

Theories of State

Pluralist theory of state

Context of pluralistic theory of state and state sovereignty

Pluralistic theory of state was advocated by scholars like Laski & ~~Mac~~ MacIver. Laski was internationalist, supporter of rights & felt the necessity to check the monistic theory of state, excessive nationalism. He was critic of Nazism & Fascism & wanted to strengthen international law.

Main idea of Pluralist

According to pluralists, state is also an association.

They do not believe in monistic theory of sovereignty which concentrates all power in a political society in hands of the state.

Sovereignty of state has 2 aspects: External & Internal. Internally state is supreme, Externally also state is supreme, They do not recognise supremacy of international law or international organisations.

o Since society is federal, authority should also be federal. - Laski

o State is a key stone of social architecture. - Laski

Above statement is Laski's support for pluralistic theory of state and sovereignty. According to him, universe is multidimensional, man is a part of universe, man is also multidimensional, man has various types of needs, state does not fulfil all needs of man, there are other associations also like church or some community based groups. Some associations like church or kingship group have been prior to state. They do not owe their existence to state. It implies that a person should be obliged towards all such associations. State cannot claim monopoly over a p obligation of man. Since the structure of society is federal, the system of authority should also be federal. It is not a good idea to establish supremacy of state in all spheres. Ex. with respect to a religion we much can acknowledge supremacy of church. For pluralists, monastic theory of state sovereignty has been a historical notion. It has lost its earlier importance. We have to have a moderate approach w.r.t. status of state.

15/9/14

Pluralists on Monistic Theory of State

For Pluralists the Monistic Theory of Sovereignty of state is a "Political Fiction" rather than fact.

In practice, sovereignty of state is always limited in internal sphere by customs and traditions and in external sphere because of other states.

Monistic Theory is also the product of history.

Criticism of Pluralism

It is inconsistent theory in its approach towards the state. Pluralists are not anarchists. They do not end the state, rather retain the state.

At the same time, they are also critical of state.

Pluralists suffer from the dilemma of "Keeping the cake & eating it too".

Criticism of pluralism is its inconsistency.

However inconsistency is not a test of relevance of the theory. Plato is more consistent than Aristotle, but Aristotle is more relevant than Plato.

◦ State is a key stone of social architecture. — Laski

Laski is moderate pluralist who realises the negative consequences of Monistic notion of sovereignty of the state, both for human

rights as well as international peace. Hence he wants to limit the authority of the state.

At the same time he acknowledges state as key stone of social architecture. A state gains primacy over other associations because of the specific type of a role state performs.

The function of state is to achieve equilibrium among the competing interests. Hence state has to be given primacy and state emerges

as the key stone. Applying in international context, we see proliferation of international & transnational organisations along with the existence of nation states (Ex. EU)

- Conclusion: Pluralists practical.

MacIver

o State is both a child and guardian of law.

o State commands because it serves.

MacIver is treated as extreme pluralist.

He was a Canadian sociologist who treats state merely as an association. He even treats even other associations like religion & kinship prior and more important than a state. Does

not regard state as a key stone. He strongly supported the notion of limited authority of state. He suggests that state is not only the guardian of law, state is itself a child of

law. His position is in contrast to Hobbes

position, where law is the command of

Sovereign. His position is near to Locke,

where state is under the law.

According to MacIver, state is obeyed by people

not out of fear or that it is a spiritual organisation,
but because state serves certain function.

Marxist Theory of State

There are 2 views (Marx)

- Instrumentalist (Communist Manifesto)
- Structuralist (18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte).

Contemporary works on nature of state
from the perspective of Marxism

Marx's works are limited to the early capitalist &
capitalist societies. Contemporary Marxist
have dealt with the analysis of welfare
state in post capitalist societies.

Regarding analysis of welfare state as found
in advanced societies, we see 2 perspectives

- Instrumentalist &
- Structuralist.

o Explain the debate on the nature of state
between Ralph Miliband and Nicole Potlantzau.

Ralph Miliband Instrumentalist Approach

Western scholars claim that welfare state
has resolved the contradiction between
labour & capital; established an egalitarian
society & can not be called as an instrument of
the capitalist class. James Burnham gave the
Theory of Managerial Revolution which suggest that

power has shifted into the hands of managers. Managerial class is an open class. Anyone from any background having merit can join the managerial class.

On the basis of empirical analysis in western countries, Miliband explodes the myth of Managerial Revolution. According to him, there are limited chances for children of working classes to become managers until & unless they have exceptional talent they would not be able to rec climb the ladder.

All key decision making institutions including judiciary are elitist in nature. This shows that those who are controlling means of production are also controlling the decision making structures. And welfare state is not to give justice to weaker sections but to protect capitalism.

Structuralist Approach: State is Eq^m maker rather than instrument of a particular class at all times.

State is relatively autonomous from the economic structure.

The reason is with the advent of universal adult franchise & competitive party system & the rise of "Catchall parties" It is not possible that state will be acting as an instrument of economically dominant class at all times. However state is only relatively autonomous. In situations of crisis state will

ultimately support the propertied class.

Post-Colonial Theory of State

Theory of Post-Colonial states

What are Post-Colonial states?

Countries which had colonial past and where colonial legacy persists are post-colonial states. They are also known as developing societies.

Post colonial states have been studied by scholars from liberal as well as Marxist school of thought. Some of the prominent studies on the nature of post colonial states can be described as

- Gunnar Myrdal [Book: Asian Drama] (Liberal)

Concept of Soft state specially for India

- Lucian Pye

Concept of Political Development

- F.W. Riggs

Concept of Prismatic Societies

- Samuel P. Huntington

Concept of Political Decay

- Sorenson

Concept of Fragile states

Marxist perspectives

- Dependency theories

A.G. Frank

Neomarxist

- Hamza Alawi

Concept of Overdeveloped States

Lucian Pye & concept of Political Development

States in third world countries are developing societies & not politically developed like western counterparts. Political development means strengthening of democracy.

Lucian Pye gave 3 parameters of Political development

- Equality (political equality).

Equality means participation of citizens in governance or access to political offices & decision making structures.

- Capacity, Etc

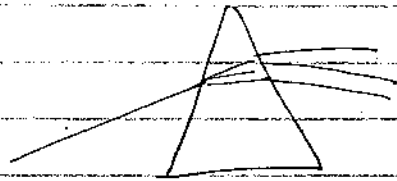
Capacity means the capacity of state to enforce laws. Capacity is weak. State is treated as an alien institution, often associated with colonialism. Hence state has to depend on greater use of police force.

- Differentiation

It means functional specialization

There is lot of overlapping betⁿ religion & politics, military & civilian structures

Riggs' model of Prismatic societies



primitive Developing Developed

Prismatic societies are societies in transition,
coexistence of modernity & tradition.

Riggs has given following features of Prismatic societies

- Formalism

· Difference in theory & practice.

- Polynormativism : multiple norms exist.

- SALA model of administration

Administration is governed by rational
and irrational norms.

- Bazaar - Canteen model of economy.

- Polycommunalism

many identities exist.

There is no single community identity.

- Centralisation & Authoritarianism

Soft State

State is soft on those who do not obey the law.

or it is very easy not to obey the law.

Soft state is responsible for lack of development
in these countries.

16/9/14

The reason for soft state is prevalence of corruption. The impact is that development will always remain a big challenge.

Samuel P. Huntington's views on states in 3rd world countries

According to Huntington, states in 3rd world countries were once developed but now in the state of decay. Political decay is because of the mismatch in the level of social & economic changes & the growth of political institutions. Ex: Democracy though introduced has not been institutionalised in these countries. This mismatch between social & political is described as "Development Trap" by Riggs.

Sorenson

Sorenson has compared political evolution in advanced countries and in post-colonial societies.

Political Development in advanced countries
Uptil World War II

Uptill WWII the idea of strong nation, centralised political authority was prevalent. But since the end of WWII, we see rise of trans-national governance and establishment of supranational bodies on one side & decentralisation of power on the other hand.

States in Post-Colonial societies

States in these societies are imported institutions. These societies didn't have the idea of territorial nation state. In these societies state faced multiple challenges, people have primordial loyalties. States face ex. secessionist movement legitimization crisis, governance deficit & mostly are failed states.

Marxist concept

Dependency school

School of development

& underdevelopment

A. G. Frank,

Samir Amin,

Cardoso,

Frantz Fanon

The Theory of development & underdevelopment was developed by scholars of 3rd world countries.

It was prominent during 70's. These scholars have attempted a critique of International

Capitalism. Prominent ideas can be summed up as

- states in 3rd world countries lack autonomy of its own

- they are sovereign in namesake. Actually they are peripheral peripheral states.

- They have coined term like core countries & peripheries.

We can't understand the nature of state in 3rd world without understanding the linkages between core and peripheries.

States here are puppet regimes or clientalist regimes of MNCs of western countries. Banana Republic

These states exploit their own people in the interest of the Capitalists of the core countries.

Though colonialism has ended in formal sense, but neoimperialism is continuing. These scholars use the term dependency to show the relationship betⁿ core & peripheral states.

Western scholars talk about interdependence but what exists is dependence.

Core is dependent on periphery for supply of raw materials and market for their finished goods. Peripheries are dependent on core for manufactured goods, high technology & Capital.

The system does not result into equal exchange, rather "unequal exchange", where core benefits at the cost of periphery. The dependency results into "uneven development", i.e., prosperity in core and poverty in periphery.

Neo Marxist theory.

Hamza Alawi

concept of overdeveloped state

Hamza Alawi was a Pakistani political analyst who analyzed the nature of state in Pakistan by using structuralist approach.

The study is also applicable to understand the nature of state in other 3rd world countries including India.

What is overdeveloped state?

To understand states in 3rd world countries he rejects the instrumentalist approach which suggests that state is an instrument of Capitalist class. State in India or Pakistan can't be treated as simply the instrument of the Capitalist class. (of their own countries)

For underdeveloped state implies that state is modern but society remains traditional. There is a mismatch in political and social evolution.

The modern state system have been imposed by the colonial masters. Under condition of Colonialism indigenous capitalist class could not become strong enough to make the state as its instrument.

Colonial states can be described as

"Bonapartist state", where the real power lies with political executive. Hamza Alawi

calls state in Pakistan as "Military Bureaucratic Oligarchy". Regarding

Indian state uptill 1990's scholars preferred to use the term "Inspector Raj".

Reasons for Bonapartism

- Colonial legacy

Even after independence the colonial laws continued. Colonial masters established police states in these countries to protect the interest of empire. They introduced draconian laws. Such laws which give lot of powers in the hands of bureaucracy. One such law

has been "Official Secrets Act".

- The economic policy adopted by these states gave control to the state on economic resources. This has also strengthened the position of bureaucracy for example, in India "Licence Permit Quota Raj" strengthened the bureaucracy.
- States' greater use of police power was considered essential & legitimate to maintain national unity and territorial integrity and to deal with secessionist challenges.
- Mostly in these states, the political faction playing prominent role in the Freedom struggle came to acquire political power. These political parties enjoyed lot of legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

Thus the specific social & economic condⁿ prevailing in these societies have resulted into a different type of the political system than found in West.

According to Hamza Alawⁱ states in these countries have been an equilibrium maker among the competing interest of

- Bourgeoisie in core countries
- Indigenous capitalist class
- Indigenous feudal class

Feminist theory of state

As such there is no specific theory on state from feminist perspective. Different schools of feminism have different approach.

Liberal Feminist:

They view state in positive sense and support affirmative action policies by the state in favour of women. They believe that with greater political participation, status of women can improve.

Marxist view feminist:

For Marxist state is also an instrument of the Capitalist class. Marxist perspective on women issue was first provided by Frederick Engels. In his book "Origin of family, private property & state", Engels has considered family and state as institutions to protect right to property. He linked subordination of women to the institution of ^{private} property. Women should support communist revolution. Once capitalism will end their subordination will automatically end. For Marxist feminist, there is no need for separate women movement.

Radical feminism: Catherine MacKinnon

(Book: Towards a feminist theory of state.)

For them, state is also an institution of patriarchy in a patriarchal society. Hence nothing much is expected from the patriarchal state. Though radical feminist support state's intervention & stringent laws.

to protect women. In Indian context, scholars like Madhu Kishwar feels that Indian state has not done enough to improve the status of women except passing some lopsided pieces of legislation.

Ecofeminism

[not related to theory of state].

Vandana Shiva

They find similarities between women and nature. Men have exploited both.

Women have been the worst sufferers of environmental degradation.

Women are closer to nature. Struggle for protection of nature & women can go together.

One of the earliest environmental movement in

India is "Chipko movement". Here women of Uttarakhand played a prominent role.

capacity building
US Aff. action
Ind

- It doesn't make economic sense also leaving a significant % of people in the state of backwardness. It is a wastage of human resource.

- Though in principle affirmative action policies need to be supported as some catalysts are needed to uplift those who have been historically disadvantaged.

But it is equally important that we should have proper policies & a time limit. We should not allow politicisation of affirmative action policies.

As per Supreme Court of India, they are enabling policies. They can't be continued permanently.

If reservation is needed on a permanent basis, it means we are nowhere near the aim to be achieved.

creamy layer / need