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## IQBAL AND SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

*Dr. Iqbal Gondal*

In the national history of the Muslims of the sub- continent, Allama Muhammad Iqbal has a great place.

He was not only a profound philosopher and an accomplished poet but also a great thinker who conceived the idea of Pakistan, our dear motherland, with his thoughts. He kindled a new spirit among the Indian Muslims and guided the entire Islamic World.

For the system of government, Iqbal proposed very solid ideas which are absolutely Islamic. In his political thoughts, centre of the system of government is the concept of 'toheed' i.e. sovereignty or supreme power belongs to Allah Almighty. No human being can be the lord of other human beings. Allah alone is sovereign. His sovereignty extends over all the heavens and the earth, seen and unseen, visible and invisible. His sovereignty knows no limits of time or space. It covers every sphere of human activity. "In this very system, dignity and respect for man can be guaranteed because religion and politics are harmonized only in Islam"<sup>1</sup>.

**The Quran says:**

"To God belongs the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth. He createth what He pleaseth, giving to whom He pleaseth females and to whom He pleaseth males or conjoining them males and females and He maketh whom He pleaseth barren; verily He hath both knowledge and wisdom"<sup>2</sup>.

All the thoughts of Iqbal are nurtured by Islamic teachings. Like other walks of life, politics also stands in need of it. The salvation of mankind lies in the fact that religion and worldly affairs, morality and politics should go hand in hand with each other and the weak and mighty, contentment and the humility are harnessed together. In this way, such a system of thought and action comes into being as perfects humanity. If cruelty and selfishness are upheld in politics, the individuals will treat one

another selfishly and indifferently under such a culture. The modern civilization has lost its spiritual value on account of discrimination of politics and manners. The best politics is that which conforms to discipline, rules and morality and the system of justice can be implemented practically through it. Otherwise how charming and attractive may be the terms of politics and government, they are vain<sup>3</sup>.

Iqbal uses the word 'Khilafat' for the political system. Khilafat (The divine government) is the best manifestation of religion and politics. The basic principles of Khilafat are that sovereignty belongs to Allah who is omnipresent, omnipotent and Omniseeing and Whose domination is over the sky and the earth. The charter of Khilafat is the Holy Quran which provides guidance for every aspect of life. All the principles of individual and collective life are included in it. All the social, economic and political problems of mankind can be resolved through the implementation of these principles and regulations.

To Iqbal equality has the pivotal role for system of government. He explains this principle under the light of Divine Law i.e. there is no room for a privileged class in Islam and the system of the state is absolutely free from the limitations of caste and race, rich and poor. The Caliph is held responsible for his deeds as any other citizen. He is not above the law. Similarly, how can the ruling class be above the law? The office of Khilafat is not the birth right of an individual or a class but it has been trusted to them. The supremacy of law is essential both for the ruler and the ruled. The ruler must conform to the divine law as there is no difference between politics and religion in Islam. The whole system of life is a unity which depends upon moral principles and religious regulations. The principles of good and evil, piety and sin and punishment and reward are binding upon every one in it. Even the Caliph or the assembly is answerable to the Ummah for its deeds<sup>4</sup>.

According to Iqbal, the Caliph is selected by the Ummah and his selection is neither for his life time nor for a few years. If the Caliph deviates from the divine decrees, he can be removed from

his office. It is an established fact of Islamic history that a ruler has the right to rule as long as he is a custodian of good human values. It is evident from Hazrat Abu Bakar's address.

"O, People! I swear by Allah that I never coveted the Emirate either by day or by night nor had I inclination towards it. I never pray to God openly or secretly to confer the same on me. In fact, a big task has been assigned to me which is beyond my power to fulfill except with the help of the Almighty Allah. I wished to see the strongest of men in my place this day. Now, it is beyond doubt that I have been elected your Amir, although I am not better than you. Help me if I am in the right; set me right if I am in the wrong. Truth is trust; falsehood, a treason. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him. Obey me as long as I obey Allah and his Prophet. When I disobey Him and His Prophet, (PBUH) then obey me not"<sup>5</sup>.

In short the powers of state or government have always been conditional in Islamic traditions.

Allama Iqbal agrees to Mawardi's concept that the candidate for the office of Khilafat must have these qualities. He must be a man of good manners. He must be healthy with sound external and internal senses. He must have a vast knowledge of religion and Sharia. He must be honest and God fearing. The fear of God for the Caliph is the essence of the Islamic sovereignty. He must run the affairs of the state through mutual consultation with his legislature. He should disregard majority or minority in this process. On the other hand, having sought advice, he should make just and right decisions through his insight.

If we study the political thoughts of Iqbal with reference to modern democracy, we come to the conclusion that he disliked as well as liked it. The main reason of disagreement was that he considered the Islamic system of government to be an ideal form of government. For, contrary to the Islamic concept of government, some thinkers thought one person to be the source of sovereignty in the modern democracy and thereby paved the way for Monarchy

where, some thinkers regard a class or some people to be the source of sovereignty and resultantly supported aristocracy. In contrast to this school of thought, Rousseau opined that "public will", assessed through consensus is the source of sovereignty<sup>6</sup>.

Iqbal is absolutely against all the above noted thoughts of sovereignty. According to him, a person, some persons, majority of persons or all the persons cannot be sovereign. He claims that sovereignty belongs to Allah almighty who is the creator and Lord of man and Universe<sup>7</sup>.

(Sovereignty lies with almighty Allah - the Matchless He is the sole ruler, all others are mere shadows)<sup>8</sup>.

According to Iqbal, this Divine authority should be visible among the mutual relationship of man and the collective institutions. As the real creator of the universe Allah Almighty is not only the Lord of all the universe but also the real source of the sovereignty of the state. But if such is not the case, the sovereignty goes to undivine hands which strengthen such forces as start inflicting cruelties upon the weak and down trodden people<sup>9</sup>. In political terminology this system is known as dictatorship about which Iqbal says that:<sup>10</sup>

(Dictatorship save that of God is in fact infidelity).

Iqbal says, it is not enough that Allah may be accepted as the only creator and sustainer of the universe. He should also be accepted as the real source of the Sovereign of the state. If a person, a few persons, majority of persons or all the persons are regarded as the source of the Sovereign of the state, this should not be unity and the system of individual and collective life originating from this theory would be devoid of uniformity, because the betterment of humanity lies in the fact that the creator of the universe must also be accepted as the sovereign of the state. Man observes His authority and power in all the phenomenon of the earth and the sky and in every particle of the universe. His sovereignty must be understood and implemented in the state and all its institutions. In other words, the being who is creatively the Lord of the universe,



He is also the legal sovereign of the state<sup>1</sup>.

Iqbal has given a beautiful argument to support the concept of the Islamic sovereignty. The philosophy of ego occupies the central position in the poetry of Iqbal. This theory rejects all such theories of life as weaken the ego of man and it supports such a system of thought as strengthens the ego of man. Under the light of the philosophy of ego, Iqbal regards all the systems not based on Divine concept of sovereignty as condemnable for they impair the ego of man. The main reason of it is that the concept of sovereignty in these systems mean where as the concept of divine sovereignty invigorates ego because this concept is very high and supreme and the source of sovereignty is very pure and sacred. Contrary to the concept of western sovereignty, you have to accept the Khilafat (the divine system of Govt.) the authority and sovereignty of Allah Almighty and this in fact is the man's loyalty to his own ideal nature therefore it strengthens and enriches the ego of an individual. Iqbal Says:-

"Islam, as a polity is only a practical means of making this principal (Tauhid) a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God not to thrones and since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature"<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover, this concept develops freedom of conscience and Produces collective discipline among the individuals and their character is builtup in such a manner that their conscience teaches them how to differentiate between wrong and right<sup>3</sup>.

This concept of sovereignty is the essence of Islamic polity, the system which is set up with this concept can be called the true Islamic system of government under the light of this concept Iqbal says, "Islamic system of government is neither democratic, autocratic, aristocratic nor theocratic. It is, in fact composed of all the qualities of above systems and devoid of their evils and defects"<sup>4</sup>.

Iqbal regards democratic system of government as the distorted form of cruelty, autocracy and imperialism.

(The Music that flows from it, doth in partake of the same age old imperial strains colossal oppression masquerades in the garb of democracy and with iron feet it tramples down the weak without remorse but in thy ignorance thou take it as though it were the blue goddess of freedom.)<sup>15</sup>

According to Iqbal whether system of government is imperial or democratic, all its forms cannot change the nature of the supreme power in a state. In its nature there is brutality and cruelty. But in spite of its "Changeziate". It is necessary for sociopolitical life. It is not necessary to change the shape or name to change its nature. On the other hand there should be appointed such a guardian to keep an eye on it as can keep it always on the right path and refrain it from going astray. According to Iqbal this guardian is "Din"<sup>16</sup>.

To Iqbal separation of "Din" (religion) from political power finally ends into changeziate". The symbol of; brutality and barbarisan.

(Whether it is the majesty of monarchy or the display of democracy if religion is divorced from politics; there remains nothing but despotism).<sup>17</sup>

Under the light of Iqbal's theory of the system of government it is "Din" which inoculates the man to such spiritual passions that he regards even the lowest creatures as valuable as himself, and then a mighty ruler like Hazrat Umer (R.A.) has to say that even if a lamb dies of hunger on the bank of Euphrates Umer will be held responsible for its death on the day of judgement. It is the spirit of "Din" which compels a ruler to take a round of the streets at night to find out the conditions of his subjects.

Iqbal's concept of Islam is not so limited that man should turn his back towards worldly affairs and concentrate altogether on

spiritualism. In fact according to him Islam is a comprehensive system of life which embraces both the world and it has a complete social and political code of life. Allama Iqbal says,

"It cannot be denied that Islam is regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity. By which expression I mean a social structure by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal has been the chief formative factor in the life history of the Muslims of India".<sup>18</sup>

On the basis of Islamic ideas Iqbal was against the separation of religion and politics. He had a firm belief about the system of government and politics that this system becomes a lethal poison if it is not kept under the custody of "Din" and this "Din" (religion) is only Islam. For contrary to all religions it is not only a moral and spiritual system but also a comprehensive system for both religion and politics.<sup>19</sup>

Iqbal does not regard democracy as an ideal system of government because he knows that democracy it tied up with imperialism and materialism and the character of democracy has become brutal due to this relationship but this does not mean that Iqbal was against democracy for the third world or the Muslims' was the outcome of the struggle and war against imperialism and its object to a just economic system not materialism.<sup>20</sup> In support of democracy, he says; "The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam."<sup>21</sup>

With reference to the democratic system, Iqbal agrees with this opinion that the office of Khilafat can be conferred upon an assembly or an elected council instead of a person. Ibne Khaldun has also justified this concept and according to Iqbal the concept of the Khilafat of an assembly is for better, keeping in view the present situation and the spirit of Islam. If the assembly or the legislative body comprises of those who are not fully conversant with the Islamic jurisprudence, a board of religious scholars can be

set up to make up for this deficiency and to help the assembly in matters relating to legislation.<sup>22</sup>

If Iqbal has criticized western democracy, it is only because of its materialistic nature it means that Iqbal accepts democracy which has spiritual foundation of life. Such a Government is not that wields power alone but it is based on mutual consent. This has been described by Rousseau as social contract.

Iqbal complains against the western democracy on the grounds that popularity not ability is the criteria in it. In fact, a person may be popular but not an able one and even then it encourages political sectarianism and disintegration.<sup>23</sup>

Allama Iqbal is also against the system of western democracy due to which pious and wise people cannot reach the assemblies. The resourceful candidates whose main target is to have an access to power win elections. In this process, instead of knowledge and good manners, the factors of fraternity, wealth and feudalism show their effect. Human values are not protected in this system. The scholar and the ignorant, the cruel and the just, truth and falsehood, all are placed at the same level. In such a democracy, men are counted, intelligence and wisdom of man and higher capabilities take the secondary form.<sup>24</sup> In other words, such a system is devoid of the real spirit and essence of democracy. Criticizing such a democracy Allama Iqbal says in Poetical version.

(Democracy is form of Government in which instead of weighing heads you count them)

(Flee from the method of democracy because human thinking cannot issue out of the brains of two hundred asses)

John Stuart Mill also seems to be against the counting of men in the representative Government in this regard, he is of the opinion that highly educated persons should be given the right of casting more than one vote. Despite of being a staunch supporter of democracy, he had a firm belief that uneducated and illiterate voters would cast their votes keeping in view their personal interests and eventually incompetent and undeserving people would be elected.<sup>27</sup>

When Iqbal speaks in favour of democracy, he has in mind the Khilafat of Hazrat Abu Bakar (R.A) and Hazrat Umar (R.A) and the early democracy of Islam. He wants such kind of democracy in which there should be no discrimination of race or colour. There should be freedom of conscience and justice in it. The candidates should not obtain votes through flattery, cruelty or money. Rather they should be elected on the basis of knowledge and good manners. In short, Iqbal condemns secular western democracy which cannot be curbed but the majority of the public opinion. The system supported by Iqbal can be named Divine democracy. It is a democratic system which requires a divine code of life for its structure and function and this system will be binding on all, rich or poor, majority or minority.<sup>28</sup>

To sum up, Iqbal liked Islamic system of government he was desirous of handling over sovereignty to Islam but not to the Muslims. Thus, he longed that the subcontinent should become an Islamic state instead of a Muslim state. So he says, "By freedom, we don't mean to become independent but our first and foremost object is that Islam must maintain its entity". A Muslim cannot be helpful for the establishment of a government, the foundation of which has been laid down on the model of British Government.<sup>29</sup>

Undoubtedly it is the Muslims who run the system of government. Despite this fact, there is neither oligarchy nor theocracy in this system, for sovereignty does not belong to a class of Muslims or religious scholars, but belongs to Allah. In other words, the Muslims practically use the powers of the state but they are Caliphs not Kings. They are not the real sovereigns, hence their powers are limited by the Real Sovereign. Those who implement sovereignty, do not have the power to cross these limits. In short, practically the government is of the rules of the Holy Quran and Hadith.<sup>30</sup>

It is clear from Iqbal's thoughts in relations with the system of government that Islamic democratic system is the best system of government.

It is such a system in which socio-political elements are

practically visible according to the conjunctions of Quran and Hadith. In fact, Iqbal's aim was the defence of Islamic objectives and the welfare of the Muslims due to which the achievement of progress, prosperity, equality and justice never remains unfulfilled.

(O, Muslim Study the Quran deeply so Allah may sublime your character)<sup>31</sup>

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## **A Review of Special Purpose Districts of USA: Responsiveness, Efficiency, and Accountability**

by

Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry\*

Local government system of USA is too complex and complicated to understand and difficult to generalize. It is composed of some 85000 units of different kinds. Ervin (1995b) identifies the problems of understanding of local governments as they vary from state to state in respect of the relationships between the state governments and their respective local units. In one state, local units are under strict state control; while in the other state, there is no requirement of state approval of local budget (for example Connecticut and Georgia). Understanding is especially made difficult by the myriad local government units and the diversity among the 50 state systems. The myriad units and interstate diversity constitute a highly complex national arrangement. The main local government units in USA can be classified into five different categories. These are County, Municipal, Township, Special Districts, and School Districts (as mentioned in the Table-i). The first three are known as multifunctional local government units, while the last two are Special Purpose Districts (SPD). Though both Special Purpose Districts and School District fall into the same category, most of the authors consider School Districts as separate because of their peculiar character and huge expansion. In this study, the main focus are Special Purpose Districts (SPDs). The objective is to highlight the main features of SPDs and to evaluate their performance as fragmented local government system, which the author always supported to introduce in Pakistan. In this regard three main aspects are studied. These are 1- their responsiveness to the public needs; 2- their efficiency and effectiveness; and 3- Subjectivity of these SPDs to various controls. To complete this study the author availed

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of an opportunity to collect some first hand knowledge about the functioning of these SPDs during his participation in the Fulbright Institute of Summer 2000 in Southern Illinois University (SIU), USA. During this programme, some interviews with various functionaries of these SPDs were conducted. Further, an attempt was made by the author to collect the public opinion through telephone and e-mail system.

Ervin (1995b) identifies 46000 special district governments or special districts, (including 14500 school districts operating at the local level in the USA in 1992). Table 1, reproduced from Ervin's work, shows that the creation of special district governments is a continuing phenomenon of American government. Decrease in the number of School Districts is due to the trend of merger of small school districts. He notes that most growth has occurred in the South (where cities and towns have been developing) and least in the North East. There are, however, wide variations between individual states. Illinois has led the USA in the creation of Special Purpose Districts with around 3000 such bodies, whilst Alaska has only 14 Ervin, (1995b).

**Table 1: The Count of Local Government in selected Years**

	1952	1977	1992	Change 1952-1992
Municipal	16,807	18,862	19279	+2,472
County	3,052	3,042	3043	-9
Township	17,202	16,822	16656	-546
Special Dist.	12,340	25,962	31555	+19215
School Dist.	67,355	15,174	14422	-52933
<b>Total</b>	<b>116,756</b>	<b>79,862</b>	<b>84955</b>	<b>-31801</b>

Source US Bureau of the Census, 1992, Table 4&5 (Ervin, 1995b)



Special purpose districts (sometimes known by other names) constitute a specific class of separate Governmental units which possess subnational fiscal and administrative independence and are not merely parts of other governments. Organizations that are adjuncts to governmental units are identified as dependent districts or authorities. Districts can be defined as governmental units, deriving their decision making capabilities from state legislation that are used at local and regional levels by groups of citizens to solve problems of mutual concerns (Hawkin, 1976, p. 9). The Controller of States of California defines a district as a legally constituted governmental entity which is neither a city nor county, established for the purpose of carrying on specific activities within .... defined boundaries (California States Controller 1972).

The authority of a district is another important defining characteristic. Here the distinction rests on whether the governing board's authority depends on another unit of government or is independent. If a district is a creature of a city or a county, it is usually classified as a dependent district and does not have the power to tax or to set service levels independent of the parent body. Two key factors differentiate the independent districts. First, 98% are governed by elected boards or have provisions for the elections of the board members. Second, these districts have ability to tax, to determine the price of services they provide, to sell bonds, to finance capital improvements, and to establish their own administrative structure (Hawkins, 1976).

All Special Purpose Districts are not organized alike. 92% of them provide a single function, though functions vary from district to district. Natural resource management, fire protection, housing, and community development, and water and sewer service are the most common (Brown and Kearney, 1999; Foster, 1994). Sometimes a district has to perform various secondary functions in addition to its regulatory function. A port district, for example, may have legal authority to provide transit airports, and economic development services in addition to port functions. The remaining 8% of the districts are multifunctional districts which most often

provide water services in combination with either sewer, fire protection or natural resources functions (Foster, 1994).

### **Responsiveness:**

Are the districts responsive units of the government? Previous studies have shown that district voting have found them to have relatively lower voting turnout than that of cities and counties (Scott and Corzine, 1963). These findings have led many citizens to conclude that districts are unresponsive (Stark, 1971; Walsh, 1978). However, the criterion of low turnout is not valid to evaluate the responsiveness. There are studies which show the citizen's satisfaction with the local government and have definite ideas about the type of local government they want and what their role should be in its formation (California Local Government Reform Task Force, 1974). This study shows that citizens living in smaller communities consistently have higher levels of satisfaction with local government services than those living in large communities. This study also found the following factors:

- a) Preference of increased fragmentation rather than consolidation.
- b) Strong preference for increased decentralization of authority and responsibility to local governing structures.
- c) Strong desire to maintain their rights in determining the structure of local government through election.

Such evidence demonstrates that, contrary to conventional wisdom, citizens regard a fragmented system as being more responsive.

Finally, an indication of what could be expected from consolidation is provided by a study evaluating the effect of Sweden's local government policy. In the last years, Sweden has decreased the number of local government units from 2500 to 250, i.e., an 80% reduction, which incidentally coincides with the recommendation of the Committee for Economic Development

(1966). The study found that the following changes have occurred as local government units increased their size.

Voter participation in local elections declined.

- a) Citizen participation in voluntary civic and service organizations declined appreciably.
- b) Locally elected officials differed more markedly from their constituents in such characteristics as income level, social status, and level of education.
- c) The resistance of locally elected officials to spending programs decreased.
- d) Locally elected officials in larger units tended to follow the "dictates of their conscience" rather than the demands of their constituents.
- e) This evidence clearly contradicts what experts and reformers have supported for larger integrated units.

The growing number of SPDs, as indicated in the table-i, is also a sign of satisfaction of the people with the responsiveness and performance of these bodies. Having separate single purpose bodies is strongly argued by some to bring positive benefits, not available through multi-purpose bodies, by enabling choice to be more accurately expressed (Davis & Hall, 1996). Districts increase available choices because they supply institutional alternatives to small groups of people with special problems or different perspectives (Hawkins, 1976).

#### **Efficiency and Effectiveness:**

The standard definition of 'efficiency' is that it entails securing "minimum inputs for any given quality and quantity of service provided; or the equivalent maximum output for any given set of resource inputs." (Audit Commission 1984, p.2). Inputs, in this definition, purely indicates the economic resources. The 'effectiveness' is a concept which embraces an assumption about the

social value of output and therefore, distinct from cost efficiency. The standard definition of effectiveness used in public sector accountancy and management is "How well a program or activity is achieving its established goals or other intended effects" (Audit Commission, 1984, p.2). If an activity, program or organization is both efficient and effective, it can be said to provide 'value for money'; hence, it is combination of both, efficiency and effectiveness.

In terms of efficiency most of the authors remind us that the establishment of special districts is a costly political act (Burns, 1994; Henriques, 1986). Foster (1997) also found that district reliant metropolitan areas have significantly higher spending per capita than do non-reliant metropolitan areas. For nearly every function, special purpose governments devote proportionately more than do general purpose governments to relatively expensive projects. This aspect of special districts indicates a bit lower level of efficiency. However, it is confirmed that specialized service delivery is qualitatively better than general-purpose service delivery and ought to cost more. Entire satisfaction of the recipients of services has always been the main target of any service delivery organization. This factor in turn indicates a high level of effectiveness.

A telephonic survey was conducted by the author in Randolph and Jackson Counties of Southern Illinois to evaluate the level of satisfaction of the public by the performance of special purpose districts. The results indicate that 47% of the respondents showed their complete satisfaction by the performance of such Special Purpose Districts in the area. 33% said that they are happy to some extent. 20% complained about the higher cost of the services provided by such bodies. However, 89% respondents had the opinion that the services of SPDs are better than those provided by the city councils, i.e. the general-purpose local government. Customers/consumers satisfaction is a reliable indicator of high level of effectiveness of these special purpose districts. It in turn when combined with a little expensiveness, shows a very good "value for money" of public expenditures.

### **Controls over the Creation of SPDs and their Accountability:**

The creation of special purpose governments is usually made possible by state enabling legislation but may also be carried out through a special act of a state legislature. State legislatures play determining roles in the creating process. In their design of the enabling legislation, they may determine the governmental characteristics of an entity's area, function, organization, and financial authority. Many states' enabling legislation authorize the formation of special purpose governments at local level by filing of a local petition to a court or board by the residents or tax payers living in an area of the proposed entity. Enabling legislation in Illinois and Texas, for example, gives the existing general purpose governments little or no part in this creation or the operation of a nearby district (Leigland, 1992). Sometimes state agencies are given role in authorizing the creation of these entities at local level. For example, proposals to create various types of local SPDs must be reviewed and approved by Boundary Commissions in Oregon and Washington. California's Local Agency Formation Commissions review and approve all proposals for annexation, city incorporations, formation of SPDs, and county service areas, and any local boundary change or change in the organization of how public services are delivered. In Idaho state, county commissioners review petitions for the creation of certain types of districts (Leigland, 1992).

Different states also have imposed certain controls on the proliferation of SPDs. Less common and far more complicated are attempts to relieve special purpose governments of their responsibilities or to consolidate these entities. The School District of East St. Louise was suspended by the State Government because of the refusal of the Board to remove a "corrupt" Superintendent of Schools. The government appointed a supervisor to look after the Board's affairs (the author visited the Board and got information from the supervisor). The Board took the matter to the Court but the Court upheld the decision. In September 1987 the Kentucky State Public Service Commission ordered the consolidation of eight rural water supply districts in the state.

There are certain financial alternatives which states can exercise to control the proliferation of SPDs by allowing local governments a greater range of behaviour in providing services. For example restrictions on debt issuance by regular governmental units in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Louisiana have been eased as a way of making less necessary the creation of authorities and districts for borrowings purposes (Leigland, 1992). The 1970 Illinois Constitution allowed local governments more leeway in entering into interlocal agreements for the provision of services to areas outside their jurisdictions. California, Florida, and Illinois have allowed counties to create special taxing areas (dependent agencies governed directly by officials of regular government units) as alternatives to independent authorities International Relations Districts (Leigland, 1992).

There are number of formal as well as informal controls/checks over the roles of SPDs in USA. Pressure groups' activities, various client groups, suppliers associations, employees' association always provide a check on the activities of SPDs. The most commonly used pressure tactic is the effort to monitor or review the activities of these entities quite apart from any formal power to approve or modify those activities. This tactic includes many studies undertaken by and for legislatures, governors, treasurers, and other officials, which may result new legislation but often do not.

There are certain formal, detached, and regular controls which can be applied to the SPDs if essential. They tend to affect a type of decision by an entity, rather than single specific decisions. They can usually be thought of in terms of standardization. In other words, rather than directly supervising the actions of the enterprise, their actions are subject to standards backed by an official sanction. Sometimes special regulatory entities are created to set standards and monitor performance. The varieties of formal constraints are almost as numerous as are types of SPDs. Some examples are audit/accounting requirements, reporting requirements, limitations on debt issuance, regulations of procedures etc.

In certain states, the SPDs are subject to direct controls of either state government or local government of area concerned. Such controls are exercised by the states in a variety of ways. For example, a 1974 state law granted Florida cities and counties the power to review and approve budgets of certain types of special districts in the states, although the power is not often exercised (Tait, 1985).

### **Conclusion:**

Special Purpose Districts in USA provide a unique and perfect model of fragmented local government system for the countries in search of a viable local government system, such as Pakistan. This model is normally established on non-political basis, provide a vast range of options and choices to the public. There are various channels of accountability and participation available for the interests concerned. In the countries such as Pakistan where the local government system has always been subject to political use by the ruling political party or groups (Choudhry, 1996), establishment of certain special districts for basic individual services can avoid undue external political interventions and influences. Public satisfaction of the services provided by these SPDs indicate a high level of efficiency and effectiveness.

Apparently a fragmented local government system and presence of specialized service providing agencies have made it easy to keep the authorities accountable and responsible. In case of malfunctioning, it is easy for the public to fix the responsibility. Effective channels of supervision, guidance, and necessary tools to check the proliferation of SPDs are provided in the system. However, very rare use of these tools and controls indicates the factual position of these districts where they enjoy full autonomy and freedom of action to cater the specific local needs of clients.

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# **POLITICAL SYSTEMS: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

**By**

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The contemporary statecraft is a complex phenomenon, composed of numerous sets of human activities --- social, economic and political. Since the political set of activity dominates the entire range of other activities, the statecraft is fundamentally "political". And since the political set of activity has definite components, acting and interacting inwardly and outwardly in a systematic fashion, we say that the statecraft is a "political system" the components of which have specific characteristics.

Viewed as such, a political system is a system of action, comparable with human mechanism<sup>2</sup>. Its interacting components are its objects, or more specifically, the subsystem structures; the input and output structures, interacting mutually as well as outwardly in response to the other political systems. The input structures (or infra-structures) include the associational groups: like political parties, interest groups and communicational groups which help in formulating public opinion by means of aggregating demands; and, the output structures (or ultra-structures) which are comprised of formal objects like: parliaments, courts and bureaucracies. Thereby, the study of a political system, in the main, covers a wide range of structural-functional analysis specifically pertaining to the evaluation of subsystem capabilities. The most commonly found variable subsystem capabilities are: comprehensiveness; interdependence; and existence of functional boundaries. Hence, the study of a political system can be attributed to a structural functional analysis<sup>4</sup>.

Comprehensiveness denotes system maintenance by means of the employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. Perhaps for the same reason many

political scientists associate a political system with legitimate coercion in the given environment. For instance, David Easton calls a political system as an "authoritative allocation of values"<sup>5</sup>; and Robert Dahl interprets it as "power, rule and authority"<sup>6</sup>. The legitimacy of coercion, as supported by these scientists, implies qualitative rather than quantitative application. It should be used to promote the inherent values of the system, as in the developed societies the political elites' power aggrandizement being supportive to the system itself<sup>7</sup>. In such cases, where the force is legitimate and applied to cope with the stresses and strains on the polity, we may speak of the system as in 'equilibrium'. But if the use of force is illegitimate, as power aggrandizement of opportunist elites in many developing polities, the political system can be termed as '**dysfunctional**'. The dysfunctional process, as opposed to equilibrium, inevitably multiplies strains on the polity and causes system's disintegration. Every political system, thus, moves from the bottom base of dysfunctionality to the top level of equilibrium; that is a movement towards stabilization and development. The path, though tedious, can be traversed by applying the tools provided by a political system. This aspect will come up later when we discuss the functions of a political system.

**Interdependence**, as the second variable attribute of the interacting subsystem - structures, suggests that a political system has an element of adaptability. Any change in one of the component subsystem-structures can effect a corresponding change in the others --- and, hence, the whole political system may undergo a transformation<sup>9</sup>. For example, a change from a two-party to a multi-party political activity can bring about a remodeling of not just the legislative setup but even the entire pattern of system maintenance and adaptation. This is equally true of the rapid expansion of technology, which stresses a contemporary political system to accommodate the centripetal and centrifugal forces active in favour of advancement. Consequent to it is that, in a bid to maintain stability despite advancement pressures, many contemporary political systems have extended their interdependence in both ways: internally, between their respective subsystem-structures; and externally, with the alien political systems.

The third notion of boundary has a variety of conceptual meanings. In the first instance, it denotes that every political system has certain functional limitations and so is the case with its component subsystem-structures which are bound internally and act within the external orbit of the system. But, at the same time, the concept of boundary also stands for functional overlaps and fluctuations, making a political system an 'open' system engaged in communicating with and reacting to the entities and systems in the extended environment<sup>10</sup>. This later concept of vulnerable boundary-maintenance is less evident in the developed political systems and more in the developing. For instance, in the developed political systems, a well-guarded and balanced relationship is maintained in terms of jurisdiction between the executive, the legislature and the bureaucracy, vis-a-vis decision-making. Whereas in the developing transitional political systems, on the contrary, such relationship may not be evident. Their political activities tend to be unbalanced and chaotic, so long as the same subsystem-structures --- executive, legislature and bureaucracy --- may exceed their functional boundaries arbitrarily and illegitimately. Pakistan's own experience after Liaquat Ali Khan is instructive, when some influential bureaucrats at the top usurped the legitimate jurisdiction of politicians, and thus set a precedent of non-political elites invading the domain of political elite<sup>12</sup>.

Nevertheless, the same concept of boundaries also leads us to perceive that every political system and its subsystem-structures are role-oriented and exercise autonomy to an allocated degree. To understand, we should concentrate on the theoretical explanation of 'Structure' in a political system. A structure can be defined as the "observable activities" which are regulated by a political system authoritatively. In a law court, the judge, the lawyers, the witnesses, the plaintiff and the defendant demonstrate their interaction. In this example, we do not consider their total activities but restrict to political alone, presuming that the issue is constitutional and the court is competent to deal with it. Thus, insofar as the given situation is political in nature and relevant to political process, the activities of the individuals inside the law court can be attributed to their roles toward political system. By

this token, judgeship is a role, and the court is a structure of many interacting roles. Like the cells in human body, the new roles are mobilized to replace the old roles. Their possession of fresh vitality makes them eligible for autonomy and their exercising autonomy makes the political system expanded and differentiated<sup>13</sup>.

This process is called in theory as "**role specialization**" and "**structural differentiation**". The amount of autonomy exercised by a role is the authority allocated to it by the political system and the autonomy collectively possessed and exercised by all the roles of a single structure marks the "**functional autonomy**" of that structure. When combined, the overall structural differentiation and functional autonomy of the subsystem-structures can be explained as the degree of structural differentiation and functional autonomy present in a political system as a whole<sup>14</sup>.

Various political systems can thus, be distinguished from one another on the basis of the degree, rather than the kind of structural differentiation and functional autonomy available for exercise. The term 'degree' means here the level of functional capabilities, which include a system's capacity to extract resources, both material and manpower, control over individuals and groups, distribution of resources like bread and butter, the capacity for the development and maintenance of symbols which increase attraction or loyalty to the system and finally, the capacity for responding adequately and in time to demands made upon the system. As such, greater the structural differentiation and functional autonomy; higher is the efficacy of the system to survive.

### **Functions of political system,**

The general functions of a political system which, though identical everywhere are instrumental in evolving an integrated polity based on its peculiar values and beliefs and mobilized adequately for mass participation.

In an overall perspective, the functions of a political system are more or less sequenced. They move first to discover the political culture, then to ensure political socialization and finally to

recruit individuals for expediting the conversion of demands into decisions<sup>17</sup>. Hence, the growth of a potentially coherent political culture is indebted to political socialization, political recruitment and conversion process and the achievement of such a vital political culture is of utmost importance since it harmonizes political action and stabilizes political development. In other words, the basic goal of a political system should be to evolve a sound political culture by employing the tools of political socialization, recruitment and conversion. The evolution of a sound political culture is in turn a guarantee for political stability and political development.

**Political Culture:** Considering first political culture, we contend that every political system is meant to develop a sense of direction in the political life of its individuals<sup>18</sup>. A political culture, as such, can be explained in terms of the system's endeavours to orientate individual to political action. This orientation is basic to the dynamic human psychology. It prepares the individual to have conscious knowledge and belief about the system and its processes<sup>20</sup>.

To establish the precise pattern of the individual's general orientation to politics, information must be gathered about his knowledge of involvement with and judgment on, each of the objects of political orientation. These objects of orientation are four in number.

First, the system as a whole. What knowledge does the individual have about the system? What are his feelings and sentiments about it? And, what verdict does he have to make on the history, size, location, power and constitutional abilities of his people?

Second, the input process, organized around the institutions which channelize the flow of demands made by the society on the political system and which initiate the conversion of those demands into authoritative decisions. The agents of input process include political parties interest groups, and the media of mass communication. Information must be sought as to what extent the individual has developed his knowledge, feelings and opinions

about the general interests, their aggregation into demands, as well as their conversion into decisions with varieties of alternate policy propositions.

Third, the output process, which includes the work of the legislature, the executive chief, the bureaucracy, the courts and other institutions (or subsystem-structures) concerned with making the political system more responsive to demands by means of legitimate decisions. We have to assess what knowledge does the individual possess about the input-output interaction? What is his impression about the decision makers and their decision making? Do they have the requisite mandate for it? And, does he himself have a true and strong judgement on decisions and their implementation?

Fourth, the self: What part does the individual see himself playing in the political system? To what extent is he aware of his rights and obligations? Does he know how to gain access to political action and maximize his own influence? And, what criteria does he use in forming opinions about the system and his own responsible role within it?<sup>21</sup>.

Hence, a political culture is determined by collecting information regarding the frequency of different kinds of **cognitive**, **effective** end **evaluative** orientations towards the political system and its political action. These three orientations, when combined, are suggestive of the political psychology of the given society. We can conveniently understand through assessment whether the society is apolitical, semi-political or fully political<sup>22</sup>.

Though interrelated, these orientations; cognitive, effective and evaluative - are variable in different societies. The kinds of orientations existing, or the degree of general awareness, affect the political system. Political culture, as such provides a link between the mass population on one side and the structures of the political system on the other.

Mainly for their variant features, these orientations of cognitive, effective end evaluative significance are seriously

hampered at least in the developing politics when regional and local loyalties supersede national loyalties and present a dilemma of regionalism vs nationalism.

On the basis of this consideration, three types of political sub-cultures can be discerned **parochial, subject and participant**. In pure form, the "parochial sub-culture" exists only in simple traditional societies in which there is little specialization and where the actors in the system-structure fulfill a combination of political, economic and religious functions simultaneously, i.e. Eskimos and tribes. The orientations of the individual in a parochial sub-culture follows the pattern of undifferentiated role structure. They tend to be political-cum-economic-cum-religious orientations. In such a culture, the individual appears as not being aware of the system as such. His orientations to political structures are in general negative. This also means that he is unaffected by the agencies of government; they hardly encroach upon his consciousness. Consequently, he is acquainted with the structures and operations of his local community only.

The "subject sub-culture", which is the second variety, occurs where there is a high frequency of orientation to the individual about the system as a whole end specifically to its output aspect. Whereas, orientation towards the input structures and towards the self as political actor are absent. The subject's positive orientations may manifest themselves as pride in or hostility towards the system as a whole and its output aspects in particular. To both of these, he may or may not accord legitimacy.

The subject's position, however, is essentially a passive one. He sees no possibility of influencing the system as it stands, and accepts as authoritative and unchallengeable the decisions of the elite at helm.

In a "participant sub-culture", new attitudes emerge in the society at large. The individual is seen, as well as he sees himself' as an active member of the polity. He is consciously aware of his rights and duties and their appropriate exercise. The participant is oriented to the system in general, to its input and output aspects,



and to the self as a civilized political actor, and his knowledge about them is matched by a sense of involvement with the system and consciously made judgement on the same<sup>24</sup>.

Despite all that, it should be insisted that no political system is culturally homogeneous; and no political culture is essentially bound to a single political system. This can be understood by emphasizing that the polities like Britain and America, which have an identical Westernized political culture, possess different political systems -- parliamentary and presidential, respectively. Their attribute is that, in a long span of time, they have synthesized to a large degree the divergent subcultures into a more coherent **Civic Culture** of their own specific denomination, though by retaining the subcultural identities at the same time<sup>25</sup>.

We can, thus, infer that the varieties of political cultures; parochial, subject and participant, portrayed here cannot be found anywhere individually and in their true form. Every political system produces a significant proportion of more than one pattern of orientations<sup>26</sup>. Therefore, all the political systems, whether developed or developing, have mixed political cultures<sup>27</sup>. The existing mixed political cultures are: first, the parochial-subject culture, as in most of Africa; second, the subject-participant culture, common in South America; third, the parochial-participant culture, widespread in Asia including Pakistan; and fourth, the civic culture, which is a synthesis of all the 'pure' varieties of political sub-cultures and is commonly found in the Western developed world. Those few political systems - politics in the Western advanced world which have relatively heterogeneous political culture include Switzerland for its culturally distinct Cantons. And those few polities in the developing worlds whose political culture even approximates homogeneity are quite exceptional. They include: Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay in Latin America, Turkey, Israel and Philippines; and, Saudi Arabia and Yemen in Afro-Asia<sup>28</sup>.

The cultural fragmentation of most of the developing polities is a reflection of the two sets of internal cleavage. That is, the gap

between the predominantly urban-modernized societies of the Westernized elements, whose members are oriented towards political values and institutions representative of a Westernly political culture, on the one hand, and, the rural based subject-parochial culture of the masses, on the other. In this gap model of traditionalism vs modernism, the most striking feature is the syndrome of dominant vs subordinate political actions. Since the members of the traditional sub-cultures are in a majority but avoid active participation in the political system, those who belong to the Westernized segment do often dominate and take lead through their Westernized elites to influence politics whenever it is in their vested interests<sup>29</sup>.

**Political Socialization:** For the remedy of the above stated alarming cleavages, inevitably hampering participation and promoting decay especially in the developing polities, a political system provides for another orientation mechanism, known as Political Socialization<sup>30</sup>. The concept of political socialization means that the manpower resources should be mobilized, trained and inducted into the participant culture, that is, a movement from the lower sub-cultures towards the highly specialized participant culture by pursuing a tremendously complex and lengthy training process covering the entire period of human life. Political socialization is, thus, instrumental in personality formation. It is meant for the old roles to be replaced with new ones. The incumbents in the society attain the height of maturity and prepare themselves to be recruited and absorbed in the political system for taking future responsibilities. Any discrepancy in this political orientation of the new roles would deprive the political system of a basic resource for its stability, operation and innovation in the political order<sup>31</sup>.

The agencies that promote political socialization are family, age peers, school, work groups, mass media, political parties and the political system itself.

We should contend that family is the primary influence on child. It provides manifest experiences for transforming the

mentally exposed infant into the adult, frilly composed in his own personality<sup>32</sup>. The family acts as a catalytic agent in three dimensions. First, it transmits valuable attitudes to the child, as from the very beginning of his life the parents entrust him with moderate assignments of social significance. Second, the parents serve as a model, enabling their child to become the approximation of what they have implicitly in mind for him as an adult. And third, role definitions and expectations within the family structure are generalized to political objects. This establishes a frame of reference by which the child learns to approach political system at a later stage. If the decisions made in the family are authoritarian, as in many traditional societies of the East, the child will be forced into a subject culture with suppressed outlook and a 'closed' personality. But if the decision pattern is consultative and accommodative, the infant can emerge with the attributes of participant culture and combined qualities of obedience and command. Given the proper situation and support, the child is able to prepare a rational, analytical and critical perception about the values and models of future political action<sup>34</sup>.

A denial of constructive parental patronage, as especially in the case of orphans, may effect the child's degeneration into a mixed personality by presenting a contrast between his 'at-home' and 'outside-the-home' behaviors<sup>35</sup>. This is equally true of many middle-class children whose parents control their play and keep them away from the company of lower class children. In such a situation, the middle class and the lower class children may be adequately socialized but demarcated into two distinctly separate sub-cultures.

However, as the child grows older, he tends to move more and more out of the home and out of the sphere of direct family supervision. If at this stage indirect parental supervision is tightened in the form of family choices and restrictions, adolescent may be defeated in trying out new ideas and emotions; and, likewise, dual features of personality may persist. And if, on the contrary, the child is left alone to move freely in his peer group, he may be able to learn how to adopt others --- not as a subordinate

who fails to acquire his own independent sense of direction but essentially as an equal who can have all the potentials of participation<sup>36</sup>.

The child's role and behaviorism further develops in school, where the student culture is one of the prime educational forces at work<sup>37</sup>. It teaches him the adult sub-culture, of which the schools are a part, and reinforces the norms and social patterns taught by adult society. If the child enters a school peer group composed of students from the same social class, as mostly in the Western societies, this may act to elaborate the class attitudes as well as the exasperations already learned in the family. The heterogeneous school peer groups, as evident commonly in the developing societies, have an adverse effect. They change the student opinion patterns in the direction of those held by 'high status' peers; and the flow of training is towards the level of politicization and political outlook of the dominant class group<sup>38</sup>.

Nevertheless, many schools especially of the Western setup inculcate political beliefs formally through conscious and planned institutions, as well as informally through inadvertent and casual experiences in the school milieu<sup>39</sup>. Thus, schools revitalize the child's elementary attachment with his own people and boost up his feelings about involvement in the larger national interest (like elections and democracy). He learns that individual action is the most effective instrument for political influence<sup>40</sup>.

It is also suggested that, normally, parental authority indicates a marked decline from the ward's age of eleven years and reaches its maximum decline at about age fifteen. Correspondingly there is an increase in teacher's authority. This attitude of changing authority and association is more apparent in boys; whereas, girls continue a considerable idealization with parents<sup>41</sup>.

In any case, the teacher's role, though extremely important, presents a wide contrast in different societies. In the Western educational institutions, he is supportive to the growth of an enlightened outlook with rational overtones. He owns the potentials needed for developing and understanding the desired objectives of

education, namely; critical and analytical attitudes towards national values and programs<sup>42</sup>. On the contrary, the teacher of a lesser advanced educational institution scarcely harvests correct perceptions among the students. He is an authoritarian, usually an old man with a long stick in his hand, who intends to keep the students most of the time on the receiving end. In the ensuing periods of adulthood, this non-innovative and subjective attitude of authoritarianism becomes so pervasive that the whole political system suffers a degeneration and the peculiar command and obedience patterns may allow bureaucratic or military dominance<sup>43</sup>.

Political socialization beyond childhood can briefly be explained in more than one ways. Initially, the adult gains experience from the job he joins. His public relationing and participation in the employers-employees associations and unions provide him a guideline for attitudinal approaches vis-a-vis political objects; Putting forth demands by staging demonstrations and joining strikes train him in collective bargaining<sup>44</sup>.

Then, his exposure to the interaction of diverse political activities, facilitated by a free mass media, promotes his evaluative orientation needed for participation in the political system<sup>45</sup>.

Likewise, the individual's observations about the party system and the party manifestos standardize his political outlook. His knowledge pertaining to a political system is incomplete unless he comprehends whether the party system should be "integrative" -- that is, ideologically channelized -- or "competitive", which means pursuance of synthesized divergent outlooks<sup>46</sup>.

Thus, precisely, the tedious process of political socialization is meant to shape the "political man"<sup>7</sup>. The agencies of socialization should be morally and materially healthy and equipped with effective tools of conceptualization. The degree of socialization attained by a society determines the credibility of a political system. This degree is variant and fluctuates from society to society. The path of socialization is relatively smooth in the developed societies. Norm internalization goes on casually and imperceptively, often without the trainee and the trained being

aware of it. Much of it is not even political in nature but just incidental to other experiences. Since it is incidental, it has a more lasting effect on the acquisition of political values and behaviours than does deliberate indoctrination. When the norms, values, beliefs and attitudes of a political system are internalized, the efficacy of the socialization process is demonstrated.

**Political Recruitment:** The term Political Recruitment may be applied in a formalistic sense to the legitimately assigned roles in a political system; or, in a more casual sense, to such subsystem structures as "political die" and the "political institutions" or structures located therein for interaction. Hence, political recruitment can be viewed as a process of transformation of individual, after acquiring a substantial level of political socialization, from a non-political role to a political role --- a process of moving from one role to another to ensure a positive "political participation" in a political system.

Gabriel Almond develops functional categories of inputs to the political system which include political socialization and political recruitment. He treats them together for their interdependence. His compact description of political socialization is "the process of induction into the political culture"; whereas, "political recruitment function takes up where the general political socialization leaves off"<sup>50</sup>. It is through the process of political socialization that a receptive political individual is groomed and made available. Likewise, it is through the process of political recruitment that the well groomed political man is inducted into the political system for actual participation as a political role.

Therefore, it is also worth stressing that individuals adequately socialized are eventually inducted into a political system for a specific role assigned to them through a process of learning a role designated in the input end as a voter or in the output end as decision maker. In each case, political process and political action described constitutionally in a democratic system provide a stepping stone to the elector or the elected an avenue for political recruitment.

This is also suggestive that individuals are often drawn into action in varying degrees and forms of intensity and duration. This aspect distinguishes between political recruitment and political participation. For instance, Lester Milbrath has dubbed the clusters of political participant individuals as "apathetic, spectators and gladiators"<sup>51</sup>. This perhaps is more true of a voter who may toss from one party to another in search of his self-role. But for the seasoned politicians, especially as in the developed political systems, the recruitment and participation activities are relatively stable. By and large, "personality and environmental factors" encourage the politicians in profession to stay in their roles. Conceptually, there seems to be a functional boundary for them which prevents their jumping over the fence to a new role<sup>52</sup>.

Political recruitment can, therefore, be viewed as a reflector of the role system of a society, especially so long as it relates to the degree and the type of representation among the political elite at the helm the role of which is the one of decision-makers. For them, J.D. Barber has developed a three tier model for political recruitment priorities: **resources; opportunities; and, motivation**. As for the first priority, the model stresses on the eligibility of the political recruits with their functional skills as paramount. As for the second priority, the availability of the political recruits for induction into the political system is stressed upon. And, as for the third priority, the evaluative criterion based on the recruits' motivation and contribution is given due regard.

**Conversion Function:** In our analysis of the functions of a political system, we have so far examined in brief Political Culture, Political Socialization and Political Recruitment. Our attempt was to show that the diversities of political culture can be overcome, or at least minimized, by attaining a specific degree of political socialization needed otherwise for the eventual recruitment of individual into the political system.

We now take up the fourth main activity of a political system, namely; Conversion Function, which is closely related to the patterns of political culture acquired through political

socialization and mobilization of manpower resources.

As referred to earlier, conversion function is the technique of decision making. It is the means through which interests in a society are first converted into aggregated demands and then into decisions. Interests stem from the given political culture and are scattered and expressed by individuals intermittently. They attain a consolidated shape when there is enough political socialization. Thus, politically speaking, consolidated interests are demands.

This should also be understood that it is the demands which initiate change by challenging the capabilities of a political system<sup>55</sup>. In response to demands, some systems are likely to survive, some to acquire a better standard, while others may disintegrate and go through the process changing from one type of political system to another<sup>56</sup>.

Nevertheless, the method of articulating demands may be peaceful, as holding of conferences and passing of resolutions by political parties, or, it may be violent, like mob demonstrations and assassinations<sup>57</sup>. The peaceful method of demand articulation is endured more effectively in the developed polities, where a sufficient level of political orientation is supplemented by a free mass media. In the presence of general awakening, the adequately free and well-organized mass media acts as a signaling instrument and transmits the raw demands to the satisfaction of the demand-makers.

Thus, the mode of conversion is a flow of inputs towards outputs --- a process of converting raw demands into finished decisions. A political system can be said to be in a "steady state" when it has arranged some "proper" balance between inputs and outputs on the sensitive fulcrum of decision-making.

As we said, inputs are demands. They are articulated and aggregated by many interest groups including institutional groups, associational groups, non-associational groups, and decisions (or violent) groups. The outputs are the decisions (or polities) and actions of the decision-makers like the executive, the legislature,



the bureaucracy, and the judiciary. As such, if the demand maker is on the pressure end of the fulcrum of decision making, then the decision maker can be located on the recipient end.

The styles of the conversion process, or the way in which the input end and the output end structures perform their function, are more than one. The first style of conversion is "**pragmatic-bargaining**". It is common in many developed political systems and can be identified as the technique of reducing extensive varieties of interests into a limited number of demands. Though guided sometimes by certain generalized ideological perspectives, this pragmatic style admits debates and consultations. It has a "market place" attitude based on the principle of "give and take" and meant for making the political system more responsive and secular, as in the case of the Western political systems.

The second style of conversion is "**authoritative-value oriented**". It rejects the marketplace attitude of compromise and rather insists on applying "logical" perceptions about political values for logical decisions. This style is more common in the ideological political systems.

The third, and the last, style of our consideration is "traditionalistic". It is neither pragmatic nor authoritative but relies on the past experiences for exploring future policy alternatives. Such a style is typical of those political systems in which resources and energies of the society as a whole are committed by the social and economic patterns of the traditional culture<sup>62</sup>.

Another discernable factor relevant to the conversion function is the feedback process<sup>63</sup>. Every political system feeds certain demands and those demands in turn feedback the political system. This process enhances the system's structural-functional capabilities and ensures political stability and development. In other words, a contemporary political system is an open system. It is persistently under stresses and strains from its environment. These environmental pressures acting at both structural and cultural levels, can be termed as "demand stress" and "support stress", respectively<sup>65</sup>.

"Demand stress" is often paramount and results from the pressure tactics of the demand maker. It provides a feedback to the decision maker to revise his perception about the policy matter in process. Thus, a political system may be subjected to a "demand-input overload". This may take place when the stressing demands and tactics are voluminous, they are of specific nature, or their flow at a particular time is immense and too great for the system to sustain<sup>66</sup>.

Juxtaposed to it is the decision-maker's response to the demand stress which is a counter-feedback. It is subjected to support stress; meaning that a system may succumb to demand stress and suffer total collapse or at least erosion unless there is an adequate vitality in the political structure and political culture to give support to decisions<sup>67</sup>.

**Conversion Process and Elite Perceptions:** The above discussion also pushes us to believe that the conversion process is an interaction of two dimensions. In the first instance, the competing elites occupying one particular end of the conceptual fulcrum of decision making interact among themselves and then, they collectively face the stresses emanating from the other end of demand making. Viewed as such, the conversion process is a game of elite perceptions, in which one elite may attempt to develop its prestigious image even at the cost of the others<sup>69</sup>.

This can be explained by saying that each elite has its stakes specifically in the conversion process and generally in the whole political action. The elite stakes depend on a complex of signals, provided by the mass media communication and pertinent to transmitting, receiving and interpreting the messages. Relying upon this transmission of messages, the elite organizes the self-values about the political system and fixes relative priorities in the process of policy-making --- an approach known as **policy-maximization**<sup>70</sup>.

Hence, the elite image is the net result of the interaction of the complex signals which flow to and from the environment<sup>71</sup>. A positive image is formed when an elite perceives of other elites and their pressures rationally and analytically. But the same image is

distorted if the elite is too wedded to the established views and too 'closed' or non-responsive to new information circulating in the environment<sup>72</sup>.

**Models of Political Systems:** Based on the above analysis, we develop certain models of political systems. Our aim here is to reveal that, mainly because of the varying degrees of structural-functional capabilities, no two political systems are fundamentally alike though they look alike mostly for their apparent features<sup>73</sup>.

The existence of political systems is as old as the civilized history of mankind. For instance, Plato talked about "lawful" and "unlawful" forms of political rule --- whether kingship, aristocracy or majority rule --- each either served the ruler or the ruled. Describing his idealism based on justice, he explained in length how good rulers ought to follow good rules. Aristotle further explained his classification of governments and discussed in length the idea how the socio-economic setup of a society prevailed on the structure and function of a polity and how this process in turn facilitated or hampered the public policies pursued by the political system<sup>74</sup>.

The liberal political theorists of the 18th and 19th centuries spoke about the democratic and republican systems. The classical liberal theory suggested that the best government was the one which governed the least<sup>75</sup>.

The Marxist theory highlighted the class structure as a factor determining the structure and function of a political system. The Marxists argued that the capitalist economy perverted the polity by producing a dominant system based on exploitation<sup>76</sup>.

Then, many contemporary political theorists have distinguished in their broader classifications the primitive, the **traditional-primitive** and the **modern** political systems. In their contention, the primitive systems, though having vague and insignificant political structures, are strongly influenced by kinship and religion. These systems, like Eskimos, cease and reappear at intervals and so can be assumed as diffused and intermittent

systems. Their minimal degree of structural differentiation and functional autonomy is paralleled by minimal role specialization in economic and religious spheres of activity. On that account, they can be equated with the tribal system<sup>77</sup>.

Among the traditional-primitive political systems, initially, the **patrimonial hierarchies** are more structurally differentiated but equally centralized. As was the case with Egypt under Pharaohs, such systems have specialized political roles, or elites, such as kings and a relatively **specialized** officialdom. Juxtaposed to these systems are the pyramidal, like the kingdom of Buganda in the past, which, though centralized, had several layers of authority (chiefs and sub-chiefs) with allocated functional autonomy. Then, the **centralized bureaucratic systems** --- as found in the Roman and the Ottoman Empire; Britain, France, Spain and Russia of the past and the Inca Empire in South America in the early 16th century --- these can be cited as a variety of traditional pyramidal political systems. All such systems are based on administrative centralism aimed at economic development. Role specialization present there makes the degree of structural differentiation and functional autonomy considerably higher than that of the primitive systems<sup>78</sup>.

Turning to the most modern political systems, a consideration should be given to the effect that these are, in the main, the systems of the present century. Although they have at least some ingredients of the past, their common characteristics were unknown before and are "bound up with their presence in a world of economic, cultural and technological change". The forthcoming terminologies such as parochial, subject and participant sub-cultures have already been explained in our review of political cultures. To recall, parochial sub-culture means loyalty to specific social identity, subject sub-culture denotes passive approach in political action whereas, participant subculture stands for active participation in the political process. As such, the ensuing classification of modern political systems is essentially based on the structural-functional capabilities as well as the cultural identities of various polities.

We take first **Modern Democratic Systems**. They can be further subclassified. First, systems with **High Subsystem Autonomy**, Examples: Britain and the U.S.A. The political parties, the interest groups and the media of mass communication in these systems are exceptionally autonomous and differentiated from one another. There is also a "relatively well-developed and widely distributed participant culture". The two party system has stabilized the political process with a coherent political outlook and mass participation on a secular competitive basis.

Second, systems with Limited Subsystem Autonomy: these systems --- like France especially before De Gaulle, Italy and Germany of the post-Second World War period --- have the political parties, the interest groups and the mass media which tend to be dependent upon one another. For example, the Catholic Church is linked with other pressure groups, in the sense that there are Catholic political parties, Catholic trade unions and Catholic media of mass communication. These systems are also characterized by fragmentation of political culture. There are relatively large persisting subject and parochial sub-cultures; and the participant sub-culture is, at least in part, an alienated sub-culture. Mostly for that account of fragmentation, these polities like France in particular have multiparties, indicating cultural divergencies and instability in the political systems. Subsystem structures, though adequately developed and stratified, demonstrate limited functional autonomy for a lower degree of coherence in public opinion allowing centralism in political process.

Third, systems with Low Subsystem Autonomy: These systems are found in democracies where there is only one political party and a well-developed participant culture is hegemonic. Structural differentiation is in the phase of development, and functional autonomy is considerably high. Mexico can be quoted as an example<sup>82</sup>.

After democracies, the second broad classification is of Mobilized Modern Systems. Their classification is limited to **Authoritarian/Totalitarian** political systems. We noted earlier that

modern democracies provide for functional autonomy by virtue of decentralization. In the authoritarian/totalitarian systems, on the contrary, there is centralization and the subsystem structures do not enjoy autonomy to an extent it is found in modern democracies. The existence of a lower level of autonomy in these centralized systems is evidence of the fact that there is no contemporary political system which is totally devoid of functional autonomy. Similarly, the presence of minimal autonomy also reflects that such systems cannot survive except with a forceful centralized control. Such kind of regimentation is supportive to the growth of a suppressed political culture which is groomed for participation on official directions and for the realization of the conceptual goals designed for the polity authoritatively and pursued by a single political party<sup>83</sup>.

However, the modern totalitarian systems emerged through industrialization and urbanization. In this process, they had no choice but to admit structural differentiation and functional autonomy in an attempt to match Western democracies<sup>84</sup>.

There are further four sub-types of modern totalitarian political systems: **Radical Totalitarian** or the Communist system; **Conservative Totalitarian**, Nazi Germany **Stabilized Conservative Totalitarian**, Spain; and, **Modernizing Authoritarian**, Brazil<sup>85</sup>.

The radical as well as the conservative totalitarian systems have certain specific characteristics. The radical totalitarian are fundamentally ideological, as the Soviet Union. They emerged from poverty, and their aggressive ideologies provided a base for "thorough-going and militant industrialization and modernization". They were not simply aimed against Capitalism. Since their target was to maximize industrial and military power, the political infrastructure of Communist Party, pressure groups and mass media were in the main directed towards producing a team of elites, or what is known as "mobilizational bureaucracy". In this context, their political culture could be termed as "participant-subject" culture<sup>86</sup>.

Another striking feature, especially in the Soviet Union, was a growing rate of shift from totalitarianism to pluralism, which meant an inclination from rigid centralization to decentralization. It can be explained by referring to a variety of political groups and bases of conflict within the Soviet political system. One analysis lists some twelve categories of competitive groups struggling for power. Among them were: "the clique competing for the control of the top instrumentalities of the party apparatus; bureaucratic groups in conflict with the groups in the party apparatus; the groups like army and the various branches of civil and economic administration in conflict with each other, the scientists in conflict with the party bureaucracy and top party elite; and so on". In addition, there were further conflicts between different occupational and skill groups over their share in the national product, and the conflicts between the regime and such groupings as the peasantry and non-Russian ethnic groups (including Muslims) which did resist efforts of the regime to assimilate them and mobilize their resources for the triumph of ideology<sup>87</sup>.

In contrast to this was the Soviet official political culture, influenced by the Soviet doctrine. It inculcated the Soviet Communist ideology through centralized and powerful agencies like the mass media and the centrally controlled education system. Such instruments were applied to provide the Soviet citizens in general "a comprehensive set of beliefs, political feelings, and values". The techniques employed were "an explanation of the past beliefs and predictions about the future and a definition of the mission which each individual and group in the system is supposed to fulfill"<sup>88</sup>. For such specific reasons, the impact of ideology was felt more intensively in the Soviet Union than in any other ideological state (i.e.: Pakistan).

In the **Conservative Totalitarian** system of Hitler, the basic contrast with the radical totalitarian system of the Soviet Union was that it did not emerge from poverty. Germany was already a developed state. Therefore, economic modernization and mobilization were not the primart elite endeavours. Instead, the effort was on "the maximization of national and ethnic identities",

as well as on the solution of numerous domestic problems like unemployment. This aspect drove Hitler to destroy pluralism (or subsystem autonomy) with the object of acquiring power for remedial purposes<sup>89</sup>.

As such, a comparison shows that in the Soviet Union "all the strata and institutions were either penetrated or paralysed in favour of a centrally controlled system of political and economic mobilization". Similarly, in Nazi Germany, all the "left-wing and moderate, political parties were eliminated, and the various associational interest groups were assimilated into the Nationalist Socialist Party". Yet, some autonomy was allowed to persist --- "at least a greater degree of autonomy than in the Russian system". "The Catholic Church and some parts of the Protestant Church were able to maintain their separateness. Big business interests were also able to function autonomously to some extent. It is this more limited societal penetration which distinguishes the conservative branch of totalitarianism from the radical"<sup>92</sup>.

**The Stabilizing Conservative Totalitarian** system of Spain is yet another variant. "In its early stage, Spanish authoritarianism looked as though it was moving in the direction of totalitarianism. It also had a political party --- the Falange --- which in the earlier periods sought to penetrate the Spanish society, to assimilate all political tendencies and interests groups in the interest of general mobilization of the Spanish society. But the Spanish elite was not motivated by the impulses towards aggressive nationalism and expansionism which characterized Nazi Germany, or by the modernization drive of the Soviet elite". Its traditionalist or stabilizing conservative features were also evidenced by the fact that "the Falange party never effectively penetrated the Spanish society". "The Church preserved a powerful position, and the professions and the business community have been able to maintain some independence. Spanish authoritarianism is not a mobilizational regime; it is rather a conservative regime. Existing in a society already mobilized substantially, it tolerates, rather than coerces, pluralistic tendencies and bargains with some of the interest groups of Spanish society". Hence, its limited pluralism presented a



contrast with the monopoly imposed by a radically totalitarian system, on the one hand, and with the formally complete pluralism characteristic of the democratic systems, on the other<sup>93</sup>.

The **Premobilized or Modernizing Authoritarian** systems can be found in the polities like Brazil, Ghana and Nigeria. In such systems, "political modernity --- parties, interest groups, and mass media --- have been imposed on a highly traditional society". "Mobilization and exposure to modernity have been confined to a small elite. Although political awareness may have been aroused through freedom movements and through the gradual diffusion of the idea of economic improvement, political attitudes remain for the most part caught up in a web of traditional family and community ties. Knowledge of the means and skills of political action, or even the desire for autonomous participation, are virtually absent". Mobilization is minimal since, as in contrast with the highly mobilized systems, large number of individuals have not been urbanized, or are still illiterate, and not exposed to modern differentiated economic enterprises. The fragmentation among the elites, the regional-parochial-ethnic loyalties, and "the ultimate incapability of the system to satisfy aroused mass aspirations create a continuing spiral of frustration and instability"<sup>94</sup>.

Apart from the Premobilized or Modernizing Authoritative systems, which we noted as found in at least three developing polities of Brazil, Ghana and Nigeria, the political systems of the rest of the Third World are either those which have traditionally centralized monarchies like Saudi Arabia where structural-functional capabilities are directed primarily towards exploiting oil resources, or those which have still in the main the rudiments of the past colonial systems. Leaving aside monarchies, we classify the later category of ex-colonies or dependencies as follows.

**Third World Systems:** These are mostly the post-WW II new democracies having modernizing authoritative systems inherited in the main from the colonial masters of the past. In their structures and functions, political modernity has been imposed on highly traditional societies. The culture is predominantly subject,

and so the pattern of output is authoritative.

**A. Political Democracies: Example: India.**

These systems have structural differentiation and functional autonomy in a developmental stage; and the political parties and pressure groups dominate the political scene. Political culture is fragmented, and so not highly participant. Functional capabilities, though limited, are assured through constitutional guarantees. With the lapse of time since independence, democratization of the functions has been strengthened, but cultural and ethnic fragmentation negates the same process and provides evidence of political decay. Political action is predominantly elite oriented, thus political parties are more centralized in favour of personalities rather than modernized. The traits of conservatism and fanaticism hamper the way of secularization, making the political system more authoritarian. Mass mobilization is encouraged through political action. But mass participation is minimized because of eliticism.

**B. Transitional Authoritarian Democracies: Example: Pakistan.**

In such systems, political culture is feudalistic, though participant as well as parochial. There is a conscious awareness of and doubts about the alien systems. This expressed awareness is not necessarily in favour of modernism, but essentially towards the discovery of a glorious past otherwise interrupted by the colonial rule. But the desire for change, in the wake of cultural cleavages, encourages multiparty system, which in turn paves the way for political adventurism. Political socialization, too, is inadequately standardized. High level of illiteracy, the dilemma of conservatism vs modernism, as well as persistency in feudal traits promote political decay and effect the emergence of a dominant Westernized minority as against a subordinate conservative majority. This aspect presents a conflict model of mass mobilization and participation. Hence, such polities can be classified as transitional political systems, in which subsystem autonomy is minimal; and boundary overlap is quite frequent --- resulting in the system to appear as to be more administrative and less political. Likewise, non-political

elites' involvement may control the democratic functioning, especially so long as the elites at the output end (the decision-makers) often dominate the public opinion on the input end<sup>95</sup>.

**Conclusions:** A contemporary state is a complex phenomenon. It can be explained as a political system composed of structures having specifically assigned functions. For analysis, the level of functional capabilities attained by a political system determines the credibility of its structural framework. The structures; being components or subsystem objects --- act, react and interact mutually within the domestic environment, as well as externally while responding to the other political systems in the global environment. Thus a political system is not static, but essentially dynamic. Exposed to the environmental pressures, it undergoes periodic modifications. The domestic pressures may include for instance traditionalism vs modernism, agrarianism vs industrialism, and conservatism vs liberalism. Whereas, the external pressures may relate to the scientific and technological advancement all over the world, the ideological conflicts, and the strains on the system's capabilities to cope with all of them in a process of development. The impact of these pressures is telling in the sense that the given political system ought to be responsive and accommodative, despite its resistance to some of them, otherwise it is doomed to perish or at least suffer political decay.

In spite of this adaptability stressed by the environments, a political system must by all means be stable to sustain. The stability in a political system can be gauged in many ways. Initially, what level of political participation, by means of recruitment the system has acquired. The attainment of a specific level of mass participation in the first instance indicates political stability or political stagnation present in the polity. Then, the same specific level of mass participation is indebted to functional autonomy exercised by the structures (or political objects) of the system. Since functional autonomy in turn expands structural specialization, the level of mass participation attained distinguishes one political system from the others and helps us to understand the credibility of a particular political system.

In the process of assessing the level of participation, the contents of political culture and political socialization are of unique importance. Taking these contents as a yardstick, we measure and find the volume of mass participation in some political systems as being at the lowest ebb, allowing the small traditionally influential segments to participate; in some other political systems, the volume being substantially higher, covering the middle class and, in still some other political systems with exceptionally coherent political culture and highly differentiated structures, it touches the outer 'brim' of the polity and includes all the competing elites, classes and the populace at large. Thus, what we can infer from this is that a political system's adaptability and maintenance are subject to the quantum of mass participation allowed by it. The sources of participation are the political objects (or subsystems). The tools employed for such recruitment are political culture and political socialization. Higher the level of political participation, greater will be the chances for the political system to survive.

Another technique used to gauge stability and integration in a political system is the evaluation of the conversion process. The system's responsiveness to demands provides a base for our assessment. Despite the competing interests and attitudes circulating in the polity, the flow of inputs towards output objects should be streamlined in such a way that the elite perceptions are not damaged and the conversion of demands into decisions is not strenuous to the capabilities of the political system. The element of decay becomes evident, as is often so in many developing polities, when the input-stress is not adequately channelized, the mass media fails to bear the brunt of feedback thrusts and the elite at the helm maximizes its policies based on self values. Consequently, the political system becomes illegitimately coercive and makes room for disgusted demand making elite segments to go agitative and violent. The maintenance of an equilibrium in the input output interaction, on the contrary, will promote gradual styles of demands and constitutional modes of change. Such an approach, if acquired, can replace in politics aggressiveness and adventurism with accommodativeness and rationalism, respectively.

A third perception worth considering for the attainment of stability and integration in a political system is adherence with resolution to the concept of boundary-maintenance. The most stable Western political systems work for determining the most definite line of action for their polity. Distinguishing between the political and non-political subsystem components, they allocate authority and assign specific functions to the political objects like the executive and the legislature separately from the non-political objects such as the judiciary, the bureaucracy and the army. In this exercise, the developed political systems adequately maintain a balance by keeping the political objects functionally above the non-political; and also by enabling the former to lead the decision making in a systematic way. In the case of any deviation from this established norm, as is evidenced by certain Third World polities including Pakistan, the impact can be disastrous. Such a political instability in the system allows non-responsive authoritarianism in its political action, loss of the sense of direction in the masses, and chaos in the political system as a whole.

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64. See capabilities of a political system, noted above.
65. Support is normally material, political or anomic, see Almond and Powell, 1966, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
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# **SOCIO ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN - PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE**

**By**

**Dr. Qais Aslam\***

## **INTRODUCTION (THE PAST)**

Fifty years ago PAKISTAN was born as a new country, with hopes for a better future. The world's scenario then, was that U.K, USA, USSR and their allies had won the W W II. The economies of the developed world were in shambles. Just recovering from the after shocks of the global destruction of the War. The partners in the great victory - USA and USSR had immediately plunged themselves and the world into a new kind of war - the Cold War of the Systems. The colonised world was gaining political independence. Bathed in the glory of self-rule they were busy allying themselves on both sides of the iron curtain. Political blocs, military blocs and economic blocs were being formed, trying to out manoeuvre the other side. World S.P. like the IMF and the World Bank were busy giving advises and monetary assistance for economic rehabilitation and development to dictatorial regimes in the name of the free world. The Soviet Union also, dominating the countries on her side of the iron curtain, helped built economic policies of Socialism in these nations.

In short the countries of the world had started a race for political and ideological dominance over others. Economic policies were framed in such a manner that the military might of each nation and bloc could be developed and sustained. Social and environmental sectors were being ignored for bigger political and ideological gains. Smaller nations took the cue from their bigger brothers and made, or naturally found their own enemies in their own neighbourhood. In the name of ideologies and social justice, the ruling elite of most of the countries had succeeded in robbing the natural and monetary wealth of their nations and stacked these in foreign banks and monetary institutions. These banks, when over

supplied with money, in order to find demand for this extra cash, flushed it back as aid for military, or defence orientated economic uses. The statement of the Green Group in the European parliament wrote in 1991, "Over the past decade we have witnessed great increases in Military budgets, yet we live with the reality that 40,000 children die every day - from sickness, malnutrition and war; or unnecessary and preventable deaths. Environmental catastrophes make the situation worse. There are areas uninhabitable because of nuclear or chemical accidents and pollution. More than quarters of the worlds inhabitants do not have safe water to drink. Deforestation has led to unprecedented flooding and loss of habitat - and life - for many species. Deserts spread and communities lose their traditional means of support. The 1990s may become the decade of the environmental refugee".<sup>1</sup>

In Pakistan the last fifty years were spent perusing economic policies and receiving monetary aid, which would generate enough revenue so that the colossal defence expenditure of the country could be sustained. In order to run these policies, a super structure of bureaucracy was built and sustained with extra pressure on the fragile economy of the young nation. Both pressures of the cold war, to which Pakistan was an active participant, and the hot military conflicts that the country had with its bigger neighbours took their toll on the country's socio-economic and physical environment.

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS (THE PRESENT):**

Most serious effects of the economic policies during the cold war period were that of an increase in general poverty, fall in quality of life and a substantial environmental degradation in PAKISTAN<sup>2</sup>. Some of the socio-economic and environmental problems, which need serious thought as well as a new economic vision, are:

#### **Population Explosion**

Pakistan has one of the highest rates of population growth in the world. The rate of child birth is especially high

among the poor section of the society. Fast growing population in the country has depleted and degraded our natural resource base and strained the already fragile ecology in such a way that if timely action is not taken, than the future generations would not be able to support themselves.

## **UNEMPLOYMENT**

Unemployment is a major social and economic problem. The real volume of unemployment in PAKISTAN is difficult to judge, firstly, because of the agricultural nature of the Pakistan's economy, which absorbs a sizeable portion of the country's hidden unemployment, and secondly, because of a very low level of participation of women in the productive process.<sup>3</sup> Most of the job opportunities in the country are male oriented. Conditions of high fertility, poor education and other social pressures further restrict women's participation in active economic activity of the country. Most of the poor, in order to support themselves economically, and for self-preservation, take such self-employment measures with which they barely survive. They do not improve their as a quality of life but result pollute, degrade and degenerate their environment.

## **ILLITERACY AND LACK OF EDUCATION**

Pakistan has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world. More than half of primary school going age children do not actually go to school. The country is among the least developed nations as far as education is concerned. Because of lack of education and high level of illiteracy, the people of the country carry on unscientific and primitive means of economic and social practices. They are unable to learn new and more sustainable ways of economic and social living. Therefore even those meagre measures, which are enforced in order to arrest the degradation of the quality of life and environment, do not become effective.

## **RURAL QUALITY OF LIFE**

Most of Pakistan's villages do not have clean drinking water, hygiene, and sewers, waste disposal facilities, good roads

and even electricity. Most of the rural population lives in mud huts along with their animals under pre-capitalist socio-economic structures. Therefore the quality of life in the rural areas is very poor. This in turn results in social, economic, environmental degradation and deaths of thousands every day due to water borne and other diseases.

### **MALNUTRITION**

The poor nutritional status of most of Pakistani children and adults alike is probably the most dramatic indicator of failure of the conventional economic policies in the country today. Malnutrition is linked with poverty of people who neither contribute to the country's economic growth, nor they share equitably in its benefits. "Childhood illness and death are much higher in the poorer strata of society. Illiteracy of mothers, culture determined attitudes with respect to health and medical care, lack of basic knowledge and awareness of health problems, poverty and the inaccessibility of health facilities all contribute to these high rates"<sup>4</sup>.

The poor in Pakistan live under conditions where illiteracy rates are drastically high, Malnutrition, and disease are rampant, which leads to high infant mortality and low expectancy of life. This situation is being made worse because of the speed with which our population, especially in the poorer section of the society is growing.<sup>5</sup> Already scarce resources and food among the poor are being shared by more and more. Malnutrition is the main cause of the high rate of child mortality and non-reversible brain damage in children, especially under the age of 5 years.

### **DEFORESTATION**

Due to an increase in population; use of firewood for fuel; and mass cutting down of trees and forests in the country for industrial and economic uses, PAKISTAN is facing a problem of Deforestation. Deforestation in its turn has resulted in the destruction of the topsoil, and climate changes, which then are effecting agricultural output for humans, and destruction of natural habitats for animal, plant and insect life. Deforestation has also

resulted in watershed deterioration and therefore resulted in loss of wild life in the country.<sup>6</sup>

## **TOXIC MATERIALS AND CHEMICALIZATION**

There is unplanned and over use of chemical fertilizers in Pakistan's agriculture. Also there is an increasing in industrial and consumer use of petrochemical and other toxic materials. This has substantially increased the pollution levels in our waters, poisoned our food products and degraded quality of life. Degradation of the environment and water channels can also give rise to national and regional conflicts over land and natural resources in the future, apart from increasing the levels of disease in Pakistan.

## **RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION**

With 60,000 villages in PAKISTAN she only has 10 major city centers, out of which 5 are with a population of over a million people. Karachi and Lahore are among the most populated cities of the world. Cities in the country are expanding fast due to rural - urban migration. Slums in the older parts of the cities hold over half of the city's total population. Housing has become a problem, because the price of land is high. The new comers to the cities are mainly poor attracted to the city lights and glamour for mainly economic benefits and survival, the case soon becomes the opposite for many. Therefore the levels of poverty, crime, corruption and terrorism have substantially risen in PAKISTAN.

### **Urban Quality of Life**

Because of a constant flow of people from the less developed areas to economically more attractive cities, the new arrivals become squatters, building shelters wherever they can find space and out of whatever material that may be available. The slums invariably lack water, sanitation, waste removal, power and paved streets. Poor people spend three times more money for their water, then those that have running water at homes.<sup>7</sup>

### **Air, Water and Noise Pollution**

Because of mass deforestation, increase in internal combustion engine driven automobiles, and non stop emission of toxic industrial gases in the atmosphere, the air above the PAKISTAN cities has substantially degraded and has become a cause of chronic diseases for humans and animals alike. There is also an increase in dumping of unbridled toxic chemicals waste in our rivers, which is polluting the life in the rural areas and more and more agricultural land is becoming unfit for cultivation. Noise pollution in the country has also increased because of unchecked use of loudspeakers in religious places, pressure horns in automobiles, industrial noise etc. Air, water and noise pollution is fast reaching dangerous levels against sustaining human and other life forms. Life cycles, ecology and economic activity in the country are being threatened from within because of these forms of environmental pollution.

### **Unscientific Lifestyles**

The lifestyles of both the poor as well as the rich are unscientific and harmful to the economy and the environment. Social traditions and pre-capitalist ways of life some times come contrary to the economic needs of the family and the country. The rich, misuse the social behaviours, economy, environment and ecology for their own lavish life styles and pleasures. The poor use environmentally harmful cooking, heating materials, and methods for their daily survival. Wastefulness of the rich, scavenging of the poor and callousness of the administration in the country threatens the fragile ecology, pollutes the environment, and keeps the economy under developed.

### **Lack of Health Facilities**

Health facilities in the country are expensive, and largely limited to the urban centers, therefore more than 80 percent of the population in Pakistan receives very poor quality or absolutely no health care. There is a high rate of deaths among children from curable diseases due to lack of proper health care.



Among the women folks of the country, there is a high rate of fertility related deaths, which could be avoided with a proper and timely medical care to the poor section of the population.

### **Over Looking the Economic Role of Women**

Policy makers in PAKISTAN are over looking the role of women and their need for paid employment. They are over looking also, their role in food production, and child care. This also is the reason why the policy makers and economists also over look women's equal rights in land and property. They ignore the need for equal wage policy, maternity leaves, and health care of women etc.<sup>8</sup> Salaries for women and children are even lower than men, (who are also under paid in the country), leading to the immoral and some times illegal practices of prostitution, child and slave labour.<sup>9</sup>

### **Economic Mismanagement**

Most of the problems facing Pakistan today are due to mismanagement, and bad economic policies. This adversely effects the reserves of human, mineral and energy resources, which are fast depleting or being destroyed. Bad economics and unfeasible methods of cultivation have resulted in soil loss which in turn has reduced agricultural productivity, capacity of the land to produce, reduced operating life of dams for power generation and have resulted in substantial irrigation damage to coastal fisheries.<sup>10</sup> Also, due to poaching missmanagement and bad economics there is a loss of bio-diversity in the country, which is leading to a loss in crop strains, loss in medical potential and extinction of plant and animal species.

### **Hazardous Wastes from Abroad**

Because of increased incidences of transport, dumping and shipment of Hazardous wastes from abroad, risks to human health have increased. Illegal dumping of toxic wastes near our cost line have not only threatened people living near the cost line, but also has threatened the natural resources and fish life there, further

threatening the livelihood of the people near the coast lines.<sup>11</sup>

### **Global Climate Changes and Ozone Layer Depletion**

Because of a global climate change, there is a fear of flooding of the Indus delta and to the coastal cities. There is a substantial effect on fishing and associated communities, which would lose their livelihood in the future. There are also changes in rainfall pattern, which are leading to a shift in agricultural patterns and changes in water patterns and seasons in the country. With an increase in ozone layer depletion, there is an increase in incidences of UV-B radiation, which in turn is suppressing human immune defence against tumours and skin related diseases.<sup>12</sup>

### **Proposed Action (The Future if Possible?)**

It should be noted that human poverty and misery are not inevitable because of excessive population growth, environmental deterioration and shortage of food, energy and natural resources. These arise out of poor planning in population growth and economic development programs and because of a lack of international economic co-operation.

In order to plan economic development programs, the basic requirements of the people, their quality of life, their needs and aspirations as well as sustaining the environment and ecology must be kept in view. Enrichment of human lives through satisfaction of their basic needs, and presenting a better environment to our future generations, represents a real measure of development. It is simply a question of opportunity costs - profit margins or survival? It should be noted that no social uplift plan, economic development theory, environmental protection program, or population control method can be remotely successful or wisely implemented until there is a serious administrative and political will in the country to eradicate/irradiate poverty and to enhance literacy and education.

Serious economic steps and administrative will have to be taken by the central and the provincial governments in order to

promote more equitable distribution of income and food in the country. For poverty irradiation and uplift of the poor section of the society the menace of unemployment will have to be tackled, increased employment opportunities and income generation programs for the poor will have to be devised both in the private as well as in the public sectors. Better output mix between agriculture and industry will have to be thought of for a more comprehensive regional development and co-operation of less developed areas in the country. Industrialization in urban as well as remote rural areas will have to be promoted. Better marketing facilities will have to be provided both in the rural as well as the urban areas. Job opportunities near their homes will stem the tide of economic migration to the cities, and avoid congestion in major city centers. In order to slow down rural - urban migration, industries in areas already congested will have to be re-located. Industries, which are located in outlying areas, should be subsidies, and industries which add to congestion, will have to be taxed. For better economic and social life styles and income generating opportunities, infrastructural protection and development demands construction of roads, bridges, housing and improvement in transport and communication systems through out the country. In agricultural sector there will have to be an optimum utilization of land in order to increase agricultural output. For a better economic viability, serious thought will have to be given to the extent of the land holdings. The supply of agricultural land will have to be increased through land reforms. Some sort of co-operation will have to be made among small farmers for a more feasible and cost effective economic unit of land and production. At the same time serious land reforms will have to be done in order to release unproductive land from feudal land holdings so that more scientific market methods of cultivation could be used for better production, and economic protection of the poorer and land less tillers on these lands. Also agricultural output will have to be maximized without sacrificing the environment and ecology to toxic and poisonous levels of chemicalization.

Levels of forests through out the country will have to be enhanced. For improvement of economic activity and for protection

of the environment, the productivity of forests will have to be improved. Forestation will control land erosion and help stabilise climate fluctuations. New and environmentally friendly energy sources will also have to be tapped for supplementing energy output. For optimum use of water resources, it is necessary to build environment friendly and viable irrigation networks, tube wells etc.

Measures will have to be taken to stop pollution of our rivers and water channels. Active measures will have to be taken in order to control and fight flooding. Serious steps will have to be taken in order to minimize the incidences of water logging, salinity and siltation. For serious pollution control and protection of the environment in Pakistan, highly polluting industries should be heavily taxed and fined. There will have to be an increase in expenditure on research and development to develop technologies, which minimize pollution in the country. Also compulsory environmental protection standards for private as well as public sector industries will have to be imposed. It is important that the government should subsidize industrial firms in order to install equipment for controlling pollution levels. Effluent emissions in air and water will have to be regulated. Noise pollution will have to be seriously controlled through stingy measures on loud speakers and pressure horns etc. spread of life-threatening diseases in the country should be controlled. This can be effectively done through prevention rather than control. For this purpose, clean drinking water, provision of sewage line facilities, and treatment and disposal of wastage will have to be provided to all the villages and urban centers in the country, it is important to give proper treatment to hazardous wastes. Also the disposal of solid waste will have to be enhanced. As far as the population is concerned, it has a two-fold role in economic development - as the consumer and as the producer of goods and services. Therefore population planning should not be haphazard. It should be based on actual socio-economic objectives. Serious and effective population control measures should be under taken. Job opportunities and income generation facilities to males as well as females in the family should be provided. There should be education for all school going children in the country. Health care for mother and child should be

enhanced. Decision powers on the number of children that they have to bear should rest with the female members of the family. Leisure time and places for the community will do more for harassing and retarding the population explosion in the country than any level of population programs and planning. Population programs and planning of family are also necessary, provided these are based on the genuine inspiration and willingness of the people concerned.

Actual laws will have to be enacted and seriously implemented by the government in order to control domestic and imported pollution levels, protect the environment and promote better quality of life to its population. International co-operation, rectification of, and implementation upon all the international treaties on environmental protection, arms control and human rights is also necessary for future sustainable economic development in the country. Individual nations around the world are waking up to these realities and coming out of the cold war policies and are trying to ensure structural changes in their economies towards protection of their physical environment, and a better human development index. In Pakistan time has also come for a trade off between purely short-term growth oriented economic goals and towards a long-term environmentally sustainable development for improving general welfare of the people and our physical environment.

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## **GOOD GOVERNANCE : SOME RANDOM REFLECTIONS**

by

Ross Masood Husain

For almost a decade now, the concept of governance has been carefully studied and promoted by scholars, NGOs, governments and, in particular, development banks and agencies. Several analysts have attempted rigorous definitions of governance. The Institute of Governance in Ottawa, for instance, interprets governance as comprising "the institutions, processes and conventions in a society which determine how power is exercised, how important decisions affecting society are made, and how various interests are accorded a place in such decisions<sup>1</sup>". Less political in its definition, the World Bank views governance as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development<sup>2</sup>". The governance debate of today has moved beyond the constraints of this value-laden concept of good governance, and focusses on the growing realisation that, without legitimate governing bodies which involve the broad masses of the people and respond to their needs, there can neither be good governance nor can development be extensive, balanced or sustained.

The South Asian region is replete with examples of poor governance that erode the capacity of communities and individuals to even meet their basic human needs. From a faulty deployment of scarce resources and crippling debt burdens to social divisions drawn along ethnic and sectarian lines, and from arbitrary law enforcement to failed political leadership, few regions are confronted with governance challenges as wide in their scope, intensity and sheer immensity as those found in the region of South Asia. The problem cannot be casually attributed to the failure of any particular institution or group of institutions governance is not solely the fundamental domain of the state. South Asia's governing elites have yet to adopt an integrated and humane approach to the complementary roles of the state, civil society and the private sector

in managing the affairs of citizens. The identification of governance structures and processes reflecting societal needs requires the conceptualization of a new and flexible governance framework -- a framework that encompasses and predicts change, and encourages both political and economic solutions to developmental challenges through the mutually reinforcing efforts of the state, civil society, and the private sector<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless, the state has a major role to play since one of the basic purposes of the state is to ensure the progress and the prosperity of its people by providing a facilitating mechanism and framework for the achievement of this laudable objective. The paradigm of good governance emerges from this package. But this package can only be implemented (1) through the strengthening of true parliamentary democracy which avoids the emergence of elected dictatorships and ensures greater citizen participation and responsiveness to peoples' changing needs<sup>4</sup>; (2) through the strengthening of the judiciary by eliminating political influences external to the institution that limit its mandate, autonomy and overall effectiveness; (3) through a restructuring of the economic system with appropriate agrarian, industrial, and fiscal reforms which promote the private sector but at the same time makes it more socially responsible and sensitive to the environment; (4) through a decentralisation of governmental functions which reduces the excessive, discretionary role of the state, and brings about a comprehensive devolution of power to constituent federating units and to grassroot local bodies levels; (5) through a rebuilding of the public sector with sweeping administrative reforms which put a premium on efficiency and honesty, depoliticizes the civil services, and transform them into a pillar of Strength for the people<sup>5</sup>; (6) through limiting the control of money over politics by the empowerment of peoples' organisations which help facilitate citizen participation in the processes of governance; (7) through the provision of social safety nets for the poor and the downtrodden and the reduction of wasteful nondevelopmental government expenditures<sup>6</sup>; and (8) through the rule of law which, inter alia, ensures strict accountability and crystal clear transparency in the running of government.



All this is easier said than done, because the very nature of the state in contemporary times is under intensive scrutiny and debate. The European Union offers a classic example where the traditional notions of the state are giving way to transnational and supranational concepts. In the developing world, the postcolonial state has come under considerable stress and strain and is undergoing crisis at multiple levels. At the structural level, for example, the state itself has become a veritable source of conflicts which are directly connected with the monopoly of the state to resort to the use of force.<sup>7</sup> A second level of conflict is created by the economic and social activities of the state, the struggle for scarce resources, and the consequences of modernization. A third level of conflict emanates from the security policy of the state which not only has the potential to exacerbate external tensions but can also trigger off many a domestic crisis. A fourth level of conflict originates from the insensitive and shortsighted attitudes of ruling elites that lead to an assertion of linguistic, ethnic, parochial, sectarian and religious interests which fragments the delicate fabric of national unity. Such crises have a direct bearing on the stability of the country, the maintenance of territorial integrity, the pace of development and modernization, the all-important question of the legitimacy of power and the capability for forging a national consensus on controversial issues.

Furthermore, postcolonial state-building has over the years seen an increasing separation of the citizenry from the state -- a creating in the process an ever-widening gap between different segments of society which, in turn, has created ideal conditions for institutionalized corruption, enormous mismanagement of national resources, and a dilution of administrative authority. This has led to an erosion of the political system, an almost total institutional collapse, and consequent instability of the state.<sup>a</sup> A state crisis becomes doubly dangerous when relations between state and society are stretched to the point where various sections of the population become alienated from the rest, and begin not only to nurse their grievances but also to retreat on their national identity and even question the very existence of the state. Indeed, debate is currently on in the developing countries around such issues as (1) federalism

versus centralism; (2) parliamentary system versus presidential system; (3) democratic regimes versus dictatorships; and (4) secularism versus fundamentalism. In our own beloved country, these issues are raking up bitter controversies and tearing to shreds the bonding fabric of our polity.

Good governance just cannot be ensured through half-hearted effort or haphazard reform. The need to negotiate a new social contract' has today assumed special urgency. The aim of the new social contract should be to redistribute powers between the federation, the provinces, and the local grassroots bodies (in a manner suited to our own subjective and objective conditions), and to curb the hold of the bureaucrat and the feudal on the power and resources of the country<sup>a</sup> In our federal arrangement, operating in the pluralist, heterogeneous society of Pakistan, the dispensation of authority has to be drastically redefined. Rigid administrative measures, crafted in the old colonial mould, are at best a holding action --á a make-shift arrangement for what is euphemistically described as the "maintenance of law and order". The real resolution of the crisis facing Pakistan today has to be essentially in political terms -- in the harmonious blending of administrative interest and political articulation.

In sum, there is an urgent need to restructure the entire framework of our polity<sup>8</sup>. If we are to survive as a self-respecting nation, it is time to say goodbye to the praetorian nature of the polity, and work out a broad consensus on the ground rules of playing politics among the various actors. This can no longer be ignored or deferred. The question is : does the ruling elite have the political will, the courage and the wisdom to act and implement this sweeping agenda for change? Or, will the infinite capacity of our people to bear with stoic patience every human indignity heaped upon them merely prove the truth of the well known political aphorism that 'a people get the kind of governance they deserve'? This is the bottom line -- the all important question until a satisfactory resolution of which good governance will continue to remain a pipedream.

**NOTES**

1. See <http://infoweb.magl.com/iGVN/>
  - 2<sup>a</sup> World Bank, "Governance and Development", Washington, DC : The World Bank, 1992, p.1.
  3. Richard Ponzo, "The Crisis of Governance in South Asia : Solution" in Naveed Ahmed Tahir (ed), 'Problems of Good Governance in South Asian Countries : Learning from European Political Models', Karachi, B.C.C.&T. Press, 1999, p.245.
  4. OECD, "Participatory Development and Good Governance Paris a OECD Publications, 1995<sup>a</sup> p.8.
  5. See also Saeed Ahmed Qureshi, "Problems of Governance" The News International, July 4, 1988<sup>a</sup>
  6. See Mahbub ul Haq, "Human Development in South Asia", Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1997.
  7. S.K.Mahmud, " Good Governance Paradigm : Problems and Prospects", DAWN.
  8. See also Peter Blunt and Dennis Rondonelli", Reconceptualizing Governance", Discussion Paper 2, New York, 1997.
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## BOOK REVIEW

TITLE: Historical Dictionary Of Wars Of The French Revolution  
AUTHOR: Steven T. Roes  
PUBLISHER: The Scareeron Press, Inc. Lanham, Md., And London, 1998  
PAGES : 400  
PRICE : \$72

It appears from the title of the book that it touches remote past. But when readers go through it, they find it a store-house of knowledge and information. Moreover, it is on the French Revolution which has left indelible imprints on the pages of history - a revolution and related wars that ranged on the time span of French Revolution to 1802.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part is concerned with events which have been given in a chronological order. It helps in understanding the conflict and its dimensions. The second part is about the concepts, personalities, events, places, encounters and battles which have been significant in all the revolutionary wars. The third part provides a comprehensive bibliography on the topic, which can contribute to the researchers to seek ample help for developing strategy in dealing with such situations. Besides, it provides guidelines and directions to the war strategists concerning planning, launching and successfully achieving politico-military goals. It is embellished with charts and maps of revolutionary forces, battles and encounters which explain the strategies evolved and connections of occurred events. The present day war - strategist can be benefited from it a lot.

The book on the whole does not only give enormous information, but also acquaints with historically established connections of various revolutionary forces. It has been designed as an edifice of knowledgeable facts on which the present and future can be constructed and maintained on the past experience. It is a good addition to personal collection, if one can afford to buy. Nevertheless it is a definite source of historical information about the crucial times Europe passed through.

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