of arbitrary arrest and detention but having freedom to discuss any opinion. Social rights mean social welfare and social security, right to education. Political rights

include voting and joining political parties and freedom to explain opinion in a democratic way.

All of these rights are provided by welfare state. The individuals who live in society are bound to state through the bond of citizenship. He/she has the right to request the state to which he/she is a citizen to make policies which pave the way to provide him/her the rights he/she has. From this perspective, the citizenship concept plays an important role in determining the state's obligations and rights of individuals as a part of social policies.

The main goal of social policies is to ensure that everyone in society lives in harmony, afar from conflicts. Thus, the target is to ensure social justice, social development, social balance, social integration, and social peace.

Thanks to **social justice**, everyone in society will have equal rights in the face of equal risks. In this way, the inequalities and differences caused by the economic chances are eliminated. All the policies that ensure that everyone has fair opportunities with regard to income, taxes, wages, education, and social security contribute to the development of social justice.

Ensuring the **social balance** is possible if everyone in society lives in harmony and balance. Therefore, social differences need to be reduced. Especially the differences and inequalities, with regard to opportunities, of the individuals living in different regions cause this balance and harmony to deteriorate. It is one of the main objectives of social policy practitioners to eliminate

the differences regarding the development level and to ensure that everyone benefits from the same social services.

**Social peace** is ensured through policies aimed at eliminating the factors that lead to the deterioration of the balance within the social structure. Especially in the capitalist system, the social differences created by the free market can hinder solidarity throughout the society. For the creation of a society dominated by harmony and reconciliation, policies should be implemented in order to eliminate the negative effects on the psychology of society.

**Social integration** refers to the minimization of political and economic factors that negatively affect unity and solidarity in society. Education, culture, and moral values are issues that affect social resolution in this sense.

Achieving the goal of **social democracy**, it is possible to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals in democratic order with the legal order in the framework of democratic freedoms. The goal of democracy must be achieved in order to protect the individuals' rights to work and participate.

The social policy, which is considered to have emerged as a result of the economic and social developments in the nineteenth century, started to become meaningful with the industrial revolution. As a result of the change in economic relations with the industrial revolution, social changes became inevitable. With the industrial revolution, increased production gave rise to the



need for more labor. The dominance of capital owners on the labor market increased even further through the liberalization of trade.

In a period when the liberal market economy approach (*Laissez-faire*) was adopted, the dominant opinion was that government interventions would negatively affect the free market. The belief that a market created without intervention would enrich the people, on the one hand, ensured the enrichment of the owners of capital and, on the other hand, caused the labor sector to become poor. The poverty faced by children and women hurts humanitarian feelings. Increasing poverty during this period when no intervention was made to workers' wages and working conditions caused the social problems to increase and thus the rapid development of social policies.

As a result of liberal approach in the economy, two opposing sections have emerged in society: the bourgeois class who are the capital owners and working class who are the labor holders. The reduced of wages, poor working conditions, and long working hours have led to social problems in the labor class and to class conflicts. In the nineteenth century, social policies were applied to solve the social problems created by the liberal economy understanding of the state. Providing social peace and justice through the intervention of the state in the working life, working relations, and wages is inevitable.

With the social reform movements that began in England and Canada between 1880 and 1920, social policies turned into a

descriptive approach from the prohibitive approach. In this approach, the state was criticized that its role in the work life was limited and rigid, and it was suggested that the state should regulate social conditions in order to eliminate the negativities in the work life. In this period, there was an opinion that the role of the state in social policies should increase, in the capitalist developed countries, such as France, Germany, and the USA.

Consequently, the emergence of social policy in the modern sense is attributed to social conditions created by French Revolution in intellectual-political sphere and those created by industrial revolution in the social and economic spheres.

After World War II, liberal economic approaches in developed countries were abandoned, and Keynesian policy approach was adopted with the belief that the state should intervene in social policies. Another important factor in the adoption of this approach is the 1929 economic crisis and its negative consequences. After the industrial revolution, the scope of social policies expanded, and not only the problems of labor sector but also those of the whole society were addressed. All of the issues such as health services, elderly and child care, struggle against unemployment and poverty, participation of women in working life, protection of the environment, and gender discrimination became issues for which the state struggled under social policy.

The concept of welfare state emerged in 1930s and 1940s. Unlike the concept of state which was adopted during World War II and which aimed for providing sufficient money to cover the need of

army in far, welfare state aims at providing social policy, health services and thus providing social needs.

Welfare state concept gains different aspects in different countries according to their cultural, social, political, and economic legacies and historical developments. Welfare state aims at providing welfare of the individual citizens. According to the demands of labor market and civil society, welfare state intervenes in the economy.

Although there are many definitions about the welfare state, Asa Brigg defines it as follows: "It is a kind of state in which consciously organized public power is used to reduce the role of market forces." It is accepted within the scope of the role of the welfare state to provide a minimum income guarantee to individuals and families, to facilitate the prevention of certain social risks, and to offer good living conditions to individuals in society through social welfare.

Another definition of the welfare state is that "it is a contemporary state understanding that undertakes the duty to ensure a fair income distribution, protect the groups and classes in need of protection, direct the social security practices and employment policies, practice the politicize to meet the basic requirements of society such as education, health, and housing and takes measures for regulating the working life, thanks to the tax and wage policies it follows".

The difficulties were faced with regard to making definition of the welfare state and justifying its historical development. As

mentioned above, each and every state has a different national social security system, a different social structure, and thus, different needs. Moreover, welfare state determines the policies that are required by the economic, social, and cultural conditions and put in force the legislative regulations accordingly.

The development process of welfare state can be handled by categorizing in three periods. The first period was between 1870 and 1913, in other words from the late seventeenth century when the industrial revolution took place to early nineteenth century. The next period was the time between World War I and World War II and the time period between 1950 and 1973 when is referred to as the “Golden Age of Welfare States.” Welfare state changed with the economic crises which realized after 1973. This period is referred to as “Welfare State Crisis” and refers to the period up today.

The emergence of welfare state dates back to 1601, when Poor Laws were put in force in UK. In this period, most of men were recruited for war. When they turned back home, they lived the rest of their life without any social security or protection but under risks. 1601 Poor Law was the first legislative initiative to protect the elders, patients, and wounded people in the society. However, this legislative regulation was not sufficient because the rest of society was also in need of protection. Another legislative regulation was made in 1834 as a result of economic and social pressure and because of the developments at the time. This is the beginning of the stigmatizing effects of social policy. In the following periods, the effects of Adam Smith’s free market

economy started to change the state policies and legislative regulations not only in UK but also in other countries.

Welfare state really emerged after World War II. Along World War I, all countries spent all of their resources for war. After World War I, it was understood that John Maynard Keynes approach was not sufficient for creating job opportunities and reviving public economy. After the war, it was believed that a second war could be prevented by means of creating job opportunities and providing new working and life standards.

With 1942 Social Security report (Social Insurance and Allied Services), Lord William Beveridge aimed at creating a health system, providing minimum income and decreasing employment rates. After the war, Beveridge's opinions were evaluated together with Keynes approach for creating a national welfare for UK. Distrustfulness of liberalism urged countries for plunging into new quests.

States faced new social risks between 1870 and 1913. These risks were increase of aging population, pension payments, diseases, occupational diseases, and accidents. In 1880s, Bismarck made some efforts in order to provide social security. Reform efforts made by Bismarck aimed at providing a protection through social security against the risks of industrial revolution, low income, and population movements. The long working hours and heavy working conditions increased poverty and socialist movements. With these developments, the regulations covering disease

insurance in 1883, work accident insurance in 1884, and old-age and disability insurance in 1889 were put in force.

Bismarck's reform movement aimed at establishing a system not only under the state but also with support of employers and employees. According to this, the system had three dimensions: employer's responsibilities, individual investments, and private insurance. This system also accepted the intervention by state. Therefore, it possible to say that the economic and political structures and, consequently, social policies of other countries started the change after Bismarck's reform.

Following Bismarck's reform, many legislative regulations were put in force for the diseases and injuries caused by industrialization. No similar regulations and rules had been put in force in Western European Countries until 1913.

Because of industrialization, the changes in social demographic structure, and increasing pressures in nineteenth century in European states, the realization of welfare state gained speed. Public sector and economy had a rapid development in China, Brazil, and Russia. Between 1950 and 1973, when it is known as the golden age of welfare state, the intervention of state gradually increased with the Keynesian approach which was adopted for solving the problems caused by the free market economy. However, Keynesian policies caused states to go into crises after 1970s. High tax rates, increasing public expenditures, and states' intervening markets were cited as the reasons for the crisis. In this period, when the proportion of social expenditures

to public expenditures was gradually increasing, old-age, motherhood, injury, and death insurances were accepted in many countries. In addition, unemployment insurance and family aids were also regulated in more developed countries.

The welfare state has been undergoing a transformation since 1975. The state intervention which increased with 1929 economic crisis was replaced with a system in which the state shrined after the oil crisis between 1973 and 1979. In this period, states adopted the opinion that states should be less interventionist with regard to making economic and social policies. It is observed that the budget deficit which was caused by the pressure of social expenditures increased in this period when unemployment became chronic, inflation rate increased, and economic growth decreased especially in Western European countries.

Neoliberal approach which emerged in this period was adopted as a new form of liberalism, a result of solution seeking against Keynesian policies. As a result of fierce competition caused by economic crises, a new period started in late 1970s, and in that period, Keynesian welfare state went through a crisis.

With globalization, welfare state that had stability in economic growth as well as good work conditions and price offers ended, and a new period in which nation states had less authority started. These developments which also affected social policies led to adoption of neoliberal approach for decreasing social expenditures. States started restructuring and new reforms in order to re-start economic growth. In the last 20 years, many

countries have made regulations to decrease social expenditures. Yet again, in many countries, public expenditures have not decreased, instead, they have increased. The reasons of this condition are not only economic reasons and developments but also the reasons caused by the change of demographic structure like aging population and the changing family structure. As mentioned above, economic policies and social policies have mutual interactions. It is obvious that the changes in economic policies also affect social policies, and no one is independent of the other.

On the other hand, the economic condition of welfare state is not only related with individual behaviors but also related with social security system to be accepted for labor market and social welfare. The contradiction between labor market and state intervention has yet to be solved.

Welfare state continues to develop. State still plays an important role in determining social policies. It is possible to say that not only economic indicators but also the changes taking place in demographic and social structure play role in determining the policies of welfare state.

The welfare state aims at redistributing income and thus plays an interventionist and regulatory role. It takes measures to eliminate negativity in working life. It determines the minimum wage, undertakes social security and welfare services, and intervenes by taxes and other expenditures to eliminate injustices in income distribution.



The welfare state is expressed as the deepened and extension of the classic protective state. The welfare state, whose last stage reached has been by the modern state, is no longer a “spectator state,” but it is a “player state”.

All of the definitions regarding welfare state include the mentality to protect those who have poor economic and social conditions. This protection can be done through social policies. Therefore, welfare state’s intervention for the sake of eliminating the negative conditions, which is required to be done by the welfare state and achieve the goals of social policies, is appropriate and required.

Although the duties and scope of each welfare state change based on each country’s social, cultural, economic and demographic conditions; basically, they include ensuring the protection of children, the disabled, families, the elders and women, creating jobs, providing education and vocational training, struggling against poverty and low income, and improving the working conditions.

Considering the practices of the welfare state, various distinctions have been made on the basis of services and expenditures to ensure social welfare. The most important study about this issue has been made by Gosta Esping-Andersen. Esping-Andersen classifies welfare state systems as follows:

- Liberal welfare model which is practiced by USA and UK

- Conservative and Continental Europe model which is practiced by Germany, France, and Belgium
- Social Democratic Scandinavian Model which is practiced by Sweden and Denmark.

The welfare state, emerging as a response to the search for solutions to address the inequalities and negativities created by the industrial revolution, is a new form of the liberal state. Because the liberal approach threatening social interests due to the fact that capital and markets were not interfered and the socialist approach that kept the interests of the working class at the highest level were not sufficient to meet the social needs, the welfare state emerged as a system to overcome the problems of both of these systems.

Regarding the welfare state, it is possible to make the following determinations regarding the period until the beginning of the process of globalization and neoliberalism.

The residual approach evolved and replaced by with an institutional approach.

Demanding social welfare has turned into a human right arising from being a citizen.

While it was an understanding of service to meet the needs of only poor, it has turned into universal service to meet the needs of the whole society.

It left from a limited welfare budget to large welfare expenditures.

The understanding that such problems as poverty and unemployment are not because of the mistakes done by individuals but because of inadequacy of the state and its institutions.

Making efforts to take responsibility for providing social welfare has shifted from volunteer individuals and institutions to public institutions.

The economic crises experienced after the 1970s caused problems and criticized the Keynesian welfare state. Budget deficit was one of the problems that were faced due to the increase in unemployment, the decrease in economic growth, and the increase in retirement age and health expenditures due to the aging of the population. The criticism and debate about the welfare state are that all the negative, economic, social, and political problems are caused by the social policy practices of the welfare state.

Long-term consideration of demographic changes and the impact of globalization on the welfare state have opened new avenues for debate and discussion about the welfare state's future development. The important point is providing people welfare for the welfare states.

Criticisms about the welfare state are:

- Poverty and unemployment rates have not been reduced, and social welfare policies have not been successful

- The opportunities provided for welfare cause negative effects on family structure, increase divorce rates, and deteriorate moral values
- It has increased the taxes put on income and capital
- Social expenditures have increased.
- Welfare states have begun to develop new policies and restructure due to the problems that constitute the source of criticisms of social policy. Although it is claimed that the welfare state has a tendency to go back due to economic and financial pressures, it is possible to say that the welfare state continues to make efforts to adapt with the new conditions.

## **Chapter 4**

# **Globalization and Distributive Politics in Democracy**

## **The Political Economy Of Crisis Recovery And Politics**

The transformations which have taken place in social policy and welfare state can be explained under the shade of globalization. In 1990s and 1990s, privatization and marketization had an impact for some of conservative governments. The governments had more liberal approach to civil society and economy policy.

Globalization reveals a free market economy, liberal democracy, and cultural differences in the process leading to a holistic world economy. Globalization process gained momentum after 1980. In this process which was based on economic liberalization, the neoliberal model became dominant and the idea that state should abandon its active role in social policies was adopted. In some developed countries, which had been practicing the neoliberal model, social policy implementations began to lose their importance, and they were completely neglected in less developed countries. The effects of globalization became more evident at the end of the twentieth century, and the welfare state had less intrusive character with regard to taking measures for social

protection due to the pressure caused by social expenditures and increased taxes. With the adoption of the dominant view that social expenditures hampered economic growth, the shrinking of welfare states and reduction of its role on social policies gained momentum. Due to the increasing competition between the welfare states, poverty and unemployment have increased, and injustices have emerged in the distribution of income.

The narrowing of social welfare state practices in the process of globalization caused social rights to be restricted. Liberal understanding limits the state's duties with the provision of security, justice, and infrastructure. State shrinks through liberalization. The possibility of the deterioration of the balance between capital and labor, which was tried to be established after the industrial revolution, threatens those who are in need of social protection. The increasing unemployment rate is one of the most important threats.

In the process of globalization, contrary to their liberal philosophy, the states that turned into neoliberal models needed to further develop their social policy practices. Developments show that, contrary to expectations, the model adopted in the process of globalization deepens the problems of social policies further.

The impacts of globalization on the welfare state model and social policies are evaluated from four different perspectives, which are:

According to Mishra; globalization eliminates the independence of nation states. Economic growth is the sole target. International

wage inequality and poverty increase due to economic pressures, and social protection is weakening. Welfare of nation states decreases with neoliberal policies.

According to Pierson, globalization alone is not the reason for the reduction of the power of welfare states. As an external power, globalization may require renewal in the structuring of states, but this restructuring should not be a reduction of social policies. In this process, states should also take into account the internal effects such as demographic, migration, and social developments and decide on the restructuring process accordingly.

According to Esping-Anderson, nation states should prefer more balanced practices on the axis of globalization. Nation states with strong economic and political structures should prefer the most harmonious practices for their own future while guiding globalization.

According to Rieger and Leibfried, globalization emerged as a result of efforts of the nation states to reduce the negative effects of war with the liberal model. The economies of nation states are independent of the global economy; therefore, the restructuring process and the establishment of relevant policies should be evaluated in this respect.

The causes of the crisis of the welfare state in developed countries are globalization which is an external factor and internal variables which are related to the social structures of states. One of these reasons is the demographic structure, which

has changed because of the aging population, prolongation of life, and decreasing birth rates. In addition, family structure has changed, divorces have increased, public expenditures, pension and health expenditures, and taxes have increased, and economic growth has declined. The competitive power of the countries in the international arena has decreased due to the increase in the expenditures of the welfare state to ensure social welfare. Having been in search of providing solution for the elimination of the financial pressures caused by the expenditures related to increased welfare, the welfare states have entered into a restructuring process.

In the restructuring and surviving process, the financial pressure was tried to be eased through the privatization of the pension system, raising the retirement age, increasing the premiums, and reducing the financial pressure.

With the shrinkage in the welfare state, the provision of welfare services has also changed. The service provision which had been performed by the state has been given through local administrations at local level, and it has been left to the nonprofit organization, which means it has been “privatized”.

It seems hard to foresee the future state of welfare state clearly because of variables. Welfare state changes based on social, economic, cultural, and demographic structures of states. It does not seem possible to provide financing of welfare statement with traditional methods. Especially 2008 financial crisis, welfare state had a view that a system in which the main player is the



state is not sufficient for economic growth. The increasing unemployment is an obstacle for the welfare state growth. Moreover, the population of many states is getting older, and the demographic structure is changing. Labor markets need to be supported, new jobs need to be created, and employment needs to be increased. Therefore, states determined their policies. Public expenditures are increasing due to increasing pension payments with the aging population.

The expectations that welfare state provides welfare are increasing more and more. The approaches for providing welfare are different. Some states adopt liberal approaches, some states adopt corporatist and some others adopt universal approaches. In recent years, the belief that economic policies are not sufficient for achieving a welfare state but that welfare state needs to be achieved through social policies has been increasing.

Although many arguments have been raised in discussions on the future of the welfare state, it is possible to say that the rightist and leftist views are more dominant.

The rightists argue that the welfare state can overcome the crisis only by shifting to neoliberal policies. They also argue that the obligatory change that took place in the industrial revolution is also valid for the Information Age which emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century and that social policies need to be developed by the supranational organizations after the change of welfare state. For the leftists, they argue that welfare states have the ability to adapt themselves changing conditions; and

therefore, they can overcome the crisis through reforms and restructuring. It is suggested that the neo-Keynesian approaches should be adopted instead of the neoliberal approach in the reform process.

As an alternative to these views, neoliberals and conservatives have made new initiatives under the name of “New Right,” and social democrats and social liberals have made new initiatives under the name “The Third Way”.

Furthermore, the legitimacy of the welfare state was questioned by both The New Right and The New Left. The New Left criticized the state’s role was too weak compared to the markets, and a reformulation of the state’s role in societal development was needed. The New Right is focused on the role of bureaucracy and pressure groups. According to their opinion, society’s welfare is more important than bureaucracy and pressure groups’ interests.

The globalization, which has been cited as a reason for the transformation of the welfare state and social policies, increases its influence with the participation of international organizations such as World Bank, World Health Organization, and International Monetary Fund. Nation states should implement policies in economic and social spheres not based on external processes but based on internal dynamics. As stated above, although they have similar features, each country has different applications for social protection. Here, the main important thing is to determine the impacts of change on demographic and cultural structures of the countries and make intervention

properly. In summary, it is the choice of national political authorities to present the effects of globalization as the only reason for their national policies. Instead of this perspective, it would be a more realistic approach to try to benefit from the positive impacts of globalization for reducing problems at the national level. By this way, it would be possible to develop more effective tools to prevent the increasing social problems.

Welfare states are still developing. States are in search for better work and life conditions. They want to have social security systems which cover all social risks. From this perspective, it is possible to say that there is not a real crisis in welfare states, but there are efforts to remove obstacles before the economic growth.

Welfare states need to make regulations to decrease unemployment rates, taxes, and public expenditures because of the decline in economic growth. There seems to be a tendency for narrowing in social policies because the proportion of social expenditures in public expenditures is high.

Reform initiatives to reduce the welfare crises in the welfare states have led to giving more importance to “active social protection” understanding in social policy implementations. These practices, which were put into practice in 1990s and which aimed to be active in the labor market, were based on regulations that encourage working and restricting passive expenditures. In order to reduce the passive expenditures, the period of benefiting from social benefits was shortened, and their conditions were

made difficult. When the impact of the reform implementations on social expenditures is evaluated, it is seen that poverty of children has increased and the works for giving family aids and providing vocation education have been insufficient. It is obvious that retirement age and health expenditures will continue to increase due to the aging population. It is possible to say that the increase of passive expenditures due to the aging of the population constitutes an obstacle before realization of active and passive reforms.

As a result, welfare states continue to exist in different ways. The developments show that the view that social rights, freedoms, and ideological thoughts are not sufficient to achieve the economic growth. It is possible to say that the welfare states having this view will follow impartial policies about making social expenditures in future years.

In this study, the social policy and the welfare state are handled with their goals, scopes, types, and problems from their historical development up to today.

Social policy is a set of measures developed to protect workers against the dangers arising as a result of industrialization, in parallel to the historical development, after the industrial revolution. Its emergence in this way has caused the social policies to be defined in a narrow sense. After World War II, the narrow perspective on social policy began to change. The reason of this change was the fact that the measures to protect the interests of the working class were not sufficient to solve social

problems. Therefore, it was concluded that social policy should be extended to cover all segments of society. In a broad sense, social policy is a set of measures taken to ensure that all segments of the society live in peace and harmony to prevent unemployment, to improve working conditions, to provide a minimum wage, to provide social security and benefits, to eliminate injustice in income distribution, and to ensure social justice. Social policy refers to all policies that ensure the welfare of the state and individuals and the dynamic practices that constantly change.

The main goal of social policies is to ensure that everyone in society lives in peace and harmony away from conflicts. With social policies, it is aimed to ensure social justice, social development, social balance, social integration, and social peace.

The goal of social justice is to create equality of opportunity for every individual without eliminating the freedoms and to ensure a fair distribution of income. In particular, objective of justice is to provide services such as education, tax, social security, equal opportunities, and fair and adequate wages. Providing social balance is possible by eliminating social and regional differences. For the establishment of social peace, the factors that hinder social reconciliation must be eliminated. The aim of social integration is to ensure that measures are taken to prevent social disintegration. Social democracy, which has been adopted as the main objective of social policy, refers to the protection of individuals' interests in the environment of democratic freedoms by taking into account the balance of equality.

The industrial revolution played an important role in the historical development of social policies. After the industrial revolution, the increased capital ensured the formation of a powerful and rich bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the need for manpower was met by means of the working class. The gap between these two segments in society gradually increased. With the power from capital, the bourgeoisie class began to impose low wages, poor working conditions, and working hours of up to 16–20 hours on workers. The working class was left totally unprotected with the adoption of a liberal approach which argues that interference with market conditions adversely affects welfare. The increasing social problems led to the formation of social policies. The liberal market economy, which was replaced with Keynesian policies after World War II and 1929 economic crisis, was given up, and thus, the state could interfere with market by means of social policies.

Although there are many definitions of the welfare state, it is possible to say “It is a kind of state in which consciously organized public power is used to reduce the role of market forces.” Shifting from a liberal model to Keynesian model of welfare state, states adopted a more interventionist character from economic, social, and legal points of view. Dating back to 1880s, the welfare state continued to strengthen until the mid-1970s due to the increased unemployment and spread of poverty in all countries.

The concept of welfare state entered into literature with the Beveridge Report, which was created in 1942. Looking at the

foundations of the concept of welfare state, it is possible to say that it dates back to social security practices introduced by Bismarck in 1883. Welfare state emerged first in Germany and then in Western Europe, North America, and Australia. The common feature of these countries was that they had industrialization and developed market economies and democratic systems. South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan, which underwent a further industrialization process, started to be accepted as welfare states in the 1970s. Japan had completed this process earlier. While there were attempts to become a welfare state in the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the efforts to become a welfare state began later in China, Cuba, and Eastern Europe but they did not achieve an accomplishment with this regard because they had no industrialization.

Social policy, which emerged as a result of failure of the social problems created by the liberal economy approach, was replaced with the concept of welfare state after the adoption of social security practices introduced by Bismarck in Germany.

The social state developed policies not only in the areas of health, education, social security, distribution of income, and housing but also sought solutions to environmental and urban problems in order to ensure social welfare. The welfare state varies from country to country according to the level of welfare they have. According to the classification made by Esping-Anderson, liberal welfare model belongs to conservative Continental Europe, while the social democratic model belongs to

Scandinavians. It is possible to say that the welfare state, which was developed to eliminate the deficiencies of the liberal and socialist understanding in welfare, is a new form of liberal model. In this sense, it acts with an interventionist approach to solve the problems that may arise in the field of social policy.

The Keynesian welfare state stated to have a tendency to narrow social expenditures due to the decrease of economic growth, unemployment, and increased budget deficits after the economic crises seen in the 1970s.

The criticism that the welfare state's practices for welfare were unsuccessful was justified based on allegations that poverty and unemployment increased, tax and social expenditures constituted a big burden, and the family and moral structure in the society changed unfavorably.

Welfare state's tendency to turn back retrogressively is most likely to have a negative impact on social policies. The financial pressures caused by social expenditures may cause the welfare state to take on a passive character as in the liberal period in the face of social problems and cause social policies to regress.

This retrogression in the welfare is justified with globalization process, which has started to show its effects since the late 1970s. The understanding of globalization which is accompanied by liberalization suggests the limitation of the duties of the state. This situation may cause deeper problems in the social field. Although globalization had an impact on the welfare state as an external factor, it is also necessary to evaluate the internal



factors related to the socioeconomic and demographic structures of the states in the emergence of the crisis.

Demographic structure that changed because of the aging of the population, prolongation of life span, and decreasing birth rates can be shown as a reason for the crisis of the welfare state in developed countries. In addition, the family structure changed, public expenditures, pension and health expenditures, and taxes increased, and economic growth decreased. The competitive power of the welfare state decreased due to the increase in expenditures made to ensure social welfare. The welfare states, which are in search of a solution for the elimination of the financial pressures caused by the expenditures related to increased prosperity, have entered into a restructuring process. In the process of restructuring and surviving, the financial pressure was tried to be eased through the privatization of the retirement system, raising the retirement age, and increasing the premiums. During the restructuring process, the privatization initiatives were accelerated by providing the social welfare service through local administrations at local level.

There are many views on the future of the welfare state. Rightists who provide solutions to overcome the crisis argue that the neoliberal approach should be adopted, while leftists argue that neo-Keynesian approaches should be adopted.

In today's world, the concept of welfare state is transforming and the economic pressures created by globalization have a tendency to narrow social policies. Based on the fact that the reason for

the transformation in the welfare state is not just globalization, each state should develop policies and tools that are the most appropriate for its social structure to adapt it to the transformation process. In fact, when we look at the practices of the welfare states in the world, it is possible to say that the effects of the crisis differ according to the level of development and welfare. Some of the welfare states continue to undertake initiatives to reduce public expenditures but they fail to satisfy the expectations especially because of the demographic structure. It is impossible to reduce the health and retirement expenditures because of the increasingly aging population.

The reform initiatives to reduce the crisis in the welfare states in the 1990s adopted the “active social protection” understanding, which aimed at activation by keeping the work force in labor market active in social policy practices. In order to reduce the passive expenditures, the period of benefiting from social benefits was shortened, and their conditions were made difficult. Considering OECD data, it is seen that the activation efforts fail short to satisfy the expectations. On the other hand, it is seen that family and care support are not provided enough, and child poverty increases. Activation of practices is implemented by many countries. It can be said that the time passed is not enough to give a decision whether the activation efforts have positive effects. However, it is clear that retirement and health expenditures will continue to increase due to the aging population. Inflation, tax, and public expenditures need to be reduced in order that the welfare state continues its existence and economic growth and increases its competitiveness. In

Europe, where there is tradition of social solidarity, there is a tendency that the welfare state continues. With the support of international organizations such as IMF, OECD, and World Bank, welfare states transfer the distribution of social services to the private sector. However, welfare services are still planned by the state, and many services are still provided by the state.

Despite all these developments, it is possible to say that the welfare state has an active role on social policies and welfare states are resistant to the economic negativities experienced. In our opinion, reducing social expenditures should be the last resort in the reform initiatives of states to achieve growth in the future periods of transformation of the welfare state. The strategies to be established in this way should be determined in light of the following points:

Not deviating from the goal of achieving ultimate welfare in the transferring of services to the private sector and preserving the regulatory, descriptive character of the state  
Encouraging the private sector with regard to distribution of social services  
Making use of the increasing of voluntary organizations and local governments with regard to the provision of social services  
Restructuring to reduce expenditures other than social assistance expenditures  
Attaching importance to giving child care money to families and importance to young people's vocational education, considering the obstacles caused by the demographic structure  
Reducing the burden of unemployment in public social spending by producing solutions that can prevent the increasing and deepening unemployment in the world  
Reducing the inflation

and tax. Not considering decreasing the spending on social welfare as a tool for economic growth and determining the economic strategies on this basis. Utilizing the developments on a global scale in favor of the social welfare state and adopting strategies in line with the positive effects of globalization and making cooperation with international and supranational organizations in this process. In the light of all these points, it is possible to say that in the future, the governments adopting approaches compromising social policies in order to achieve economic growth will lead to the reaction of the society who has the expectation of social welfare. On the other hand, achieving welfare without deviating from the goals of social policy will also vary according to the states' ability to adapt themselves to changes and developments and reconstructing accordingly.

One of the most enduring areas of research in political economy has revolved around the clustering of developed countries into distinct political and economic systems. Commonly referred to as the 'worlds of welfare' and 'varieties of capitalism' approaches, these categorizations are based on the assumption that countries can be defined by the types and combinations of policies, institutions and ideologies they employ. The worlds of welfare approach focuses mainly on differences in the structures of welfare states by examining their extent of decommodification, social stratification and the roles of the state, market and family in defining and responding to social needs. The varieties of capitalism approach emphasizes how diverse systems of production offer different types of comparative advantages, which help sustain divergent models of capitalism. Both typologies,

therefore, not only assume that developed countries can be categorized into different types of welfare regimes and production systems, but that each welfare or production model follows a qualitatively different development trajectory, producing different types and degrees of outcomes as compared to other models, even in times of economic crisis.

This chapter seeks to test divergent theories of welfare development and varieties of capitalism by examining the extent to which different types of welfare states and production regimes exhibit markedly different socio-economic outcomes in the face of external pressures. We seek to raise a series of questions about divergent theories of national development within the context of crisis management and recovery. According to the literature, distinct welfare arrangements and production systems should produce qualitatively different outcomes, even in times of crisis, but is there enough empirical evidence to support such claims? It is also postulated that countries categorized under the same type of welfare and production model should display similar outcomes, but can we expect to find any national outliers within any of the distinct regime-clusters? Moreover, were some welfare states and market economies better able to return to their pre-crisis levels more than others? Or did all countries move in a broadly similar direction and experience a general worsening of outcomes in the post-crisis period?

To answer these questions, we begin the following section with a discussion of path dependent development and continuity in national distinctiveness. These concepts correspond with two

main arguments found in the literature about divergence in national models of welfare and capitalism. Next, the two path-dependent arguments that distinguish between different welfare production systems are described in some detail. This is followed by a brief discussion of the theory of convergence, which stands in contrast to theories emphasizing national diversity. We then discuss the sample of countries, socio-economic indicators and time period included in our datasets. In what follows, we summarize and analyze cross-national data on nine indicators. Finally, we end with some concluding remarks about cross-national divergence and convergence in socio-economic outcomes and whether the type of welfare production regime various countries had made much of a difference in the way their economies performed during the recent crisis.

## **Worlds of welfare**

Esping-Andersen's three worlds of welfare capitalism model is perhaps the most famous typology of welfare states. For many years, comparative welfare scholarship has used his typology to categorize the welfare state according to three dimensions: decommodification (or the extent to which market dependency is reduced through state entitlements), the modes of social stratification (the idea that regime types manifest variable degrees of inequality) and the relationship between the state, market and/or family in the production and management of social well-being (a balance that typically varies across countries). This classification scheme is supposed to allow us to identify dimensions of variation within welfare regimes,

dimensions that are explicit and narrow enough to be operationalized in an assessment of three ideal welfare cases—the typical liberal, conservative-corporatist and social democratic welfare regime-types.

The liberal welfare state provides a minimum level of social protections for its citizens. This is done in order to maximize market forces. Liberal regimes emphasize personal responsibility in welfare provision and deservingness for market relief. As a result, benefits are set low, social assistance is means-tested, and wage bargaining systems are decentralized so that the private sector can expand to its full potential. Liberal regimes try to ensure all who can work do so and obtain their income through participation in the free market. Social policy is therefore aimed at maximizing the market and individual independence. In such a model, a system of administrative surveillance monitors and enforces eligibility determinations for social assistance. Consequently, less than those who are eligible for relief end up receiving benefits. In general, liberal welfare states are said to have lower levels of public sector employment, direct job creation, social protection expenditures, long-term unemployment, union density and collective bargaining and higher levels of involuntary part-time work, marginally attached workers and short-term job tenure. The United States is considered the prototypical example of the liberal welfare regime.

The conservative-corporatist welfare regime is based on two different kinds of fragmentation in the provision of welfare. The first one entitles narrowly defined groups with their own specific

benefits, with occupational and employment status playing an important role in the type or level of services provided. The second one provides welfare provision according to a perceived need for assistance using a measurable criterion. In general, traditional families are the main targets of welfare services, as social policy rewards breadwinners, and provides greater benefits to larger families. In this way, the conservative-corporatist welfare state promotes and sustains the position of the traditional family in society. Both types of fragmentation (occupation/employment and family) aim to preserve existing social structures and hierarchies. In this way, social benefits are not universal (equal for all), they tend to depend on past employment contributions, and financing is made possible through employer-employee payroll taxes rather than general tax revenues. Market forces are constrained to the extent that firms consider the interests of different shareholders in their business calculations. This helps maintain the 'social market' (diverse stakeholder economy). Conservative-corporatist welfare regimes generally feature medium levels of public sector employment, direct job creation, social protection expenditures, long term unemployment, union density and collective bargaining and lower levels of involuntary part-time work, marginally attached workers and short-term job tenure. Germany is considered a primary example of the conservatist-corporatist welfare regime.

The social democratic welfare state tends to provide entitlements that are more universal in scope, egalitarian in their distributive goals and generous in their benefit levels. In this regime type, social rights provide high levels of decommodification and



defamilialization in order to sustain social solidarity rather than reinforce hierarchical divisions or market forces. As the ideal welfare model, it supports the individual and family over the life course in order to make it easier for people to transition between life roles while dealing with challenges associated with work and/or parenthood. Such welfare states provide a range of cradle-to-grave protections for their citizens, including such things as child allowances, early childhood education, training policies, job protection, paid maternity leave, day care for preschoolers, wage replacement benefits, retirement pensions and home care for seniors. Social expenditures are typically financed through higher rates of taxation, with redistribution of additional income achieved via wealth taxation. Social democratic welfare states are said to have the highest levels of public employment, direct job creation, social protection expenditures, long-term unemployment (due to generous benefits), union density and collective bargaining and the lowest levels of involuntary part-time work, marginally attached work and short-term job tenure. Sweden is viewed as the main example of a social democratic welfare regime.

The southern European welfare regime was added to the three-fold typology above due to some developed countries exhibiting characteristics that distinguished them from other regime types. The distinctive regime properties of the southern welfare state include familism, strong kinship networks, Catholicism, agricultural production and a fragmented system of welfare provision. Generally, the southern welfare state is said to have medium or lower levels of public employment, direct job creation,

social protection expenditures, long-term unemployment, involuntary part-time work, marginally attached work, short job tenure, union density and collective bargaining. Spain is conventionally regarded as an example of the southern European welfare regime.

Significant debate has occurred over the extent to which countries actually fit into one of the ideal typical welfare regime models. Supporters of the typology view it as a valid and reliable methodological approach for categorizing mature welfare states and explaining cross-national similarities and differences between them. Others are much more skeptical. They criticize the typology for its alleged inexhaustiveness (may be more than three or four ideal types), inexclusiveness (more anomalous cases than admitted), methodological soundness (wrong criteria and unsuitable operationalizations, variables and methods), lack of explanatory power and usefulness in comparative analysis. More sympathetic critics, however, admit significant differences in national political contexts exist among countries, particularly variations in institutional configurations, societal cleavage patterns, pressure of socio-economic forces, actor-constellations and degree of dependence on the state, market and family. These recognitions are generally based on contributions that delineate differences in government expenditures, ideological orientations, institutions, and formal policy elements. The issue is that these aspects of welfare development fail to capture the outcomes of policies and institutions in practice. It is therefore important to take into account socio-economic effects in order to show how people fare under different welfare regimes and where regimes-

types diverge and overlap in terms of real-life impacts. While difficulties certain exist in making causal connections between different welfare arrangements and social outcomes, an outcome-centred approach nevertheless offers a unique vantage point to examine similarities and differences both between and within welfare regimes, which policy-focused and state-centred research has so far failed to adequately capture.

This is not to deny, of course, there may be a deep and important connection between policy, institutions and socio-economic outcomes. For instance, it may be that variations in social policy and levels of expenditure and the way institutional arrangements have developed in different countries are directly correlated with noticeable differences in their welfare outcomes and that countries, with highly diverse and unique configurations of capitalist political-economic institutions, cluster around a range of redistributive effects. In this way, variations in the socio-economic outcomes observed, then, should be explainable with reference to the characteristics of the regime type in question. Moreover, countries associated with a particular regime-type should all exhibit similar outcomes and follow similar development paths.

Still, the question of whether and to what extent measures of socio-economic outcomes between different countries vary significantly with the regime-type has been relatively under researched in the literature. The little research that does exist has tended to focus on the micro level, the pre-crisis period and few cases and indicators. What is needed is an empirical

assessment of outcomes across a large number of country cases during a period of external shock like the 2007–2008 crisis, which put intense pressure on public budgets, forcing many countries to restructure their welfare states.

External and internal pressures do not necessarily determine the trajectories of welfare states, neither do they dictate their capacities to achieve desired goals in a uniform way. But they can restrict the possibilities and choices welfare states have at their disposal. Such modifying pressures toward conformity can include demographic changes, changing household and family patterns, the growth of non-standard employment arrangements, structural unemployment, technological changes, international competition, mobility of capital, international trade, participation in a common currency, globalization and economic crises. These pressures can come in different forms and welfare states may react to them differently. But exactly how they affect the socio-economic outcomes of different welfare regimes remains an under-researched area.

Arguably, periods of economic crisis impose challenges and constraints that are somewhat different and perhaps more important than some of the other pressures on the welfare state. However, economic crises also tend to affect countries differently because of the diverse political-economic capacities and varied vulnerabilities of welfare regimes to such external shocks. Certainly, the global financial crisis of 2007 marked a 'stress test' for many welfare states as more than ever before policymakers were forced to consider cuts in welfare provision

and enact flexibility-enhancing measures in order to improve financial solvency and economic performance. Adding to this challenge was the fact that the recent financial crisis, much like the recession of the early 1990s, occurred when many countries were already suffering from an economic downturn.

Given the significant pressures the recent crisis placed on many welfare states, it is worth examining whether the boundaries between them have been fundamentally redrawn. For instance, did the crisis produce similar socio-economic outcomes in different regime types? Or, have there been notable and systematic differences in outcomes and patterns of continuity across welfare models in the years following the worst moments of the crisis? To what extent do the levels and distribution of welfare, as measured by certain outcomes, separate countries from each other? Countries within a regime cluster should not only be different enough as a regime-type to distinguish them from other countries, but also have outcomes in common. In this sense, within-regime coherence is just as important as between-regime differences.

## **International Politics**

International politics is defined as the struggle of power between the states at the international level. “Hans Morgenthau” International politics is a broad term that explains the study of aspects at international level which includes the conflicts and the controversies and its solution.

## **The Diplomatic History Stage**

The effect of World War I on the investigation and instructing of the order was huge. The importance and need of studying the relations among countries was acknowledged and this effected the decision to give a request to the endeavors being made. For this reason the decision was taken for building up offices and seats in different colleges. Subsequently the principal seat of International Relations was set up in 1919 at the University of Wales.

In the first place, the examination was conducted by diplomatic historians and the consideration was centered on the investigation of history of diplomatic relations among countries. The researchers focused on the investigation of previous history of political and diplomatic relations among countries since diplomacy established the most major, rather the sole channel for the lead of relations. They adopted an ordered and clear methodology and made no endeavor to draw a few standards from their investigation of historical facts.

Diplomatic historians enjoyed the monopoly and the relations among nations were presented as historical descriptions without reference to how various events and situations fitted into the general pattern of international behavior.

The basic motive was to maintain a systematic description of the history of all the diplomatic nations and attention was also paid to the necessity of relating the past events with the present. These attempts help in bringing into the knowledge some

interesting and important facts about past international relations. But in the end it was noticed that these attempts failed to provide help to study the international relations among the nations.

Some of the descriptive and chronological studies that were conducted by the diplomatic historians in order to study the relations among the nations did not satisfy few points like the need of the organized study and neither demand of the future development of the subject. Except for highlighting certain facts, this stage failed to render any significant help to the understanding and theorizing of international relations.

The study experience as well as concern on war-time relations between the nations gave a new turn to the disciplinary actions of International Politics. With the start of the Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Relations at the University of Wales there was a start of new era in the study of the subject. Study on the current events as well as solving of the problems was considered as the central theme of the international relations.

In order to understand the day to day happenings among the nations there was a systematic review of newspapers, periodicals and journals. This was considered as the right step in this direction. Many famous scholars came into the limelight in order to give their view and focus on the current developments and problems faced by the nations at the international level. In this stage of evolution of international politics a serious attempt was

made in order to overcome the shortcomings of the first stage and to find new solutions to solve the problems of the nations.

As the first stage had some shortcomings, in the same way there were some drawbacks of second stage also. Like, it was incomplete, partial and inadequate. The first stage considered the study of past events without relating it to the present and in the second stage the drawback was that it gave focus to the present events without studying the roots of the past events. Not only this, this stage also lacked an integral view of international relations. This stage also failed in itself in studying the future of the international relations among the nations.

This stage was the development of the second stage. In this stage there was an attempt made in order to change the nature and content of the international relations in connection with the future events. This was done with the development of the laws and the institutions at the international level.

The scholars were aware of the outcomes of the First World War, so they adopted an idealistic outlook in order to solve the problems of the nations. The main focus was to pay attention on reformation of the tasks there were to be performed in maintaining the international relations. This was done through the development of the major international institutions like League of Nations and also by modifying the rules and regulations of the International Law.

President Wilson of United States listed the fourteen points which were together regarded as the charter of reforms among the



nations in order to improve the relations at international level. With the conduct of The Paris Peace Conference and the development of the League of Nations there was a new strength that was seen among the nations. This helped in making desirable efforts in maintaining healthy relations among the nations, with the elimination of war, violence, tyranny and inequalities.

For this purpose the Legal-Institutionalisms proposed three alternative approaches:

- Creation of the national institutions in order to guide and direct the efforts made towards the preservation of international peace and security.
- Creation of international norms by securing the legal control of war. This is done in order to control the war like situation and how to overcome the destructiveness caused by the war.
- Eliminating the use of weapons with the help of global disarmament and to make sure that there is maintenance of peace among the nations.

In this stage the study of international relation was influenced by a faith that it will bring goodness in human relations and it will sought the study of international law and institutions. In this stage war was looked upon as a sin as well as an accident that was to be eliminated through institutionalization of relations.

There was a belief that all the international problems can be solved by developing a strong system of international law and by

organizing the international organizations that solve the international problems among the nations. In this stage the scholars came up with a spirit of reformism by getting influenced by the reformation of future of international relations. With the establishment of an ideal international society that was free from war and violence and other evil activities proved to be an ideal for all the nations.

The approach was partial as well as incomplete at this stage. It focused more on the future activities without considering the importance of past as well as present. At this stage there was a little that was made to study the base of international relations and also to understand the past events and to keep proper knowledge of the problems faced by the nations.

But, this stage ignored the main realities of international relations and an idealistic approach was adopted that was soon found to be superficial as well as an inadequate. With the outbreak of Second World War in the year 1939 it was found that the third stage was idealistic and unhelpful in nature. Presumably the Law and Organization approach properly focused on the requirement for reinforcing harmony at international level, yet the arrangement that it offered was practically Utopian. The scholars were putting the cart before the horse by attempting to develop legal institutions and organizations without first trying to understand the true nature of international relations.

In this stage the focus was a bit narrow, the approach of law and institution failed to provide the basis in the study of

international relations. With the rise of dictatorships, aggressive nationalism, desperate quest for security, and certain other factors, like the economic depression of the 1930s, the situation became more worst for both the League Of Nations and International Law. As soon as there was the outbreak of Second World War in the year 1939 this stage got a death blow and it brought an end to the era of international politics, this was stated by the law and organization approach.

The evolution of International Politics in its fourth stage can be studied in sub-parts:

(A) Post-War Stage—the need for a Theory of International Politics:

In the study of evolution of international relations the fourth stage began when the Second World War came to an end. It was seen that there was a downfall in the international relations among the nations which resulted in the outbreak of the Second World War. This clearly proved the shortcomings of the approaches of the inter-war period. It was felt that there was a need of new approaches that will be capable of examining as well as explaining the international relations in a better way.

With the end of the Second World War it was noticed that there were lot of changes in the power structure at the international level and this created a challenging situation for the scholars and historians. So in order to meet these challenges many scholars came in front and initiated in the process of the study of

International Politics. So many attempts were made in order to develop the theory of international politics.

(B) Comprehensive Study of all Factors and Forces and not only Institutions:

In this fourth stage, the emphasis got shifted from law and organization to the study of all factors and forces which conditioned and shaped the behavior of nations in the international environment. It was realized that there existed regular patterns in international behavior which were far away from idealism. The role of power found acceptance as an incontrovertible fact of international relations. This realization led to the emergence of political realism which advocated the study of International Politics as struggle for power among nations. The emphasis came to be upon the study of the determinants and operation of foreign policy.

With the starting of fourth stage, the main motive shifted to the study of all the factors and forces which helped in conditioning and shaping the behavior of international relations among the nations.

The scholars adopted the process of conflict and resolution as a field of research at the international level. The theoretical understanding of international relations by adopting a realistic study became the main goal of the study at this stage. It was seen that the aim was to understand the nature of international relations among the nations and not to praise the relations.

(C) The Major Concern in the Post-War Period:

There was a considerable progress seen during the post-war period (1945-2000) in the direction of development of international politics theory. For this many new theories and approaches came into existence. The first one was made in the 1940s with the name of Realist Model of International Politics by Hans Morgenthau. The main motive of his theory was to study the struggle for power among the nations the fundamental units of study of this approach at this stage was Realist Model of International Politics.

There were three main concerns found at this stage. These are as follows:

- There should be factors of motivation of foreign policies,
- The techniques of foreign policies should be conducted well, and
- The modes to resolve the foreign conflicts should be at the best.

The perspective of study of international institutions changed from legal and moral to political perspective. As an example United Nations was designed as a political organization and not as a substitute of politics. This was considered as perfect mechanism so that direct national rivalries could be properly solved with the help of normal process. During a time which had seen two World Wars inside a brief length and which was seeing the super power contention and cold war in international

relations, it was normal for the Realists to characterize International Politics as battle for power in which every country attempted to verify the objectives of its national interest by the utilization of national power. International Politics was seen as politics among countries.

The 'sensible' stance of the Realists made it a power way to deal with international relations of the post-war years. Anyway during the 1950s, there showed up gaps which slowly divided the pragmatist school.

There were few questions on which there was a difference of opinion, these questions are as follows:

- Will the devices of alliance lead to peace or destabilization?
- Did arms lead to risk or security?
- Was cold war a blessing or a curse?
- Did ideological conflicts serve or undermine the national interest?

It was found that there was no appropriate answer of these questions on the basis of any theory. There was a need of empirical analysis and answer.

It led to empirical approach that led to the emergence of behaviouralism in international relations. The scholars now accepted as well as adopted the use of empirical methods. These methods became more popular than realism approach.

(D) Behaviouralism in International Politics:

The political scientists who studied the international relations formulated new approaches as well methods in order to study the theory of international politics. All this was done under the impact of Behavioral Revolution in Politics. In the post-1945 the major landmark was the development of scientific approach in international politics. The focus was inter-disciplinary which was suggested by Behaviouralists. This helped many of the scholars in a positive way in order to study the international relations.

The scholars did the scientific study of the substantive issues and problems faced by the nations at international level. This study went in a good direction. With this drive towards the development the methods of the study became more and more sophisticated and it was presented before the nations in a very positive manner. All the above attempts made by the scholar proved as a revolution in the study of international relations. In order to make the scientific theories more popular more considerable efforts were made for the development of international relations. These attempts are seen even today also.

At this stage of development of international relations brought a big change among all the nations. The study from this stage became more and more systematic. This exercise is still in continuation in the 21st century. At this stage the study included new approaches, theories and models which helped a lot in the study and it continued to be the major areas of study. The

policies of international politics became more vast and complex. It gained the recognition of autonomous discipline.

However, the highly complex nature and vast scope of international relations has kept limited the progress towards the development of universally acceptable theories and approaches. Diversity continues to characterize the field of study. "The scientific school", observes David Singer "has produced more promise than performance." Nevertheless, it must be accepted that it has made the study of the subject highly popular.

There are different approaches that were being used by the scholars to improve the relations at international level among the nations. These approaches are: Post-Modernist Approach, Neo-Realist Approach, Structural Approach, Marxist Approach, Neo-Libertarian Approach, Human Rights Approach Feminist Approach, Environment Approach. These far and rapid changes in the international relations have not come up by itself but it has happened because of the impact of two world wars and also with the rise of several new factors.

The recognition of the role of power in negotiation, the sturdy need for sturdy and stable peace, the emergence of ethnic issue of negotiation, terrorism, human rights approach, setting approach, stress upon peace analysis and property development, the liquidation of using and imperialism and also the emergence of neo-colonialism and new-imperialism, technological advancements, issue of nuclear proliferation vs. non-proliferation, increasing interdependency among nations,



huge increase within the range of sovereign states (members of the UNO) from fifty one to 1932, continued presence of MNCs, transnationalism, non-operation of balance of power, the prolific growth of international organizations and agencies spear-headed by the world organization, the increase of the many active non-state actors, the emergence of globalization, and specifically the requirement for building a scientific, comprehensive and valid theory of negotiation capable of explaining the behavior of states, have currently along combined to supply a giant amendment within the nature and scope of International Politics.

The 21st century has accompanied the new requirement for verifying a finish of universal psychological warfare, an orderly and intense development for the assurance of human privileges of all, insurances of condition, and endeavors at the verifying of practical advancement through expanding participation for improvement in all circles of worldwide relations. These have together given another significance to International Politics. It has now come to be perceived as a standout amongst the most real trains requiring nonstop and deliberate investigation.