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ಮುಕ್ತಗಂಗೋತ್ರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು ೫೭೦ ೦೦೬



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Mukthagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Political Science
M.A. (Final)

English Medium

Contemporary Political Science



Course - II

Block - I

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**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course II**

Block

1

Introduction

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Meaning and Nature of Politics

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Growth of Political Science as a Discipline

21 to 30

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Units 1 - 3

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Course – II Introduction

Course II entitled contemporary Political Science has been prescribed as one of the courses of Political Science for the students of M.A. (Final). The study of contemporary Political Science is of vital and tremendous importance in the contemporary world. In this course, divergent interesting topics like politics, nature of Political Science, approaches employed in the study of Political Science, reasons for the growth of Political Science are included. It also embraces the study of behaviouralism which is a new dimension in the study of political science and lays the foundation launching the movement to study Political Science without being accorded importance to the values.

The development of concepts like system approach, Distributive analysis, theories of elites and groups etc generates bank of interest among the students to pursue the study of Political Science which is so far value-ladder. In addition to the above, this course involves wide range of aspects like, rights, political obligation decision making theory, games theory and research methodology in political science. All these thought provoking concepts theories and systems will facilitate the students of political science beyond the shadow of doubt to have a new insight into the study of Political Science. The backdrop of this introduction will undoubtedly enrich your knowledge and enkindle your mental horizon in understanding the issues of politics and Political Science.

This course has been structured into 7 Blocks which provide information about Political Science in 28 Units.

Dr. T.D. Devegowda

Chairman

DOS in Political Science

KSOU, MGM, Mysore-6

Block I - Introduction

Block 1 has been graduated into 3 units dealing with various aspects of politics, political science, and divergent approaches in the study of political science. Unit 1 contains the elaborate discussion and debates on the meaning, nature of politics, coupled with the varieties of views advanced by traditional writers and modern writers, marxists and liberalists. It also contains the discussion on power politics. Unit 2 deals with the meaning, nature, scope and importance of the study of political science. Unit 3 is concerned with the growth of political science from Ancient Greeks to 20th century.

Unit -1 Meaning and Nature of Politics

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Meaning
- 1.3 Nature
- 1.4 Let us Sum up
- 1.5 Key Words
- 1.6 Some Useful books for further reference
- 1.7 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises

1.0 Objectives

After going through this Unit, you will be able to understand and comprehend

- the meaning of Politics
- the nature of Politics

1.1 Introduction

In our day and age we have become so accustomed to using the word politics. Many persons use this word without knowing its exposition. But we being the students of Political Science, ought to comprehend the true meaning of politics. In the broad sense of the world. Politics is a process at work everywhere and continuously in the smallest groups as well as among great powers on the inter-national level. Every day the news paper carry considerable news about it, because the public wants to know what really happened, why it happened and what antecedents led to the present events. The political scientist wants to learn in a general and systematic way what means will best achieve particular political goals. He wants to find out by what standards one can appraise events and actions in the realm of politics. Finally, he ponders the goals, principles and ideals of politics that give meaning and directions to man's political existence.

1.2 Meaning of Politics

The term politics is derived from the Greek word 'polis' which means a 'city'. To the ancient Greeks, therefore, politics was a knowledge concerning the affairs of a city. But to them the city and the state were indistinguishable. They lived in what we now refer to as 'city states' whose areas did not extend very much beyond small city. To the ancient Greeks politics implied participation of the individual in the life of the polis and was considered vital for the development of the personality of an individual. If included private as well as public action of man. Here in this connection, professor Seeley remarks that ancient politics was little more than the science of municipal government. However this remark should not be taken to imply that the range or outlook of the ancient Greek political thinkers was in any way limited or narrowly local. Infact, their political study was in many respects deeper and broader than what followed the decline of city-states in ancient Rome. With the decline of the Greek city

states, politics assumed a narrower meaning and came to be applied solely to the political activities to the exclusion of the economic, religious, educational and military activities.

The accepted sense in which the term politics is used today is wider than that of political science. According to Gilchrist, the term politics now a days refers to the current problems of Government which are not more economic in character than political in the scientific sense. When we speak of a man as interested in politics we mean that he is interested in the current problems of the day, in tariff questions, in labour questions etc. In this sense, politics is more of an art than a science and a politician is one who takes active part in the politics of his country, though he may have little understanding even of the elementary principles of political science. Besides the political science is the same everywhere, but the politics of one country may be different from that of another. For example, the Russian politics is not the same as the American politics. Thus both the etymological meaning and popular usage make the term politics more comprehensive than the subject matter of political science. Many early writers like Aristotle, Jellinek, Henry Sidgwick, Paul Janet have used the term politics in preference to political science and they have divided politics into two parts (1) Theoretical politics and (2) Applied or practical politics. In the former they include the study of the fundamental characteristics of the state without reference to its or the means by which its ends are attained. As such theoretical politics relates to the principles of political organisation and administration. On the other hand, applied or practical politics embraces the study of the actual working of Government of the State.

1.3 Nature of politics

Broadly speaking the definition of politics falls into two categories, the traditional and the modern. The traditional definitions are largely varied on the Greek view. The important traditional definitions of politics have been offered by scholars like Fairley, Paul Janet, Jenks and others. According to Fairley "Politics includes a study of the organisation and activities of states and of the principles and ideals which underlie political organisation and activities". Paul Janet defines politics as "that part of social science which treats of the foundation of the state and principles of Government". However, these definitions are considered defective in so far as, they do not lay sufficient emphasis on practical aspects of politics. Some of the modern scholars who have offered definitions of politics emphasizing the practical aspect

include Bierle, Hillman, Garner and others. Bierle defines politics as “the conduct of public affairs for private advantage”. Garner confines “politics to the business and activity of the affairs of the state”.

The modern political scientist would not like to confine the scope of politics to state and Government alone. They are concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised, distributed, controlled and the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which the decisions are made. They are also concerned with the various factors which influence the shaping of the decisions and context in which these decisions are taken. Emphasizing this point Lipson says “more limited than politics is the concept of the state. The point that politics is broader than the state can be easily demonstrated. Wherever the state exists, there is politics. But the converse is not true..... that wherever politics exists, so does the state. We can rightly speak of international state. We can talk of politics within churches or municipal corporations or trade unions, although none of these is a state”.

According to Merkl “the essence of politics lies in the fundamental freedom of man in society to master his own fate by political means”. Harold Lasswell, who is considered a great American political scientist, articulates another definition of politics which is popularly known as a power approach. Thus power is the basis of politics. In all kinds of politics power is held by some persons called elites. Therefore, the essence of politics is the source of power held by political elite. Very close to Lasswells’ view is that of Vernon Dyke to whom politics’ is a struggle among actor pursuing conflicting desires on public issues’. Thus to power theorists, politics is struggle for power. George Catlin, another German architect of power theory pushed it further towards greater clarity. David Trusman using this conflict model says “politics is the adjustment of conflict among interests”.

The power approach to the nature of politics is seriously questioned by a few leading political scientists of our time. For instance David Easton who had made considerable impact on contemporary political science has put forth his own of what politics is. According to him, it is too broad view to consider that the essence of politics is struggle of power. The power relations of gang or a family or church cannot be considered political even though one man or one group of men control the actions of others. He insists that definitions should be made between power in general and power in political context. He defines politics as authoritative

allocation of values for a society. Values are concerned with goals towards which a society should move. To determine and decide goals, constitution, the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the bureaucracy, the press, the pressure groups and a host of other organisations would be involved. Such a policy embodying the goals towards which a society should move is 'authoritative' in the sense that once it is declared it becomes obligatory for every one in the society to follow it. Combining the two views of Van Dyke and Easton Winter and Vellows offer a better definition. According to them politics can be defined 'as a struggle between actors pursuing conflicting desires on issues that may result in authoritative allocation of values'.

The above ideas make it clear that politics transcends all spheres of life. There is no human activity which is devoid of politics. Robert A Dahl, who has brought out the all pervasive character of politics, remarks that whether one likes it or not, virtually none is completely beyond the reach of some kind of political system. A citizen encounters politics in the government of the country, town, school, church, political party, civil associations, United Nations and a host of other organisations. Politics is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Every one is involved in some fashion at the same time in same kind of political system. In short, politics is a universal activity in which the citizen is both a subject and an object.

Liberals and Marxists have expressed their different views on what is politics. Liberals regard politics as a study of state, government and power and Marxists consider politics as a study of power only. While the former regard power as an instrument of coercion as well as of public welfare, the latter consider power only as a patent manifestation of class domination. Therefore, it is evident that both take basically different and contradictory views about man and society and about the relationship between personality of the individual and authority of the state.

Liberal view of politics can be traced in the writings of a very large number of social and political thinkers from the 17th to the present centuries. The important among the liberals are Hobbes, Locke, Burke, Bentham, Mill, Green, Barker, Hobhouse, Laski, Maciver and Macpherson. According to these writers man has his personality which can not be crushed by the authority of the state. They advocate the autonomy of the personality of the individual and try to reconcile the interest of man with the overall interest of the society. But the essential

point to be noted here is that they put emphasis on the worth and dignity of the individual. Therefore, social and political theory should highlight this fact. If so, society is an organisation in which individuals with their talents and powers compete with each other. Thus, society is like a free and competitive arena which is governed by the laws of free contract exchange, and competition. Macpherson calls it "Possessive individualism". Its possessive quality is found in its conception of the individual as essentially the proprietor of his person or capacities. The individual is seen neither as a moral whole, nor as a part of a large social whole, but as an owner of himself'. If so, there should be some mechanism to deal with and resolve social conflicts. Therefore, politics is concerned with state and government which are required to maintain law and order and create conditions in which man can develop his personality. That is, every society has different interests which compete and conflict. To resolve or minimize this conflict, some social power and some social process is required. The result is that a social power is created that becomes the state and a social process is invented that is known by the name politics. Therefore, politics is viewed as a power, a social process, a behaviour that is concerned with the maintenance of law and order in the society and for coordinating and conciliating diverse private interests of individuals and groups. In fine, politics is a source of conflict and a mode of activity that seeks to resolve conflicts and promote readjustments.

According to Marxism, man is first a social and then a political creature. The individuals exist only as a part of a social whole that includes family, occupational groups and classes. The mergence of hostile classes has alienated man from his society and thereby the dominant class has invented state as an instrument of exploitation and oppression of the other class. The free will of man requires emancipation and it is possible when man is no longer alienated from himself and from his fellow beings. The interests of the individuals are not opposed to each other. Man according to Marx, is the totality of his social connections, hence emancipated is identical with the emancipated self". Therefore, society should be defined as a living organism whose vital functions are based on the development of its mode of production. In order to live, man invents the means of production and distribution of goods. This creates the relations of production which makes a society divided between two antagonistic classes. The dominant class becomes the owner of the means of Production and distribution, the dominated class exists by selling its labour power. Production is regarded as an important basis of society and labour is the most important part of it. In this way, politics is the study of class relations and

class struggle in society and labour is the most important part of it. In this way, politics is the study of class relations and class struggle in society. The state is not an agency of public good, it is an instrument by which the dominant class manages to exploit and express the dominated class. It is with the aid of politics that classes hold power to strive to influence the nature of economy, the scale of distribution of material wealth, ideology, culture, morality, family and everyday life. In the analysis, the state and politics "are an expression of the economic requirements of society and its social groups".

Thus, we may conclude the discussion of politics with the remarks of peter H.Merkl. He says that "Politics is only one of several social activities of man though intimately related to his other pursuits. It commands a central place among his various activities. It affords him the opportunity for exercising some choice in attaining the basic order of value in society. "Politics is the process through which man orders the society in which he lives according to his political ideas about the ends of man". One can regard politics as the implementation of high philosophical value. One can find politics in the context of an ideal democracy in which every citizen has an equal say in determining a social order. At its best, politics is a noble quest for a good order and justice, at its worst, politics is a selfish grab for power, glory and riches".

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the meaning of politics

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2. Elucidate the nature of Politics

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1.4 Let us Sum up

In this unit, the elaborate discussion is made on the meaning of politics which embraces the debate on theoretical politics and practical politics. The comprehensive and meticulous explanation is conducted to probe into the views of traditional and modern approaches, power approach along with liberal and Marxist views in understanding the nature of politics. With the help of the above discussion, you have been able to distinguish between theoretical and practical politics coupled with the understanding of divergent views which throw a light on the real nature of politics and its utility and value.

1.5 Key Words

Ponder	-	think
Transcend	-	pays beyond the range of
Encounter	-	meet with
Comb	-	search
Sphere	-	scope
Hostile	-	of an enemy

1.6 Some useful books for further reference

J.C. Johari	-	Foundations of political science
A. Appadorai	-	The substance of politics.
H.J. Laski	-	A Grammar of politics
R.N. Gilchrist	-	principles of political science
R.G. Gettel	-	Introduction to Political science
S.P.Varma	-	Modern Political theory
Robert Dahl	-	Modern political analysis
Dr. R.L. Gupta	-	Political theory

1.7 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises

Check Your Progress – 1

1. See section 1.2
2. See section 1.3

Unit 2 Meaning, Nature, Scope and importance of Political Science

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Meaning
- 2.3 Nature
- 2.4 Scope
- 2.5 Importance of Political Science
- 2.6 Let us Sum up
- 2.7 Key Words
- 2.8 Some useful Books
- 2.9 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises

2.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to understand and comprehend

- the meaning of political science
- the nature of political science
- the scope of the study of political science and
- the importance of the study of political science

2.1 Introduction

Political thinking in the west goes back to ancient Greece. But political science, as a subject of higher learning, is relatively of recent origin. Formerly, its study remained confined to the princess, the politicians, the philosophers and publicists. The common man cared less for public affairs, politics and political theorizing. This exclusiveness of Political Science came to an end with the rising tide of democracy and nationalism and with spread of education and the growing political awareness of the masses of people. At present no statesmen or thinker can afford to ignore the common man altogether. Public opinion has now become a factor of considerable importance. Therefore, efforts are made to influence it in various ways not only by the Government but also by other organized groups and parties. Mass meetings and demonstrations have become familiar phenomena. Party machines are being perfected to cope with the work of fighting and winning periodical elections. Only in this way, a party can gain political power and translate its programme into action. Thus, when practical politics has become democratized, political theory cannot afford to lag much behind. Accordingly, it is now acknowledged that it is the people who are the final repository of all political authority. Hence, political power must serve their interests. In fact, political theory now tends to examine and evaluate various political institutions in terms of the benefits, they are able to confer upon the mass of people. The study of political theory too is no longer the privilege or pleasure of a few. It is now within the easy reach of all those who feel interested in it, and are willing to devote themselves to its study.

2.2 Meaning

According to Aristotle who is regarded as the father political science, he who is unable

to live in society must be either a beast or God. It means that man is social animal. He is born in society and lives in society. This is obviously for the reason that no man is self-sufficient. His needs are many and purposes are numerous. For the satisfaction of his diverse needs and fulfillment of his various purposes, he must associate with his fellows and seek their cooperation. The life of living together and cooperating with one another requires adjustment of behaviour according to rules. These rules prescribe certain code of conduct based upon man's needs. The first and the most important thing is that the human conduct in society must conform to certain uniform rules of behaviour. This needs a proper organisation of the society. An organized society must be territorially settled. People cannot become a community of interests unless they live a settled life occupying a definite territory. Then an organized society requires the presence of some individuals who make and enforce rules. The society so organized is called the state. The rules which determine social behaviour are the laws of the state and the individuals who make and enforce these rules are termed the government. The subject which deals with the state and government is called political science. Thus, political science may be defined as the study of man in the process of governing himself.

Political Science is one of the social sciences which deals with state and government. According to Paul Janet, political science is "that part of social science which treats of the foundations of the state and the principles of Government". George Catlin defines political science as the study of "the act of the human and social control" or the "study of control relationship of wills". Some writers regard political science as the "study concerning the problem of power and social control". The view of Bluntschli, a Swiss scholar, is that political science is a science "which is concerned with the state, which endeavours to understand and comprehend the state in its fundamental conditions, in its essential nature, its various forms of manifestation, its development". According to Dr. Garner, political science begins and ends with the state. In Gettel's words, political science may be briefly defined as the science of the state. He further says that political science is "the historical investigation of what the state has been, analytical study of what the state should be". According to John Seeley, political science investigates the phenomena of government as political economy deals with, wealth, biology with life, algebra with numbers and geometry with space and magnitude". Max Weber defines political science as "both a positive and normative science which studies human behaviour in its justice-seeking aspect".

2.3 Nature

There is a disagreement and difference of opinion with regard to the proper name which should be given to the subject matter of our study. Some thinkers call it politics and other writers style it as political philosophy. Still others name it simply as political theory and there are some writers who would rather designate it as political science. Elaborate and detailed discussion has been made on 'politics' in the preceding lesson. Political philosophy is another term which is used by some writers that study of the state constitutes a part of the study of the universe with which philosophy is concerned. This view evolves from the belief that philosophy should regard the study of the state of one of its subdivision. Political philosophy deals with the necessity of the state in the interest of the humanity, ideals of the state and the philosophical interpretations of the state. Here the study of the state, its structure, its nature and its purpose, depends upon our conceptions of right and wrong. Hence, it is better to speak of political philosophy than of political science. But the name of political philosophy is not apt. It is true that there is much in common between political philosophy and political science, because it is so difficult to separate the purpose of political life from the purpose a life itself. Infact, political philosophy is prior to political science and it provides a basis, However, this does not mean that there is no distinction between the two. The scope of political science is broader than that of political philosophy. In our study, we are as much concerned with the principles which underlie the political institutions, as the working of the political institutions themselves. Man is dynamic and so are his political institutions. If we ignore these aspects, we readily ignore the purpose of the state. Therefore, our study must embrace all these problems which are concerned with the growth of the state, its organisation and its functions. Finally, political science has certain definiteness of meaning which is not found in political philosophy.

Political theory is that branch of political science which attempts to arrive at generalizations, inferences, or conclusions from the data gathered by various specialists relating to power in society. Thus political theory relates to the origin, nature of state, forms of government including the principles of political organisations and administration. The political theory stands for the ideas of an individual or a school of political thinking. According to Ernest-Basker, political theory is the speculation of particular thinkers, which may be remote from the actual facts of the time. On the other hand, political thought denotes the dominant

political views of an age in a specific area of humanity. In the words of Barker, political thought is the imminent Philosophy of whole age which determines its action and shapes its life. This terminological distinction is likely to create confusion among the students of political science. Since the subject political science discusses all the problems of the state and government in theory and practice it includes the study of politics, political philosophy, and political theory. It is therefore, quite relevant to designate the subject matter of our study as 'political science'.

There is a great deal of controversy over the question whether political science is a science or not. Aristotle, the earliest political scientist regarded politics as the master of supreme science, and in practice applied scientific methods regarding his studies of Greek city states. Distinguished scholars like Hobbes, Bodin Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Sidgwick, Bryce, Mill and others hold the same opinion. On the other hand thinkers like Buckle, Comte, Maitland, Burke, Barker and others deny the claim of political science to be ranked as science. They maintain that there can be no such thing as a scientific study of the phenomena of the state. Buckle went so far as to declare that 'politics' far from being a science is one of the most backward of all the arts'. According to Comte, political science is not a science because there is no agreement among the political, thinkers as to its methods, principles and development, it lacks continuity and development and it lacks the elements which enable us to predict the future political events. Even Maitland said "when I see a good set of examination questions headed by the words political science I regret not the questions but the title. James Bryce thought it impossible for politics even to 'become a science'. Charles A. Beard considers it neither possible nor desirable that there be a science of politics". Catlin thinks that as yet there is no such thing as a political science in any admissible sense. Ernest Barker is not happy about the term 'science' being associated with political studies.

It is of course true that there are genuine obstacles in the way of development of politics as a science. In the first place, political science has failed to evolve a universally acceptable vocabulary of concepts. The words like socialism, liberalism, communism, democracy and nationalism have different meanings for different writers. Secondly in political science we deal with complex social and political phenomena. Hence, it is not possible to discover universally valid because it deals with human beings who are constantly changing.

There is no certainty about human activities. No two men are identical physically or mentally. Even the nature of the same man constantly varies. Hence the political data are variable. Physical science on the other hand, deal with lifeless things like atoms and matter, As these things are variable, uniform and possess similar qualities all over the world, the conclusions of formulas of physical sciences are exact and precise. Fourthly, unlike in sciences like physics and chemistry in political science correct predictions cannot be made about the future political events because it deals with the changing nature of man. A formula, on the other hand, in physics and chemistry is universally accepted and enables one to make correct forecasts. Fifthly, a political scientist does not have instruments like a balance or a barometer at his disposal like his counter-part in the physical sciences. Therefore the intensity of political reactions or forces cannot be weighed or measured. Sixthly a physical sciences deal with an unbiased frame of mind. Such objectivity and detachment is lacking in political science, for here we deal with man in society. For instance, the theory of communism is interpreted differently by an American thinker and a Russian thinker. Lastly, the student of physical science can conduct experiments over and over again until a definite result is reached. But in political science experiments cannot be conducted in the same way because it deals with human beings. Man, the author of political activities, is progressive and human nature is essentially inconstant. Hence, man can never be a reliable object of experimentation, Moreover, social and political conditions cannot be artificially created to conduct experiments.

No doubt the above facts go heavily against the subject being regarded as a science. But the answer to the question whether politics is a science or not, depends upon the exact meaning of the word science. It is generally recognized that science means systematized body of knowledge acquired by systematic observation and experimentation. If we apply this test to political science its claim to be considered as Science, cannot be devised. A student of Political science observes the facts of political life, systematic and classifies these facts and deducts fundamental principles of laws. These laws can be applied to concrete problems of the state; or a solution. Though laboratory experiments, as in the physical sciences; are not possible in the case of political science, under limitations they are feasible. As Gilchrist aptly writes "Every change in the form of government, every new law passed, every war is an experiment in political science. These are materials, just as, say, carbon is material for chemistry". The entire world is a laboratory of the political scientist. As Gilchrist observed:

“The source of experiments of political science is history, they rest on observations and experience”.

Political science is not only a science but an art also. Art gives practical directions for doing things in particular way. Bluntschli, opines that politics is more of an art and has to do with the practical guidance of political affairs. The practice of politics is an art while the study of this practice is the science of politics or Political Science. Thus political science is both a science and art.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the meaning of political science

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2. Describe the nature of political science

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2.4 Scope of Political Science

The precise and definite boundaries of political science are not easy to determine as there is a difference of opinion on the subject matter of political science. Bluntschli and Garner restrict the scope of political science to the study of the state alone. Thus, they exclude the study of Government from the scope of political science. There are others like Stephen, Leacock who maintain that political science deals only with Government. The word state

nowhere occurs in their definition. But, Laski, Gettel and Gilchrist take a more realistic view and emphasise that the scope of political science covers the study of both the state and Government. We also subscribe to this generally accepted view. In fact, there can be no state without Government. The Government is an integral party of the state and any description of the state must include the study of the structure, functions of Government, its form and other institutions connected with it. However, the state remains the central subject of our study, The whole mechanism of Government revolves around it. The need for Government arises, because there has been the need for the state. Without State life itself could not be sustained. But this is not the only object of the state. According to Aristotle the state originated, in the bare needs of life and is continued in existence for the sake of good life". Therefore, the state is indispensable for his existence and development and as such it becomes necessary to know that state 'as it is', the state as it has been and the state 'as it ought to be'.

Political Science studies the nature, bases, process, scope, and results of power in society. As Robson points out "Power in this context must not be identified merely with coercive force". The moral basis of power and the influence of ideas over man loom large in the philosophy and psychology of politics. Discussion about the source and purpose of power is as important as a study of its exercise. Moreover, the study of power takes the political scientist beyond the organs of Government to an examination of other institutions such as unions, churches, trade associations, great trade business corporations, etc. In fact, any kind of association seeking for power, is relevant to political science. Thus the subject matter of political science embraces all ideas and institutions dealing with power and influence in society. It also includes a study of political behaviour of groups, organisations and institutions which seek to influence public policy and the direction of social change. This study is not limited to any particular period of history or to any specific area of human society. It is thus a dynamic study, embracing anything relating to power and influence in society, present, past and future. Its studies are still in a flux, seeking ever new horizons and its emphasis also keeps on changing with varying conditions and situations.

The empirical study of the existing political phenomena and processes have lately received increasing attention. This involves a discussion of the prevailing political notions, the groups and organisations seeking for power and influence in society. Moreover, it considers

the meaning of the state, its origin, attributes, forms and structure, its processes and working, its purposes and functions, its relations with citizens and various groups, its dealings with other states and with various international organisations. Infact, the growth of international law and organisation have added new dimension to political science. This has made political science, the science of the world political community.

A study of power and influence in society as it has been in the past, is a great help in understanding of political institutions ideas and processes. This aspect of our studies includes the attempts made since ancient times to draw inferences, state valid generalizations and arrive at tentative conclusions about the state, Government, law and political behaviour, It also includes a survey of the origin of the state and beginning of organized political life, the consideration of the evolution of the state from simple to the complex and the study of constitutional history. It involves the study of the past currents of political thought and an understanding of the role of groups and organisations seeking power and influence in society.

It is now realized that the final aim of all studies in political science is to understand political phenomena with a view to arrive at practical decisions about the policy that may be adopted. Lasswell-Kaplan conception of political studies as a "Policy Science" is a clear pointer in that direction. The existing developments and tendencies are studied with a view to discover the direction of the course of development. The shortcomings of the existing ways of the exercise of power and influence in the society are noted in the light of the purposes they seek to achieve. Proposals and projects for the modification of the existing political structure become a legitimate part of our study. The study of political science involves laying down of norms or desirable ends. It is well understood that there are differences among the writers in respect of norms. An understanding of these differences and assumptions helps one in choosing or in striking out an altogether new line. Political science will remain incomplete and unrealistic and political studies will become abstract and barren, if we leave out this aspect of our study.

Despite the fact that political speculations have gone on for more than two and half thousand years, political science is still in a state of development. The first professor of Political Science at Cambridge, Sir Ernest Barker remarked that the subject was regarded by man as "nebulous, probably dubious and possibly disputations". Compared with History, it appears complex and desperate. Compared with law or economics, it lacks a specialized method of

thought and an accepted technical vocabulary. Compared with the physical sciences, it has less clearly defined subject matter. But on the other hand, if we compare political science with sociology, "our subject appears simple, coherent, and compact".

2.5 Importance of Political Science

The study of political science is useful and valuable, because, it enables us to know and how and why the state was organized, why it continues and what the aims and functions of the state are. It makes the individual understand his position in relation to state authority and arouses conscious in him about his rights and obligations. Enlightened people who are mentally equipped with the knowledge of political science, are assets to the state. They are able to play a useful role in social and political affairs. Politically conscious and enlightened people in advanced countries like England and the U.S.A. are bale to set up high standards in politics, administration and statesmanship. On the other hand, people in backward countries suffer owing to the low level of political research, the lack of sound knowledge of political science and the absence of high political standards and conventions. Advanced countries in which citizens have a commendable knowledge of political science, can boast of hig political vigilance and consciousness in them. A politically conscious electorate will not allow the government to misuse its power, and it will be capable of giving great cooperation to the government, which an ignorant and dormant electorate cannot. In times, of grave national emergency of foreign invasion, an elightened and politically conscious electorate alone can cooperate with it fully.

Almost every one in a state is directly or indirectly or indirectly concerned with politics and therefore the study of political science is of tremendous significance. Politics is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Every one is involved in some fashion at sometime in some kind of political system. To know the world affairs, the affairs of one's own country the conditions of the various institutions, the nature and conduct of the government the postures and politics of political parties and various other matters, a knowledge of political science is indispensable. In recent times the importance of political science has been steadily increasing. The emergence of nationalism and democracy has been primarily responsible for more and more people taking a vital part in the political affairs of their respective countries. For instance, in India, people are becoming more and more concerned with the conduct and performance

of their political leaders who are in power to shape their country's destiny. In schools, colleges and universities, the young minds are politically roused and are taking a lively interest in what is happening around them. The angry violent reactions of disgruntled people to the misdeeds of those who are in power are very much in evidence today. Periodical elections enable voters to register their protest silently at the ballot box.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Briefly describe the scope of political science

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2. Write a note on the significance of political science.

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2.6 Let us Sum up

In this unit we have discussed etymological distinction and its precise terminology, meaning, nature, scope and importance of the study of political science. With the help of the discussion as the above aspects, you have been able to comprehend and understand the value and practical utility of political science which deals with the state and government in all its dimensions and studies the influence, power, authority and political behaviour of man in the society. Political science as a dynamic discipline is flourishing in its scope and value day by day.

2.7 Key Words

Polis	-	city-state
Politics	-	current affairs of the state
Etymology	-	science of the derivation of words
Empirical	-	Relying on experiment
Discipline	-	systematically developed branch of knowledge
Science	-	systematized body of knowledge acquired by systematic observation and experimentation
Christened	-	Give name to

2.8 Some useful Books

J.C. Johari	:	Foundations political science
A. Appadorai	:	The substance of politics
Harold J. Laskhi	:	A Grammar of politics
R.N. Gilchrist	:	Principles of political science
R.G. Gettel	:	Introduction to political science
S.P. Varma	:	Modern political theory
Robert Dahl	:	Modern political analysis

2.9 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises

Check your Progress -1

1. See section 2.2
2. See section 2.3

Check your Progress -2

1. See section 2.4
2. See section 2.5

Unit 3 Growth of Political Science as a Discipline

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Development of Political Science
 - 3.2.1 During ancient Greeks.
 - 3.2.2 During 18th and 19th centuries
 - 3.2.3 During 20th century.
- 3.3 Let us Sum up
- 3.4 Key Words
- 3.5 Some useful Books for further reference
- 3.6 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises.

3.0 Objectives

After going through this unit, you will be able to understand

- how political science developed during ancient-greeks
- how political science developed during 18th and 19th centuries and
- how it developed during 20th century

3.1 Introduction

Political Science is one of the important and interesting social sciences. It cannot be meticulously understood without knowing its beginning. Therefore, it is desideratum to know its growth and development to have insight into how political views, institutions developed in different period of times. The past political developments help the students to describe political phenomena on historical basis.

3.2 Growth and development of Political Science

The origin and growth of political science can be understood with the help of events that took place during ancient Greeks, 18th and 19th centuries and during 20th century.

3.2.1 During ancient Greeks

Political science is one of the oldest social sciences. Its origin can be traced back to ancient Greece. Ever since people began to live together, problems of organisation and control developed and political thinkers started discussing problems such as the power, relationship between the rulers and the ruled and the kind of system to serve the requirements of organisation and control. These problems have agitated the minds of men all through the centuries. If the ancient political thinkers concentrated on the problem of the ideal state, medieval thinkers concerned themselves with the establishment of Gods kingdom on earth and recent political philosophers have dwelt on other problems like power, authority etc., The approach has been historical throughout the ages. This means to say that an attempt was made by political thinkers to trace and describe a political phenomenon or the growth of a particular institution on historical basis instead of analyzing the phenomena with its abstract elements. The historical school of jurisprudence had a deep impact on studies of political science. Several scholars made excellent studies of history of constitutions, constitutional law institutions the parliament

and king in England the congress and president in U.S.A. the growth of national and international organisation.

3.2.2 During 18th and 19th centuries

During 18th century, Germanic influence played an important part in the development of political science in the United States. Political science was given a separate identity with the establishment of a school of political science at the Columbia college in 1880. This school in 1886, inaugurated the political science quarterly, which remained for a long time the main channel for scholarly writing in political science. A similar effort was made at the John Hopkins University and the University of Michigan to introduce teaching and Ph.D research in History and Political Science. Both the Universities emphasise research based on data instead of philosophical speculation and historical comparative method. Many political thinkers also tried, from time to time, to enter into an analysis of concepts like state, law, sovereignty Rights, justice and the working of governments. This analyzing tendency assumed greater importance only in the later part of the 19th century. Scholars now started disusing with great emphasis on the functional aspects of political organisations and processes.

3.2.3 During 20th century

In the early part of the 20th century a normative-prescriptive approach was added to the historical-analytical approach. Political writers now started discussing merits and demerits, advantages and disadvantages of political institutions like the presidential system of government versus the parliamentary system, single member constituency versus proportional representation, unitary government versus federal government. They had drawn conclusions as to which was better irrespective of the existing conditions in a country where these ideal institutions were proposed to be established.

However, the establishment of the American Political Science Association in 1903 in New Orleans gave impetus to the collection, organisation and classification of facts about political institutions. This paved the way for the development of descriptive taxonomic approach in which a great deal of emphasis was placed on the collection and classification of facts about political institutions and processes. Thus the different approaches in traditional political science like historical analytical, legal institutional, normative prescriptive and descriptive

taxonomic developed. Within the framework of the traditional approaches, political scientists developed greater knowledge about the working of political institutions than during the last several years. They had started investigating into the problems of power. Some of them had tried to identify the cultural determinants of governments, others had studied the organisational aspects of governments more intensively than their predecessors. They were now making a greater emphasis on analyzing the elements of policy making, the character and types of political leadership and the changing patterns of relationship between ideology and leadership. Electoral process also drew their attention increasingly. Earlier emphasis on formal and judicial structures was slowly giving way to functionally oriented research. A greater interest was taken in the activities of non-governmental organisations and groups and their impact on government activities. The scope of political science no longer remained restricted to political science no longer remained restricted to political philosophy and institutional description. There was now a greater tendency to use empirical methods in the study of institutions and organisations. In the early part of the 20th century, political science began to be influenced by progress made in many other phases of intellectual inquiry which had given a stimulus to the methods of scientific research. However with all the search for better methods and tools for research, there was a dissatisfaction with the existing state of political science. As Kirkpatrick has pointed out "Disatisfaction produced ferment and ferment change. It was this new outlook which found expression in what is known as the behaviouralist approach in political science. There was now a call for new units of analysis new methods, new techniques new date and for the development of a systematic theory.

In the character of political science the vast and rapid changes were taking place. New assumptions, procedures and techniques were evolved and new goals for study of political life were being set. Political institution was no longer regarded as the basic unit for analysis and research and emphasis was shifted to the behaviour of individuals in political situations. Charles Beard, A.L.Lowell and Arthur Bentlay played an important role in widening the frontiers of political science. Beard was highly critical of speculative theorizes and insisted on greater use of statistical techniques for ensuring complete objectivity. As a result many changes were taking place in the study of political science. There was a decreasing reference to the doctrine of natural rights as a basis for political practice, rejection of the divine theories of institutions etc. The writings of A.L.Lawrence created the new world of political science. As

early as 1889, he had realized the importance of studying the functions of government rather than its institutions. In his presidential address to the American political science association, he complained that political scientists do not study enough of the actual working of government". We are inclined to read the library as the laboratory of political science, the store of original sources, the collection of ultimate material. But for most purposes books are no more the original sources, the collection of ultimate material. But for most purposes books are no more the original sources for the psychology of politics than they are for geology or astronomy. The main laboratory for the actual working of political institutions is not a library but the outside world of public life. It is there that phenomena must be sought.

In England similar views were held by political scientists like Bagehot and Graham Wallas. Bagehot tried to trace the influence of social conditions in England on her political institutions. He also pointed out that behind the purpose of the political institutions, there was always an unseen political process which contributed for the political and social stability. Bagehot even attempted in his works a psychological analysis of the various classes individuals in England. Graham Wallas another British writer, laid emphasis on the socio psychological foundation of political behaviour and tried to interpret political behaviour and tried to interpret political phenomena in terms psychological forces rather than in terms of form and structure. George Catlin, another writer in England emphasized the significance of interdisciplinary approach in the study of behavioural political science. During, this period, political science was coming rapidly under the strong influence of developments which were taking place in other social sciences like sociology, psychology, anthropology etc.

The most important writers who laid the foundation of behavioral political science, were A.F. Bentley and Charles Merriam. Bentley was a great critic of traditional political science and regarded it as barren and static. The reason for his criticism was that it did not place enough emphasis on the study of the process which has since then been completely absorbed in behavioural political science. The terms like legislative and judicial process etc, would come in political science. Merriam was generally regarded as the intellectual godfather of the behavioural political science. He urged that more attention should be given to methods and findings of sociology, psychology, geography, ethnology biology and statistics profoundly dissatisfied with the basic methods of observation and analysis in political science, Merriam

directed his efforts towards improvement in the machinery for research. Merriam took upon himself the responsibility of propagating the interdisciplinary and scientific character of political science he wanted political studies to make full use of all the advances in human intelligence which the social and natural sciences had brought into the world in the last few generations. He emphasized again and again that "the great need of the hour is the development of a scientific technique and methodology for political science. He also repeatedly emphasized the urgent need of minute, thorough, patient, intensive study of the details of political phenomena.

The major factor which led to the development of behaviouralism in political science in the United States was the influence of large number of sociologists who were deeply influenced by the sociological approach to politics. Sociologists like Auguste Comte, Durkheim, Max Weber and Fried can be described as pressures of behaviouralism. Robert Dahl is of the opinion that behavioural approach in the United States developed because of certain factors. Firstly, under Charles Merriam behavioural approach. More or less simultaneously Catlin devoted his time and attention to this approach in Conwell University. Secondly many German Scholars who came to the United States in 1930's brought sociological approach to political science. They were under the influence of Max Weber and wanted to study political problems in the background of sociology. Thirdly, second world war provided for the development of this approach. The World War came so suddenly that most of the political scientists had failed to predict it.

When they were still theorizing in their rooms and giving lectures and seminars, the war broke out. Many American political scientists began to study day to day political and administrative realities and generated useful data. They realized that there were strong inadequacies between realities and theories of political science. They also felt that political science, as it existed could not help in making predictions. Fourthly, the formation of social science research council became responsible for the growth of behavioural political science in the United States. The moving spirit in the council was E. Pendleton Herring. He was a strong supporter of realism. He wanted that political scientists should come out from their libraries and research work which closed them in the four walls of the rooms. They should care to know the needs of individuals and groups and face them with hard realities of life. Lastly, Rockefeller foundation provided a stimuli to behaviouralism in America. It had a vast

resources which were made available for scholarly research. With the help of financial assistance by the foundation, it became easy to work and conclude results of any research. Had this fund not been available perhaps behavioural approach would not have been strong as it is today.

With the emergence of a large number of new states all over the world, political scientists in the United States found it necessary to depend more and more on other social sciences for proper understanding of political development in these countries. As a result, the study of political science became inter disciplinary. It was felt that the study of political science could not be confined to a political system alone. With the emergence increase in the economic functions and social responsibility of the government, it became necessary to make the scope of political science more and more wide. Therefore Sociology, History, Economics, Ethics, Psychology etc., were included in the study of political phenomena. Besides, the administration of non political organisations within the state and the political elements that influence those administrations were also included in the study of political science. In, this regard, J.S. Ronik says "Familiarity with economics, anthropology, sociology, history, psychology and geography is essential to a proper understanding of the natures of political processes and to a genuine application of the basic problems of political life. The extension of political horizon, the complexity of the subject matter of political science in adequacy of political science as a self contained discipline had all contributed for the advancement of inter-disciplinary approach in the study of political science.

In the mid sixties, behaviouralism received new challenges. Post behaviouralism and traditionalism are highly critical of behaviouralism. Traditionalism has denied the validity of behavioural approach and reiterated its faith in the classical traditions of political science. The post behaviouralist accept the achievements of the behaviouralism and seeks to push political science towards new horizons. David Easton pointed out that post behaviouralism was future oriented, seeking to propel political science in new direction. It was a genuine revolution, not a reaction, a reform not a counter-reformation. It was both a movement and an intellectual tendency. It would becoming to identify post behaviouralism with any particular ideology, since its advocates included all varieties of political scientists. The two main demands of post behaviouralism are relevance and action. This means that they believed in action oriented

research related to social conditions. David Easton who was the torch runner of behaviouralism, became discontent with behaviouralism, Though post behaviouralist have differed from behaviouralists to some extent, yet they have not underestimated the value of technical proficiency in the study of political science. What they have stressed is that a political scientist should not run away from the realities of life. They have also made it clear that inspite of all our efforts values are bound to creep in social sciences. They have laid stress on the purpose research and research must be relevant to the understanding of social problems. In addition to this the political scientist must play the leading role in acting for the desired social change. In spite of some of the drawbacks of behaviouralism, it cannot be denied that the behaviouralists gave new dimensions to the study of political science. They successfully stressed that what was expected from the political scientists was not the theory but solution of social , economic and political problems.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Trace the origin and growth of political science during ancient Greeks

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2. Explain the growth of political science during 18th and 19th centuries.

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3. Discuss the development of political science during 20th century.

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3.3 Let us Sum up

In this unit, we have discussed at length the origin and growth of political science during ancient Greeks, during 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. With the help of discussion, you have been able to trace and describe a political phenomenon or the growth of particular institution on historical basis. This discussion also helped you to understand how emphasis was laid on research based on data instead of philosophical speculation and functional aspects of political organisations and processes during 18th and 19th centuries. Lastly, this discussion also helped you to comprehend the tremendous developments that have taken place in the growth of political science including the emergence of system and behavioural approach in the study of political science. Despite new challenges, behaviouralism gave new dimensions to the study of political science.

3.4 Key Words

- phenomenon - Remarkable
- Jurisprudence - Science of Law
- Data - Facts from which inference can be drawn
- Normative - Establishing a standard
- Prescriptive - laying down rules
- Taxonomic - classification of its principles
- Descriptive - Delineate
- Ideology - set of social political and economic beliefs
- Empirical - relying on experiment

3.5 Some useful Books

J.C. Johari	-	Foundations of political science
A. Appadorai	-	The substance of politics
H.J. Laski	-	A Grammar of Politics
R.N. Gilchrist	-	principles of political science
R.G. Gettel	-	Introduction to political science
S.P. Varma	-	Modern political analysis
Dr. D.L.Gupta	-	Political theory

3.6 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises

Check your Progress -1

1. See section 3.2.1
2. See section 3.2.2
3. See section 3.2.3

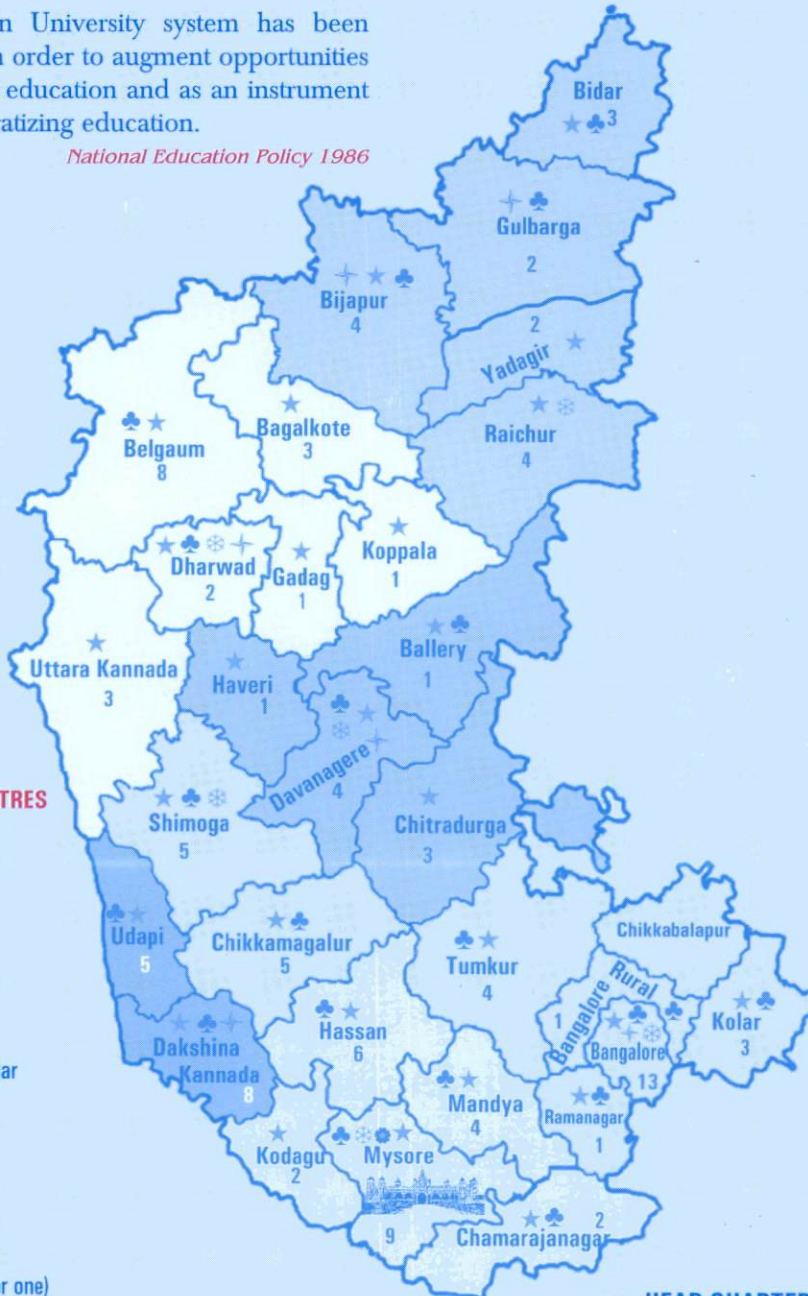


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