

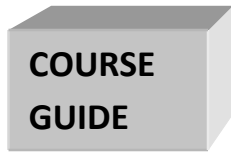


**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE CODE: POL 412**

**COURSE TITLE: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**



**POL 412**

**POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

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## 1.1 Introduction

Welcome to **POL 412: Political Sociology**.

This course is a three (3) unit course for undergraduate students in Political Science. The course guide gives you an overview of what political Sociology is all about. It equally provides you with the necessary information on the organization and requirements of the course. Indeed, the overall objective of this course is to expose you to the concept of power and its relevance in the political affairs of every state bearing from a societal focus. This is important because the critical issues of underdevelopment in African societies today are not unconnected with our rulers' conception of power and its use. The reasons why there are variants of the use of power and authority, and different perception of ruler ship among the rulers of the world will be made clear in this course.

## 1.2 Course Aims & Objectives

The course ensures you:

- (1) Have background information and knowledge in Political Sociology;
- (2) Be up to date with the theoretical perspectives as well as methodological issues which the course has to grapple with;
- (3) understand the interconnectedness of many patterns of political behaviours which appear distinct;
- (4) Explore the sociological findings in studies of cultural background, environmental settings, social identity, values, attitudes, and emotions encompassed in personality and cognitive processes, and institutions affecting the 'Political Subject' in a particular political environment.
- (5) know whether political behavior patterns is universal or is restricted to people who live in one particular culture or in one type of political system.
- (6) Learn whether citizens, who exercise their political rights in a democracy, by visiting the voting booth on election-day, could, under certain circumstances, support an authoritarian dictatorship that forbids political competition and tortures its opposition.
- (7) Discover which theoretical perspective, perceptions, personality, and group dynamics affect the policy-making arena.

(8) Challenge the commonly held assumptions that self-interest drives behaviour and to explain how societal factors affect our behaviour as well as others in ways we rarely recognize at the time the behaviours takes place.

(9) Examine some of the extant events in human history, and in recent times afflicting our society (such as Boko Haram, MEND, MASSOB, IPOB); and on the other hand, explain the socio – cultural dynamics (i.e. the social, historical and causal path analysis) of ethnicity, communal conflicts, nationalism, political extremism, global politics etc.

(10) Show how to prevent conflict, as well as conflict resolution mechanisms, and how to recover from it.

(11) Highlight the enormous complexity of human behaviour and illuminate the importance of understanding political Sociology’s significant role in improving the human condition.

### **1.3 Workingthrough This Course**

The course is written in study units within Modules. You are also provided with related reading materials for each topic examined. At the end of each unit, you will be required to attempt Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) for assessment purposes. And at the end of the course, you will write a final examination.

### **1.4 Study Units**

There are twenty-four units in this course spanning six modules. These are as follows:

#### **MODULE I: INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS, POWER AND SOCIETY**

Unit 1	Understanding the concept of politics, the nexus between Political Science and Sociology
Unit 2	The Meaning of Political Sociology and Scope
Unit 3	Evolution of Political Sociology: the Classical Period, the Great Debate, The Role of Elites in Society, the Contemporary Period
Unit 4	The Concept of Power and its Dimensions, Political Sociology and Social Transformation

**MODULE 2: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY.**

- Unit 1 Behavioural approach
- Unit 2 Post - behaviouralism
- Unit 3 Input-output analysis
- Unit 4 Systems approach

**MODULE 3: THEORIES OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

- Unit 1 Plato and the concept of political power; Thomas Hobbes and the State of nature; Machiavelli and political morality
- Unit 2 John Locke and social contract; Marxist approach to political Power - types of Marxism
- Unit 3 Weber and political sociology; the Durkheimian tradition of Political Sociology
- Unit 4 Foucauldian Perspective of power and politics; Elites and Political Sociology

**MODULE 4: CITIZENSHIP**

- Unit 1 Introduction to citizenship and ways of acquiring citizenship
- Unit 2 Citizenship and social class
- Unit 3 Citizenship, “second class citizens” and political participation
- Unit 4 Political culture, racialization and ethnicity

**MODULE 5: NATIONS AND NATIONALISM**

- Unit 1 On clarification and nexus between Nation, State and Society
- Unit 2 Nationalism and liberalism
- Unit 3 Nationalism in Africa
- Unit 4 Emergence of Pan Africanism

**MODULE 6: GLOBALIZATION AND DEMOCRACY**

- Unit 1 Meaning of globalization and its emergence
- Unit 2 Consequences of globalization on African political system
- Unit 3 Democracy in Africa

## **1.5 Textbooks and References**

Every unit contains a list of references and further readings. Try to get as many as possible of those textbooks and materials listed. The textbooks and materials are meant to deepen your knowledge of the course. For this course, it is highly recommended that you consult widely in your further choice of reading materials.

## **1.6 Assignment File**

An assessment file and a marking scheme will be made available to you. In the assessment file, you will find details of the works you must submit to your tutor for marking. There are two aspects of the assessment of this course; the tutor marked and the written examination. The marks you obtain in these two areas will make up your final marks. The assignment must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadline stated in the presentation schedule and the assignment file.

The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30% of your total score.

## **1.7 Tutor Marked Assignment (TMAs)**

You will have to submit a specified number of the (TMAs). Every unit in this course has a Tutor-Marked Assignment. You will be assessed on four of them but the best three performances from the (TMAs) will be used for computing your 30%. When you have completed each assignment, send it together with a Tutor marked Assignment form to your Tutor. Make sure each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline for submissions. If for any reason, you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor for a discussion on the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.

## **1.8 Final Examination and Grading**

The final examination will be a test of three hours. All areas of the course will be examined. Find time to read the unit all over before your examination. The final examination will attract 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the kind of self-

assessment exercise, and tutor marked assignment you have previously encountered. You should use the time between completing the last unit, and taking the examination to revise the entire course.

### 1.9 Course Marking Scheme

The following table lays out how the actual course mark allocation is broken down.

Assessment	Marks
Three Assignments	= 30%
Final Examination	= 70%
Total	= 100%

### Presentation Schedule

The dates for submission of all assignment will be communicated to you. You will also be told the date of completing the study units and dates for examinations.

### Course Overview

Unit	Title of Work	Week(s) Activity	Assessment
	<b>Course Guide</b>		
<b>Module 1</b>	<b><i>Introduction to politics, power and society</i></b>		
<b>1</b>	Understanding the concept of politics, the nexus between Political Science and Sociology.	Week1	Assignment1
<b>2</b>	The meaning of political sociology, scope of political sociology.	Week2	Assignment2
<b>3</b>	Evolution of Political Sociology: the classical period, the great debate, The role of elites in society, the contemporary period	Week3	Assignment3
<b>4</b>	The concept of power and its dimensions, Political Sociology and social transformation	Week4	Assignment4
<b>Module 2</b>	<b><i>Approaches to the study of Political Sociology</i></b>		



1	Behavioural approach.	Week1	Assignment1
2	Post – behaviouralism	Week2	Assignment2
3	Input-output analysis	Week3	Assignment3
4	Systems approach.	Week4	Assignment4
<b>Module 3</b>	<b><i>Theories of Political Sociology.</i></b>		
1	Plato and the concept of political power; Thomas Hobbes and the State of nature; Machiavelli and political morality	Week1	Assignment1
2	John Locke and social contract; Marxist approach to political Power - types of Marxism	Week2	Assignment2
3	Weber and political sociology; the Durkheimian tradition of Political Sociology	Week3	Assignment3
4	Focauldian perspective of power and politics; Elitists and Political Sociology	Week4	Assignment4
<b>Module 4</b>	<b><i>Citizenship</i></b>		
1	Introduction to citizenship and ways of acquiring citizenship	Week1	Assignment1
2	Citizenship, social class and nation state	Week2	Assignment2
3	Citizenship, “second class citizens” and political participation	Week3	Assignment3
4	Political culture, racialization and ethnicity	Week4	
<b>Module 5</b>	<b><i>Nations and nationalism</i></b>	Week5	
1	On clarification and nexus between Nation, State and Society		Assignment 5
2	Nationalism and liberalism		
3	Nationalism in Africa		
4	Emergence of Pan Africanism		
<b>Module 6</b>	<b><i>Globalization and Democracy</i></b>	Week 6	
1	Meaning of globalization and its emergence		Assignment 6
2	Consequences of globalization for the African political system		
3	Democracy in Africa		
4	Forms of democracy in practice across African states		

## **Getting the Most from this Course**

You will be required to study the units on your own. However, you may arrange to meet with your tutor for tutorials on an optional basis at a Study Centre. Also, you can organize interactive sessions with your course mates.

In distance learning, the study units replace the University lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning, you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tells you when to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from the reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

1. Read this course guide thoroughly; it is your first assignment.
2. Organize a study schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g. details of your tutorials, and the date of the first day of the semester is available from the Study Centre. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

3. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late for help.
4. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5. Assemble the study materials. You will need your text books and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
6. Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
7. Keep in touch with your Study Centre. Up-to-date information on your course subjects will be continuously available there.
8. Well before the relevant due date (about 4 weeks before due dates), keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
9. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
10. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
11. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
12. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

### **Tutors and Tutorials**

Information relating to the tutorials will be provided at the appropriate time. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must take your tutor-marked assignments to the study centre well before the due date (at least two working days are

required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor if you need help. Contact your tutor if you experience any of the following:

\*Not understanding any part of the study units or the assigned readings;

\*Having difficulty with the exercises;

\*You have a question or problem with an assignment or with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

Moreover, you should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn a lot from participating in discussions actively.

### **Summary**

The course guide gives you an overview of what to expect in the course-Political Sociology such as: how society, culture, environment, personality, and group dynamics affect political behaviour patterns and subsequently policy-making. We wish you success in the course and hope that you will find it both interesting and useful.

## **CONTENTS**

### **MODULE I: INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS, POWER AND SOCIETY**

Unit 1 Understanding the concept of politics, the nexus between Political Science and Sociology.

Unit 2 The meaning of political sociology, scope of political sociology.

Unit 3 Evolution of Political Sociology: the Classical Period, the Great Debate, the Role of Elites in society, the Contemporary Period.

Unit 4: The Concept of Power and its Dimensions, Political Sociology and Social Transformation.

**MODULE 2: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

Unit 1 Behavioural approach

Unit 2 Post-behaviouralism

Unit 3 Input-output analysis

Unit 4 Systems approach

**MODULE 3: THEORIES OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

Unit 1 Plato and the concept of political power; Thomas Hobbes and the state of nature; Machiavelli and political morality.

Unit 2 John Locke and Social Contract; Marxist Approach to Political Power-Types of Marxism.

Unit 3 Weber and Political Sociology; the Durkheimian Tradition of Political Sociology

Unit 4 Foucauldian Perspective of Power and Politics; Elitists and Political Sociology

**MODULE 4 CITIZENSHIP**

Unit 1 Introduction to citizenship and ways of acquiring citizenship

Unit 2 Citizenship, social class and nation state

Unit 3 Citizenship, “second class citizens” and political participation

Unit 4 Political culture, racialization and ethnicity

**MODULE 5 NATIONS AND NATIONALISM**

Unit 1 Clarification and Nexus between Nation, State and Society

Unit 2 Nationalism and liberalism

Unit 3 Nationalism in Africa

Unit 4 Pan Africanism

## **MODULE 6            GLOBALIZATION AND DEMOCRACY**

- Unit 1                Meanings of globalization and its emergence
- Unit 2                Consequences of globalization for African political system
- Unit 3                Democracy in Africa
- Unit 4                Forms of democracy in practice across African states

## **MODULE I:            INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS, POWER AND SOCIETY**

The overall objective of this module is to expose students to the concept of power and its germaneness in the political affairs of every state. This is important because the critical issues of underdevelopment in African society today are not unconnected with our rulers' conception of power and its use. The reasons why there are variants of the use of power and authority, and different perception of rulership among the rulers of the world will be clear to the students in this module. We might have wondered why some rulers such as Gadaffi and Abacha would not hesitate to clamp down on potential "threats" while the likes of Obama will hold on tenaciously to the votes of the people, the various dimensions of power indicated in the module will make you understand these experiences of different modes of rulership across countries of the world. Importantly, this module will make you see the points where Political Science intercept with the mother discipline of Sociology to give birth to what is now known as Political Sociology.

Another great relevance of this module is that it broadens our horizon and makes us see how broad the subject of Political Sociology is, the module exposes us to the fact that the scope of Political Sociology is not limited to power and politics only but also to social issues like security, voluntary organization and social and political movements. This exactly is the uniqueness of the union of Political Science and Sociology. The origin of Political Sociology explained in this module will show us how ideas of the

different ancient scholars of philosophy and social sciences were integrated together to provide explanations to matters of Political Sociology. The different stages or evolutionary trend will show us the sequential development of Political Sociology.

This module is divided into four units that are logically interrelated such that an understanding of one unit aids the swift grasp of others. There are self-assessment exercises in every unit, and there are tutor-marked assignments and answers at the end of this module.

## **UNIT 1: UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF POLITICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY**

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#### **1.0 Introduction**

#### **2.0 Objectives**

#### **3.0 Main content**

##### **3.1 The concept of politics**

##### **3.2 Nexus between Political Science and Sociology**

#### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercise(SAE)**

#### **5.0 Tutor Marked Assessments(TMAs)**

#### **6.0 References/Further Readings**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This first unit of module 1 will expose you to the various conceptions of politics and why people see the phenomenon from different perspectives. Importantly, you will be able to have a clear understanding of the nexus between political science and sociology which led to the emergence of political sociology.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

After the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- ✓ Have a broad understanding of the concepts of politics
- ✓ Be aware of the different definitions of politics
- ✓ Understand the focus of political science
- ✓ Know what sociology is



- ✓ Have a clear understanding of the emergence of political sociology through the fusion of political science and sociology

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Concept of Politics**

The word “politics” is so broad that it is often used among various categories of people. Even though there is no agreement among scholars on a single definition of the concept, if you glance through the different definitions provided by scholars, you would see that there is at least one consensus among those definitions. The agreement is that politics is a social activity, in other words, politics is not something that is done in solitude; it requires a collection of persons. Let us take a look at few definitions of politics to test the hypothesis.

In its broadest sense, politics is usually referred to as *the activity through which people make decisions, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live*. The word “people” in the definition gives credence to the assertion that politics is a social activity. Rules become important and unavoidable where there is collection of human beings. Assuming that Tunde is living alone in a desert or a forest, there would be no need for him to make general rules for himself on how he would live; rules become necessary where there is conglomeration of persons so as to maintain order and avoid chaos. Imagine how the society will look like if there are no rules on how we should drive; who should rule; what time to arrive at work and when to close; who should contest for an election and how to determine who wins.

In the opinion of David Easton cited by Anifowose and Enemu (1999), politics or a political system can *be designated as those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society*. The

word “interactions”, “authority” and “allocation” are very crucial in the definition. Interaction does not occur in solitude but among persons; with respect to allocation, the definition points to how resources are distributed among the different groups of the society. Authority becomes legit and rational when it is exercised by one person upon other persons.

For the German political sociologist-Max Weber-, politics of what he otherwise referred to as political association, *exists if ... the enforcement of its order is carried out continually within a given territorial area by the application and threat of physical force*. For Harold Lasswell, *politics is the process of who gets what, when, and how*. Logically, these two definitions point to the fact that power or polity is not exercised in solitude. With respect to Weber’s definitions, politics has to do with exercise of power by one party over another, such as a lecturer over one of his or her students. Lasswell’s definition of politics as who gets what, when and how has to do with struggle for limited resources among many people. Since human population always outgrows the available resources and political positions, polity is then the process by which some individuals-out of many persons- get to the position of authority. Robert Dahl’s definition of politics as *any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves ... power, rule, or authority* directly buttresses our assertion. Off-course, human relationship is a social phenomenon. Even Aristotle’s statement that *man is a political animal* is socially embedded. Aristotle meant that it is only within a political community-which has to do with collection of persons- that human beings can live a happy and healthy life. Arendt Hannah (1958) in her book *The Human Condition* also supported the assertion that politics is a social activity as she conceives of politics as the most important form of human activity because it involves interaction amongst free and equal citizens.

There are several points that are crucial and common to various understanding of politics:

- Politics is the exercise of power

- Politics is the public allocation of values
- Politics is the competition among individuals, groups, or states pursuing their interests
- Politics is a means of resolving conflict: that is, by compromise or negotiation.

### **3.2 NEXUS BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY**

In the social sciences, the two closest disciplines are sociology and political science. In fact, they are inseparable. To put simply, sociology is the study of man and how he relates with his environment and society at large. Political science on the other hand focuses on the political life of man which is an aspect of the society. It is from this perspective that some have argued that political science is a subset of sociology. Their argument is based on the premise that sociology studies society at large, while political science focuses on polity and the political life of man. Since man expresses his power within the society- which is the focus of sociology-, it is not illogical to conclude that sociology is a superset of political science. However, some have argued that one is not part of the other, but rather, the two depend on one another. For the purpose of our understanding here, political science and sociology are two of the disciplines in the social sciences.

According to Kumar (2012), both sociology and political science depends upon each other. Both are inter-related and inter-dependent. Truly, it can be said that society is the mirror of politics of the country. That, political science deals with the social group organized under the sovereignty of the state. The forms of government, the nature of governmental organs, the laws and sphere of the state activity

are chiefly determined by the social processes. The laws which are formed by the government are based on the social customs, traditions, mores, and norms of the society. This connection between political science and sociology explains why same sex marriage is a crime in some states, while the behaviour is not criminalized in other states. The norms and customs of a society must be recognized before any law is made if progress and development must be attained; the Nigerian traditional values frown at pre-marital sex let alone, homosexuality, our traditional life is not in consonance with homosexual behaviour. So any attempt to decriminalise homosexuality may cause contradictions between our traditional values and modern law. The point we are trying to make here is that if political science deals with the making of rules and decision, the norms, traditions and customs (which are sociological variables) of the people-upon which the law would be made- have to be considered in order to ensure progress and order.

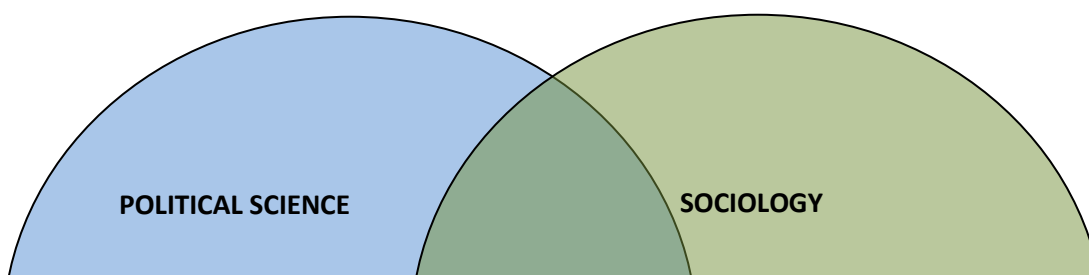
For understanding of political problems, some knowledge about sociology and sociological methods are germane because the correlates of political problems are rooted in the society. Hence, political problems cannot be solved if sociological knowledge is not employed. This was evident in the inauguration speech of President Muhammadu Buhari on 29<sup>th</sup> of May 2015 when he made reference to *Boko Haram*. He said that: *Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who are as far away from Islam as one can think of. At the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the Government intends to commission a **sociological study** to determine its origins, remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, the international connexions to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil.*

This shows that the government and its agencies need the knowledge of sociology to understand the causes of political problems and to provide solutions to those problems. Another crucial example has to

do with the level of political participation of eligible Nigerians in the 2015 general elections. For sure, political participation may be seen as a political science issue than a sociological issue, but the variables- such as gender, ethnicity, religion, social class and so on- that may determine one's level of political participation are sociological in nature. In addition, knowledge of sociology is needed to ensure fair distribution of power among diverse groups in the society. It is from this point of view that Roucek (1946) noted that *knowledge of sociology is essential to any profound grasp of the nature of the state and political activities*. Quoting Professor Franklin Giddings, Roucek wrote further that *to teach the theory of the state to men who have not learned the first principles of sociology, is like teaching astronomy or Aerodynamics to men who have not learned the Newtonian Laws of Motion*.

As much of political science has a lot to do with sociology, the latter also has a lot to do with the former in many respects. Kumar noted that, the state and governmental bodies are focuses of the political science discipline. Since state and governments make laws for the welfare of the society, one may then say that the focus of sociology-society cannot be healthy without activeness of state and governments which are concerns of political science. In addition, the government gives financial assistance to people at the time of natural calamities such as floods, famine, cyclone and drought. Social institutions and social organizations-which are the main focuses of sociology-, are regulated by the state and government. Sociology studies various aspects of political activities through the help of political science. The government can bring about changes in the society with the help of laws.

At this juncture, it is important to note that the point where political science and sociology meet is the sub-discipline called **Political Sociology**. This is presented in the diagram below:



#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES**

1. How did sociological methods help to facilitate the birth of political sociology?
2. What is your view concerning the relationship between sociology and political science?

## **UNIT 1: THE MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY; SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

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#### **1.0 Introduction**

#### **2.0 Objectives**

#### **3.0 Main content**

##### **3.1 What is political sociology?**

##### **3.2 Scope of political sociology**

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

#### **5.0 Summary**

#### **6.0 Self-Assessment Exercise(SAE)**

#### **7.0 References/Further Readings**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit rests upon the foundation laid in previous unit. Here, you will learn the various conceptions of the field of political sociology and the strengths and weaknesses of each thought. Importantly, the sub-fields and variables to which the tentacles of political sociology cover will be known to you in this unit.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

After the end of this unit, the student will be able to:

- ✓ Supply different definitions of political sociology
- ✓ Attempt an appraisal of each definition
- ✓ Have a clear understanding of the delimitation of political sociology

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT: THE MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY; SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

#### **3.1 WHAT THEN IS POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY?**

To put simply, political sociology concerns itself with the way in which political and social factors interact to produce the society and its structures. Political sociology is an attempt to understand the political phenomenon by necessarily relating it to the social determinants. It is the examination of the links between politics and society, between social structures and political structures, and between social behaviour and political behaviour. Political sociology is, thus, born when the sociological and politico-logical approaches are combined at their point of intersection (Rathore, 1986). Rathore proceeds further that political sociology is a connecting bridge between sociology and political science. It believes in a two-way relationship between sociology and political science, giving equal emphasis on social and political variables. Obviously, Rathore was trying to maintain a balance such that he was afraid by being attack by sociologists or political scientists. He maintained that political sociology places equal emphasis on social and political indicators. In reality, the word "social" is broader and encompasses the words "political", "economic" and "demographic" among others. The point here is that political sociology is one part of the many components of sociology. To verify this assertion, let us look at what Smelser has to say on political sociology. To Neil Smelser as cited by Nash (2010), political sociology can be defined as the study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions". Political sociology is not solely the study of the social factors that condition the political



order. Political sociology employs the *methods of sociological research*, including those of attitude research to investigate the content of political behaviour. It treats political institutions, both formal or constitutional and informal, as parts of the social system. It has concentrated attention on 'elites and their membership, on the expression and regulation of conflict, on formal pressure groups, on the formation of political opinion. Smelser's definition places emphasis on methods of sociological research (not that of political science research). Even the methods employed by political scientists- and other social scientists- during research are from the sociological arena.

One of the most acceptable definitions is that of Anthony Orum (1983) who opines that political sociology directs attention toward "the social circumstances of politics, which is, how politics is both shaped by, and shapes other events in societies. Instead of treating the political arena and its actors as independent from other happenings in a society, (political sociology) treats that arena as intimately related to all social institutions" (Orum, 1983). Orum's definition of political sociology addresses the nexus between polity and social institutions such as health, education, economy, family, economy and mass media among others. Let us now turn to the scope and evolution of political sociology. This would enable us understand the boundaries of the discipline and its historical antecedents.

### **3.2 SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

A cursory look at the works of several writers on political sociology suggests that political sociology focuses on the following:

- The structure of the state
- The nature and conditions of legitimacy
- The nature of order and stability in the socio-political system
- The nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state
- Voting behaviour in communities and in the nation

- Concentration of economic power and political decision-making
- Ideologies of political movements and interest groups
- Political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behaviour.
- Political movements
- Politics of bureaucracy
- Social Cleavages and Politics
- Surveillance and Control
- Internal government of voluntary organizations and
- The concept of power

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

1. To what extent do you agree with the statement that *to study political sociology is to study governance and security issues in Africa?*

2. What are the core concerns of Political Sociology?

**UNIT 111: EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: THE CLASSICAL PERIOD; THE GREAT DEBATE; THE  
ROLE OF ELITES IN SOCIETY; AND THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD**

**CONTENTS**

**1.0 Introduction**

**2.0 Objectives**

**3.0 Main content**

**3.1 The Classical Period**

**3.2 The Great Debate**

**3.3 The Role of Elites**

**3.4 The Contemporary Period**

**4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

**1.0 Introduction**

Unlike the first two units, this unit goes deeper into the classical and contemporary foundations of political sociology. While the previous units merely discuss the emergence of political sociology, the development of the discipline from the classical period to great debate, the role of elites and the contemporary period is presented in this unit. It will provide the student with insight as to the factors or variables that eventually led to the emergence of political sociology.

## **2.0 Objectives**

After the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- ✓ Understand the contributions of classical writers such as Plato, Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas among others to the development of political sociology
- ✓ Know how the fathers of social sciences such as Hobbes, Machiavelli, Saint Simon, Auguste Comte and Karl Marx among others contributed to the development of political sociology.
- ✓ Have a clear understanding of the role of elite theorist to the foundation of political sociology
- ✓ Understand the emergence of empirical and analytical political sociology

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

According to Rathore, (1983) four periods can be said to characterize the development of political sociology. The first stage was during the Holy Roman Empire, which was defined in purely ecclesiastical terms and considered an extension of God. The second historical stage occurred during the Enlightenment when the great ideological debate raged over two opposing principles: whether man was intended to serve the state or whether the state was designed to serve man and society. The third

period, which grew out of the previous debate and flourished during the nineteenth century, focused on the role of elites in modern society. Once again a dialogue developed between the traditional elitist school, which viewed governments as closed, self-perpetuating political systems and the democratic elitist, who espoused a more open-ended and humanitarian view of government and politics. The fourth stage, or current period of political sociology, can be characterized as more empirical, analytic, and eclectic in its depth and scope. Modern political sociologists are principally concerned with developing empirically verifiable generalizations.

### **3.2 THE CLASSICAL PERIOD**

Political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas are representatives of the classical period of political sociology. These philosophers were concerned with the significance of social differentiation in society and how this is related to politics and the political process. Both Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle were deeply interested in the social origins of the state. Plato in *The Republic*, viewed the state as arising out of the unique needs of mankind. The state was seen as founded on the ideal principles of justice and order, with a primary purpose of providing for the common good. Plato's conception of the ideal state was stratified along three lines: the workers who produce, the warriors who guard, and the philosophers who rule in divine king societies, with theory building as the central focus of development (Rathore, 1983).

In *Politics*, Aristotle conceived of the state primarily in terms of a political community whose origins related directly to the family. The family supplied its members with their everyday needs which sustained them individually, while the village became the first socio-political community which sustained its members collectively. When several villages joined together, they formed what Aristotle called the state. Both Aristotle and Plato viewed politics as the natural creation of man, thus relegating him to the status of homo-politicus.

### **3.3 THE GREAT DEBATE**

The next landmark in the evolution of political sociology consisted of a great debate between the political philosophers of two distinct schools. The first school consisted of Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, later followed by Saint-Simon, Comte, and Karl Marx. They all made an important distinction between society and the state. The other school consisted of philosophers like Machiavelli, Hobbes, Burke, Hegel, Bonald and Maistre, who did not differentiate between society and politics but favoured the hegemony and legitimacy of the traditional monarchy or Church. In addition, the contributions of Max Weber, Maclver and others towards the evolution of political sociology have been unique.

Rathore (1983) noted further that Locke (1632-1704) was among the first to argue that men lived in a state of nature and possessed certain inalienable rights- the rights of life, liberty, and property. Only man, and not the state, is unique in this fashion. Government was necessary to maintain law and guarantee order in so far as it reflected the expression of man's natural rights. An agreement or bilateral social contract was entered into whereby the sovereign was granted certain powers to govern and enforce the laws of nature, and although social groups might surrender some of their rights to government they never relinquished their basic natural rights. The doctrine of limited sovereignty

existed where people had the obligation to overthrow the ruler when they felt that their rights and privileges were not being represented properly or were being abridged.

Unlike Locke, Montesquieu (1689-1755) was not worried about the basic natural rights. He was more interested in facts than in abstract generalizations; his intent was to describe and analyze governments and then demonstrate how political systems reflected the environment in which they existed. In *The Spirit of the Laws*, Montesquieu argued that governments conform to certain natural and social conditions (such as geography, economics, family structure), which vary from society to society, and that the actual administration of government depended on its relationship to these social factors. There was no best form of government that was universally suitable, according to Montesquieu; the character of the state merely reflected the unique structure of society. Montesquieu observed that social and political change was determined by demographic and sociological variables. The growth in population and the expansion of society's geographic limits were the key variables in Montesquieu's thinking, through which change is initiated in all other areas of society and politics. It is because of this analysis that Raymond Aron has styled Montesquieu as the first Sociologist (Rathore, 1983).

Rousseau (1712-1778), in his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* among men, Rousseau admonished government for its protection of private property. Rousseau rejected the ancient regime and idealized man as the noble savage. In *The Social Contract*, Rousseau developed a theory of government that attempted to reconcile the conflicting demands between individual liberty and political organization. Employing Locke's basic principles of the social contract and natural law, Rousseau espoused the doctrine of popular sovereignty. He argued against absolute monarchies and favoured the general will theory of power where by members of society would voluntarily form a custodial government that

would conform to their needs. If government failed to respond to the needs of its people, they had the right and responsibility to change or replace that government.

Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and Comte (1797-1857) both believed in extending the principle of positivism (empirical reasoning) to political theory through the law of three stages- theological, metaphysical and scientific. Positivism implied the assertion of generalised patterns in society, the employment of empirical methodology with its emphasis upon observation and classification of social data. Through the application of scientific principles, political leaders and government could plan or guide social development. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), more controversial than any other political sociologist, stressed the structural nature of society, and in his *Principles of Sociology*, Spencer went into great detail in giving a historical description of social institutions, and made the role of social structure stand out distinctly in the social and political analysis.

Emile Durkheim (1850-1917) like the positivists, rejected speculative theory and the metaphysical approach; penetrated beneath the surface of current social interaction and examined the structure and functions of societal life, past and present, and evolved an observational social-political theory, dealing mainly with empirical data and avoiding value judgments. Karl Marx's (1818-1883) contribution to the sociology of politics had been massive and varied. He along with Engels (1829-1895) in *The German Ideology* and *The Communist Manifesto* rejected the idea of the political state in favour of permanent social revolution in order to ensure the creative existence of mankind. Man could only realise his full potentialities in society and not through the state. The state, according to Marx and Engels, was nothing more than an economic fiction, or false consciousness, which enslaved rather than liberated man. Marx and Engels' political sociology was rooted in the theory of political action called praxis whereby "true human consciousness and will (motivation) were united in social revolution". Marxism is a prime



example of an approach to politics which located the primary source of political behaviour in sociological factors, i.e., level of technological development and class structure.

In opposition to the master trend of the Enlightenment, Machiavelli (1469-1527) offered an expose of the ruthlessness of state craftsmanship. Reflecting a rather cynical attitude toward politics and the basic nature of man, he contended that the ends always justified the means when it came to protecting the state. A liberated society inevitably would destroy the state, according to Machiavelli, and political order was effectively maintained through what people universally understood and these are the tactics of cruelty, intimidation and fear. Similarly, Hobbes (1588-1679) viewed man's natural state as basically chaotic, relegating him to the status of an aggressive, war like animal - a fact history had demonstrated time and again. Unlike Locke who considered human nature hopeful and optimistic, Hobbes viewed man as fundamentally selfish, cruel, lawless, and lacking in both authority and discipline. In the *Leviathan*, he suggested that absolute authority was essential in order to rule effectively and that if society was to survive, people would have to surrender all their rights and power to the monarch. The social contract was an important pre-condition in politics, but it was an irreversible contract.

Burke's (1729-1797) in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* gave an eloquent defence of conservatism. Rejecting the ideas of the Enlightenment, especially the social contract, he argued that human rights did not exist abstractly or naturally. Rights and privileges existed in a given community only when they were allowed to evolve slowly and organically. Communities did not exist merely in the present but were endless chains of institutions and generations; and revolutionaries had no right, natural or otherwise, to destroy these sacred customs and traditions. Burke claimed that the basic responsibility of the community was to link the past with the future, and this was accomplished through the present. Taking a more extreme view, Hegel (1770-1831), in *The Philosophy of History*, glorified the

state as a world spirit- romantic cosmic force that worked its will on history. The state was the highest order, embodying all historical forms (rights and laws), and the Prussian state in particular was considered the best example of this spiritual organism. Hegel exalted the state as the centre of civilization and disregarded individual rights and social morality. The state, through its historical unfolding process (thesis, antithesis, and synthesis), was predetermined by God and should never be obstructed or tampered with by man.

Finally, the Catholic traditionalists, Bonald (1754-1850) and Maistre (1754-1821), each carried on a polemic against the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the Age of Revolution. They rejected the optimism of individual freedom, natural rights, and the social contract. They accepted authority as divinely established and preordained. The state should be subservient to the Church, not the reverse, and God's law should be allowed to reign supreme. Thus this great debate between the philosophers of different schools unleashed seminal ideas of great importance in the evolution of the sociology of politics, which despite its limitations provide the bedrock upon which the whole fabric of political sociology has been built in recent times.

### **3.4 THE ROLE OF ELITES**

The third period in the evolution of political sociology relates to the role of elites in society. The term, elite, was introduced in the seventeenth century to describe standards of excellence; it was later extended to refer to superior social groups, such as highly successful military units and upper ranks of the aristocracy. The term was not widely circulated in social and political writings until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when it was used extensively by two Italian sociologists, Pareto and Mosca. Generally, elite theorists argued that history was not created by ideas, or by the masses, or by silently working forces but by small groups of individuals who exerted themselves from time to time.

Elite theorists maintained that throughout history, there always had been a distinguishable stratum of rulers who comprised a small portion of society and, due to their monopoly over critical resources, were able to maximize effective organization and control. The resources they commanded— military force, ecclesiastical rule, economic domination, or political power - varied from society to society and from one period to another.

Pareto, Mosca, and Michels were representative of the conservative elitist school. Pareto (1848-1923), in *The Mind and Society*, justified elitist theory on the basis of his conception of man: "Whether certain theorists like it or not, the fact is that human society is not a homogeneous thing, that individuals are physically, morally, and intellectually different." Pareto classified those who possess the highest qualities and abilities in any given social area as elites. A further subdivision included the governing elite, with the remainder of society falling into the realm of the non-elites. The governing elite were in a state of slow but continuous transformation and Pareto built up a remarkable theory of the 'circulation of elites.'

For Mosca (1858-1941), the elites in society were nothing other than a ruling class. In his *Ruling Class*, such a stratum represented the dominant social, economic and political interests of a particular period in time, and as these various interests changed with history, the recruitment base of the elites shifted as well. As a result of the perpetual struggle over status and prestige in society, certain individuals rose to positions of power and pre-eminence while others did not. The more successful tended to consolidate and perpetuate their positions of power through advantages in education, inherited resources, political opportunities and organizational skills. All societies were governed by this selected group of rulers who constituted the organized minority among the unorganized majority. Mosca, like Pareto, endowed the elite with superior-qualities of ambition, drive, intellect, hard work, strength of will and self-confidence. Both theorists argued that the ascribed characteristics of elites rendered them the most capable contenders for power in society.

Michels (1876-1936) argued that a conservative ruling oligarchy existed within every organization. He wrote: "... leadership represents always the past rather than the present. Leadership is indefinitely retained, not because it is the tangible expression of the relationship between the forces existing in the party at any given moment, but simply because it is already constituted" (Nash, 2010). For this reason, leaders remained at the top of the power pyramid: "nominated by indirect suffrage, prolong throughout their lives the powers with which they have once been invested. The re-election demanded by the rulers becomes a pure formality. The temporary commission becomes a permanent one and the tenure of an office an established right. Similar to Mosca and Pareto, Michels argued that all formal organizational systems were contrary to the democratic principles of majority rule, for organization was synonymous with oligarchy. Political parties in particular, whether democratic or socialist, were vulnerable to this "iron law of oligarchy". Parties competed for power, but once power was obtained the party structure itself became a conservative force, concerned primarily with maintaining order and stability rather than with its original objectives. Democratic or egalitarian principles were no longer regarded as essential, since the prevailing ideology of oligarchy centred on justifying the status quo ( Rathore, 1983; Nash, 2010).

### **3.5 THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD**

The fourth stage in the evolution of political sociology is the contemporary period. This period is more empirical and analytical. It lays emphasis on developing empirically verifiable generalizations linking society and politics, with theory-building as the central focus of development. The nature of political sociology in the current period can be better understood, if we study in detail the scope and parameters of political sociology, as it exists today. The remarkable growth of political sociology during the past forty years has offered political analysis with new questions, concepts, findings and theories. Many of the most prominent practitioners of contemporary political theory are leading political sociologists like

Lipset, Greer, Inkeles, Moore, Kornhauser, Mills, Hunter, Janowitz, Lazarsfeld, Eisenstadt, Selznick, Rokkan, Gusfield, and Macrae (Rathore, 1983). These political sociologists have been creatively concerned with clarifying the conditions and requisites by which political understanding can be advanced into a more rigorous and mature social-scientific discipline.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

1. Discuss the relevance of each stage of the evolution of political sociology.
2. Demonstrate a reasonable understanding of the role of elites in society.

### **UNIT IV: THE CONCEPT OF POWER AND ITS DIMENSIONS; POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

#### **2.0 Objectives**

#### **3.0 Main content**

### **3.1 The concept of power**

### **3.2 Dimensions of Power: Power over; Power to/Power with**

### **3.3 Political Sociology and Social Transformation**

## **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit will introduce you to the central concept in the field of Political Sociology which is Power. In this unit, you will learn the different conceptions of power according to scholars. Also, you will learn various facets and dimensions of power as they determine why different personalities behave differently in positions of authority.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- 1.** Have an in-depth understanding of the concept of power.
- 2.** Grasp reasons why rulers use power in different forms as informed by dimensions of power.
- 3.** Understand the nexus between political sociology and social transformation

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 THE CONCEPT OF POWER**

Power is one of the central issues in political sociology. It is one concept that has generated disagreement among various writers. This is because one's social and political environment would determine how one conceives of power. Karlberg noted that in Western-liberal societies, our discourses of power are almost exclusively conflictual or adversarial. Power tends to be associated with competition at best, coercion or domination at worst. Given that the ways we think and talk about a subject influence the ways we act in relation to that subject, these adversarial discourses of power can be problematic because they obscure the mutualistic dimensions of power that have played a significant role in human history and that will need to play an even more significant role if we are to learn how to live together peacefully in an increasingly interdependent world. What Karlberg is saying in essence is that power is not uni-dimensional, but rather, power is multi-dimensional and that every member of the society has one form of power or the other. We would talk more on dimensions of power later.

According to Max Weber, power "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". Nash (2010) noted that based on Weber's definition, power could be a dimension of any social relation, and politics need not be seen as a highly specialized activity exercised only in relation to a specific institution. Weber focused his attention on the state as a special kind of institution that successfully possesses a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory. For Robert Dahl, power is defined in terms of a relation between people, and is expressed in simple symbolic notation. Dahl opined that from his own conception of power, there exist a statement of power comparability, or the relative degree of power held by two or more persons. An understanding of the different dimensions of power will enable us to

have in-depth understanding of the concept of power and will also make us understand why attitudes of leaders vary across states.

### **3.2 Dimensions of Power: Power over; Power to/Power with**

There are several dimensions of power, but the two broad dimensions are:

- Power over
- Power to/Power with

#### **POWER OVER**

This is otherwise known as *power as domination*. The predominant model of power in Western social theory derives from “power over” dimension. Although “power to” is the basis of models in the physical and natural sciences, “power over” highlights issues of social conflict, control, and coercion, which have been the primary focus of Western social and political scientists. This power as domination paradigm traces back, either implicitly or explicitly, through the writings of diverse social and political theorists, from Weber (1986) to Bourdieu (1994). It informed Hobbes’ (1688) notion of a “war of all against all” as well as Marx and Engels’ (1848) theory of historical materialism.

“Power over” exists when Mr. A may influence/control power over Mr. B by getting him to do what he does not want to do; the former also exercises power over the other by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants. If you have read many definitions of power during your secondary education or even in the higher institution, you tend to agree that “power over” has so much gained ground. Most definitions often agree that power is the ability and capacity to influence the behaviour of another person by threat or sanction. Power over is a traditional relationship in which one person has power over another person or one group over another group or one nation over another nation. It is a traditional relationship in the sense that dominance and coercion are used time and again before other



alternatives are sought. One side views for power over another, at best trying to influence the other to concede its position, at worst using brute force to have its way. Power over is a relationship of polarity, opposite views and differentials in power forever attracting each other from a posture of suspicion if not downright contempt. This simply means that if you have not lure people into doing what you want – regardless of whether it is humane or inhumane-, it means you do not possess power. Waterberg (1990) wrote that: *a theory of power has, as a first priority, the articulation of the meaning of the concept of “power over” because social theory employs this concept as a primary means of conceptualizing the nature of the fundamental inequalities in society.* It is important to know that most social and political theorists often overlook “power to” dimension in their writings. But for the purpose of peaceful co-existence and order-which are focuses of political sociology-, the “power to” dimension must not be neglected.

### **POWER TO/POWER WITH**

“Power to/power with” is at once relational and collective. It creates new possibilities from the very differences that might exist in a group. Unlike brute force, which must be continually reinforced to sustain itself, “power to/power with” emerges organically from the participants involved and grows stronger the more it is put to use. “power to/power with” is an organizational form of collaboration, an idea central to what today is called stakeholder engagement, multi-sector approaches, and co-creative power. “Power to/power with” has the boldness to believe that acting from immediate self-interest is not always the wisest course of action, nor that one person or one group should be in a position to know what is best for another. “Power to/power with” has to do with finding common ground among different interests and building collective strength. Based on mutual support, solidarity and collaboration, “power to/power with” multiplies individual talents and knowledge. “Power to/power with” can help build bridges across different interests to transform or reduce social conflict and promote

equitable relations. Advocacy groups seek allies and build coalitions drawing on the notion of “power to/power with”. “Power to/power with” refers to the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world. When based on mutual support, it opens up the possibilities of joint action, or power with. Citizenship education and leadership development for advocacy are based on the belief that each individual has the “power to/power with” make a difference (Nash,2010).

One of the major proponents of the second dimension of power is Anthony Giddens. Giddens noted that “power is not necessarily linked with conflict... and power is not inherently oppressive”. Indeed, there is power in cooperation among equals, and even when power is unequally distributed it can still be express in forms that are not oppressive – as in the empowering relationship that can exist between a nurturing parent and child. Efforts to reconceptualise power along these lines have been most fully developed among peace researchers and systems theorists. We will discuss systems theory later.

### **3.3 POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

The concern here is on cause and effect. In other words, it bothers on social transformation. Thus, your concern therefore, is to understand how the knowledge of political sociology can help bring about transmogrification in the society. The knowledge of political sociology is supposed to:

- ✓ Awaken our political consciousness
- ✓ Make us understand the germane contribution of each individual’s political participation in the overall national development
- ✓ Teach people how to make others conform to the societal values without the use of force; an understanding of the social dimension of power would make people know that power does not belong to only one person, but rather, power belong to all.

- ✓ Educate the society on how to combat or at least, reduce political problems. Through the employment of sociological research techniques, political sociology helps to investigate the correlates of political problems with a view of reducing such problems.
- ✓ Help the people to understand the interdependence and the nexus between polity and other social structures and institutions.

#### **4.0SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

1. How do various dimensions of power describe the differential uses of power between President Muhammadu Buhari and former President Goodluck Jonathan?
2. Identify and discuss the major dimensions of Power in Political Sociology.

## 5.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Of what Relevance is the study of Political Sociology in the Underdevelopment of African States?
2. Why is the concept of power central in the study of political sociology?
3. The sub-discipline of Political Sociology is as old as the mother discipline of Sociology, do you agree?
4. Write an essay on how the knowledge of political sociology can strengthen the democratization process in Nigeria?
5. Attempt a clear and concise discourse on the nexus among 'Political Science, Sociology and Political Sociology.

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## **MODULE 2: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

The objective of this module is to introduce students to the approaches upon which politics is built. These approaches are crucial so much so that a grasp of them will enable you understand how research on political behavior emerged; you will also understand reasons for the emergence of protests in several countries of the world. It is generally said that *to whom much is given, much is expected*, so deficit from one end may lead to protest and even insurgency and militancy. Here, you will get to understand the rise of Niger Delta militancy and some other groups. Also, you will learn the interconnected nature of the different parts of the society, just like the human body is made up of parts such as head, hands, heart, legs and so on, society also comprises of several parts such that a hurt on one part may result in an imbalance in other parts thereby affecting the whole society. Equally, this module is divided into four units that are not mutually exclusive.

## **CONTENTS**

## **1.0 Introduction**

## **2.0 Objectives**

## **3.0 Main Content**

### **3.1 Behavioural approach**

### **3.2 Criticism of behavioural approach**

### **3.4 Contributions of behavioural approach**

## **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercise(SAEs)**

## **5.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments(TMAs)**

## **6.0 References/Further Readings**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This is the first unit of the second module. Here, you will see clearly how fieldwork and survey came into political behavior. It was generally thought that before the emergence of behaviouralism, one cannot study nor predict human beings. In this module, we will see how rigorous-mindedness and statistical inclinations are connected with research in the political world.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the importance of research in proper understanding of political behaviour
- ✓ See the different quantitative and qualitative approaches by which research can be carried out.
- ✓ Be exposed to the contribution of scholars like Harold Laswell, Gabriel Almond, David Truman and many more to Political Sociology
- ✓ Understand and state the thesis of behaviouralism in Political Sociology

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH**

Behavioural approach can be said to be a revolution to the previous approaches in the study of politics and power. According to Anifowose and Enemu (1999), "behaviourism" or "behaviouralism" was coined by a group of rigorous and numerically inclined social scientists at the University of Chicago. Note that the Chicago School is one of the foremost schools in sociological theorizing. According to Robert Dahl, the personalities who are now regarded as the founders of behavioural approach were graduate students at the then University of Chicago; those figures include Harold Lasswell, David Truman, Herbert Simon and Gabriel Almond among others. An important force in the development of behavioural approach was the arrival of European scholars-especially German refugees- in the United States of America. These people according to Dahl, brought with them a sociological approach to politics which greatly influenced the likes of Weber among others. These European migrants-who headed leading position- in the department of Sociology and Political Science in American Universities thought that there was a need to use sociological and even psychological approach in the understanding of politics.

A lot of happenings facilitated the development of behavioural approach: a growing dissatisfaction with the purely descriptive nature of political sociology; the inability of the then so-called political sociologists to give thorough and empirical explanations of some political phenomena; prevalence of assumptions and conclusions that are not factual but subjective and value-laden; non-scientific and non-quantitative explanation of events. Behavioural approach therefore emerged out of the necessity to move the explanation of political phenomena from mere guess work to objective and scientific explanation that arise from rigorous methodological field work. In fact, it is not incorrect to conclude that behaviouralists are the first to use sociological research methods in the explanation of political events. The point we are trying to make here is that, prior to emergence of behavioural approach, scholars use their intuitive knowledge and speculations to explain political events. For example, they were not sure why some



people would prefer to vote for a democrat over a republican, behavioural approach was the first to employ and encourage field work and rigorous analysis of data in the study of political phenomena.

So far, behavioural approach or behaviouralism remained only a 'movement of protest' against traditional methods of analysis. After the Second World War, the movement came out in the form of an academic revolution. Evaluation of behavioural approach has witnessed certain trends also. In its first phase (1920- 30), it paid more attention to qualitative aspects and less on substantive and theoretical problems. In its second phase, up to 1950, behaviouralists moved in both substantive and non-substantive areas. After that, they began to specialise in various directions: multi-methodologism, behavioural theories, behavioural positivism and Watsonian behaviouralism. Behaviouralism can be also broadly divided as:

(a) Pure behaviouralism, and

(b) Applied behaviouralism.

Pure behaviouralism aims at contributing to theory and techniques of the discipline, and remains ready to study any problem. Its purpose is 'pure research', or knowledge for the sake of knowledge, seeking generalisations on the basis of technical judgments. Applied behaviouralist stake up problems of important social consequences and collaborate with several disciplines to solve them. Often they behave like social reformers, administrators or engineers and have some considerations towards persons and situations.

Below is a synthesis of the major tenets of behavioural approach adapted and expanded from various sources:

- Political sociology can undoubtedly become a science that is capable and able to explain and predict political phenomena. Political sociologists should engage in rigorous search

for laws and regularities of political behaviour. They should avoid descriptive and subjective explanation of political events in favour of the rigorous and scientific treatment germane to the systematic development of political knowledge.

- Any discipline that attempts to study political phenomena should concern itself with events that can actually be observed-whether through actions or what is said. The observable behaviour may be carried out by individual or collection of persons. Focus on observable events will make the data collected subjected to rigorous data analysis, and will ensure reliable and valid outcomes.
- Data should be quantified and “findings” should be based upon numerical data. The assumption here is that only quantification can make possible the discovery and precise statement of relationships and regularities. This does not necessarily mean that the behaviourists do not appreciate qualitative data, but the point here is that even within the qualitative arena, quantification exists and makes accuracy feasible. For example, if Dr Agugua intends to use quantitative approach to gather data on the causes and solutions to *Boko Haran* insurgence, he would definitely record the number of key informant interviewers; presents their distribution by age, sex, occupation and other demographic variables; he might also present charts and tables to make the distribution clear. All these attempts of presenting charts, numbers and tables are quantitative in nature. No qualitative data can be completely analyzed without the use of some quantitative techniques.
- Political behaviour can be studied only in relation with other disciplines. In the absence of the knowledge of other social sciences, politics cannot be studied. Study of politics is not possible in a limited field. The study of the political activities of the individual is

possible only in the social atmosphere. Therefore, it is essential for a political sociologist to achieve the knowledge of the other social sciences. Therefore, the behaviouralists lay emphasis on inter-disciplinary study. It would be recollected that the cordial relationship between political science and sociology led to the birth of political sociology. Behaviouralism can be said to the schools that expanded encouraged the warm relationship between political science and other social sciences.

- Research should be theory-oriented and theory-directed. Ideally, inquiry should proceed from carefully developed theoretical formulations which yield in turn operationalizable hypothesis. The main aim of the behaviouralists is to build a scientific theory with the help of observation and experimentation, which may be able to predict things and be applied universally.
- Some political issues which are related with values, e.g. democracy, liberty, equality and justice, are beyond the limit of legitimate enquiry because such values cannot be established as true or false on the basis of science. Behavioural approach suggests that students who wish to study these issues should be careful and understand that the outcome from the study of such issues is likely to be subjective.

### **3.2 CRITICISM OF THE BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH**

Behavioral approach has been criticized on the basis that any study of human behaviour subjected to quantification is a flaw and that there can be neither law nor regularities governing human political behavior (Cherry, 2013; Augier; 2013). The major criticisms of thebehavioralistsare:

- Behavioural approach concerns itself more with techniques than results:-anti-behaviouralists believe that behavioural approach attach too much importance to the techniques and methods and do not worry at all about the theoretical importance of the subject. While doing the research, the behaviouralists have chosen only such topics for research in which better techniques are available and they have ignored the rest. Besides that they have not bothered about the results.
- Behavioural approach emphasises the importance of behavioural effect at the cost of institutional effects. It should be noted that most behaviouralists have altogether neglected the effects of the institutions upon the society and concentrated their efforts only at the behavioural aspect of the individuals and groups.
- Study of politics can never be value-free: the critics of behavioural approach contend that politics can never be value free as held by the behaviouralists. In politics every selection of subjects for investigation is determined by values.
- Behavioural approach emphasizes static rather than current situation: - Behaviouralists have been concentrating their study mainly on the static subjects rather than on the current problems. In the beginning behaviouralists justified they were filling the gap left by the institutionalists, but now it cannot be justified as the burning problems such as threat of nuclear war, hunger, famine, undernourishment etc. The behaviouralists have so far ignored all these urgent problems because that does not suit their study.

### **3.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH**

- Research methodology: the behaviouralists made significant achievements in the development and refinement to the tools and techniques of research. Developments in the

fields of (i) content-analysis, (ii) case-analysis, (iii) interviewing and observation, and(iv) statisticsare particularly remarkable. They also use the most sophisticated quantifications and measurement techniques in their empirical research projects.

- Theory building: the contribution of the behaviouralists towards the theory building is evident particularly in the area of voting behaviour. The behavioural science developed a good deal more revolutionary in the realm of technique than in that of validated and expanded theory.
- Dramatic change in scope: before the emergence of behavioural approach, the field is confined to the discussion of checks and balances, sovereignty, pressure group, proportional representation, state, state of nature and so on. Behavioural approach made it possible for the discipline of political sociology to expand its scope to the examination of boundary maintenance, bargaining, cognitive dissonance, conflict resolution, feedback, cross-pressure, political culture, political socialization, input-output, interaction.

#### **4.0SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

1. Discuss the pros and cons of behavioural approach as they inform research methodology and human behavior.
2. Demonstrate your understanding of the behavioural approach.

## **UNIT 11: POST-BEHAVIOURALISM**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Post behaviouralism**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises(SAEs)**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit builds upon the foundation laid in unit i. This unit arose as a result of the criticisms levied against the behavioural approach, you should note that post behaviouralism is not a total replacement for behaviouralism; but rather, it represent a movement that employed the built on the “good sides” of behaviouralism, expanded it and proposed new ways by which Political Sociology should be studied.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand how weakness in every school of thought brings about emergence of another
- ✓ Understand the contribution of post-behaviouralism to socio-political change over the years
- ✓ Grasp the two concepts of relevance and action in political arena

#### **3.0MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 POST BEHAVIOURALISM**

Post-Behavioralism is the next step or reform movement of behavioural revolution. It was again propounded by David Easton in his presidential address to the American Political Science Association in

1969 which relied on *relevance* and *action*. Relevance meant study of all the realities, brute realities of politics. Mere development of techniques and methods was not enough. Political sociology must give primary importance to the study of the social realities and social change. It should not be conservative and static in approach and efforts. Action meant the responsibility of the political sociologists to act in the political process. It stood for the use of knowledge and understanding of politics for helping the society to develop by adopting the valued reforms.

It laid new emphasis on 'values', on issues of justice, freedom and equality. David Easton pointed out that post-behaviouralism was future oriented, seeking to propel political sociology in new directions, and to add rather than deny its past heritage (1969). It was both a movement and an intellectual tendency. Post-behaviouralism lays emphasis on the facts as well as values. It is a reform movement within the discipline of political sociology. Post behaviourists opine that relevance means the development of such theories which can be utilized for the good of the society. The research techniques are good but emphasis should be on using these research techniques to make theories which will answer the problem of the society. While behaviouralism was a movement against traditionalism, the post-behaviouralism was also a movement against behaviouralism itself but instead of condemning either of the two methods of thought, it was a synthesis between the two contending schools of thought. Behaviouralism was not a new discipline; rather it was just a new technique, a new approach, with a new focus in view for the study of political sociology. The behavioural approach was trying to convert the study of politics into a discipline based on the methodology of natural sciences. Mathematics was making its way in the study of politics to the extent that it began to look more of mathematics than a science related to the realities of social life. In their efforts at research and application of scientific methods, the behaviouralists had gone far away from the realities of social behaviour.

David Easton came out with seven major traits of post- behaviouralism and described them as the 'credo of Relevance' or 'a distillation of maximal image' they can be summarized as follows:

- **Substance must have precedence over the technique:** it may be good to have sophisticated tools of investigation, but the more important point was the purpose for which these tools were to be applied. Unless the scientific research was relevant and meaningful for the contemporary urgent social problems, it was not worth being undertaken. To the slogan raised by the behaviouralist that it was to be wrong than vague, the post-behaviouralist raised the counter-slogan that it was better to be vague than non-relevantly precise.
- **Political sociology should not lose touch with brute realities of politics:** political sociology, during the behavioural movement, had broken itself from the brute realities of politics. With its enormous wealth and technical resources, and a fantastic rate of increase in man's material comforts, the western world was, at the same time, moving towards increasing social conflicts and deepening fears and anxieties about the future. If it was not the responsibility of the political sociology to reach out to the real needs of the humanity, of what use political sociology was to society.
- **Political sociology must not be a value force:** Behaviouralists had put much emphasis on scientism and value-free approaches. This was a very unhappy situation. It was on value premises that all knowledge stood and unless values were regarded as the propelling force behind knowledge, there was a danger that the knowledge was to be used for wrong purposes. Values played an important role in politics, and research. They should not be thrown out from political sociology in the name of science.



- **Political sociology should aim for social change and not for social preservation:** Contemporary political sociology should place its main emphasis on social change and not on social preservation as the behaviouralists seemed to be doing.
- **Political sociology should preserve the human values of civilization:** The post behaviouralists aimed to remind the political sociologists that, being intellectuals, they had a role to play in the society. It was responsibility to do the best to protect the humane values of civilization.
- **There is a need for action in place of contemplative science:** If the intellectuals understood the social problems and felt themselves involved in them they could not keep themselves away from action. Knowledge must be put to work. As Easton point out, “to know is to bear the responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in reshaping society”. Contemplative science might have been all right in the nineteenth century, when there was a broader moral agreement among the nations, but it was completely out of place in the contemporary society which was sharply divided over ideals and ideologies. The post- behaviouralists ask for action science in place of contemplative science.
- **There is an urgent need to politicise the profession:** Once it was recognized that the intellectuals had a positive role to play in the society and this role was to try to determine proper goals for society and make society move in the direction of these goals, it became inevitable to draw the conclusion that the polarization of the profession of all professional associations as well as universities- became not only in- escapable but highly desirable.

The post-behaviouralists reply to the argument that rationalism (science) had some ideal commitments of science and that behaviouralism shared these ideal commitments of science, is that if science led its votaries to close their eyes in the face of urgent social problems the very image of sciences should

change. The post-behaviouralists did not deny the importance of technical technician proficiency, but they did not agree that the search for basic understanding and reliable knowledge necessarily implied that the scientists should not cut him adrift from the practical concerns of society, nor did they believe that values could be kept out of all scientific pursuits. Research according to the post-behaviouralists was to be related to urgent social problems and was to be purposive. If the present crisis in society arose out of deep social conflicts, these conflicts had to be resolved. If the resolution of the conflicts needed breaking up of the existing political order, the political sociologists should fairly and boldly ask for that, and he must not only rest content with suggesting reforms or, if need be revolution, but also contribute his best to the reshaping of society in the direction in which it could serve the desired goal more effectively.

In conclusion, post-behavioural approach does not mean a new wave of methodological innovations. It signifies stock-taking and re-appraisal. There is a noticeable trend back to the vital aspect concerning value-preferences, identified with the normative approach. The post-behaviouralists did not deny the importance of technical proficiency, but they did not agree that the search for basic understanding and reliable knowledge necessarily implied that the scientist should not cut himself adrift from the practical concerns of the society, nor did they believe that values could be kept out of all scientific pursuits. It was the duty of the political scientists to find out solutions to contemporary problems. If the present crisis in society arose out of deep social conflicts, these conflicts had to be resolved. If the resolution of the conflicts needs breaking up of the existing political order, the political sociologists should fairly and boldly ask for that, and he must not only rest being content with suggesting reforms but also contribute his best to the reshaping of society in the direction in which it could serve the desired goals more effectively.

#### **4 Self-Assessment Exercises**

1. To what extent can it be said that the post-behavioural approach is more relevant than the behavioural approach to the study of Political Sociology?
2. Attempt a critical appraisal of post-behaviouralism.

### **UNIT III: INPUT-OUTPUT ANALYSIS**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

#### **2.0 Objectives**

#### **3.0 Main content**

##### **3.1 Input-output analysis**

#### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

##### **1.0 Introduction**

This is the third unit of module two. In this unit, you will see that there is a contract between the state and the citizenry. This unit is one of the important approaches in the study of Political Sociology because of the perennial struggle, conflicts and tensions between the government and the populace in several countries of the world. The struggle between students' unions and university managements is also explained by input-output analysis.

You may be shocked to know that terrorism and insurgency are not unconnected with input-output analysis. For instance, it is expected that while citizens submit their rights and discharge their mandates as citizens, the government should provide employment, so failure of the government to provide employment for able-bodied youth make the latter vulnerable to recruitment to terrorist groups and

other dangerous groups. The point here is that this section is so central to social and political analysis so that in any position you meet yourself, you should contribute your own inputs if you wish to get output.

## 2.0 Objectives

At the end of this section, you should be able to:

- ✓ Understand the perennial, unwritten agreement between the state and the citizenry
- ✓ See how records of deficit from one end may lead to refusal of the other end to contribute its own quota.

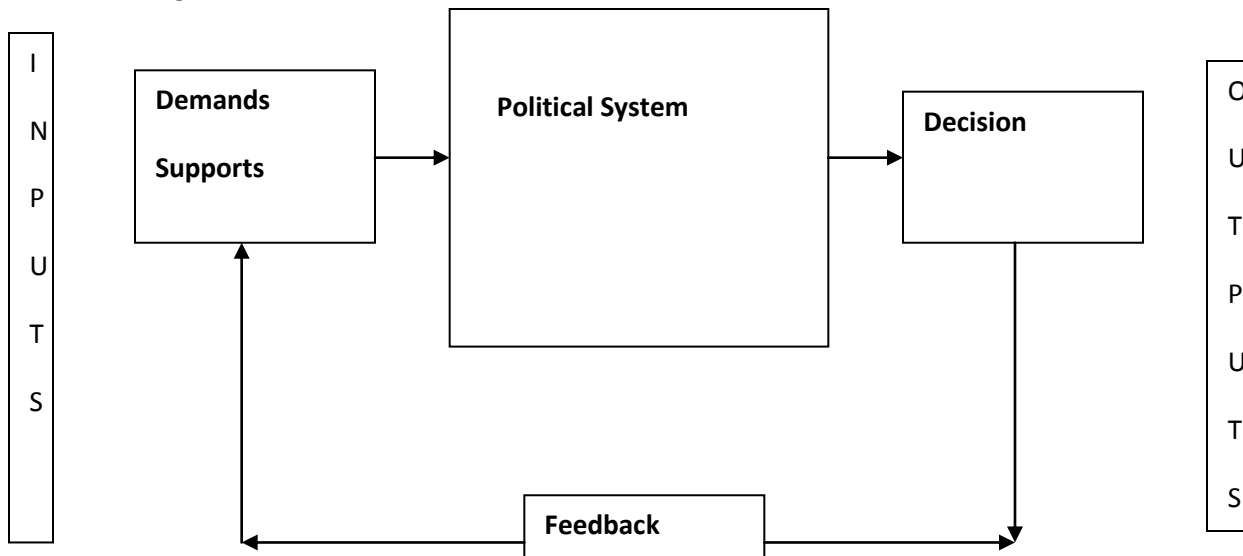
## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 INPUT-OUTPUT ANALYSIS

Input-output analysis, if critically looked into must have originated in the social contract explanation of the relationship between the state and the citizens. The basic premise of the approach is tantamount to the saying that: “to whom much is given, much is expected”. David Easton has often been regarded as a leading proponent of input-output analysis. Because of its emphasis on the word “system”, some have considered input-output analysis to be a subset of systems approach.

The input-output analysis of Easton has three main variables in the form of ***demands, supports and feedbacks***. The most important feature of input-output analysis is, the conversion of the inputs into output by the system. For him, political system absorbs the inputs in the form of demands on authorities and supports from institutions and the political community and produces outputs in the form of policies and decisions. Easton divides the basic components of his model of the political system into

'inputs' consisting of 'demands' and 'supports' and 'outputs' connected by 'feedback'. This is presented in the diagram below:



**Source:**Anifowose and Enemu, 1999.

### 3.2 INPUT

Inputs which give the political system its dynamic character and furnish it both with the raw material or information that the system called upon to process and the energy to keep are of two kinds-demands and supports.

**DEMAND:** Easton defines demand “as an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation- with regard to particular subject matter- should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so”. It means that the people as ‘actors’ make demands upon their political system that sub serve their specific interests. The demand may be following four types:

i. Demands for allocation of goods and services such as wage, educational opportunities, housing and medical facilities etc.

ii. Demands for regulation of behaviour such as control over markets; provision for public safety; rules relating to marriage, health and sanitation etc.

iii. Demands for participation in the political system such as right to seek election, to hold office to organize processions, to petitions public officials etc., and

iv. Demands for communication and information such as communication of policy intent from political elites or display of the power of the political system in period of threats or on ceremonial occasions.

There are several major types of stress inherent in the demand segment of the political cycle. Thus the political system undergoes ‘demand stresses. Sometimes, the weight of the stress is considerably enhanced either on account of quantitative excesses, what Easton calls ‘volume stress’ or due to the burden of qualitative elements, what he terms ‘content stresses. However, both situations create what he designates the ‘overload’. The function of the structures of the political system thus becomes to convert these demands, correctly stated as ‘inputs’, into authoritative decisions, correctly stated as ‘outputs’. Thus, there occurs the conversion process in which some demands are fulfilled, some are weeded out also. Since the political system has to operate in a way that its stability is maintained, it becomes essential that there should be four regulatory mechanisms. First, there should be structural mechanisms ‘to play the role of ‘gatekeepers’. It means that certain structures of the political system

should look towards the regulation of demands making their weight on the makers of the decisions. Second, there should be 'cultural mechanisms' in the shape of firm beliefs and attitudes of the people in their political system in order to establish influential criteria of appropriateness for the articulation of demands. Third, there should be 'communication mechanisms' in order to keep the 'actors' informed of the decisions of their 'rulers' and of the latter about the nature and intensity of the demands made by their peoples. Finally there should process of 'reduction mechanisms' having specific procedures for the collection and combination of compatible demands, intra-system gate keeping procedures, and the requirement that general demands be converted into specific issues for purposes of political processing.

## **SUPPORTS**

Supports are those structures or process which gives the political system the capacity to cope with the demands made upon it. Support means giving obedience and showing loyalty to a political system. It refers to expression of willingness to accept particular value allocation or the process by which allocations are made. In other words it refers to remaining input transaction between system and its environment after demands have been subtracted. Support may be classified as overt support and covert support. Overt support refers to actions that are clearly and manifestly supportive while covert support refers to supportive attitude or sentiments. A political system receives considerable support from the environment without which it cannot survive. Supports are of the following four types:

- i. Material supports, such as the payment of taxes or other levies, and the provisions of services such as labour on public works or military service;
- ii. Obedience to laws and regulations;
- iii. Participatory support, such as voting, political discussion, and other forms of political activities;

iv. Attention paid to governmental communication and manifestation of deference or respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials.

### **3.2 OUPUT**

A political system, therefore, maintains itself partly through its own regulatory mechanisms and partly through the support, specific as well as defused, which it can generate the society. The main test of its effectiveness lies in what it does for society. Here comes in Easton's concept of outputs. An output of a political system is a political decision or policy. Easton points out that outputs "not only help to influence events in the broader society of which the system is apart, but also, in doing so, they help to determine each succeeding round of inputs that finds its way into the political system".

### **FEEDBACK**

Easton tells us that the outputs of a political system are the authoritative decisions and actions of the system's leaders that bear on the allocation of values for it. These outputs not only help to influence events in the broader society of which the system is a part, but also in doing so, they help to determine each succeeding round of inputs that finds its way into the political system. There is a feedback loop, the identification which helps us to explain the process through which the system may cope with the stress. Through it, the system may take the advantage of what has been happening by trying to adjust its feature behaviour. The idea of feedback means that if the actions of the authorities are taken to satisfy demands or create conditions that will do so, information must be fed back, at least those authorities, about the effects of each round outputs. Without information feedback about what is happening in the system, the authorities would have operated in the dark. Easton, further, says that the feedback loop itself has a number of parts worthy of detailed investigation. It consists of production outputs by the authorities, a response by the members of the society to these outputs, the communication of information about the responses to authorities, and finally, possible succeeding actions by the



authorities. Thereby, a new round of outputs, response, information feedback, and reaction by the authorities is set in motion, forming a seamless web of activities.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

1. How does input-output analysis explain the resurgence of the Biafra movement and Niger Delta Militancy?
2. Explain the basic features of input-output analysis as it informs citizens' sense of patriotism and nationalism.

## **UNIT IV: SYSTEMS APPROACH**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Self-Assessment Exercises**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This is the last section of module 2. It appears that this unit is the broadest-in scope- of all the four approaches. This is because it looks beyond the political arena and extends its tentacles to other parts of the social system. This unit will show you how equilibrium is restored when tension arises in the society.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the interconnectedness among the different parts of the society.
- ✓ Understand Parsons' contribution to systems approach

#### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 SYSTEMS APPROACH**

The beauty of systems approach lies in the fact that several disciplines-such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, biology, physics and chemistry among others- found unity of science in the approach. This is because the systems model used by physical and social scientists seem to be the same. Thus, the systems approach is regarded by some system theorists as universally applicable to physical and social events, and to human relationships in small or large units.

The terms or concepts that are a part of the system model are “boundary”, “stress or tension”, “equilibrium”, “order”, and “feedback”. The system theory had its origin in the natural sciences but generally speaking, the theory originated in movements aimed at the unification of science and scientific analysis. The proponents of the theory sought to find unifying elements which would offer a broader perspective for creative analysis.

According to Ritzer (2008), there are few gains from the systems approach: First, because systems theory is derived from the hard sciences and because it is, at least in the eyes of its proponents, applicable to all behavioural and social sciences, it promises a common vocabulary to unify those sciences. Second, systems theory is multi-levelled and can be applied equally well to the largest-scale and the smallest-scale, to the most objective and the most subjective, aspects of the social world. Third, systems theory is interested in the varied relationships of the many aspects of the social world and thus operates against piecemeal analyses of the social world. Fourth, the systems approach tends to see all aspects of socio cultural systems in process terms, especially as networks of information and communication. Fifth, and perhaps most important, systems theory is inherently integrative.

One of the foremost systems theorists is Talcott Parsons (1902-1979). His AGIL paradigm and five pattern variables among others are important to our discussion of political sociology and social change. Parsons believes that there are four functional imperatives that are necessary for (characteristic of) all systems—adaptation (A), goal attainment (G), integration (I), and latency (L), or pattern maintenance. Together, these four functional imperatives are known as the AGIL scheme. In order to survive, a system must perform these four functions:

1. Adaptation: A system must cope with external situational exigencies. It must adapt to its environment and adapt the environment to its needs.
2. Goal attainment: A system must define and achieve its primary goals.

3. Integration: A system must regulate the inter relationship of its component parts. It also must manage the relationship among the other three functional imperatives (A, G, L).

4. Latency (pattern maintenance): A system must furnish, maintain, and renew both the motivation of individuals and the cultural patterns that create and sustain that motivation.

Parsons designed the AGIL scheme to be used at all levels in his theoretical system. In the discussion below on the four action systems, we will illustrate how Parsons uses AGIL. The behavioural organism is the action system that handles the adaptation function by adjusting to and transforming the external world. The personality system performs the goal-attainment function by defining system goals and mobilizing resources to attain them. The social system copes with the integration function by controlling its component parts. Finally, the cultural system performs the latency function by providing actors with the norms and values that motivate them for action.

With respect to five pattern variables, Parsons unlike earlier scholars-such as Ferdinand Tonnies, Emile Durkheim among others- used five sets of variables to illustrate the changes that have occurred from what may be called the “traditional” life to the “modern” life. He noted the changed between:

- Affectivity versus affective neutrality
- Particularism versus universalism
- Collectivism versus individualism
- Ascription versus achievement
- Diffuseness versus specificity

Another area of intrigue, for Parsons, is the intellectual debate about the coercive and consensual nature of power. There is a tendency with many theorists to attach an “either-or” tag to the terms, insisting that one aspect is more prominent than the other or that they are indeed different, separate

forms of power. Parsons argues that both attributes are “essential” to the concept of political power and that we should not view them as separate entities. “It (power) is both,” he says, “precisely because it is a phenomenon which integrates a plurality of factors and outputs of political effectiveness and is not to be identified with any one of them.” He identifies both positive and negative reasons that people might respond to the exercise of power and shows how the influence of power can be both coercive and consensual, often in the same context. He gives examples of instances where people respond to power voluntarily, rather than through coercion (though a threat of coercion can certainly loom in the background). We accept, for example, that laws are necessary – we want a society that will impose its power on people who violate laws that we have collectively determined should be followed. We also understand that someone may exercise power by getting us to change our mind about something, in a positive way, where we drop resistance because we want to do so.

He refutes the argument that the imposing of power results in a zero-sum outcome – where any increase in power of subject A must necessarily mean a decrease in the power of subject B (or C, D, etc.), (again, the money example is used as a foil: if I give you my money, it has increased your income while decreasing mine). Parsons claims that a zero-sum outcome is possible and often occurs, but is not always the case (Ritzer, 2008).

In Parsons' view, social contracts create a type of bindingness among collectivities. A hierarchical order is created in power systems, where priority is assigned to certain actions. Individuals (and groups) respond to that order for a variety of different reasons – some negative and some positive. People often respond to the exercise of power because they recognize the very real negative impact on their person should they choose to not respond. They also may respond to the exercise of power in a positive, consensual way because they agree with the action being taken. For the most part, within political

systems, people go along with the program because they have been bound, through a social contract, to those who are making the power decisions.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

1. Discuss Parsons' AGIL paradigm as it informs systems approach in Political Sociology.
2. What are the major assumptions and dynamics of the systems approach?

#### **5.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)**

1. Which of the approaches do you consider to be most relevant to an understanding of power and politics in contemporary society? Give your reasons.
2. Write a brief essay on how Social Research Methods contributed to the development of Political Sociology making reference to one of the approaches.
3. What are the contributions of Post-Behaviouralism to Political Sociology?
4. How does the input-output analysis explain the massive voting against the ruling 'Peoples Democratic Party' in Nigeria's 2015 general elections, with reference to nuances of the Social Contract.
5. To what extent can you argue that the political sub-system is central to the existence of modern society than the economic sub-system?

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### **MODULE 3: THEORIES OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

This module introduces you to different political thoughts as championed by different personalities from Greece to Europe. We may have wondered why different scholars have different positions on political events, remember that the social and intellectual context in which they grew up predicts their stance. For example, would you expect a hypothesized person who grew up under authoritarian parents and attended Army Day Secondary School to have the view same of power like the one who was raised in a liberal home and attended International School of the University of Lagos or any other?

You will also see how paradigm shift, which is a significant alteration in a particular core idea, comes into play as times goes on. In other words, as supporters of a particular scholar's ideas try to expand the idea, some of the tenets of such idea may change overtime. This module, like the first two modules, is divided into four units that are not mutually exclusive.

## **UNIT I: THEORIES OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

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#### **1.0 Introduction**

This is the first unit of the third module. In this unit, you will learn about three different scholars. You will learn about Plato and his understanding of own society should be divided into different categories and the kinds of people that should occupy each category. You will also see how Thomas Hobbes' ideas were influenced by those of Plato. Importantly, you will see how Hobbes stance influenced Machiavelli's conception of power.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the importance of theories in social and political analyses



- ✓ Be exposed to the different ideas of Plato on social and political issues
- ✓ Understand Thomas Hobbes' state of nature and its problematics
- ✓ Be grounded in the analyses of Machiavelli's political thought

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 MEANING OF THEORIES**

According to Stolley (2005), a theory is the analysis and statement of how and why a set of facts relates to each other. In sociology, theories help us understand how social phenomena relate to each other. Theories help sociologists explain why and how society works. Through the use of theory, they work to answer such questions as "why are things as they are? What conditions produce them? And what conditions change them into something else? If we have such a theory, we will at least be in a position to know what we really *can* do about the shape of our society". By understanding the real causes of how and why things operate as they do, we can find ways to address the things that need improvement.

In the opinion of Bhattacharjee (2012), theories should explain why things happen, rather than just describe or predict. He furthered that it is possible to predict events or behaviours using a set of predictors, without necessarily explaining why such events are taking place. Prediction requires only correlations. In contrast, explanations require causations, or understanding of cause-effect relationships. Establishing causation requires three conditions: (1) correlations between two constructs, (2) temporal precedence (the cause must precede the effect in time), and (3) rejection of alternative

hypotheses (through testing). Scientific theories are different from theological, philosophical, or other explanations in that scientific theories can be empirically tested using scientific methods (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The point to note here though is that theories are never constructed in a vacuum. It is often induced from prevailing societal conditions. And for this work, a look at the concept of social order might prove useful.

### **3.1 UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL ORDER**

Social order is a core theoretical issue in the social sciences. The problem arises because human beings are both individual and social. If we were each living alone on a private planet, we could do whatever we wanted and would never have to worry about anyone else. Or, if each of us were attached to one group mind, we would have no individual impulses and urges. But we are both. Every individual inhabits a separate physical body and thus each has his own experiences, information, feelings, and ambitions. Yet we are not completely independent. Stories of people living in isolation—neglected children, prisoners in solitary confinement—tell us that we need social contact to be physically and emotionally healthy and simply to stay alive.

For social order to arise and be maintained, two separate problems must be overcome. People must be able to coordinate their actions and they must cooperate to attain common goals.

Coordination requires that people develop stable expectations about others' behavior. When driving, for example, it is helpful to know whether others are likely to approach you on the right or the left side of the road.

We can have stable expectations and still not much social order, however. Contemporary Nigeria, for example, is a society visited by interethnic violence especially in the north, fluctuating market price of commodities, highly unequal relations between the genders and age grades, and a meager standard of living. Yet many Nigerians live under these conditions, they act according to their expectations and therefore are able to carry on. But life is hard. All these social anomalies are predictable but not what we would call orderly. Something else is required for social order to be maintained. If people are to live together, they must not only be able to coordinate their activities but also to interact productively—to do things that help rather than hurt others. Thus highly ordered societies have a remarkable capacity to sustain cooperation (Johnson, 2001).

### **3.1 THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER**

There are two broad explanations of social order in social sciences: consensus theory as put forward by Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and conflict theory championed by Karl Marx (1818-1883).

Through his study of the role of religion in primitive and traditional societies, Émile Durkheim came to believe that social order arose out of the shared beliefs, values, norms, and practices of a given group of people. His view locates the origins of social order in the practices and interactions of daily life as well as those associated with rituals and important events. In other words, it is a theory of social order that puts culture at the forefront.

Durkheim theorized that it was through the culture shared by a group, community, or society that a sense of social connection—what he called solidarity—emerged between and among people and that

worked to bind them together into a collective. Durkheim referred to a group's shared collection of beliefs, values, attitudes, and knowledge as the "collective conscience."

In primitive and traditional societies Durkheim observed that sharing these things was enough to create a "mechanical solidarity" that bound the group together. In the larger, more diverse, and urbanized societies of modern times, Durkheim observed that it was the recognition of the need to rely on each other to fulfill different roles and functions that bound society together. He called this "organic solidarity."

Durkheim also observed that social institutions—such as the state, media, education, and law enforcement—play formative roles in fostering a collective conscience in both traditional and modern societies. According to Durkheim, it is through our interactions with these institutions and with the people around us that we participate in the maintenance of rules and norms and behavior that enable the smooth functioning of society. In other words, we work together to maintain social order.

Durkheim's view became the foundation for the functionalist perspective, which views society as the sum of interlocking and interdependent parts that evolve together to maintain social order.

Karl Marx took a different view of social order. Focusing on the transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist economies and their effects on society, Marx developed a theory of social order centered on the economic structure of society and the social relations involved in the production of goods. Marx believed that these aspects of society were responsible for producing the social order, while others—including social institutions and the state—were responsible for maintaining it. He referred to these two different components of society as the base and the superstructure.

In his writings on capitalism, Marx argued that the superstructure grows out of the base and reflects the interests of the ruling class that controls it. The superstructure justifies how the base operates, and in doing so, justifies the power of the ruling class. Together, the base and the superstructure create and maintain social order.

From his observations of history and politics, Marx concluded that the shift to a capitalist industrial economy throughout Europe created a class of workers who were exploited by company owners and their financiers. The result was a hierarchical class-based society in which a small minority held power over the majority, whose labor they used for their own financial gain. Marx believed that social institutions did the work of spreading the values and beliefs of the ruling class in order to maintain a social order that would serve their interests and protect their power. Marx's critical view of social order is the basis of the conflict theory perspective in sociology, which views social order as a precarious state shaped by ongoing conflicts between groups that are competing for access to resources and power.

### **3.1 CHALLENGES IN THE MAINTENANCE OF SOCIAL ORDER: VIOLENCE, INSTITUTIONS, AND ORGANIZATIONS**

All societies face the problem of violence. Regardless of whether our genetic makeup predisposes humans to be violent, the possibility that some individuals will be violent poses a central problem for any group. No society solves the problem of violence by eliminating violence; at best, it can be contained and managed. Violence manifests itself in many dimensions. Violence can be expressed in physical actions or through coercive threats of physical action. Both violent acts and coercion are elements of violence. The relationship between violent acts and coercion involves beliefs about the actions of others, and we pay considerable attention to whether threats of violence are credible and the conditions under which the use of physical violence will result in response from other individuals or from the state.

On another dimension, violence may be the action of a single individual or the action of organized groups ranging from gangs to armies. Our primary concern is with organized violence- the use of violence or threats of violence by groups. Because threats of violence may be used to limit the use of actual physical violence, there is no simple way to measure the level of violence in a society. A person threatened by physical attack may be as influenced by violence as a person who is actually subjected to physical force. On a few occasions, we specifically deal with the frequency with which physical violence is used. However, in most cases our concept of violence encompasses the use of both threats and actions. We are careful to specify whether dispersed control over violence leads to threats of violence playing a central role in the social order, or whether control over violence is consolidated and thus many relationships are carried out without the threat of violence. Limited and open access orders differ fundamentally with respect to these dimensions of violence and the organization of violence (North, Wallis and Weingast, 2009).

There are important elements of social skills in the control of violence. Managing violence through repeated personal contacts can sustain only the formation of small groups of people, perhaps twenty-five to fifty individuals. Individuals in a society of small groups learn to trust one another by acquiring detailed personal knowledge, this includes the proclivity of each individual to be violent; and includes the belief that through repeated interaction the ongoing relationships create an interest. In larger groups, no individual has personal knowledge of all the members of the group or society, and so personal relationships alone cannot be used to control violence (Dunbar, 1996). Some form of social institution must arise to control violence if societies are to develop larger groups. Whereas it is possible to imagine a larger society of peaceful individuals, such a society will not persist if the only way to control violence is through personal knowledge and repeated personal interaction.

Because individuals always have the option of competing with one another for resources or status through violence, a necessary corollary to limiting the use of violence within a social group is placing limits on competition. All three social orders are competitive, but they limit competition in different ways. Ways of dealing with violence are embedded in institutions and organizations, concepts we need to clarify. Institutions are the “rules of the game” (North, 1990), the patterns of interaction that govern and constrain the relationships of individuals. Institutions include formal rules, written laws, formal social conventions, informal norms of behavior, and shared beliefs about the world, as well as the means of enforcement. The most common way of thinking about institutions is that they are constraints on the behavior of individuals. However, institutions also structure the way individuals form beliefs and opinions about how other people will behave (Greif, 2006).

In contrast to institutions, organizations consist of specific groups of individuals pursuing a mix of common and individual goals through partially coordinated behavior. Organizations coordinate their members’ actions, so an organization’s actions are more than the sum of the actions of the individuals. Because they pursue a common purpose in an organization and because organizations are typically composed of individuals who deal with each other repeatedly, members of most organizations develop shared beliefs about the behavior of other members and about the norms or rules of their organization. As a result, most organizations have their own internal institutional structure: the rules, norms, and shared beliefs that influence the way people behave within the organization (Greif, 2006).

We differentiate two types of organizations. An adherent organization is characterized by self-enforcing, incentive-compatible agreements among its members. These organizations do not rely on third parties to enforce internal agreements. Cooperation by an adherent organization’s members must be, at every point in time, incentive-compatible for all members. Contractual organizations, in contrast, utilize both third-party enforcement of contracts and incentive-compatible agreements among members (as Williamson, 1985, argues for the firm). In contrast to members of adherent organizations, third-party

enforcement of contracts allows members in contractual organizations to pre-commit to a subset of arrangements among themselves that may not otherwise be incentive-compatible at every point of time. Our framework and history revolve around the development of institutional forms that can support complicated and sophisticated contractual organizations, both inside and outside of the state (Scott, 2001).

Modern open access societies often limit violence through institutions. Institutions frame rules that deter violence directly by changing the payoffs to violent behavior, most obviously by stipulating punishments for the use of violence. People are more likely to obey rules, even at considerable cost to themselves, if they believe that other people will also obey the rules. This is particularly true with rules about the use of violence. An individual has an incentive to shoot first and talk later when he fears that the others will fail to follow the rules and refrain from using violence. In order for a formal rule – an institution – to constrain violence, particularly violence among individuals with no personal knowledge of one another, some organization must exist within which a set of officials enforce the rules in an impersonal manner. In other words, formal institutions control violence only in the presence of an organization capable of enforcing the rules impersonally (Levi, 1997).

### **3.2 PLATO AND THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL POWER**

Plato was born in 428 BC to a distinguished, well-connected Athenian family. His early years were passed in the shadow of the wars between Athens and Sparta, which culminated in the complete victory of Sparta in the year 404. Plato probably saw military service during this conflict, but in the remarkable autobiographical statement preserved in his Seventh Epistle, he does not mention this but rather comments on political events during the closing years of the war. The Athenian democracy was overthrown and replaced by an oligarchy, important members of which were Plato's relatives and



associates. He watched with horror as this regime, which he had considered joining and in which he had lodged great hopes, degenerated into a tyranny. The democracy returned and completed Plato's disillusionment with politics, by executing Socrates, 'the best and wisest and most righteous man' then living. Thus, Plato's early years were filled with political turmoil and strife. He saw Athens pass from a position of political supremacy in the Greek world to defeat and near destruction. But Athens rose again and Plato witnessed her resumption of her earlier course (Klosko, 2006).

In *The Republic*, Plato wrote on the ideal state and human psychology. For Plato, the elements that constitute the human soul are as follows:

1. Bodily appetite,
2. Spirited elements
3. Reason

Like the tripartite individual human soul, every state has three parts such as:

1. Producer class
2. Military class
3. Ruling class

Plato finds the origin of the state in the various needs of people. Nobody is self-sufficient. So to meet the various needs men created the political institution. To Plato, in the beginning there was only one class namely the producing class. Then emerged the guardian class, from the guardian class emerged the ruling class. In a state, the producer class will consist of those people to whom the bodily appetites are dominant and who live for money. The producer class is made up of farmers, blacksmiths, fishermen, carpenters, shoe-makers, weavers, labourers, merchants, retailers and bankers. The life of

the producer class is much easier than the life of the rulers or the guardians. The life of the producer class follows the old familiar patterns of home and property, family and children, work, rest, and recreation. By nature the producers have money.

Each member of the producer class will be educated by being taught a trade or a profession –farming, banking, carpentry - according to his or her capabilities and to the needs of the society, both of which will be determined by the guardians. The military class will be drawn from that type of men to whom the spirited element is dominant and who live for success in aggressive and courageous acts. The members of the ruling class will be drawn from that type of man to whom reason is dominant and who lives only for truth. A state should be ruled only by the elite group of the most rational. In the ideal state each of these three classes will perform a vital function on behalf of the organic totality of the state.

Plato gives most emphasis on the selection of the ruling class. The selection of the ruling class is from all classes by natural intellectual capacity. Women as well as men possess the natural capacity of intelligence to become members of the ruling class. Plato proposes that an ideal state will be governed by a person who is highly educated, has passion for truth and has achieved the greatest wisdom of knowledge of the good. The ruler of this ideal state is called the Philosopher king.

The Philosopher king has several important functions to perform. The rulers, said Plato, should be the one who has been fully educated, one who has come to understand the difference between the visible world and the invisible world, between the realm of opinion and the realm of knowledge, between appearance and reality. The Philosopher king is one whose education, in short, has led him up step by step through the ascending degrees of knowledge of the divided line until at last he has knowledge of the good.

To reach this point, the Philosopher King will have progressed through many stages of education. By the time he is eighteen years old, he will have had training in literature, music and elementary mathematics.

His literature would be censored. Music also would be prescribed so that seduction music would be replaced by a more wholesome, martial meter. For the next few years there would be extensive physical and military training. At the age twenty a few would be selected to pursue an advanced course in mathematics. At age thirty, a five year course in dialectic and moral philosophy would begin. The next fifteen years would be spent gathering practical experience through public service. Finally, at age fifty, the ablest men would reach the highest level of knowledge, the vision of the good and would then be ready for the task of governing the state.

Both the ruling class and the military class are forbidden to possess any private property or any money. They must live, men and women like soldiers in barracks, with common meals and sleeping quarters. Their food, clothing and equipment will be provided by the producers. This food must be simple and restricted to moderate quantities. They are to have no family life, in order to avoid any conflict between family loyalties and their loyalty to the state.

When they are at the physical prime of life, their sexual gratification is restricted to officially designated and infrequent occasions on which they are required to breed children to maintain the number of the guardian class. These occasions Plato calls sacred Marriage which are temporary unions for the sake of producing children.

Plato showed no fondness for democracy (where power is held by the people) because he believed that not all members of society were capable of making wise decisions. As voiced through Socrates, the Platonic principle is that only a few people in a just city (those individuals known as the philosophers) possess the principle portion of the soul that desires for truth and wisdom. Since this portion forms the majority of the philosophers' souls, these individuals will primarily strive for truth and wisdom. Furthermore, since this portion of their souls is also rational, this ruling cadre will be just; assuring that the city they rule is also just. Justice does not form the basis of rule in a capitalistic society, and by

extension, will have a lesser role in a democratic republic. In a capitalistic system, where free markets (uncontrolled by the government) are endorsed, buyers and sellers come together in the exchange of goods and services. Money has a large influence in this society.

Leaders not motivated by justice will find ways to rationalize immoral actions, or inactions, using the ends (increased wealth or control) to justify the means. Instances of inaction include the examples of the lack of attention paid to countries like Darfur and Rwanda where genocide occurs while the Western world turns a blind eye.

### **3.3 THOMAS HOBBS AND POLITICAL POWER**

Thomas Hobbes was born in England in 1588. This was a time of much social unrest in England, and Hobbes later wrote that "fear and I were born twins." Hobbes' father was a clergyman, and Hobbes was educated in the classics at Oxford University. He travelled many times to meet writers, philosophers, and scientists of other European countries and to study different forms of government. The English Civil War prompted Hobbes to flee to Paris and to become a political philosopher. In 1651 Hobbes wrote his most famous work *Leviathan*. In it, he argued that people are naturally wicked and cannot be trusted to govern. Therefore, Hobbes believed that an absolute monarchy—a government that gives all power to a king or queen—is best.

Hobbes' political philosophy is based on his idea that humans are essentially selfish creatures. He believed that all people are equal, and that this equality leads to competition and violence. In *Leviathan* Hobbes wrote that humans are driven by a "perpetual and restless desire [for] power...that ceases only in death," and that the natural condition of humankind is a situation of "a war of every man against every man." Because he thought that people act in their own selfish interests if they are left alone,

Hobbes did not believe that people should be trusted to make their own decisions. He also felt that nations, like people, are selfishly motivated and in a constant battle for power and wealth. To further prove his point, Hobbes wrote, "If men are not naturally in a state of war, why do they always carry arms and why do they have keys to lock their doors"?

Governments were created, according to Hobbes, to protect people from their own selfishness and evil. He believed that it is not possible for people to have both freedom and peace, since the state of freedom is a state of unlimited greed and war. Joining together to form societies is thus humankind's only possibility for peace. The best government is one that has the great power of a leviathan, or sea monster. Hobbes believed in the rule of a king or queen because he felt a country needs an authority figure to provide direction and leadership. Because the people are only interested in promoting their own interests, Hobbes believed that democracy-allowing citizens to vote for government leaders-would never work. Hobbes believed that without a strong government, people experience "continual fear and danger of violent death" and that lives are "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short".

Hobbes reasoned that all people should voluntarily choose to relinquish (give up) their rights to the leviathan, who then would protect people from one another and ensure peace. This idea was not the same as divine right-the belief that monarchs are chosen by God and thus people do not have the right to question their rule. Instead, Hobbes believed that a ruler's absolute power comes not from God, but from people rationally deciding that this is in their best interests. Hobbes considered that the ruler could abuse his or her absolute power and become cruel and unfair. However, this problem could be lessened, Hobbes believed, by appointing a diverse group of representatives to present the problems of the common people to the leviathan. These representatives would only have the power to present opinions, since all final decisions would be made by the leviathan.

Hobbes might have justified authoritarian state for the following reasons:

1. **Childhood experiences:** He was born in 1588. It was the year of attack of the Spaniards on England. The story goes that his mother, fearing the invasion of their town by the Spanish, gave birth to Thomas, prematurely. Later, Thomas wrote that he and terror were born twins. Thus Hobbes advocacy of peace can be attributed to the circumstances of his birth.
2. **English Civil War and Charges against Hobbes:** After graduation Hobbes became a tutor to Willian Cavendish. During this period he wrote the “Elements of law” in which he advocated sovereignty of the king. It was the time when the English civil war (1642-49) began and Hobbes was charged of being a royalist. He fled to France and spent the next eleven years in France. During this period he wrote on the civic order and the Leviathan. Thus Hobbes had witnessed the Civil War in England. He was distressed that the very foundation of the state was shaken up during the civil war. The resultant chaos and anarchy confirmed his faith in the absolute rule of the monarch.

### **3.4 NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI AND POLITICAL POWER**

According to Anifowose and Enemu (1999), the term “Machiavellian” is often used to describe an act that is selfish, cunning, unscrupulous. The word derives from the name of an Italian dramatist, diplomat and scholar, Niccolo Machiavelli who authored *The Prince*, a manual in which he outlines amoral principles whereby political power may be gained, expanded, and retained. In Machiavelli’s time, Italy consisted of independent, disunited and quarrelling principalities which were constantly invaded by foreign powers such as Germany, France and Spain.

Niccolò Machiavelli was born in Florence on May 3, 1469 and died in Florence on June 21, 1527. He was a philosopher, statesman, and political theorist and is often referred to as the “father of modern political theory. Not much is known about Niccolò Machiavelli’s early life. Born into a wealthy and very influential family, Niccolò Machiavelli received a rigorous educational training and entered the Florentine government as a clerk in 1494. In the same year the Medici family lost its power and was forced into exile after having ruled Florence for the previous 60 years. Soon Niccolò Machiavelli began a career as diplomat, undertaking missions to the major cities in Italy as well as to France and Spain, where he, among many others, met Louis XII, Ferdinand II and Pope Julius II. Between 1502 and 1503 he came into contact with the son of Pope Alexander VI, Cesare Borgia, an ambitious and cruel commander.

Machiavelli’s central thesis is that any means that will assure the preservation and perpetual existence of the state are legitimate. He is known for the phrase “the end justifies the means”. State is highest form of human association. It is indispensable for the promotion of human welfare. State is to be worshipped even by sacrificing the individual for the interest of the state. A ruler must remember that whatever brings success is due to power. For acquiring political power he can use any type of means. Political statesman plays important role in organizing state, and providing it with safety and security. Hence the major theme of ‘The Prince’ is the process of acquiring power. Modern power politics cannot be thought of without any reference to Machiavelli and his book ‘The Prince’. Anifowose and Enemu (1999), noted that Machiavelli did not discountenance moral values. He however, suggests that there are two moralities-political morality and private morality. It is on this premise that he approves of things which are forbidden by private morality. In his view, the prince may need to employ violence, falsehood, murder, arrogance, cruelty and fraud in his quest for power and manipulate religion for the same purposes. It should be noted that Machiavelli approves the immoral acts of the prince only as means of saving the state.

Machiavelli said the state is superior to all associations in the human society. It is sovereign and is autonomous, moral and religious considerations cannot bind the prince. He is above and outside the morality. He can use religion to realize his ends. Religion cannot influence politics and the church cannot control the state. In fact sovereign state enjoys absolute power over all individuals and institutions. State is a must necessary of all institutions. It stands on a wholly different footing and therefore be judged by different standards. State power is the end and religion is its organ and instrument. Nothing is unearthly in the state; state came into being to satisfy material interests of the people. He divorced politics from theology and government from religion. He did not view the state as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life. He said politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws.

As sociologists, who should be interested in the likely reasons why Machiavelli justified for a powerful state:

1. He acquired practical experience of politics of his time. He was born in Florence, Italy in 1469 in a well-to-do family, when Prince Medici was at the height of his power. At the age of 25, he entered the government service as a clerk chancery. Within a very short period he was appointed as an ambassador, after that he became secretary of the king. Thus he acquired practical experience of politics. His administrative and political experience determined his views about politics.
2. Machiavelli lived in Renaissance Italy and was greatly influenced by the new spirit of Renaissance. The intellectual awakening injected rational scientific approach in every sphere of human life; renaissance replaced the faith by reason. Italy was the leader of Renaissance, the most modern and urbanized country of Europe. But in Italy the wealth, intellect and artistic achievements were accompanied by moral degradation and political



chaos. The worst aspect of the period during which Machiavelli lived was the era of rampant corruption and selfishness among the Italian rulers and the church officials. Machiavelli represents the culture which was undergoing a period of deep political crisis. Italy consisted of a very large number of small but independent states. Some of these states like Florence and Venice were republics, while others were ruled by despots. Internally these states were the home of fierce political rivalries and personal ambition and externally they were involved in a constant struggle with one another. This political division of Italy and the struggle between the states made the country weak and a prey for the ambitions of the powerful neighbouring states of France, Prussia and Spain. France invaded Italy and defeated the Medici rulers. Machiavelli was witness to this tragedy. It was out of this traumatic experience that made Machiavelli conclude that unless Italy was united under a strong central government, the country would always remain under the threat of conquest and annexation by neighbouring countries.

3. Machiavelli was not interested in idealistic conception of the state. His chief interest was concentrated in the unity of body politic and power. He adopted an empirical method. He seriously studied the past-from 4th century to 15th century of the medieval age. This age was characterized by the Feudal state. In this order king divided his dominions into many parts. Each part granted to a noble or tenant chief. There were no common laws and central authority. In short feudal system was a confusion. Out of this confusion church emerged as the superior authority. Result was continuous conflict between the spiritual and temporal authorities. Pope claimed superiority over all the princes. State (civil authority) was merely the police department of the church. Thus a true national life could not grow in such a system. He X-rayed the entire Italian society. The feudalism and the

church not only destroyed the identity and importance of the state, but the state was considered sub-ordinate. But Machiavelli completely divorced religion from politics. He broke the medieval tradition that the political authority is under the control of church. He made the state totally independent of the church by saying that the state has its own rules of conduct to follow; state is highest, supreme and autonomous. He said the state is superior to all associations in the human society. He rejected the feudal system and propounded all powerful central authority, which is supreme over all institutions.

4. The central theme of Machiavelli's political ideas is power. He highlighted power as an essential ingredient of politics. According to him moral code of individual prescribed by the church cannot provide guidelines to the ruler. According to Machiavelli a ruler must remember that whatever brings success is due to power. For acquiring political power he can use any type of Means. He said politics is a constant struggle for power. All politics is power politics.
5. For Machiavelli absolute state was the End; and for this Means was power. He said the sole aim of the "Prince" was to make the country strong and united, establish peace and order and expel the foreign invader. To achieve this end any means would be satisfactory.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

0. With reference to your understanding of the theme of paradigm shift, discuss the point of convergence and divergence among the political thoughts of Plato, Hobbes and Machiavelli.
1. Attempt a concise explanation of the Hobbesian view of man in the state of nature.

## **UNIT II: JOHN LOCKE AND SOCIAL CONTRACT; MARXIST APPROACH TO POLITICAL POWER; TYPES OF MARXISM**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 John Locke and political power**

#### **3.2 Marxist approach to power**

#### **3.3 Types of Marxist approach**

#### **3.4 Power as a relation**

#### **3.5 Economic, political, and ideological domination**

#### **3.6 Spatio-Temporal Moments of Domination**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercise(SAE)**

### **5.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments(TMAs)**

### **6.0 References/Further Readings**

## **1.0 Introduction**

This unit is a continuation of unit I, it moves further to examine the positions of John Locke and Karl Marx. John Locke is one of the famous social contract theories, and his stance constitutes a significant portion of the United States' constitution. Remember that Locke unlike earlier scholars emphasized freedom and liberty, and these two concepts are core values of the United States of America. Karl Marx on the other hand, is an extraordinary figure in the social sciences and humanities as a whole. Marx's ideas are applicable to virtually every social and political event.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

\*Understand Karl Marx position on political power

\*Grasp conception of capitalism and how it influence the political state

\*Understand the concepts of freedom, liberty and social contract as opined by John Locke.

### **3.0: MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1: JOHN LOCKE AND POLITICAL POWER**

John Locke was the son of a middle class lawyer who served in the Parliamentary Army during the English Civil War. He studied at Westminster and Oxford, where he read philosophy and the natural sciences.

Locke's political theory rests on his perception of human nature. Locke does not accept Hobbesian view that man is quarrelsome and aggressive. Locke believes in goodness of human nature. To him people are fundamentally decent, orderly and society loving as well as capable of ruling themselves. Locke's political philosophy was immensely influenced by the times in which he lived and was involved. During the years of distress and while in political exile, he witnessed the vicious aspects of human nature. But at the same time, he had experienced the goodness of human nature. Therefore his perception of human nature was not as cynical as that of Hobbes.

According to Locke "All men are naturally in a state of equality and all people are born free. Desire is the spring of all human acts and that a feeling of pleasure ensues, when desire is satisfied (O'Toole, 2011). He maintains that the object of all human action is the acquisition of pleasure and avoidance of pain. From this type of human nature state existed. According to Locke, state exists as the means for attaining the peace, security and wellbeing of its individual members. He emphasized that government is a trustee that works on behalf of the people (Locke, 1980). He said historical evidence went to show that

all government authority was derived from the people and rested on their consent. Locke said people are sufficiently rational to see that their best interests lies in mutual and peaceful co-operation.

Locke distinguishes between the state and government. According to him state comes into existence as a result of the second contract. The rulers and the ruled together constitute the state. Whereas those entrusted the responsibility to rule“ constitute the government. Thus state is superior to the government. Locke said people have no right to revolt against the state. But people can revolt against the government and can change the government for specific purposes. The natural rights of people are inviolable and must be protected by the government. If the government fails to protect these rights it deserves to be changed.

Locke did not build up a legal sovereignty. He put emphasis on popular sovereignty. i.e. After the contract community will be sovereign. Government will work for specific purpose. If government failed in doing their work then people had the right of revolution, against such a government. Locke opposed the idea of absolute sovereignty. He advocated government based division of powers and subjected to number of limitations. These limitations are as follows: a) It could not violate the natural rights of the people. Government will work for public interest. b) It could not govern arbitrarily. c) It must govern according to the laws. d) It could not tax the individuals without their consent. Source of power is the people. e) The laws of the government should conform with the laws of nature. A government which violated its limitations was not worthy of obedience. Thus Locke advocated limited government.

Locke declared that “consent of the people is the basis of the government” The idea of consent occupies a very important place in the political philosophy of Locke. He has challenged the autocratic rule of the king by emphasizing that government is to be run according to the consent of the people. Locke wanted to place people’s cause at a high point. According to Locke people are the source of political power. The community retains the supreme power.

Before Montesquieu, Locke originated the theory of separation of power and checks and balance. He said Legislature will control the executive, Legislature is constituted by the representatives of people and hence popular will is expressed through the legislature. The legislative power is limited to the public good of the society. When a government does something contrary to public good or violates the law of nature, it is to be overthrown by popular revolt.

Locke's political philosophy reflects the crisis of Liberty during the 17th century. In the 17th century there were contradiction between the authority of the state and the Liberty of the individual. Machiavelli, Hobbes regarded the state as more important and prescribed the unconditional submission of individual to the authority. Whereas Locke gave more importance to individual, he was a key thinker in the development of Liberalism placing emphasis on 'Natural Rights'. In England, in the 17th century, the king's powers were unlimited. Such power was used to suppress individual freedom which resulted into a crisis of liberty.

John Locke justified the Bloodless revolution of 1688 and limitations on the powers of the ruler in the form of Bill of Rights. He wrote his book (1690) *Two Treaties of Government* and justified people's right to revolt against an unjust king for protection of their natural rights. He also used the social contract theory to prove that powers of the government ought to be limited by the rights of the people.

### **3.2 MARXIST APPROACH TO POWER**

According to Jessop (2012), Marxist approaches to power focus on its relation to class domination in capitalist societies. Power is linked to class relations in economics, politics and ideology. In capitalist social formations, the state is considered to be particularly important in securing the conditions for economic class domination. Marxists are also interested in why dominated classes seem to accept (or fail to recognize) their oppression; so they address issues of resistance and strategies to bring about radical change. Much recent Marxist analysis also aims to show how class power is dispersed throughout

society, in order to avoid economic reductionism. Here, we will summarize the main trends in contemporary Marxism and identify some significant spatio-temporal aspects of class domination. We will also assess briefly the disadvantages of Marxism as a sociological analysis of power. These include its neglect of forms of social domination that are not directly related to class; a tendency to overemphasize the coherence of class domination; the continuing problem of economic reductionism; and the opposite danger of a voluntaristic account of resistance to capitalism.

Marxists have analyzed power relations in many different ways. But three interrelated themes typify their overall approach. The first of these is a concern with power relations as manifestations of a specific mode or configuration of class domination rather than as a purely interpersonal phenomenon lacking deeper foundations in the social structure. This focus on class domination does not imply that power and resistance are the preserve of social actors with clear class identities and class interests. It means only that Marxists are mainly interested in the causal interconnections between the exercise of social power and the reproduction and, or transformation of class domination. Indeed, Marxists are usually well aware of other types of subject, identity, antagonism and domination. But they consider these phenomena largely in Second, Marxists are concerned with the links – including discontinuities as well as continuities – among economic, political and ideological class domination. Despite or, perhaps, because of the obvious centrality of this issue to Marxist analysis, it continues to prompt widespread theoretical and empirical disagreements. Different Marxist approaches locate the bases of class power primarily in the social relations of production, in control over the state, or in intellectual hegemony over hearts and minds.

Third, Marxists note the limitations inherent in any exercise of power that is rooted in one or another form of class domination and try to explain this in terms of structural contradictions and antagonisms inscribed therein. Thus Marxists tend to assume that all forms of social power linked to class domination are inherently fragile, unstable, provisional and temporary and that continuing struggles are needed to secure class domination, to overcome resistance and to naturalize or mystify class power. Fourthly, it follows that Marxists also address questions of strategy and tactics. They provide empirical analyses of actual strategies intended to reproduce, resist or overthrow class domination in specific periods and conjunctures; and they often engage in political debates about the most appropriate identities, interests, strategies and tactics for dominated classes and other oppressed groups to adopt in particular periods and conjunctures to challenge their subordination. An important aspect of strategic analysis and calculation is sensitivity to the spatio-temporal dimensions of strategy and this is reflected in growing theoretical interest in questions of temporality and socio-spatiality. Before we go into the discussions of the analysis of Marxism, let us first look at the types of Marxist approaches.

### **3.2.1 TYPES OF MARXIST APPROACH**

There are three main Marxist approaches to the state: *instrumentalist*, *structuralist* and '*strategic-relational*'. Instrumentalists see the state mainly as a neutral tool for exercising political power: whichever class controls this tool can use it to advance its own interests. Structuralists argue that who controls the state is irrelevant because it embodies a prior bias towards capital and against the subaltern classes. And strategic-relational theorists argue that state power is a form-determined condensation of the balance of class forces in struggle. I now illustrate these three views for the capitalist state. Different examples would be required for states associated with other modes of production.



Instrumentalists regard the contemporary state as a state in capitalist society. Ralph Miliband expresses this view in writing that 'the 'ruling class' of capitalist society is that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able, by virtue of the economic power thus conferred upon it, to use the state as an instrument for the domination of society' (Miliband,1969). More generally, theorists of the 'state in capitalist society' stress the contingency of state–economy relations. For, despite the dominance of capitalist relations of production in such a society, the state itself has no inherently capitalist form and performs no necessarily capitalist functions. Any functions it does perform for capital occur because pro-capitalist forces happen to control the state and/or because securing social order also happens to secure key conditions for rational economic calculation. If the same state apparatus were found in another kind of system, however, it might well be controlled by other forces and perform different functions.

Structuralists regard the state as a capitalist state because it has an inherently capitalist form and therefore functions on behalf of capital. But what makes a state form capitalist and what guarantees its functionality for capital? Structuralists argue that the very structure of the modern state means that it organizes capital and disorganizes the working class. Claus Offe (1984) developed this view as follows. The state's exclusion from direct control over the means of production (which are held in private hands) makes its revenues depend on a healthy private sector; thus, to secure its own reproduction as a state apparatus, it must ensure the profitability of capital. Subordinate classes can secure material concessions only within this constraint – if profitability is threatened, such concessions must be rolled back. Yet capital cannot press its economic advantages too far without undermining the political legitimacy of the state. For, in contrast to earlier forms of political class domination, the economically dominant class enjoys no formal monopoly of political power. Instead the typical form of bourgeois state is a constitutional state and, later, a national-popular democratic state. This requires respect for the rule of law and the views of its citizens.

The strategic-relational approach was initially proposed by a Greek communist theorist, Nicos Poulantzas, and has subsequently been elaborated by the British state theorist, Bob Jessop. Building on Marx's insight that capital is not a thing but a social relation, Poulantzas argued in his later work that the state is also a social relation. Marx showed how continued reproduction of the material and institutional forms of the capital relation shaped the dynamic of capital accumulation and the economic class struggle – but the dominance of these forms could not in and of itself guarantee capital accumulation. This depended on capital's success in maintaining its domination over the working class in production, politics and the wider society. Likewise, Poulantzas saw the modern form of state as having certain inbuilt biases but argued that these were insufficient in themselves to ensure capitalist rule. Indeed they even served to reproduce class conflict and contradictions within the state itself so that the impact of state power depended heavily on the changing balance of forces and the strategies and tactics pursued by class and non-class forces alike (Poulantzas 1978).

### **3.2.2 POWER AS A RELATION**

Marxists are interested in the first instance in power as capacities rather than power as the actualization of such capacities. They see these capacities as socially structured rather than as socially amorphous (or random). Thus, Marxists focus on capacities grounded in structured social relations rather than in the properties of individual agents considered in isolation. Moreover, as these structured social relations entail enduring relations, there are reciprocal, if often asymmetrical, capacities and vulnerabilities. A common paradigm here is Hegel's master–slave dialectic – in which the master depends on the slave and the slave on the master. Marx's equivalent paradigm case is the material interdependence of capital and labour. At stake in both cases are enduring relations of reproduced, reciprocal practices rather than one-off, unilateral impositions of will. This has the interesting implication that power is also involved in securing the continuity of social relations rather than producing radical change. Thus, as Isaac notes, 'rather than A getting B to do something B would not otherwise do, social relations of power typically

involve both A and B doing what they ordinarily do'(Isaac, 1987). The capitalist wage relation illustrates this well. For, involuntarily selling their labour-power for a wage, workers transfer its control to the capitalist along with the right to any surplus. A formally free exchange thereby becomes the basis of workplace despotism and economic exploitation. Conversely, working-class resistance in labour markets and the labour process indicate that the successful exercise of power is a conjectural phenomenon rather than being guaranteed by unequal social relations of production. Thus Marxists regard the actualization of capacities to exercise power and its effects, if any, as always and everywhere contingent on specifications by specific agents in specific circumstances. It follows that there can be no such thing as power in general or general power – only particular powers and the sum of particular exercises of power.

### **3.2.3 ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND IDEOLOGICAL DOMINATION**

The relations among economic, political, and ideological domination can be considered in terms of the structurally inscribed selectivity of particular forms of domination and the strategies that help to consolidate (or undermine) these selections. The bias inscribed on the terrain of the state as a site of strategic action can only be understood as a bias relative to specific strategies pursued by specific forces to advance specific interests over a given time horizon in terms of a specific set of other forces each advancing their own interests through specific strategies. Particular forms of state privilege some strategies over others; privilege the access of some forces over others, some interests over others, certain time horizons over others, some coalition possibilities over others, and so on. A given type of state, a given state form, a given form of regime, will be more accessible to some forces than others according to the strategies they adopt to gain state power. And it will be more suited to the pursuit of some types of economic or political strategy than others because of the modes of intervention and resources that characterize that system. All of this indicates the need to examine the differences among

types of state (e.g., feudal vs. capitalist), state forms (e.g., absolutist, liberal, interventionist), modes of political representation (e.g., democratic vs. despotic) specific political regimes (e.g., bureaucratic authoritarian, fascist, military or parliamentary, presidential, mass plebiscitary, etc.), particular policy instruments (e.g. Keynesian demand management vs. neoliberal supply-side policies), and so on (Jessop 1982, 1990).

Whereas Jessop, building on Poulantzas, tends to emphasize the structural moment of 'strategic selectivity', Gramsci focused on its strategic moment. In particular, against the then prevailing orthodox Marxist view that the economic base unilaterally determined the juridico-political superstructure and prevailing forms of social consciousness, Gramsci argued that there was a reciprocal relationship between the economic 'base' and its politico-ideological 'superstructure'. He studied this in terms of how 'the necessary reciprocity between structure and superstructure' is secured through specific intellectual, moral and political practices that translate narrow sectoral, professional or local interests into broader 'ethico-political' ones. Only thus, he wrote, does the economic structure cease to be an external, constraining force and become a source of initiative and subjective freedom (1971: 366–367). This implies that ethico-political practices not only co-constitute economic structures (even whereas he noted, the state assumes a laissez-faire role, which is, itself, a form of state intervention) but also give them their overall rationale and legitimacy (e.g. through bourgeois notions of property rights, freedom of exchange and economic justice).

Where such a reciprocal relationship exists between base and superstructure, Gramsci spoke of an 'historical bloc'. He also introduced the concepts of power bloc and hegemonic bloc to analyse respectively the alliances among dominant classes and the broader ensemble of national-popular forces that were mobilized behind a specific hegemonic project. The concept of hegemonic bloc refers to the historical unity not of structures (as in the case of the historical bloc) but of social forces (which Gramsci

analysed in terms of the ruling classes, supporting classes, mass movements and intellectuals). Thus a hegemonic bloc is a durable alliance of class forces organized by a class (or class fraction) that has proved itself capable of exercising political, intellectual and moral leadership over the dominant classes and the popular masses alike. Gramsci notes a key organizational role here for 'organic intellectuals', that is, persons or organizations that can develop hegemonic projects that give a 'national-popular' expression to the long-term interests of the dominant or, alternatively, the subaltern classes. He also noted how relatively durable hegemony depended on a 'decisive economic nucleus' and criticized efforts to build an 'arbitrary, rationalistic, and willed' hegemony that ignored economic realities.

### **3.2.4 SPATIO-TEMPORAL MOMENTS OF DOMINATION**

Time and space are closely related and have both structural aspects (the differential temporalities and spatiality's of particular institutional and organizational orders and their interrelations) and strategic aspects (such as specific temporal and spatial horizons of action, wars of position and maneuver, and efforts to compress and/or extend social relations in time and space). Thus a sound account of specific forms and patterns of domination must include their distinctive spatio-temporal features. This was already evident in Marx's analysis of capital accumulation: This rests on a distinctive political economy of time and also has inherent tendencies to spatial expansion.

The inner determinations of capital accumulation entail specific ways of organizing time – reflected in the aphorism that 'time is money'. Accordingly Marx developed an array of concepts to reveal the dialectical interplay of concrete and abstract aspects of time during capital accumulation. They include labour time, absolute surplus value, socially necessary labour time, relative surplus value, machine time, circulation time, turnover time, turnover cycle, socially necessary turnover time, interest-bearing capital and expanded reproduction (Grossman, 2007). He deploys them to show how the concrete temporalities

of particular processes are connected to the constant rebasing of abstract labour time as the driving force behind the never ending treadmill of competition from which neither capital nor workers can escape (Postone, 1993). This driving force becomes ever more powerful as the world market becomes more closely integrated in real time through what is often called globalization. But, from a Marxist viewpoint, is better described as changing forms of international economic and political domination. More generally, differential accumulation involves competition to reduce the socially necessary labour time embodied in commodities, the socially necessary turnover time of capital and, increasingly, the [naturally] necessary reproduction time of nature. These pressures exist alongside other forms of competition based on developing new products, new markets, new sources of supply, new organizational forms, new forms of dispossession and so on.

Such pressures generate uneven geographical development; affect the spatial and scalar division of labour, and reorder the spatial aspects of economic domination. There is also a spatial dynamic to capital accumulation. This is reflected in its inherent tendencies to expand, culminating potentially in the formation of a world market but also prompting counter-movements against unbridled market forces. In short, the temporalities of accumulation are crucial aspects of the organization of economic domination and fundamentally affect political and socio-cultural relations, penetrating deeply into everyday life. These spatio-temporal dynamics also influence forms of political domination. While the development of the world market and its associated space of flows challenge the state's territorial sovereignty, its temporal sovereignty is challenged by the acceleration of time. States increasingly face temporal pressures in their policy-making and implementation due to new forms of time-space instantiation, compression and differentiation. For example, as the temporal rhythms of the economy accelerate relative to those of the state, it has less time to determine and coordinate political responses to economic events, shocks and crises. This reinforces conflicts between the time(s) of the market and the time(s) of the state. One solution to the state's loss of time sovereignty is a laissez-faire response that

frees up the movement of superfast and/or hyper mobile capital – increasing, as we have recently seen, the chances of global crises generated by their unregulated activities.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

1. To what extent do you hold on to the primacy of material conditions and why?
2. Explain the major tenets of social contract as it relates to citizen – State relationship.

## **UNIT III: WEBER AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY; AND THE DURKHEIMIAN TRADITION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Weber and Political Sociology**

#### **3.2 Durkheimian Tradition of Political Sociology**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises(SAEs)**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This is the third unit of module three. Here, you will learn about two important founding fathers of Sociology-Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. Please note that Weber's position is not a direct opposite of Marx's theory, but rather, it is an expansion of Marxian political sociology. Emile Durkheim, a French Sociologist, is the most gentle founding father of Sociology. This is because of his belief in non-harsh approach to solving social problems. He believes that every system inherently has the capacity and the solutions to all social problems.

#### **2.0 Objectives**



At the end of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Memorize Weber's definition of power and his views of authority
- ✓ Know who Durkheim is, and understand his view on political matters

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 WEBER AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

The autonomy of the political at the level of the state is central to Weber's political sociology. In fact, Weber's work stands at the beginning of a tradition of thought that is explicitly anti - Marxist on just this issue of the autonomy of the state and the importance of liberal democratic politics. As a liberal committed to the defense of individual freedom, which he saw threatened in modernity, Weber opposed his work to Marx's economic determinism. He took the concentration of the means of administration in the nation - state to be as important as the concentration of the means of production in capitalism theorized by Marx (Bottomore,1993).

Weber defined power in such a way as to suggest that it may be present in all social relations, so that politics need not be seen as confined to the single arena of the state. In fact, his definition of politics is also very broad: "[it] comprises any kind of independent leadership in action" (Weber, 1948). Despite these definitions, however, Weber immediately narrowed the field of his analysis to the power and

politics of the nation - state. He saw the state as the most powerful institution in modern society since it has gained the legitimate monopoly of force over a given territory, and, therefore, took politics to involve "striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state " (Weber, 1948). As David Held points out, Weber's emphasis on territoriality is crucial; the modern state is a nation - state in competitive relation to other nation-states, rather than with armed segments of its own population (Held, 1987).

Weber describes the state as gaining its power in modernity by concentrating the means of administration in the hands of an absolute monarch, expropriating the "ownership of the means of administration," in a way similar to that described by Marx in the case of workers who are deprived of control of the means of production (Weber, 1948). Officials in modern, rational bureaucracies have little or no control over what they do since the rules and procedures of bureaucracies take on a life of their own, restricting the activities and decisions of those who work in them to the functions of the offices they fill. In this way, bureaucracy forms a "steel - hard housing" within which most individuals in modern societies must live and work, since its effects are felt not only by those who work in administration, but also by those who are administered.

According to Weber, this form of life is the price that must be paid for living in a highly complex and technically advanced society. Bureaucratic administration is the only rational way of managing economically and politically differentiated societies since economic enterprises need predictability above all; without it, they cannot calculate in order to ensure profitability. This is why the socialist dream that the state will wither away once the dominant class has been deprived of its power in the ownership of the means of production is more like a nightmare for Weber: to abolish private property would increase the power of the state since there would be no counter veiling power of the market, and management of the economy would come entirely under the control of bureaucrats (Held, 1987).

Although Weber saw himself as a neutral social scientist, his political sociology has a normative dimension. He is concerned to analyze representative democracy as it actually works in modern societies, arguing that the ideal of participatory democracy cannot be practiced in large - scale, complex societies. On the other hand, however, he is also concerned that democracy may be the only way in which the “steel - hard housing” of modern bureaucratic power can be broken. Clearly, the elite administration that must run modern societies cannot be directly accountable to the masses; this would make for inefficiency and unpredictability, especially given what Weber sees as the irrationality and ignorance of the general population. Democracy is important, nevertheless, primarily because elections provide testing grounds for charismatic leaders who are then given the mandate of the people and who can establish the goals the bureaucrats are to realize. Such leaders offer the only chance of overriding the bureaucratic machinery (Giddens, 1972). More conventionally, democracy is important because, even if it only offers the opportunity to dismiss the ineffective from office, it thereby provides a certain degree of protection for the people (Held, 1987). In Weber’s view, democracy is less the rule of the people than the rule of elite which combines exceptional leaders and bureaucratic experts.

### **3.2 DURKHEIMIAN TRADITION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

Before discussing some of the more important issues of Durkheim’s contributions to the development of political sociology, it is important to be clear about the relevant and fundamental conceptual building blocks of his sociology. They are as follows: individualism (moral individualism distinguished from egoistic individualism), social solidarity, regulation (social and moral), intermediate associations (such as professional associations, civil society), the state, collective effervescence (as experienced in social movements and gatherings, and collective ritual performances), and symbolic representations of the socially sacred (society itself in an idealized form).

Early accounts of Durkheim's sociology were mainly focused on his differentiation between forms of division of labour in traditional society and that of modern society, equating his view with that of others who adopted an evolutionary view of the increasing specialization of the division of labour. It was only later that attention began to be given to his explicit discussions of the institutions of politics and the state, and then much later to the political relevance of his ideas about the sphere of culture and the symbolic.

For Durkheim, the state was of relatively little significance in creating and maintaining social order, which is for him the key problematic of sociology. Durkheim's interests lay rather in questions of social solidarity, and especially with the possibility that the rise of individualism might give members of modern societies a sense of belonging together rather than resulting in a war of all against all. The state does have an important role to play in securing social order, but it can only do so by means of a moral consciousness shared by all members of society – even if the state must sometimes take the lead in formulating it (Giddens, 1971; Lukes, 1973).

For Durkheim, the state is an outcome of the division of labour that creates modern societies, whilst at the same time it contributes to the expansion of individual freedom. Most importantly, it takes on the function of reflecting on and refining society's "collective representations," the social symbols that express beliefs and values in public rituals and ceremonies and which guide individuals and constrain their behaviour. Durkheim famously, and strikingly, likens the state to the brain: "its principal function is to think" (Durkheim, 1992: 51). Modern societies can only be bound by "organic solidarity," which is experienced by those who find themselves interdependent because they occupy different but equally essential roles in the collective endeavour that is society, and who are bound by common respect for the rights of the individual. This is compared to the mechanical solidarity experienced in simpler pre – modern societies where a strong sense of community is generated out of the similarities of members'

lives. The state fosters solidarity by creating and transforming collective representations into binding decisions in law and policy for the good of all (Vogt, 1993).

Although Durkheim generally writes as if what is functional for social order will inevitably come to pass, according to Hans - Peter Muller, his political sociology is intended to show how organic solidarity might be achieved. Durkheim actually lived through times of great conflict in nineteenth century France, which he attributed to the difficult transition from an agrarian - corporatist to an industrial - capitalist society (Muller, 1993; Lukes, 1973). Unlike Marx or Weber, however, Durkheim did not see conflict as intrinsic to modern societies. On the contrary, where there is conflict, this is attributable to lack of proper social and normative integration.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

- 1.To what extent would you argue that Weber's theory is an expansion of Marx's conception?
- 2.What do you understand by the Durkheimian tradition of Political Sociology?

## **UNIT IV: FOCALDIAN PERSPECTIVE OF POWER AND POLITICS; ELITISTS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.1 Main content**

**3.1 Robert Michel's Iron Law of Oligarchy**

**3.2 Gaetano Mosca's theory of Elites**

**3.3 Vilfredo Pareto's theory of Elites**

**3.4 Wright Mills and Elite theory**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

## 1.0 Introduction

This is the last section of module 3. Here, you will be exposed to another theorist whose ideology is well practiced in the West. His name is Michael Foucault; he is known for his activism and campaign in favour of different groups such as the captives and homosexuals. Also in this unit, you will learn about elite theory. Students will learn about elite theorists such as Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels, Wright Mills to mention but a few.

## 2.0 Objectives

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand elite theory and its tenets
- ✓ Itemize different elite theorists
- ✓ Explain the points of convergence and divergence of the different elite theorists.

## 3.0 Main content

### Introduction

The elite can be defined as a class of people with the highest indices in their branch of activity. It emerged in the nineteenth century. Elites are the most important leaders who perform key roles in the governance of a society. Apart from making important decisions, they also influence the decision making at the national and local levels of government. The existences of political elites are common in all political systems regardless of location, time and culture. The basic assumption of the elite theory is that all are not equally capable of participating in the affairs of the state.

Whatever be the form of government, it is run by a small number of people; there are different kinds of elites governing the state. It may be based on race, ancestry, age, sex, religion, military strength, culture,

wealth and knowledge. Harold Lasswell opined that 'elites are power-holders of a body politic; they are the holders of high positions in a given society'. Elite theory accepts a broad division of society into dominant and dependent groups. Carefully analyzing the concept of Elite theory in a workable political system, whether primitive or modern, democratic or totalitarian can find that every society is ruled by microscopic minority. Those who possess the qualities necessary to rule or to exercise full social and political powers.

The term 'Elite' was derived from French, it means 'something excellent'. Accordingly, the elite tend to divide society into 'excellent' and 'ordinary' people who are placed in different positions. The elite theorists believe in the theory of inequality of mankind. In other words they believe that, whereas all men are equal in the eyes of God, they are not equal in the eyes of men. The Elites, therefore, are the chosen element of the people, who come to top position either by their ability or economic status, control of economic and natural resources and even physical strength. In political sociology the concept of elite theory referred in the two broad categories: (1) the selected few, who are capable and, therefore, have the right to supreme leadership, and (2) the vast mass of people who are destined to be ruled. The term 'elite' is derived from fundamental and universal fact of social life. Elites may be defined 'as persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organisations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially. They consist not only of prestigious and 'established leaders' top politicians, important businessmen, high-level civil servants, senior military officers but also, in varying degrees in different societies.

### **3.1: ROBERT MICHEL'S IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY**



Robert Michels, -an Italian Sociologist and disciple of Mosca, reveals another dimension of the elite phenomenon in his work "political parties- Sociological study of Modern Democracy". He made a deep study of the European Socialist political parties and trade union, especially German Socialist party and found them oligarchic in their power dynamics. He argues that democracy is unconceivable without organisation. In a complex society people can effectively voice demands only by joining together and forming organisations. But organisations are antithetical to democracy. Rank and file cannot take decision because issues are complex and they demand specialized knowledge which they do not possess. Decisions are therefore, left to the executive committee and people are left with no say except to fall in line with decision of small groups. Organisations, therefore, invariably produce oligarchy. This is how he framed the 'iron law of oligarchy'. In other words, he proposes law governing all social organisations and calls it as "The iron law of oligarchy." Michels begins with the observations that 'democracy is inconceivable without organisations.' He adds that not only organizational ability grants power, but even the very structure of any organised society gives rise to elite. He tried to test his hypothesis by examining the organisations, which would be expected to offer an outstanding counter example to this law. He further insists that mass members cannot control the large scale organisations of the modern age. The leadership is, therefore, technically indispensable. He adds that at the outset leaders arise spontaneously and their functions are accessory. Sooner after they become professional leaders and in this second stage development they are stable and irremovable.

According to him, the following two sets of factors are responsible for the phenomenon of concentration of power in the hands of ruling minority: (I) Organisation. (II) Psychologically, organisational power drifts slowly from those who are holding it to those who are skilled and technical, and this happens with the active assistance of bureaucracy. For him central principle of elitism that power gives birth to more power and those who enjoy power usually remain politically

neutral unless involved as actual participants in political activities by interest people, who motivate them to act in a particular direction.

Michels was of the opinion that flattery and oratory are two powerful weapons with the elites, who try to win over the people by justifying their actions. Even if certain laws are passed by the legislatures to weaken their power and to keep them under control, these are not effectively implemented simply because the people show their indifference towards such laws.

### **3.2: GAETANO MOSCA'S THEORY OF ELITES**

Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), another Italian scholar, further developed the theory of Elite in his book "The Ruling Class" According to him it is wrong to believe that the societies are governed by majority or that majority decision or rule in any way prevails. He is of the view that every society is governed by minority either in the form of oligarchy, or aristocracy or elite. He is also of the opinion that whatever may be the form of government no state is ever governed by the masses. Similarly states are also not ruled by single individual how so ever powerful he may be, but these are always ruled by a group of people who manage to go near the centre of power or become themselves as centre of power and the others try to go near them. According to him, in all societies—from societies that are very nearly developed and have barely attained the dawning's of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies—two classes of people appear—a class that rules and a class that is ruled.

The first class, always the less numerous, perform all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent. He further adds that the second class supplies the first, in appearance at least with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities at least that are essential to the vitality of the political organism. He, therefore, refers to two political facts. Firstly, in every political organisation, there is one

individual who is chief among the leaders of the ruling class under special circumstances two or three may discharge the functions of supreme control. He or they may not hold power according to law. Secondly in every political organism, pressures arising from the discontent of the masses that are governed, from the persons by which they are swayed, exert a certain amount of influence on the policies of the ruling, the political class. Mosca explains the rule of the minority over the majority by the fact that the former is organized, obeys single impulse and thus its domination over the unorganized majority is inevitable. It is difficult for the majority to organize. The larger the political community, the more difficult will it be for the majority to organize itself for reaction against the minority. The ruling minorities, on the other hand, are distinguished from the masses by the qualities they possess. Either they have certain material, intellectual or even more superiority of which they are the heirs of individuals who possessed such qualities. They are, therefore, most influential in the society in which they live.

Mosca has also dealt with at some length how the people become a member of the elite group. Usually they come to power because either they actually have or are supposed to possess certain qualities of head and heart. It is another issue whether they actually possess certain qualities or not. Reasons for their joining elite group can be that the people may own a lot of wealth or may be prominent in the religious field, may be known for their social service or may enjoy high military rank. In the primitive societies, it is military valour and in advanced societies, wealth opened access to the political class. Wealth produces power just as political power has been producing wealth. To be rich is to become powerful. He, however, made it clear that though in the society there are two classes, but they can successfully work only when both cooperate with each other. Protection to the ruling class comes from the masses, whereas the former give guidance and direction to the latter.

### **3.3: VILFREDO PARETO'S THEORY OF ELITES**

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), an Italian sociologist, in his 'The Mind and Society'(1915-19) used the term 'elite' to indicate a superior social group, i.e. a group of people who show highest ability in their field of activity whatever its nature might be. It was a minority group which took all major decisions in society. The other part of society which fell short of this level of ability was termed as mass of the people, or masses. Masses are characterized by the lack of qualities of leadership as well as the fear from responsibility. They feel that in public life it would be safe to follow the elite.

According to Pareto, there is a basic assumption that individuals invariably differ from one another in their basic abilities. In other words, there are biological differences which resulted in inequalities of men and thus make inequality inevitable in the society. Some individual are therefore, superior in their attributes while others possesses inferior abilities. The former class of superior abilities constitutes the elite. They are known for their qualities of head and heart; capacity to initiate, execute and plan; and dominate all sections of society-social, economic and political in one way or the other. For Pareto, elite is a value free term. It includes all those who score highest on scales measuring any social value or commodity such as power, riches, knowledge etc. but by the term elite he means the strongest, the most energetic, and most capable-for all good as well evil. Though he was mostly dealing with economic and political elites, yet he was ready to extend the use of the term to religion (the most holy); to art (the most artistic) and to ethics (the most virtuous). In other words elite means all those who constitute the higher stratum in society.

He points out that the higher stratum of the society comprised of two classes- Governing Elite and Non-governing Elite. Governing Elites comprise of individuals who directly or indirectly play a considerable part on government. Whereas Non-governing Elites are comprised of the rest i.e. masses. Pareto is convinced that the study of historical change largely revolves round the study of Elites. He further points out that the events and decisions among the elites have more consequences for the history of a

society than events and decisions among its great masses. Though, Pareto was not concerned with non-governing Elites who might have influence on the government.

While pointing out that “History is a graveyard of aristocracies” he has propounded his well-known concept, “The Circulation of Elites”. ‘Circulation of Elites’ may refer to a process in which individuals circulate between the elite and the non-elite strata. It may also refer to process in which one-elite is replaced by other elite. Pareto, therefore, not only distinguished between elites and non-elites but also suggested the idea of a circulation of Elites in which one-elite replaces another as aristocracies decay or regenerate. There might also be mobility from a non-elite stratum to an elite stratum or governing class of people who rule directly or indirectly. This simply means that new men of money or power replace the old ones. He has put this idea in a phrase of Marx’s dictum of history that ‘the history of man is the history of the continuous replacement of elites-as one ascends, another declines. Pareto account for this process. He has listed the cause of this historical change, war and differential fertility. War tends to kill a higher proportion of elites than of the general populations. Elite must sometimes embark on inviting actions and sometime on consolidating actions. When they fail to do so, they are replaced by new elites.

The circulation of elites is almost always aided and accompanied by rising religions humanitarian sentiments. In such a climate, the existing elite become softer, milder more humane and less apt to defend its own power. If the innovators already dominate at such a stage; it spells doom for the elites. The rising elite is also subject to speech habits justifying its drive to power (derivations) and these are also moulded by the same rising religions-humanitarian sentiments. Thus the wheel takes full turn. The elite is then established and the process can start all over again.

Pareto presents another dimension of the ‘Circulation of Elite’. He regards elites as representing definite social interests. The circulation of elites, therefore, occurs with the decline of established interests and the emergence of new ones in the society. He observes, ‘in the beginning military, religious and

commercial aristocracies and plutocracies must have constituted parts of the governing elite and sometimes have made up the whole of it'. He then mentions the rise of new elites such as industrial workers producing trade union elites.

### **3.4 WRIGHT MILLS AND ELITE THEORY**

In Mills's view, the elitism of the US in the twentieth century is a serious hindrance to democracy rather than the factor that makes it possible and viable. As Mills sees it, power has become concentrated and unified in the elites of three institutions in the US: the military, the corporate, and the political; the connections between them having been strengthened by the growth of a permanent war establishment in a privatized incorporated economy since World War II. This concentration, combined with the one-way communication of the mass media as it is organized by elites, makes ordinary citizens ignorant and rather complacent, although fitfully miserable, about the extent to which they lack control over their lives (Mills, 1956).

According to C. Wright Mills, among the best known power-elite theorists, the governing elite in the United States draws its members from three areas: (1) the highest political leaders including the president and a handful of key cabinet members and close advisers; (2) major corporate owners and directors; and (3) high-ranking military officers.

Even though these individuals constitute a close-knit group, they are not part of a conspiracy that secretly manipulates events in their own selfish interest. For the most part, the elite respects civil liberties, follows established constitutional principles, and operates openly and peacefully.

Mills does not believe in the psychological basis of elite rule but explains it in absolutely institutional terms. He also does not agree that the members of elite necessarily possess superior institutional traits. Rather he stressed that the structure of the institutions in a society is such that those occupying position

in the institutional hierarchy are of key significance and those who are holding positions command in them power in the society. In other words he believes that power in a society is attached to institutions and defines the power elite. Mills argues that the American society is dominated by these power elite which are of unprecedented power. Power elite make momentous decisions without any reference to the people. It is not accountable to any one and the people are subjected to 'instruments of psychic management and manipulation'. The power Elite skillfully controls the mass media and manipulates it to make man in the mass think and act what it likes.

#### **4.0SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

1. With clear examples, discuss the nexus between Pareto's circulation of elites and Nigeria's political leadership since independence.
2. What is the Foucauldian perspective of power and politics?

#### **TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)**

1. With Clear Illustration, show what you consider to be the good sides of Plato's ideal state?
2. Contrast and compare the roles of material conditions in the Nigerian and American Politics?
3. Of what relevance is the social contract theory to the perpetuation of democracy in Nigerian society?
4. With clear examples, how much do you agree with Pareto's circulation of elites' theory with reference to Nigerian ruler-ship since independence?
5. Use a theory of your choice to explain the Boko-Haram insurgency in Nigeria's society.





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#### **MODULE 4: CITIZENSHIP**

This module introduces students to citizenship and its dynamics across countries of the world. The module is critical to our understanding of the several events occurring in the world and the West in particular. Several attacks have made different countries of the world to review their immigration policies; this attempt is not without implications for citizenship. You may have wondered why Canada may allow immigrants to stay and work in the country for up to three years after a one year masters course, while some other countries do not allow immigrants to stay for more than three months after their course. All these events are connected and have consequences for citizenship.

You may also have wondered why you-as a Nigerian require visa to enter countries like United Kingdom while people from some European countries do not require visa. It is important for you to know that just as you experience social class within your class, your area, your state, and your country, citizenship also has some connections with the construct of social class. In addition, citizenship is also central in the area of employment and political participation; besides, the nexus between system of government and citizenship is shown in this module divided into four interconnected units.

**UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION TO CITIZENSHIP AND WAYS OF ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP**

**1.0 Introduction**

**2.0 Objectives**

**3.0 Main content**

**3.1 The concept of citizenship**

**3.2 Ways of acquiring citizenship**

**4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises(SAEs)**

**1.0 Introduction**

In this unit you will learn the different definitions of the concept of citizenship and the different dimensions of the concept. You don't just become a citizen of a country, there are some rights and obligations that citizenship carries which you will see some of them in this unit. Also, you will learn different ways by which one can acquire citizenship.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the meaning of citizenship and its definitions
- ✓ Grasp elements and dimensions of citizenship
- ✓ Identify different ways of acquiring citizenship

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP**

Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. A "citizen" is a member of a political community, which is defined by a set of rights and obligations. "Citizenship therefore represents a relationship between the individual and the state, in which the two are bound together by reciprocal rights and obligations" (Heywood 1994). Citizenship is a legal status and an identity. Thus, there is an objective dimension of citizenship: specific rights and obligations which a state invests in its members, and a subjective dimension: a sense of loyalty and belonging. However, objective citizenship does not in itself ensure the existence of subjective citizenship, because "members of groups that feel alienated from their state, perhaps because of social disadvantage or racial discrimination, cannot properly be thought of as 'full citizens', even though they may enjoy a range of formal entitlements" (Heywood 1994).

Brian Turner (1993) defines citizenship as a set of legal, economic, and cultural practices which define an individual as a competent member of society. Such practices shape the flow of resources to individuals

and social groups. Turner's definition allows us to analyse how individuals and groups have differentiated opportunities of becoming competent members of society. From this point of view, citizenship identity, the sense of belonging and solidarity, is necessarily connected with the problem of unequal distribution of resources in society.

According to Zamudio (2004), there are three dimensions of citizenship: status, exercise and conscience. Citizenship status is the set of rights and obligations between individuals and the state. Only those individuals and groups which fulfill all the requirements that define citizenship in a country will have the formal recognition of the state. Citizenship exercise refers to the conditions necessary for the realization of citizenship rights and the incorporation of new rights (the transformation of needs into legitimate rights), redefining and expanding the previous notion of citizenship. Last, but not the least, citizenship conscience makes reference to the conviction of being a citizen, with the recognition of the state expressed in concrete practices that assure citizenship exercise.

Citizenship conscience is, in turn, formed by three elements: (i) the knowledge of citizenship rights and duties; (ii) the identification of the state as responsible for granting those rights and duties by means of laws and policies that guarantee their fulfillment; and (iii) the recognition of legitimate means to make demands. The state plays a fundamental role in the creation of citizenship conscience, because it arises from a reflexive process: if the state, its authorities and institutions, do not treat individuals as citizens, but as subjects, then those individuals will not be able to develop a citizenship conscience and consequently, will not be capable of identifying the legitimate procedures for making demands.

### **3.2 WAYS OF ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP**

Each country has its own very unique and idiosyncratic laws and rules for citizenship. But the generally applicable ones are:

**By Birth:** some countries give citizenship to children born in the country. Nigeria, Canada, France, Ireland, Panama and the US are examples of countries that give citizenship to almost anyone born in the country. The actual citizenship is usually acquired automatically when the child was born. You might have encountered couples who fly abroad when it is almost the ninth month of the wife's pregnancy; they do so in order for the child to acquire citizenship by birth abroad.

**By Descent:** citizenship is often based on the citizenship of the parents or grandparents at the time the child is born. The rules can be very simple and clear, e.g. Ireland says that anyone whose parents are Irish citizens by birth is automatically an Irish citizen. The rules can also be complex or unclear. Some countries consider only the mother's citizenship, others consider only the father's, and others are happy with either. It may also be important whether the parents were married at the time the child was born. The US has a mix of rules, some of which apply if citizenship is descending from the mother and others if it is descending from the father.

**By Marriage:** A person may automatically acquire their spouse's citizenship on or soon after marriage.

**By Naturalization:** If you meet certain requirements, e.g. have lived in the country for a certain number of years, then you can often apply to be a citizen. A country may allow citizens who obtain foreign citizenship to retain their original citizenship. The country from which the person is obtaining their second citizenship may not require the person to renounce their former citizenship.

**By Treaty:** Some countries have agreements with certain other countries, recognizing dual citizenships among their respective populations.

**By Default:** A person naturalized elsewhere without the approval of the country of origin might be considered to retain their original citizenship. If the original country is not notified that another citizenship has been acquired, it is possible for both citizenships to be officially documented. This can

also happen in situations of multiple-citizenship by birth or by descent, where one of the countries does not operate multiple-citizenship and the other has no problem with it.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAES)**

1. What is citizenship, and what are the various ways of acquiring it?
2. With clear examples, show why countries vary in the stringency of their conditions for citizenship.



## **UNIT II: CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL CLASS**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Citizenship**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit rests upon the foundation laid in unit 1. Here, you will learn the tripartite nexus between citizenship, social class and nation-state. Specifically, you will see the different types of rights attached to citizenship, which includes civil, political and social rights. In addition, you will see Marshall's conception of the link between citizenship and capitalism.

### **2.0 Objectives**

In this unit, you will learn:

- ✓ The civil, political and social rights attached to citizenship
- ✓ The relationship between citizenship and social class

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Citizenship and Social Class**

For proper understanding here, it is important to make adequate reference to the historical-sociological analysis of Thomas Humphrey Marshall. The analytic framework Marshall provides, in which citizenship is seen as comprising civil, political, and social rights, is useful and widely adopted.

Marshall analyzes citizenship as consisting of three types of rights: civil, political, and social. Civil rights involve the protection of individual freedoms, including “liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought, and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice” (Marshall, 1992). Associated with the modern institutions of the civil and criminal courts of justice, Marshall, see civil rights as having developed in the eighteenth century. Political rights involve the right to “participate in the exercise of political power as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body” (1992). Already existing for some, according to Marshall, they became citizenship rights only in the twentieth century with the extension of universal suffrage to all adults. This established the principle that they depend on personal status rather than on economic means. In terms of institutions, they involve the development of parliament and the councils of local government formed in the nineteenth century. Marshall opined social rights as having evolved in the twentieth century in their modern form, with the institutions of the welfare state, including the national system of compulsory education and those of health and social services. He linked the historical development of citizenship to the development of capitalism. In particular, Marshall was interested in the coincidental development of citizenship rights as a system of equality with capitalism as a system of inequality. In conjunction with civil and political rights, he saw the slow development of social rights as contributing to the development of a parallel system of substantive equality which mitigates, and is in contradiction with, the economic inequalities of capitalism. Marshall noted that:

*The extension of the social services is not primarily a means of equalising incomes ... What matters is that there is a general enrichment of the concrete substance of civilised life, a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalisation between the more and the less fortunate at all levels – between the healthy and the sick, the employed and the unemployed, the old and the active, the bachelor and the father of a large family. Equalisation is not so much between classes as between individuals within a population which is now treated for this purpose as though it were one class. Equality of status is more important than equality of income.(1992)*

Although the only existing inequalities Marshall paid attention to class inequalities, at the same time, it is clear from his understanding of the inter - relationship of capitalism and citizenship rights, that he actually sees class conflict as having been displaced with the development of citizenship. In fact, Marshall goes so far as to predict that citizens will become less interested in earning high wages, not only because of high levels of taxes in a welfare state, but because money will itself become less relevant where the essentials of life – including pensions, unemployment benefit, good education, healthcare, and so on– are provided equally, by right, to all citizens.

The details of Marshall's prediction have not been borne out, but arguably, the development of citizenship rights is one of the factors that have contributed to the decline of class politics. Citizens orient their political struggles and claims for greater equality toward the state, while workers' struggles with employers have become less important. Of course, class inequalities in welfare provision could have remained the main object of citizens' concern, as they were in Marshall's time, but in fact, this has not been the case. It is not only that class struggles at the economic level have been displaced by the system of status equality constructed in terms of citizenship rights Marshall analyzed; it is also that class is no longer the principal identity around which demands for greater equality are organized.

#### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

1. Using Nigeria as a reference point, of what relevance is Marshall's three types of rights?
2. Attempt a clear explanation of the concepts of social class and the nation state.

## **UNIT III CITIZENSHIP, “SECOND CLASS CITIZENS” AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

#### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Citizenship, “Second Class Citizens” and Political Participation**

##### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit is an important aspect of Political Sociology. In it, you know that not all people in some countries vote because some are regarded as “second class citizens”. Implicit here, is the understanding that in citizenship and political participation there are certain conditions that are expected to be met before one is allowed to vote and be voted for. Importantly too, that these conditions vary across countries of the world.

##### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this section, you will learn:

- ✓ The construct of universal citizenship
- ✓ The tripartite connections between citizenship, “second class citizen” and political participation
- ✓ Requirements necessary for political participation in some countries.

#### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 CITIZENSHIP, “SECOND CLASS CITIZENS” AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Political participation of people is indispensable for the effective functioning of liberal democratic institutions; not any type of participation, but enlightened political engagement, that is the capability of identifying and acting on political interests, and the recognition of democratic principles and the rights of all citizens to hold and express interests (Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry, 1996). Liberal democracies are based on a rational logic. Thus, in these regimes, political participation, to be effective participation, depends to a great extent on the capability of individuals for rational instrumental analysis and self-organization skills. Such capability is probable only under certain cultural, economic and social conditions.

As a legal status citizenship is universal within the state, which means that every-one that fulfill the requirements established by the constitution has a set of civil, political, and social rights and duties that determines their access to social and economic resources. However, universality of citizenship assumes that laws and rules say the same for all and apply to all in the same way, ignoring inequalities of wealth, status and power among citizens. Universal citizenship represses differences and inequalities amongst individuals and groups, but it does not suppress those differences and inequalities. Therefore, "the attempt to realize an ideal of universal citizenship will tend to exclude or to put at a disadvantage some groups, even when they have formally equal citizenship status". That is because in a society where some groups are privileged while others are oppressed, insisting that citizens should leave behind their particular affiliations and experiences to adopt a general point of view serves only to reinforce that privilege; for the perspectives and interests of the privileged will tend to dominate this unified public marginalizing or silencing those of other groups (Young, 1989).

In societies that are characterized by extreme inequalities, the idea that laws and rules are blind to individual and group differences actually produces different levels of citizenship quality . In liberal democracies effective participation requires that individuals and groups possess some minimum

conditions related to politically relevant knowledge and skills. Those who possess such knowledge and skills will be 'competent members of society', and they will have access to social and economic resources by exercising civil, political and social rights. But those who lack the minimum of politically relevant knowledge and skills will be marginalized.

There is empirical evidence indicating that the extent of citizenship practice, the range of application of civil, political and social rights, is determined by socioeconomic factors such as ethnic group, gender, education and economic position (López 1997). Let us focus on education because it goes a long way in affecting citizenship quality.

It seems clear that access to information influences organization and other political resources. If there is unequal distribution of the ideas and the knowledge that are privileged within the political system, then automatically there is an unequal distribution of political power. Informational equality depends to a great extent on individual capacity to understand complex material; therefore education is the major equalizer. High levels of illiteracy mean large sectors of the population lacking a basic resource for giving voice to their demands and effectively exercising their citizenship. Besides, education is associated with political attitudes conducive to democracy, like tolerance of opposition, interpersonal trust and reflectivity (Simpson,1997).

It is reasonable to suppose that there is a minimum level of education which is necessary for accessing and processing information that allows the possibility of the development of citizenship conscience, and consequently, citizenship exercise. Those who are below the minimal education (mainly illiterates' and functionally illiterates) lack the knowledge and skills necessary for an effective exercise of their rights and obligations. They will form a group of second class citizens, excluded from the liberal democratic institutions through which flow the demands and policies that determine the distribution of resources.

Second class citizens who find it hard to express their interests and demands through the traditional institutions of liberal democracy may resort to forms of political participation outside the institutional channels, and sometimes this kind of participation is adverse to democratic principles and practices. However these heterodox forms, from a traditional liberal democratic point of view-form of participation, are not necessarily incompatible with democracy.

New conceptions of citizenship, representation and political participation that can strengthen political equality and popular control over authorities, without threatening traditional civil liberties, could be part of the solution to the shortcomings of the liberal democracy model of citizenship, caused by poverty, inequality and the effects of globalization on sovereignty of nation states. After all, "citizenship is, as it were, pushed along by the development of social conflicts and social struggles as social groups compete with each other over access to resources" (Turner, 1990).

Some scholars argue that, in order to eliminate or reduce social exclusion, it is necessary to provide institutionalized means for the explicit recognition and representation of oppressed groups (Young, 1989). If a differentiated citizenship means special rights for disadvantaged groups, but invariably subordinated to universal human rights (especially civil rights), then it can be consistent with democracy, and can strengthen it. Even when for orthodox liberals the idea of differentiated citizenship and collective rights is unacceptable, from a historic perspective, civil, political, and social rights have been changing, and many times expanding what in certain times was considered as consistent with the conventional idea of citizenship –universal suffrage, for example, which now is considered as an elemental citizen right, was seen by most liberal thinkers as a threat to social order and rule during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

1. With reference to second class citizenship, discuss the problems faced by Africans in diaspora in the area of political participation.

2. What are the major issues associated with the notions of “second class citizens” and Political participation?

#### **UNIT IV: POLITICAL CULTURE, RACIALIZATION AND ETHNICITY**

##### **1.0 Introduction**

##### **2.0 Objectives**

##### **3.0 Main content**

###### **3.1 Political Culture, Racialization and Ethnicity**

###### **3.2 Immigration, Assimilation and New Racism**

##### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

##### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit presents some critical issues that affect the world today: race and ethnicity. With proper extrapolation, you will then see the differential treatments among different categories of people. You might have wondered why Africans—who are thought to be predominant blacks—require visa to travel to almost all the developed countries of the world, while citizens of some white countries do not. Even in Nigeria, you may wonder why Yoruba’s, Hausa’s and Igbo’s are usually regarded as first class citizens while others are seen as second class citizens. This categorization comes with implications in allocation of resources and employment in public service bureaucracies.

##### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:



- ✓ Understand the concepts of race and racialization
- ✓ Grasp the differences between the concepts of race and ethnicity
- ✓ Understand immigration and assimilation

### **3.0: MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 CITIZENSHIP, RACIALIZATION AND ETHNICITY**

According to Nash (2010), “race” is in “scare quotes” because it is so closely implicated in racism. Developed in a quasi-scientific biological discourse in the nineteenth century, it referred to different species of persons, hierarchically ordered as naturally superior and inferior. This use of the term is now discredited. It is generally held, among sociologists and biologists at any rate, that humans are of the same genetic stock and that there is a continuum of individuals in terms of any of the features used to distinguish them - colour, size, intelligence, and so on—rather than distinct groups which exist as “natural kinds.” Nevertheless, claims about “race” are still used to distinguish people in social life more widely. As noted in some quarters, race and ethnicity are biologically based and rigidly ascriptive. The implication of this is that if anyone is denied his/her rights based on racial and ethnic “inferiority”, it means that such person will never be denied because of the rigid ascription of race and ethnicity.

It is therefore important to study how individuals are assigned to different “races” and the inequalities which are produced as a result. The difficulty then becomes how to avoid confusing the concept “race” with its referent while studying groups distinguished in this way. A common solution for sociologists is to think in terms of “racialized” groups, to which characteristics are socially attributed on the grounds of

race. It is then possible to examine differences between groups of citizens in terms of common social position and treatment, without supposing that the individuals who make up such groups actually possess the racial characteristics attributed to them.

The term “ethnicity” is somewhat less commonly used, though its contestation in cultural politics is increasing. Although it is, therefore, less “dangerous” than “race,” the two terms are often closely connected. In Europe, “ethnicity” is used to denote cultural difference, but only those groups distinguished by colour are normally referred to as “ethnic groups”. Italians, Poles, and Ukrainians are rarely designated in this way (Mason, 1995). In this respect, ethnic minorities are racialized groups. In North America, where immigration is much more established as the norm, this is not always the case: it is more common to refer to white people as belonging to ethnic groups. The question of the interrelation of “race” and ethnicity is further complicated because what is called “new racism” calls for the exclusion of minorities from the nation on the basis of their inassimilable cultural difference, without grounding this in biological difference. At the same time, “ethnicity” is increasingly mobilized in political struggles as a self - descriptive term to represent cultural identity.

In many countries, arguments concerning the need for culturally differentiated citizenship rights are now made as the only way in which racialized ethnic minorities can be assured of respect on the part of the majorities with whom they must live. Let us now briefly analyze the history of citizenship with regard to “race” and ethnicity, charting in particular the shift from assimilation to differentiated citizenship rights. Assimilation as a model of integrating immigrants into mainstream society is far from obsolete. On the contrary, it has continued to be favoured by policy - makers in some European countries, and it is becoming increasingly popular again everywhere as multiculturalism comes into question. Nevertheless, it now coexists alongside demands for group rights in the name of equal respect for all citizens in multicultural societies.

### **3.2 IMMIGRATION, ASSIMILATION AND NEW RACISM**

“Racial” or ethnic minority groups take many different forms in relation to the majority society of which they form a part. Some societies define themselves as multicultural. In India, for example, the criminal law is uniform, recognizing only individuals, while each religious community is governed by its own civil laws. The Indian citizen has, then, a kind of dual identity as a member of a religious community and as an individual (Parekh, 1993). In the West, however, the mono - cultural nation - state is the dominant model. In such societies, citizens are supposed to enjoy identical rights as members of a common national culture. Marshall certainly saw citizenship rights in this way: on one hand, they enable citizens to participate in the common standards of civilization; on the other hand, they contribute to social solidarity, unifying the nation in a shared sense of community (Marshall, 1992).

As Will Kymlicka (1995) points out, Marshall’s understanding of citizenship rights is somewhat paradoxical: he sees them not only as fostering a common culture, but also as presupposing it. In fact, many European countries have always contained large cultural minorities: Bretons in France, Catalans in Spain, and so on. Some Western European countries, such as Britain, Belgium, and Switzerland, may well be described as multinational, where “nation” means “a historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture” (Kymlicka, 1995). New World nations, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, are undoubtedly multicultural since they are made up of immigrants from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and, since they all contain native First Nations, they are multinational, too. Despite the fact that it has virtually never been realized, however, the dominant model of a culturally homogeneous nation has nevertheless posed problems for the minorities who live and work in these countries.

The very issue of whether or not immigrants are entitled to citizenship is linked to the homogenizing nation - state. There are two ideal typical ways of attributing citizenship rights at birth. Some states

traditionally grant citizenship to all those born within the state's territory. Others grant it according to the citizenship of the baby's parents. In practice, countries now have complicated criteria for granting citizenship, so that these ideal - types are not so clear cut. It is also possible to achieve citizenship as an adult through naturalization. All countries allow naturalization, though some encourage it, while others actively discourage foreigners from applying for citizenship and decisions are discretionary. In all cases, applicants have to prove their commitment to the country of choice. As a minimum, this almost always involves real or effective residence in the state's territory (Hammar,1990).

New World states are often described as "countries of immigration" because a large proportion of citizens were born elsewhere or are descended from people who came to the country relatively recently. "Countries of immigration" typically grant citizenship to all babies born within the territory of the state, as the US does, as well as to the children of citizens born abroad, and they also have relatively easy procedures for naturalization. Western European states all now contain large minorities from elsewhere, but they differ in their attribution of citizenship according to the model of the relation between nation and state they embody. Colonialism has been an important factor in labour migration since many people have come from ex - colonies to the over - developed metropolitan centres. In the British case, those who arrived before 1962 from ex-colonies had the full citizenship rights attributed to all those born on British territory.

Citizenship in France, which has long been seen as exemplary of civic nationalism in Europe, although still based on *jus soli*, has also become relatively more closed. Until recently, second - generation migrants were all attributed French citizenship at birth and naturalization was actively encouraged as a policy to assist assimilation and to increase the French population. In recent years, however, rights of automatic citizenship have been brought into question in relation to second - generation Algerians, apparently because of the difficulty of assimilating Muslims into a secular society (Oommen, 1997). In

contrast, Germany has been taken as exemplary of an ethnic nation and citizenship has been traditionally based on *jus sanguinis*: traditionally, it is blood rather than the law that makes the German nation. This led to the anomalous situation in which Eastern Europeans of German descent were legally citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany even before unification of East and West in 1990, while people of Turkish descent born and bred in Germany had to apply for naturalization.

In recent years, however, naturalization, which was very difficult, has been liberalized, and the principle of *jus sanguinis* has been supplemented with that of *jus soli*: children born to foreign parents may now be attributed dual nationality, and they may choose to become German citizens when they reach adulthood (Kivisto and Faist, 2007). European countries, it seems, are converging around citizenship criteria to include some racialized groups, where individuals have shown commitment to the state, whilst retaining tight control over immigration (Brubaker, 2002). The fact that dual nationality has been growing, as a legal possibility allowed by states and as a status that is increasingly taken up in practice, is further evidence that citizenship is increasingly seen as a civic status: states are allowing the links between citizenship and ethnic nationality to be loosened (Kivisto and Faist, 2007).

This is a relatively new departure. Citizenship always involves more than simply a matter of legal rights. Assimilationism is the name that is commonly used for the “melting pot” ideal of incorporation into the civic nation that was such a prominent ideal of immigration into the US since as early as the eighteenth century. In the “melting pot,” immigrants are supposed to give up distinctive cultural identities so that everyone converges on the norms of the civic nation. In fact, however, civic norms are never abstract: they are always concretized in particular cultural forms. Furthermore, dominant forms of the civic nation are those with which elite groups are most at home.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

1. Discuss the link between race and citizenship with respect to Africans in the West.

2. Of what relevance is political culture in political actions?

#### 5.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

1. Write an Essay on the linkages between Citizenship and Social Exclusionism?
2. Of what relevance is political culture and political socialization to Political Sociology?
3. Despite the marginalization of expatriates - especially Africans – in European countries, some migrants perform exceptionally well than the whites in European and American universities, what are the likely reasons for this?
4. In what way does the concept of citizenship provide explanations for the causes of the Xenophobic attacks in South Africa?
5. Do you agree or disagree that the ‘Citizenship Policy of Assimilation has prevented the emergence of Racism and Ethnic minorities in countries of the world?

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## **MODULE 5: NATIONS AND NATIONALISM**

This module has one or two things to do with the last module, so an understanding of citizenship will help you grasp quickly the issues of nations and nationalism. The events such as the attempts by the Biafra protesters to be on their own; several attempts by various groups in the world to stand independent will be properly dissected if we understand nationalism. It is important for us to know that loyalty and patriotism are key ingredients in the study of nationalism. If you listen to news on the radio or watch the television, you might have heard presenters use the word “nation” to describe Nigeria, if you pay attention in this module, you will be able to tell whether Boko Haram members and Biafra supporters see Nigeria as a nation.

Importantly, the tripartite nexus among nation, state and society will be clear to you in the module. It has been noticed that only few students understand the distinctions and boundaries among these three concepts; it will be clear here. Importantly, the refusal of some groups to associate themselves with the values, symbols and traditions of the larger society will be known to you when you come across national identity in this module.

Also in this module, you will learn about nationalism in Africa which will leave to think and decide as to whether there is true nationalism in Africa or not. Expectedly, you often hear Africans complain that they are tired of the continent given that most including the educated are desperate to leave for Europe. This module, like others, has four units.

## **UNIT I: ON CLARIFICATION AND NEXUS BETWEEN NATION, STATE AND SOCIETY**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1: Defining nationalism**

#### **3.2: The state**

#### **3.3: The nation**

#### **3.4 National identity**

## **4 Self-Assessment Exercises**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This is the first unit of this module; the unit exposes you to the core concepts of nations, nationalism, state, and national identity. Students will see the conditions that should be met, if a state must be considered a nation. Also, we will learn the nexus of nation and state in this unit. Agitation by different groups and the consequence of such on nations and nationalism will be known to you.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will understand:

- ✓ The relevance of nationalism to nation building

- ✓ Implications of lack of nationalism for insurgency and agitation by groups within a state
- ✓ The clear differences between nation and state
- ✓ The concept of national identity and its relevance to nationalism

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Defining Nationalism**

The study of nationalism is essential to the understanding of world politics. Its significance is partly due to two political realities of our time: (a) the rigid political geography of the Earth, i.e. the territoriality of the countries that constitute the “world”; (b) the constant civil unrest caused by social groups in the name of a separate nation from that of the dominant national group (or the state), and the right to self-determination even if by means of violence, segregation, protest or other methods necessary to secure the interests of their community. In this context, nationalism is a political phenomenon not only subject to current issues between states but to quarrels from many years ago.

For the purpose of understanding, nationalism is a belief or a political ideology that involves an individual identifying with, or becoming attached to his or her nation. One`s Nationalism involves national identity.

Nationalism is a political phenomenon that can exist in many forms; it is subject to several interpretations and is carried on by distinct agents. According to Kellas, in international relations,

nationalism has come up as a cause of conflict; as a source of opposition to the existing state system; as opposition to international or supranational institutions and cooperation; and as a determinant of a state's power in international affairs (1998).

On a more specific approach, nationalism has been used in forms that suggest the creation and preservation of a nation. In this respect Smith has distinguished five ways in which nationalism is used: the whole process of forming and maintaining nations; a consciousness of belonging to the nation; language or symbolism of the nation; an ideology (including the cultural doctrine of nations); a social and political movement to achieve goals of the nation and realize the national will (Smith, 1991).

Nonetheless, nationalism can usually be either an ideology or a form of behaviour or both. As an ideology, nationalism represents a system of ideas usually demanding rights of self-determination. Here, nationalism "proclaims the distinctiveness of a particular people and their right to self-rule in their homeland." This classic definition assumes that nationalism is founded on the idea of nation and its right to self-determination in a given territory. But most of its application is limited to the search of statehood where one nation wishes to represent a state which has decided to be recognized as politically distinct. This ideology is the cause of independence movements and secessions.

Connor argues that nationalism is a question of loyalty. The ideology or movement in this case has to do with the devotion to the nation and the maintenance of its multidimensional attributes (language, religion, values, history, etc.). Connor defends the idea that nationalism is a manifestation of loyalty to the nation apart from the loyalty that is reserved to the state that represents them. Nationalism, therefore, does not support the idea that the people must always be loyal to the state-nation. Larger or minor groups can abide by the state's laws; remain loyal to what they consider their first source of identity, i.e. its cultural or national identity. In countries where the state is multinational, this distinction

is salient, since the state and the nation are not the same unless for the majority or to, what Smith calls, the “ethnic core” of the state.

Explaining nationalism is not a simple task, since its application differs from state to state and most importantly, it depends on the terms by which a community defines itself, and by what they perceive as “national.” Nationalism, then, requires a detailing of concepts such as state, nation, ethnicity, and national identity before getting to comprehend it. Nationalism is a concept as elusive as that of culture or democracy, and despite many interpretations there is not a normative use of it. For this reason, the intention of this section is to formulate a working definition of nationalism and clarify the meanings of those concepts that relate to it.

### **3.2 The State**

Today it is commonplace to find a misuse of nation and state as interchangeable concepts. Although nation-states, a product of territorial sovereignty, are considered the most consolidated political entities of the international relations, yet we find that the world includes numerous national groups without a defined state and numerous states without a defined national identity or composed of several national groups (multinational states), each with a strong political clout. One of the ways to illustrate the irregularities of nationalism is to ask in specific circumstances the difference between nation and state. In Nigeria, for example, nation usually refers to the whole country instead to a specific national group. Another case is that of United Nations which represents the “nations of the world” when it is actually representing the states of the world. Even the discipline of International Relations faces this confusion since it is intended to study the political relations between states, and their governments, and not precisely the relations between national groups within the states (Seton-watson, 1977; Kellas, 1998).

Nation and state, if analyzed separately, display distinct political conditions with ample qualitative, and quantitative attributes. "According to the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of the States (1933), a state must possess the following qualifications in order to exist: a permanent population, a defined territory and a government capable of maintaining effective control over its territory and of conducting international relations with other states". In this case, the state is defined according to international law. Here, a state will be considered a "political and legal entity with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens." This interpretation views the state as a source of legitimacy capable of creating or representing a national identity.

### **3.3 The Nation**

In a preliminary definition, nationalism can be considered either a "devotion to one's nation or a policy of national independence." Here, nationalism is preceded by the very existence of a "nation" but also by a sentiment or belief that produces "devotion" to the nation. Therefore, the nation is the gravity center where a sort of national identity is founded. This means that nation and national identity are strongly correlated. Generally, nation is applied to the population of a state; but how that people perceive the idea of nation is subject to a process of identification and a constant need of differentiation. History has shown that both processes are moved by a sense of protection, social cohesion, survival, superiority and in ultimate cases autonomy and self-determination (Simpson and Weiner, 1991).

In a broader definition, nation is described as "an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory." Here, appreciating the qualities of a nation are essential to regard it as such. Common descent, language, history, a homeland

are just a few of the common characteristics that distinguishes a nation not to mention religion or cultural worldviews (Anderson, 1990).

If we employ Benedict Anderson's ideas, a nation at the same time can be an "imagined political community,"— that is a subjective state of mind, a keystone of our political consciousness, abstract but politically objective. Thus, if a nation can be imagined, the elements for its existence can be provided and even created by myth-making. No matter if the community does not share a common language, race, religion or ethnic markers, what makes a nation, though, is a "strong sense of common identity" expressed many times in terms of national identity. Anderson captures this idea in his definition. For him, the nation is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members but in the minds of each leaves the image of their communion."

Walker Connor agrees that the essence of the nation is a psychological bond that unites the people, but recognizes that the nature or sources of such bond remain obscure; rather emotional than rational (Walker, 1998). Nevertheless, he supports the idea that a nation is not only a sharing of common things among larger or smaller communities. An ethnic group such as the members of an African tribe, or a regional community like the Dubliners or Berliners could fit in the definition of nation where the members share common history, language and a sense of common identity. To reach the status of nation a group must also perceive distinctiveness, be self-differentiated.

William Bloom's identification theory is helpful to reinforce the idea that the nation can only exist if there exist a psychological link between the individuals that makes them think of a political distinctiveness. In this sense group identification can be triggered only if the dynamics of a political "situation are such that it is positively, psychologically beneficial for the individual so to do." It follows that symbols or attributes of a nation cannot "evoke identification simply because they are presented - logically, attractively or otherwise- to an individual" (Bloom, 1990). Bloom's theory suggests that there

is a cost-benefit connotation in identifying which is usually moved by the innermost biological human need of survival. As a consequence, the origin and meanings of a nation are to be frequently contextualized to understand the very reasons of deciding to integrate a nation or become a (nation-state).

### **3.4 National Identity**

Political group awareness is something that makes nations possible and might not always be harmonious if there are groups that do not share the same values or represent a competition to their interests. On a daily basis, the foundations of a nation can be re-interpreted, “mutate but persist” and underpin, in Smith words, the “cultural continuity” of nations. According to Smith, national identity, “a concept separate from that of nationalism,” is an unfinished process within the formation of nations.

Smith wrote that:

*“National identity may be defined as the maintenance and continuous reproduction of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that particular heritage and those values, symbols, memories, myth and traditions” (Smith, 2001, pg. 30).*

Although there may always exist a variety of non-hostile national groups, the process of defining the group’s national identity involves delimitating the nation with respect to others. This is partly due to the existence of “external force that helps to crystallize the identity and ensure the persistence over longer periods.” Specially, in a situation of conflict the “out-group defines the boundaries of the in-group” (Coser, 1969). When this imperative is taken to the extreme, the fear of losing strength in the unity reinforces the need to solidify the identity from within.

## **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**



1. From your understanding of nationalism, would you describe Nigeria as a state or as a nation? What are your reasons?
2. Explain your understanding of the difference between a nation and a state.

## **UNIT II: NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Nationalism and Liberalism**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit rests upon the core concepts of nations, state, and national identity discussed previously discussed in unit I. In other words, it is a requisite to your understanding of pan-Africanism. In other words, as people develop the feelings of national identity, and tend to associate themselves with a particular territory, they tend to liberate themselves from the ruler-ship of external forces.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the rise of nationalism in some European countries
- ✓ Discuss the nexus of nationalism and liberalism

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Nationalism and Liberalism**

According to Seton-Watson (1977), in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was generally assumed that individual liberty and national independence or unity would go together, both were regarded as equally desirable by nationalists, equally objectionable by absolutist governments. Nationalism and

liberalism were a single cause. Their champions were for the most part members of the educated elite, whether 'upper' or 'middle' class. They desired political freedom for themselves, and assumed that in demanding it they spoke for the whole nation except for reactionary rulers, indigenous or foreign. It may be argued that 'the liberal bourgeoisie' was pursuing its own aims, canalizing popular discontent into channels which would further its own narrow interests. This is less than fair.

The eighteenth century concept of popular sovereignty was designed for the whole 'people', even though in the first instance it was assumed that the most educated and enlightened citizens would have to guide the people, and bring it gradually into political life. However, it is certainly true that the driving force came from the educated elite, and that first priority was given to issues which most directly interested the elite. In Western and Central Europe, in the mid-nineteenth century that elite was a bourgeoisie; but when the process reached Eastern Europe, the Muslim lands, southern Asia and Africa, there was no bourgeoisie at hand—only intelligentsia and a few merchants—while the most powerful forces which opposed the new elite were often not so much a landowning class or capitalists, as a bureaucracy, indigenous or foreign.

The liberal phase of nationalism reached its climax in 1848, in the Assembly of Pauls kirche in Frankfurt and in the revolutions in Italy. In 1848 conflicts appeared between moderates and radicals, and these developed further in the second half of the century. Growing numbers of moderate liberals in Germany and Italy became content with such constitutional gains as had been made, and with the national unity which had been achieved by governments. Both they and the moderate republicans' in France became indifferent or hostile to demands on behalf of the masses of the people; while on their left appeared not only radical but also socialist movements. The bourgeoisie had got rid of foreign rule, and had its share in political power; it was now challenged from below by the rising working class.

Among those European nations which, unlike the Germans and Italians, had not yet achieved independence or unity, this differentiation was delayed, partly because the national cause retained first priority, and partly because, since these nations consisted in their majority of peasants, there was not yet much foundation for a strong socialist working class movement. Nevertheless, both the need to mobilize the masses in the national cause and the spread of socialist ideas influenced the nationalist leaders. Knowledge that they might soon face strong competition from incipient socialist movements on their left obliged them both to devote more thought to social problems and to propound political aims more immediately and generally attractive. Nationalist parties thus became more 'populist', and at the same time found themselves compelled to indulge in increasingly bitter polemics against socialist ideas. An outstanding example is the National Democratic Party in Poland, which certainly was socially radical in its early days, but whose bitter hostility to all nations bordering on the Poles—not only to Prussian and Russian conquerors but also to Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belorussian and Romanian fellow-victims, as well as to the large Jewish element in their midst—led it into violent hostility to all internationally minded groups, especially to socialists.

After the First World War the socialist movement split, on a world scale, into the two hostile camps of social democracy and communism. In Italy the fascist movement and regime appeared as a reply to the threat, real or imagined, from the socialists. Fascism was to some extent a model for Hitler's National Socialism, which in the 1930s not only became a mighty force in Germany, but exercised a powerful attraction in many European countries, as well as in Latin America, the Muslim world and the Far East. Parties arose which can loosely be termed 'fascist', and fascist ideas strongly influenced the leaders of many national independence movements in various parts of the world. The military successes of Germany in the first three years of the Second World War increased this influence. After the collapse of the Third Reich fascism ceased to be fashionable: instead the victories of the Soviet Union made

'socialism', as understood by the Soviet leaders, extremely attractive, especially to national movements in colonies of Europe in powers.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

1. With reference to revolutions in at least, three African states, discuss the nexus of nationalism and liberalism?
2. Of what relevance is nationalism in a society's development?

## **UNIT III          NATIONALISM IN AFRICA**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Nationalism in Africa**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit will take you back to history and teaches about the origin of feelings of oneness and nationalism in Africa. In effect, it has some links with the previous unit's because you will be able to see how nationalism led to the demand for independence from colonial masters by African educated elites. You will decide on your own whether education and political exposure have some things to do with nationalism.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will learn:

- ✓ The history and rise of nationalism in Africa
- ✓ The different figure that contributed to the rise of nationalism and agitation for African independence

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1          NATIONALISM IN AFRICA**

Another name for nationalism in Africa is Pan-Africanism. African nationalism is a subjective feeling of kinship or affinity shared by people of African descent. It is a feeling based on shared cultural norms, traditional institutions, racial heritage, and a common historical experience. One enduring historical experience shared by nearly all Africans was colonial oppression. Along with this sense of shared identity is a collective desire to maintain one's own cultural, social, and political values independent of outside control.

It is worth stressing that African nationalism, like nationalism elsewhere in the world, is not new; it is as old as ancient times. In fact, in Africa, contrary to a common view in Western scholarship of Africa, African Nationalism predates colonialism. In the annals of African history, one finds coherent organized African communities with a very strong sense of identity, prepared to defend their territorial and cultural integrity against those who would want to destroy or undermine them. For instance, when the great African king, Mansa Musa of Mali, was on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324–1325, the Wolof people who had been forcibly brought under the Mali kingdom, seized the opportunity to rebel against the Mali kingdom. The Wolof people were expressing nationalism, a separate national identity and a desire to govern themselves in their own land. We also know that Africans did not passively accept European rule, which was alien and destructive of the African social order. The effective resistances put up against European colonization by the Ashanti people of Ghana, the Hehe of Tanzania, or the Zulus of South Africa suggest a very strong sense of national identity that was already in place and a fierce determination not to succumb to any other authority but their own.

The king of the Yao people in Tanzania had this to say to a German commander who had been sent to him to affirm the German colonial claim to his country in 1890:

*I have listened to your words but can find no reason why I should obey you—I would rather die first. . . . If it should be friendship that you desire, then I am ready for it, today and always; but to be your subject, that I cannot be. . . . If it should be war you desire, then I am ready, but never*

*to be your subject. . . . I do not fall at your feet, for you are God's creature just as I am . . . I am Sultan here in my land. You are Sultan there in yours. Yet listen, I do not say to you that you should obey me; for I know that you are a free man. . . . As for me, I will not come to you, and if you are strong enough, then come and fetch me (Boahen, 1989, pg. 34).*

Ghanaian king, Prempeh I of Asante, in the same tone, declined the British offer of protection—a euphemism for colonial control. He said that his kingdom wished to remain on friendly terms with all white people, and to do business with them, but he saw no reason why the Asante kingdom should ever commit itself to such a policy with the British government. The British took over the country anyway, the king was exiled for several years to an Indian Ocean island for non-cooperation, and violent tensions between the Ashanti people and the British continued for ninety years, well into the beginning of the twentieth century. The king of the Mossi people of Burkina Faso told a French captain: “I know the Whites wish to kill me in order to take my country, and yet you claim that they will help me to organize my country. But I find my country good just as it is. I have no need of them. I know what is necessary for me and what I want. I have my own merchants. . . . Also consider yourself fortunate that I do not order your head to be cut off. Go away now, and above all, never come back” (Boahen, 1989: 38).

The French never went away and the Mossi lost their country. A leader of the Nama people in modern Namibia told the Germans: “The Lord has established various kingdoms in the world. Therefore I know and believe that it is no sin or crime that I should wish to remain the independent chief of my land and people.” The Germans were not impressed either. Westerners, for their own reasons, chose to call these groups “tribes,” despite the fact that many of them were extremely large with well-structured social and political institutions. Ample evidence shows that these groups were nations occupying specific territories that they were willing to defend, if threatened or attacked. The sentiments expressed by the kings and leaders demonstrate nothing but nationalism by a people who wanted either such relations with foreigners as exist between equals or to be left alone.



#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAES)**

1. Discuss the association between nationalism and African independence?
2. What are the major problems of nationalism in Africa?

#### **UNIT IV: EMERGENCE OF PAN-AFRICANISM**

##### **1.0 Introduction**

##### **2.0 Objectives**

##### **3.0 Main content**

###### **3.1 Emergence of Pan-Africanism**

##### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

##### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit, which is the last of this module, is a continuation of the last unit. The unit showed in detail the history and emergence of pan-Africanism under colonialism. You should remember that it is possible that pan-Africanism as a term may not have existed if colonialism did not exist in Africa.

##### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the rise of pan-Africanism
- ✓ See how the unwanted sides of colonialism pave way for the rise of pan-Africanism

##### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

###### **3.1 EMERGENCE OF PAN-AFRICANISM**

A basic dialectic to understand in Africa is that while the greatest friend of African nationalism is race-consciousness, the greatest enemy of African nationhood is ethnic-consciousness. Modern African nationalism was born and prospered under the stimulation of racial solidarity and shared blackness. On the other hand, the struggle for viable modern nations within Africa is considerably hampered by acute ethnic cleavages, often separating Bantu from Nilotes, Ibo from Hausa, and the like. We shall examine this fundamental dialectic, since it is precisely this which has made the transition from African nationalism to African nationhood so painful and demanding.

The discovery of shared blackness under the pressure of colonial control resulted in part in the emergence of Pan-Africanism. Here, you must distinguish between Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism, meaning the solidarity of black people within the African continent south of the Sahara, and Trans-Saharan Pan-Africanism, encompassing not only the Africans south of the great continental desert, but also the Arabs in the northern section of the continent. There is also transatlantic pan-Africanism, which is the solidarity between the peoples of the African continent and the Black Diaspora in the Caribbean and American continents.

Historically, one would have expected Pan-Africanism to start from the smaller units of the subcontinent south of the Sahara, and then move outwards to encompass North Africa, and then ultimately re-establish contact with the Black Diaspora. But it is arguable that, in the twentieth century at any rate, Pan-Africanism started with the transatlantic version before it focused more narrowly on the African continent itself. And in the birth of transatlantic Pan-Africanism the Black Diaspora was critical. It might even be argued that the movement started with alienated black nationalists in the Caribbean and North America, sometimes eager to start the process of a black return to the African continent, while at other times merely emphasizing the need for black liberation both in Africa and the Americas. We know that

the founding fathers of transatlantic Pan-Africanism include black Americans like W.E.B. DuBois and West Indians like George Padmore and Marcus Garvey.

Partly as a result of initiatives by black nationalists in the diaspora, Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism also began to gather momentum. Black Africans in West Africa began to feel a greater bond with each other, and to discover more fully the shared predicament of black Africans elsewhere within the continent. As the twentieth century unfolded, East Africans gradually learned that there were countries called Nigeria and the Gold Coast with black people in situations similar to their own. West Africans in turn discovered the existence of a Kenya, Uganda, or Nyasaland.

Transatlantic Pan-Africanism developed as a movement of ideas and emotions, with little institutionalization apart from periodic conferences without a standing secretariat. Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism was even less institutionalized on the scale of the subcontinent, though it did influence the formation of smaller sub-regional economic and functional communities like the East African Community and OCAM. Although race-consciousness was the original fountain of Pan-Africanism, it was neither the transatlantic movement nor the Sub-Saharan movement that found institutional fulfillment at first. It was in fact trans-Saharan Pan-Africanism, in spite of the significant racial differences separating parts of North Africa from parts of Africa south of the Sahara. The beginning of Pan-African solidarity at the institutional level provided a foundation for joint action in some spheres between Arabs and black Africans. The Organization of African Unity was finally formed in 1963, encompassing states across both sides of the great continental desert, and providing a framework for periodic meetings of African Heads of States and Government.

The older transatlantic movement continued at the level of emotions and ideas of unity without an institutional framework. Yet another transatlantic Pan-African congress was scheduled to take place in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1975- the Sixth Pan-African Congress, separated from the Fifth Pan-African

Congress held in Manchester, England by nearly thirty years. The Fifth Pan-African Congress took place in 1945 and among the relatively unknown participants at that Congress was a young man called Kwame Nkrumah and a more mature, but still relatively obscure man called Jomo Kenyatta.

Nearly thirty years later in the capital of independent Tanzania an additional Congress in that transatlantic movement was at last inaugurated. Transatlantic Pan-Africanism has so far found greater articulation in the cultural domain than in the political. The festivals of black Pan-African art, held in places ranging from Paris to Lagos, Dakar to Algiers, have provided greater demonstration of transatlantic fervour than some of the political congresses within the same movement.

As regards Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism, its strongest supporters have been among the less radical and more conservative African nationalists in the modern period. It has been pre-eminently those with strong reservations about the Arabs who have championed platforms of solidarity limiting themselves to the black part of the continent. Voices, which over the decades have sometimes championed this brand of Pan-Africanism, have included Chief Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria in the 1950s and early 1960s, Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi in a fluctuating manner, and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast in at least some of his moods.

The more radical black African leaders in the modern phase have preferred trans-saharan Pan-Africanism, insisting on ignoring the desert as a divide, preferring instead to use the continent as a whole as the unit of solidarity. Trans-Saharan Pan-Africanism was not only a matter of foreign policy but sometimes included significant domestic consequences. For a number of generations black nationalists both within the continent and in the Diaspora took pride in old civilizations of Africa-the ancient civilizations of Egypt and the historic civilization of Ethiopia. Cultural nationalism among otherwise humiliated African intellectuals found a moment of pride in contemplating the achievements of Pharaonic Egypt and the uninterrupted history of Ethiopia as a sovereign African nation.

But for quite a while neither modern Egypt nor Ethiopia reciprocated this identification with black nationalists. The black nationalists moved forward to embrace the memories of Egyptian and Ethiopian achievements, but modern Egyptians maintained their political and cultural distance from the rest of Africa. And then, in the second half of the twentieth century, two individuals began the process of restoring the balance of identification. One of these individuals was an Egyptian soldier, who reminded his countrymen that they were Africans as well as Arabs and Muslims. The other individual was an Ethiopian Emperor, who reminded his countrymen that they were part of an African reality as well as of an Ethiopian history. Gamal Abdel Nasser began the process of Re-Africanizing Egypt while Haile Sellassie I inaugurated the Re-Africanization of Ethiopia.

Yet for a while it was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana who became the most eloquent voice of both Trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic pan-Africanism. Nkrumah captured important longings and emotions prevalent at a given moment in history across much of the African continent and the Black Diaspora, and he managed to give these emotions and aspirations persuasive articulation. Before long, Accra became the capital of the principle of Pan-Africanism, at least until May 1963 when Addis Ababa became the capital for the practice of Pan-Africanism.

Comparatively, further distinction has to be made between Pan-Africanism as a movement of liberation and Pan-Africanism as a movement of integration. Pan-Africanism as a liberating force had greater success than as an integrative quest. The liberation movement has concerned itself with putting pressure in favour of decolonization, and lobbying for the isolation of the white minority regimes of Southern Africa. Joint action at the United Nations in pursuit of African independence was remarkably successful from the moment of Ghana's independence in 1957 until the moment of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) for Rhodesia in November 1965. The eight years separating Ghana's independence and Rhodesia's UDI were momentous for African decolonization, and African

states, though sometimes divided bitterly on tactics and even strategies, were able nevertheless to maintain a viable spirit of solidarity in pursuit of decolonization. From 1965 onwards the frustrations of the remaining areas under white control began to mount as African states felt relatively helpless in determining the fates of Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa, and the countries under Portuguese rule.

Nevertheless, even in this period of mounting frustrations, there was also an undercurrent of achievement for Pan-Africanism. The solidarity of African states made it difficult for Britain to ease sanctions against Rhodesia, contributed to the emergence of Guinea-Bissau as a partially independent country, strengthened the activities of liberation movements in Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, and increased the trend towards the diplomatic isolation of South Africa in world politics. Pan-Africanism as a movement for greater political and economic integration, on the other hand, has had a much less impressive record. Even those countries that started with a substantial level of regional integration later experienced acute tensions, and the level of integration declined.

The East African Community, consisting of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, is one case in point. In June 1963 hopes were high that these three countries would soon evolve into a full federation under one government. But, that mood of political optimism, even of euphoria, did not last long. Tensions began to be felt, and one after another the services and links among the three countries were either loosened or ended altogether. Movement of goods among them ceased to be free, movement of people among them became more strictly controlled, a shared currency came to an end, a shared system of internal revenue was dismantled, a joint university existing parallel to but not within the East African Community broke up into three separate universities, and moments of actual military confrontation were experienced.

French-speaking Africa also witnessed fluctuating fortunes in its quest for greater integration. Organizational and functional experiments had their ups and downs. Countries would join an economic

community only to withdraw two years later; services would be made subject to regional control only to be dismantled into national units not long afterwards.

Nigeria in 1964 began to move with a greater determination toward creating a more viable West African Economic Community, independent of the linguistic barriers inherited from the colonial past. But the struggle to get West Africans to transcend the cultural and linguistic differences inherited from Britain and France was an undertaking too big to be accomplished very rapidly. Nigeria's efforts in this direction were in conflict with attempts within French-speaking Africa. Most of the French-speaking African states seemed for a while to be in favour of creating a community of their own, to which English-speaking states could later accede. Nigeria argued, on the other hand, that there was a fundamental difference between joining a community which had already been formed by others, and participating in defining what the community should be from the outset. Nigeria was pleading for joint participation in the very founding of such a community on a basis that disregarded the Anglophone-Francophone divide.

On balance the tensions continued within integrative movements of this kind all over the continent, both north and south of the Sahara. That spirit of solidarity which could be mobilized into relative effectiveness in the domain of African liberation often proved inadequate in the domain of African integration. All was not lost by any means, but the struggle for greater cohesiveness promised to be hard and long.

#### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises(SAEs)**

1. Itemize and discuss factors that led to the emergence of Pan-Africanism.
2. Explain Pan-Africanism as a major component of African nationalism.

#### **TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)**

1. Write an essay on the connections between Nation, State and Society?

2. What do you consider to be the causes of low level of patriotism among Nigerians for their country?
3. When Americans wake every day, they say 'God Bless America', how do you think the new administration of President Muhammadu Buhari can foster the nationalism among the people of Nigeria?
4. Write a short note on how nationalism facilitated the granting of independence by the colonialists to African states?
5. Within the Nigerian State, identify a nationalist movement and state the reasons why you think they are a nationalist movement.

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## **MODULE 6: GLOBALIZATION AND DEMOCRACY**

This module, which is the last one, introduces two important phenomena that are widely discussed in the media and academia: globalization and democracy. Often, we hear the words “democracy” and “globalization” at different levels of social interaction, the latter word has been a subject and presumed correlate of many problems in Africa according to some writers. For example, the degrading African values and many other social and political issues are often linked to globalization. It is your right to surmise at the end of this module as to whether globalization has more manifest consequences than latent ones.

While you think of the consequences of globalization, you may also cast your mind back to pre-colonial Africa, and ask yourself whether most states in Africa would have attained independence without globalization. The answer to the question may lead you further to ask yourself whether relative democracy in Africa would have been possible without globalization or not.

You should know that there are many faces of globalization, so limiting oneself to a single political dimension may not suffice. Globalization has implications for economic, political and social structure for every country in the globalized community. This module is divided into four units.

## **UNIT 1: MEANING OF GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EMERGENCE**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 The concept of Globalization**

#### **3.2 Globalization and Democracy**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises(SAEs)**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This first module introduces us to globalization and its several definitions and facets. Here, we will see the political, economic and cultural contexts of globalization. In this same module, we will also be exposed to the nexus of globalization and democracy. You will know to what extent globalization has engendered or undermined democracy.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will learn:

- ✓ The meaning of globalization

- ✓ Be exposed to the cultural, economic and political dimension of globalization
- ✓ To decide as to whether globalization contributes to or undermine the practice of democracy

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 The Concept of Globalization**

Globalization, in the opinion of Bhandari and Heshmati (2005), has differential meaning among different people and different disciplines. In general, globalization is a process in which the combined force of different elements leading to an increase in countries dependence on or from more positive point of view of interactions with the rest of the world. The process of globalization is an international economic order which lead to the progressive integration of the world economy through pulling the barrier of trade, exchange rate and greater mobility of factors of production. The reduction of impediments in the movements of goods and factors of production may possibly enhance allocative efficiency both in global and national economies. The technological innovation especially in communication also provides impetus to the progressive integration of the nations by pushing aside all geographical barriers. Now the debate remains whether globalization is driven by the market and technology or is it the result of conscious decisions of the countries.

Rowntree (2000) noted that globalization is the process of formation of global market in products as well as in factors of production. The elements of globalization include free movement of goods and services, flow of capital, movement of labour and the transfer of technology which has brought the developed economies closer together and made them more strongly integrated. Many transition and developing countries through liberalization and increased openness to trade have benefited from the process. Globalization is much more than simply the growth, expansion of international trade and the

movements of factors of production. It could be thought as the extent and legitimate fabric of a highly diverse world. Although economic interconnectedness is the prime mover of globalization, the conflicting behaviour of environment, culture, political and social development precedes contemporary development process. Apart from that, globalization also indicates the flow of ideas, norms, information and peoples.

According to Ritzer (2008), globalization is the spread of worldwide practices, relations, consciousness, and organization of social life. Nearly every nation and the lives of billions of people throughout the world are being transformed, often quite dramatically, by globalization. The degree and significance of its impact can be seen almost everywhere one looks, most visibly in the now common protests that accompany high-level meetings of global organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Thomas, 2007).

Globalization can be analyzed culturally, economically, politically, and institutionally. For each type of analysis, a key difference is whether one sees increasing homogeneity or heterogeneity. At the extremes, the globalization of culture can be seen either as the transnational expansion of common codes and practices (homogeneity) or as a process in which many global and local cultural inputs interact to create a kind of pastiche, or a blend, leading to a variety of cultural hybrids (heterogeneity). The trend toward homogeneity is often associated with cultural imperialism, the influence of a particular culture on a wide range of other cultures. There are many varieties of cultural imperialism, including those that emphasize the role played by American culture, the West, or core countries (de Grazia, 2005). Roland Robertson (2001), however, among many others, opposes the idea, although he doesn't use the term cultural imperialism. His famous concept of globalization sees the global as interacting with the local to produce that which is distinctive: the global.

### **3.2 Globalization and Democracy**

According to Nash (2010), there are two main ways in which globalization calls existing forms of representative democracy into question. The first concerns state autonomy and sovereignty. To be sure, state autonomy has always been compromised in relation to capitalism. It is not just Marxists who have been concerned that where states are responsible for economic management, business lobbyists have a built-in advantage beyond that of money: what is good for business is, almost by definition, what is good for the national economy and, therefore, for the government. With increased flows of finance capital, investment by multinational corporations, and global markets, however, the picture becomes even more complex: the very idea of states managing “national” economies starts to look outdated. What has to be managed is a global economy, which has different consequences for those living in different national territories, but which has its own dynamics beyond the control of any single state.

It is important to know how states are transforming in global governance, to the point where they are now better seen as “internationalizing” rather than as nation-states. But if states are internationalizing, what happens to democracy, which was formed, and fought for, in nation-states? State transformation in global governance is a problem for the modern ideal of democracy because it requires autonomous and sovereign states. The ideal of “actually existing” democracy is that “the people” identified as “the nation,” are able to take charge, albeit indirectly through their representatives, of the conditions of their own lives. In effect, democracy involves attempting to influence governments to use the special privileges of the state (the threat of force and the regulation and redistribution of wealth) to act for “the people.” Voting to elect governments is just one aspect of democracy, but it is the most clear-cut and obvious; it is what most people understand by democracy and, as democracy involves rule by the people, the common understanding certainly should not be ignored. If globalization means that processes previously managed by the state now escape its control or can only be managed with the cooperation of unelected agencies both inside and outside the state, what are the implications for democracy?

The second main limitation of representative democracy in globalization is rather the reverse of this problem: if processes of globalization which impact on peoples' lives are not, by definition, confined within national territories, why should definitions of "national interest" be all - important in international affairs? Many political theorists now argue that what is more important is that "all affected" by a particular issue are able to influence how it is dealt with in ways that are relevant to their lives. "All - affected" by an issue may, on occasions, live within the territorial borders of a state, but this was never necessarily the case, and processes of globalization make it rare today. Globalization raises the question, "who are the people?" And this is no longer settled by the response, "the nation". The "all - affected" principle of democratic participation seems intuitively right: if democracy is about control over the conditions of people's lives, it is irrelevant that some people happen to live within the same territorial boundaries; what is important is that all those affected by an issue, within and across borders, must have some impact on how their difficulties are resolved. If it is immensely hard to see how it can be put into practice (How to decide precisely who is affected? Who is to decide each time?), the "all affected" principle is certainly a compelling criticism of the idea that democracy can be contained within national territories (Held, 2004).

In normative terms, democracy may be formal or substantive. Definitions of democracy as formal – which prevail in political science – concern the procedures by which governments are made accountable and legitimate. Joseph Schumpeter's definition of democracy as exclusively concerned with competition between political parties to win votes is an example of such a definition (Mair, 2008). Wider considerations of procedural democracy also concern questions such as: the methods by which candidates are selected within parties; the independence of legislatures from corruption; separation of powers between the judiciary, the legislature, and the executive; and so on. Substantive democracy is much harder to pin down since it involves judgments about the quality and the extent of popular participation in democratic decision - making: "rule by the people" should ensure the equality of all

voices in society; all should be properly represented, and all should be heard. Thinking about democracy substantively involves asking questions about whether “the people” have really been represented in government.

One of the main ways to assess this is to consider the outcome of democratic deliberations; do some people systematically benefit from democratic procedures, while others lose? Such questions are tricky because it is difficult to agree on what the outcome of democratic decision - making would be if it were not distorted; inevitably, they raise further questions about what an undistorted outcome should be. In this respect, analyses of substantive democracy link up with issues of citizenship. At the very least, governments should act in the interests of “ordinary” people, many of whom might reasonably be expected to rely on public provision of education, healthcare, and social insurance against illness, unemployment, and old - age at different points in their lives. In this respect, something like Marshall’s model of citizenship provides a rough guide to expected outcomes. However, in a pluralist society, different outcomes are required for the equality of different groups of “ordinary” people, whilst the problem of how to balance equality and freedom is always controversial, as it is for social movements involved in extending the equality and diversity of citizenship rights. Although the distinction between procedural and substantive democracy may seem relatively straightforward, and procedural questions much easier to assess, in practice things are not so clear - cut. Questions of both procedural and substantive democracy are almost always involved in judging whether particular procedures are actually democratic, where they result in outcomes that are skewed towards particular perspectives and definitions of the “common good.”

#### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

1. Define globalization and discuss its major components.
2. With relevant examples, what is your own view on the nexus of globalization and democracy?



## **UNIT 11: CONSEQUENCES OF GLOBALIZATION ON AFRICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1 Consequences of globalization on African political system**

#### **3.2 Latent consequences of globalization**

#### **3.3 Manifest consequences of globalization**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

In this unit, you will learn more about the consequences of globalization. In the previous unit, remember you learnt about the implications of globalizations for democracy. So in this section, you will learn about the pros and cons of globalization for political, economic and cultural system of different societies. Note that what may be pros to one nation may be cons for another. So it is left to you to decide whether the merits of globalization outweigh the demerits for your own country.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will know:

- ✓ The merits of globalization for the development of your society
- ✓ The negative effects of globalization
- ✓ Think beyond the ordinary and learn how to explore the good sides of globalization towards the development of your country

## **3.0 Main content**

### **3.1 Consequences of globalization on African political system**

Consequences of anything could be manifest or latent, that is, they could be positive or negative consequences. Both have been properly documented by Ibrahim (2013).

#### **3.2 Latent consequences of Globalization**

- ✓ Ibrahim (2013) citing Tendon (1998) noted that the cold war which was born out of the process for globalization has had significant consequences for Africa. During its height in the 1960's and 1970's, the cold war witnessed the emergence of authoritarian regimes in the form of one-party or military regimes. This was largely a result of the support of the two blocks to keep African countries in their respective camps. This has in turn, substantially reduced Africa's international negotiating power and its ability to manoeuvre in the international system. In sum then, the cold

war and its demise has worked against democracy and economic development in Africa.

- ✓ Specific impact of globalization on Africa were identified according to Oyejide (1998) in the political sphere, the most important consequence is the erosion of sovereignty, especially on economic and financial matters, as a result of the imposition of models, strategies and policies of development on African countries by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (Ibrahim, 2013). More important is the fact that globalization for most part does not facilitate the establishment of the economic conditions necessary for genuine democracy and good governance to take solid roots and thrives.
- ✓ Economically, globalization has, on the whole, reinforced the economic marginalization of African economies and their dependence on a few primary goods for which demand and prices are externally determined. This has, in turn accentuated poverty and economic inequality as well as the ability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries.
- ✓ As a result of the cultural domination from outside that goes with globalization, African countries are rapidly losing their cultural identity and therefore their ability to interact with other cultures on an equal and autonomous basis, borrowing from other cultures only those aspects that meet its requirements and needs.
- ✓ Globalization on the whole impacts negatively on the development and consolidation of democratic governance. One form of this is the reduction of the capacity of governments to determine and control events in their countries, and thus their

- accountability and responsiveness to their people, given the fact that the context, institutions and processes by which these decisions are taken are far from democratic.
- ✓ Globalization introduces anti-developmentalism by declaring the state irrelevant or marginal to the developmental effort. Development strategies and policies that focus on stabilization and privatization, rather than growth, development and poverty eradication, are pushed by external donors, leading to greater poverty and inequality and undermining the ability of the people to participate effectively in the political and social processes in their countries. Welfare and other programs intended to meet the basic needs of the majority of the population are transferred from governments to non-governmental organizations that begin to replace governments making them to lose the little authority and legitimacy they have.
  - ✓ Mule (2000) views that the economic specialization imposed on African countries makes rapid and sustainable growth and development impossible, conflicts over the distribution of the limited gains realized from globalization becomes more acute and politicized. Vulnerable groups, such as women, the youth, and rural inhabitants, fare very badly in this contest and are discriminated against. This further erodes the national ethos of solidarity and reciprocity that are essential to successful democracies. Globalization, by insisting on African countries opening their economies to foreign goods and entrepreneurs, limits the ability of African governments to take proactive and conscious measures to facilitate the emergence of an indigenous entrepreneurial class (Mowlana 1998).

### **3.3 Manifest consequences of Globalization**

- ✓ Globalization has eased international trade and commerce, facilitated foreign investment and the flow of capital while calling for greater accountability and responsiveness of leaders to their people, globalization has often pressed African leaders to adopt policies and measures that are diametrically opposed to the feelings and sentiments of vast majority of their people.
- ✓ Globalization has helped by defining basic and generally accepted principles of democratic governance, such as good governance, transparency and accountability, in narrow terms, conditioned by particular historical, political, social, and cultural factors, while leaving little or no room for adapting them to different societies and cultures.
- ✓ There are international lobby and pressure groups in various fields. There are universities and institutions of higher learning with all their power to impact knowledge, skills and attitudes that shift behaviour of societies and state leadership as well as followership. All these combine to reinforce the phenomenon of globalization and force the state to shift its behaviour and the way it relates with both its “subjects” and its internal and external partners.
- ✓ Globalization opens people’s lives to other cultures and all their creativity and to the flow of ideas and values. Information and communication technologies have eased interaction among countries and peoples.

#### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

1. Globalization has caused more harm than good to African countries. Discuss
2. What do you consider to be the major implications of globalization on the African Political System?



## **UNIT III: DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA**

### **1.0: Introduction**

### **2.0: Objectives**

### **3.0: Main content**

#### **3.1: Democracy in Africa**

### **4.0: Self-Assessment Exercises**

## **1.0 Introduction**

This unit exposes you not only to democracy as a concept, but also democracy as it is practiced on the continent and its feasibility in African society. Importantly, the stance of different schools of thought on democracy in Africa is discussed in this unit. You should note that there are some who believe that what we practice in Africa is far from democracy, this is because the rulers are perceived not to be answerable to their people, and that the people have little or no say in governance. There are some others who are of the opinion that African states are qualified to be called democratic states.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the practice of democracy in Africa
- ✓ Take a position as to whether Africa practices true democracy

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA**

The central issue in the discourse on democracy in Africa is whether democracy is feasible in Africa considering the region's social and economic conditions (Ake, 2002). Academics and international development experts have assessed this issue from different perspectives. On the part of western scholars and analysts, the main issue is the 'failure' of the western model of liberal democracy and the absence of positive signs of democratic consolidation in most African countries. A review of this discourse will outline some of the arguments made by western scholars (Adetula, 2011).

The culturalist/traditionalist perspective focuses on the African past and tradition, including the implications of its overwhelming 'culture of informality' on African politics. This perspective is conceptually aligned with the 're-traditionalisation of society' and the 'instrumentalisation of disorder' frameworks, and its emphasis is on autocratic tendencies, corruption, chaos, anarchy and violence, all of which are wrongfully linked with the traditional (Ellis 2005). Chabal and Daloz argued that 'the state in sub-Saharan Africa (sic) is nothing other than a relatively empty shell' (1999). However, disturbed that 'the real business of politics is conducted informally and more stealthily, outside the official political realm', they hastily concluded that within 'such apolitical "order", in which there is little meaningful institutionalization, the notion of corruption as habitually defined in Western polities, is of little significance' (Chabal & Daloz 1999). Their argument is similar to the assumption of the modernisation school that the pre-colonial culture inhibited political development in Africa through uncivilised values and practices, which served as a bottleneck to the emergence of democratic governance, hence the search for 'anti-democratic and anti- developmental traits in the cultural tradition' of African states (Onoge, 1997).

The thesis of the culturalist/traditionalist school in relation to democracy in Africa can be summarised thus: African traditional political institutions are autocratic, personalised and corrupt, and therefore cannot provide appropriate historical and cultural foundations for democracy in modern societies. In



contrast, traditional African societies' governments are open and inclusive. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard pointed out that 'the structure of an African state implies that kings and chiefs rule by consent' and that 'ruler's subjects are as fully aware of the duties he owes to them, as they are of the duties they owe to him, and are able to exert pressure to make him discharge these duties' (1987). Also, indicators of a wide spectrum of inclusiveness are observable in the decision-making process of traditional African political systems.

In the traditional system generally, evidence abounds to show a heritage of transparent and accountable governance. Traditional African societies place a high premium on accountable governance to the extent that leaders are not only answerable for their actions, but in the past were also made to explain natural events such as famines, epidemics, floods and droughts, for which many were forced to go into voluntary exile or 'asked to die' (Ake 1991). Also, a political culture that abhors corruption is found among the Kanyok people of the southern Congo – the famous Luba story in which the Kanyok approve of 'community spirit' and 'deplore selfishness' shows the anti-corruption content of the political culture of the Kanyok people (Yoder, 1998). It is a common belief among the Yoruba in south-western Nigeria that their social misconducts can invoke the wrath of their progenitors. This has served to check and regulate social behaviours among the Yoruba. Many such examples of democratic values and orientations characterise political and social life in traditional African societies.

Archie Mafeje (2002) argued that 'traditionally, Europe was a land of corrupt absolute monarchs and predatory and callous feudal lords' and that it was possible for liberal democracy to supersede the influence of traditional European institutions and record success in Europe only 'under changed socioeconomic conditions'. In contrast, attempts to reproduce western models of liberal democracy in post-independence Africa failed because they only produced 'one-party dictatorships under a veneer of European bureaucratic structures and procedures' (Mafeje, 2002). On the basis of these historical facts,

it is important to argue against the misleading and prejudicial position of the culturalists/traditionalists that associates African culture and tradition with non-democratic politics. In addition, they have elevated cultural factors to such a degree that culture is imbued with the power to explain everything.

The democratisation and modernisation discourse adopts Francis Fukuyama's (1992) unilinear view of historical development to explain political developments. The central thesis of his discourse is that liberal democracy will become the only form of government for all states as a mark of the 'end of history'. Thus, to follow the path of modernisation and democratisation, indigenous cultural values, practices and beliefs in non-western societies must be replaced with western liberal values, such as the triumph of free markets, rule of law, and separation of powers. *In The End of History and the Last Man*, Fukuyama (1992) argued that not only are all modernising societies going through basically the same process, but that an almost inevitable outcome of the process is political democratisation. According to him, the advent of liberal democracy may signal the end point of humanity's socio-cultural evolution and the final form of human government (Fukuyama, 1992). Samuel Huntington (1997), however, challenged the unilinear view of modernisation, as well as the fallacy that modernisation equals westernisation. He argued that while all cultures experience certain similarities in the modernisation process, cultures still retain their unique characteristics. Also, he pointed out that the temporary conflict between ideologies is being replaced by the ancient conflict between civilisations, and that it is the dominant civilisation that decides the form of government. Although Huntington argued against regarding western values as permanent universal values, he too implicitly alluded to the fallacy that 'west is best'. However, there is growing concern, especially among African scholars, about transplanting non-universal values from one cultural milieu into another.

Some have argued that African regimes remain highly patrimonial and neo-patrimonial practices have been the core feature of post-colonial politics in Africa (Villaion & VonDoepp, 2006). The central argument is that the neo-patrimonial nature of regimes in Africa is at the base of corruption, which in turn affects the process of democratisation. The focus is on patron–client relationships and the personalisation of power as the basis for structuring social relations in Africa. Also, the conceptual framing of the ‘economy of affection’ strengthens the assumption that many Africans participate in social networks of the extended family, clan and village community that operate outside formal structures and institutions and are not bounded by them (Hyden, 1976). This in turn creates the conditions for lawlessness, poor governance and corruption. The main limitation of this explanatory framework, however, is that in a bid to explain everything, it ends up explaining very little.

It is generally acknowledged that the failure of democracy in many societies is due essentially to weak democratic structures and underdeveloped political institutions. This stand is well captured in a statement by Jacques Attali of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, who once stated that ‘a democracy without institutions is anarchy and a market economy without institutions is a Mafia’ (in Van Hoek 1993). The weak governance environment in Africa is characterised by underdeveloped institutions of democratic accountability, and this situation presents an extraordinarily high risk for democracy. Underdeveloped political parties, weak civil society, an over-concentration of power at the centre, non-separation of the branches of government, and lack of transparency and accountability characterised political life in many African countries. Indeed, there is a fear that this trend could undermine the foundations of democratic transition. It is in response to this trend that international donors provided support for empowering institutions critical to the establishment of the rule of law and the improvement of representative government in developing countries.

It is a valid argument that democratic 'experiments' have suffered major setbacks in almost all of Africa's new democracies and that, due to the non-functioning or total absence of relevant institutional frameworks, the quality of political systems has not improved. The solution, however, does not lie in transplanting institutions of western democracy to Africa. A historical reference to Latin America best illustrates this point: in the early nineteenth century, Latin American countries adopted republican institutions and liberal political values, including elections and open legislatures. However, the establishment of viable democracies in the region was not accomplished until the second half of the twentieth century because of a delay in the emergence of dominant coalitions around the liberal values of competition and respect for civil liberties (Przeworski, 2009). Africa's new democracies present a more contemporary example. A number of born-again democrats in Africa made declarations promoting democratic values, and inaugurated new constitutions and legislative assemblies. However, after being elected, these same leaders manipulated procedures, abused power and engaged in nondemocratic practices which resulted in authoritarian reversals rather than democratic transitions. The note of caution by Steven Finkel et al. is appropriate: 'the adoption of particular institutions (elections, legislatures, universal suffrage, and so on) is...a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the establishment of democracy' (2008). The struggle for democracy in Africa, therefore, must resist the idea of transplanting principles and institutions of western democracy.

Internal deficits, weak constitutions, and strong institutions that are captured by interest groups that undermine public interests all contribute to the problems of poor governance in Africa (Rotberg, 2003). William Reno (2006) argued that state failure has been a characteristic feature of African politics since the dawn of the neoliberal global order. It is also the view in some circles in the west that weak and 'shadow' states that are characteristically bedevilled by internal conflicts 'can no longer deliver positive goods to their inhabitants' (Rotberg, 2003). Part of the argument is that the governments of these failed states 'lose legitimacy, and the very nature of the particular nation-state itself becomes illegitimate in

the eyes and in the hearts of a growing plurality of its citizens' (Rotberg, 2003). To bolster the claim that failed states are utterly incapable of performing the basic functions of the state, the logical policy prescription advocated by international donors and western development experts is increased intervention of external agencies to foster development in the countries in the 'bottom billion' (Collier, 2007). This logic underlies increased donor intervention in developing countries. The United States and other bilateral donors in the west – as part of their support for democratic development around the world, especially since the collapse of communism in the late 1980s – have provided a significant amount of assistance for the promotion of democracy (Finkel et al, 2007). However, despite massive donor assistance to African countries, the lot of the people has not improved significantly. More than ever, there is growing concern among bilateral and multilateral donors about the value of international democracy assistance in developing countries.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

1. To what extent can you say that African states practice democracy?
2. Highlight what you may consider as the major characteristics of an ideal democracy.



## **UNIT IV: FORMS OF DEMOCRACY**

### **1.0 Introduction**

### **2.0 Objectives**

### **3.0 Main content**

#### **3.1Forms of Democracy**

### **4.0 Self-Assessment Exercises**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This last section of module 6 will answer some of the questions you might have asked yourself in the previous unit regarding whether Africa practices democracy. In this unit, you will learn the different forms of democracy so that you will be able to place different African states in their positions on the democratic line.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the meaning of tutelary democracy
- ✓ Get acquainted with the construct of modernizing oligarchy
- ✓ Understand the construct of traditional oligarchy

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 FORMS OF DEMOCRACY**

**Tutelary** (or guarded or protected) **Democracy** is a type of diminished democracy in which the elected government has no effective power to govern and is in need of protection. According to Przeworski (1988), tutelary democracy is a regime which has competitive, formally democratic institutions, but in which the power apparatus, typically reduced by this time to the armed forces, retains the capacity to intervene to correct undesirable states of affairs. What are the characteristic techniques and features of protected, or tutelary, democracy? Although different authors emphasize different aspects, the following are most often cited: recurring threat of military coup, excluding voters and/or candidates from electoral competition, a high level of military institutional prerogatives, and narrowing the political agenda via a kind of “blackmail” (Rabkin, 1993).

#### **Modernizing Oligarchy:**

This system falls midway between traditional oligarchy and political democracy. In such a type of government the rule is either in ‘the hands of a civilian government which maintains its authority with the help of military or the rule of the country is in the hands of the military which keep all powers and gives the form of legitimacy to its rule. In this form of government no opposition is allowed to exist but the Parliament is kept only to ratify the decisions of the executive and administrators. The elections are banned and the position of bureaucracy is exalted. Such a type of oligarchy is not liked by the people at



all because they are deprived of the right to choose their representatives and have no say in the running of the government.

**Traditional Oligarchy:** in this type of government rulers come to power on their own, alone or by a combination of kinship and selection of person qualified by kinship to participate in the selection process. So it is based on strong dynastic constitutionalism associated with traditional religious beliefs. The ruler chooses his ministers on the basis of kinship or amongst his confidants. The ruler exercises his authority with the help of his counsellors. In such a type of government there is no place for the legislature and the Opposition is not allowed to exist. There is also a prevalence of fundamentalism in such type of government.

#### **4.0 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES(SAEs)**

With reference to a minimum of three African states, discuss the best form of democracy practiced in Africa.

#### **5.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)**

1. Discuss critically how Marxist theory gives credence to the explanation of the nexus between globalization and exploitation of Africa by the Western World.
2. What are the *pros* and *cons* of globalization for democratization in Africa?
3. What factors do you consider to be the bane of democratization process in Africa?
4. Citing concrete examples, to what extent can you say that globalization has improved governance and lives of African citizens?

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