

COURSE CODE POL 101

COURSE NAME: INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

CREDIT UNITS: 3

LEVEL: 100

### INFORMATION ABOUT THE COURSE

This course is a three-credit unit course for undergraduate students in Political Science. The course introduces you to Political Science, its nature, scope and sub divisions, relationship with other disciplines as well as the validity or otherwise of the claim of Political Science to the status of a science. The course will also introduce you to basic concepts in Political Science such as power, authority, influence and legitimacy. The workings of different structures and institutions of government and the state will also be examined. Furthermore, the meaning of the concepts of the state, nation and nation-state as well as their differences and relationships will be discussed.

### COURSE OBJECTIVES

The course objectives include the following:

- To introduce students to the basics of Political Science especially such concepts that underscore the very essence of the discipline. Thus, Power, Influence, Authority, Legitimacy, Constitutionalism and others shall form the focus of this course;
- To introduce students to the workings of different structures and institutions of government and the state;
- To examine the relationship between Political Science and other related disciplines like Geography, Economics, History, Sociology etc. and
- To examine the theories, methods, and approaches to the study of Political Science as a Field of Study.

### **Course Outline**

- 1. Meaning and nature of Political Science**
- 2. Scope and fields of Political Science**
- 3. Approaches and Methods of Political Science**
- 4. Definition and Origin and Theory of State**
- 5. Features and Purposes of State**
- 6. Nation, Nation-State and Society**
- 7. Power, Influence, Authority and Legitimacy**
- 8. Classification, Types and Forms of government**
- 9. Major Contemporary Systems of Government**
- 10. Structure and Organisation of Government**
- 11. Constitution**
- 12. Constitutionalism**

## TITLE

Meaning and nature of political science

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3hours

## INTRODUCTION

This study session introduces the students to the subject matter of Political Science as a discipline of study. It also includes the argument on whether or not politics can be studied as a science or art.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to explain the meaning of politics and political science and also understand the various arguments on the study of politics as an art and/or science.

## CONTENT

### 1.1.1 What is Politics?

Politics because of its ubiquitous nature is devoid of any acceptable definition. Politics can be found everywhere, anytime and anyhow. Any gathering of people that are more than two; family, religious organisations, business, work place, social club, political party, national government and international organisations provide settings for politics and political activities to take place. This observation have been supported by many scholars of politics, for instance; William Welsh and Robert Dahl assert that politics is ubiquitous in human circumstances while Aristotle (384-322BC) observes that man by nature is a political animal.

### 1.1.2 Some definitions of politics

In spite of the above, attempts will be made to consider some definitions that have been offered by various scholars of political science. Starting from the ancient Greek, Anifowose (1999:20) observes that politics refers to a process by which men debate matters concerning the 'polis' that

is the community, and take actions in an attempt to realize the public interest or common good. In other words, according to Anifowose, politics is about controversy, a process of resolution of conflict through discussion, bargaining and compromise.

According to Max Weber cited in Anifowose (1999:2) politics concern with the operation of the state and its institutions, Weber conceived of politics as striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power among individuals and groups within a state.

Another set of definitions which focus less on the state and its institutions but emphasizes the relationship that goes on within the state include that of David Easton and Harold Laswell. Easton defines politics as the “authoritative allocation of values for a society” while Laswell sees “politics as who get what, when and how?” These two definitions concern with power and conflict and their resolution and thus politics is seen as activities and process that take place in the public realm (Anifowose 1999:4; Akindele et al. 1998). In another word according to Oyediran (2007:2), politics involves the use of power, rule and authority in any human relationship.

### 1.1.3 What is Political Science?

Political science concerns with systematic study and analysis of politics. However, there is no agreement on what constitutes its definition. For instance, David Apter, (1977) defines political science as a discipline that studies the relations between the rulers and the ruled, and the means and ends each employs. Alfred de Grazia cited in Akindele (1998:3) states that ‘political science is the study of events that happen around the decision making centres of government’.

### 1.1.4 Is politics art or science?

There have been much debate as to whether or not politics can be studied as an art or a science. In the view of Robert Dahl, politics can both be regarded as an art and at the same time as a science depending on the angle that we are approaching its study. In the word of Robert Dahl as quoted by Oyediran (2007:3) “To the extent that many aspects of political analysis are mostly easily acquired by practice and training under the supervision of a person already skilled in political analysis, it is an art”. He stated further that “Whenever students of politics scrupulously

test their generalizations and theories against the data of experience by means of meticulous observation, classification and measurement then political analysis is scientific in its approach” .

#### 1.1.5 Politics as Art

In conceiving politics as art, Anifowose 2005:6, observes that those who engage in arts develops skills along certain lines not so much because of knowledge of general principles but because of native talents and long practice of the craft and therefore concludes that politics is art of governing. He states further that governing relates not much to science as to common sense, intuition, imagination and experiences that is quality of mind of the person. He concludes that politics is art as individual politicians operate on the basis of accumulated wealth of experience and he/she is judged principles. Thus, politics involves experience, training and practices and talents more than understanding of some ground principles of conducting political affairs.

#### 1.1.6 Politics as a Science

Science refers to the body of knowledge, organized and verifiable based upon observation and experience. Science involves a method which includes the following:

- i. Selection of problems
- ii. Formulation of hypothesis
- iii. Collection of data
- iv. Data analysis
- v. Data interpretation
- vi. Conclusion

It is argued that for politics to claim to be scientific, it must not only adopt the foregoing methods of science but also follow the principles of science which include uniformities and regularities in pattern of behaviour; verification or observation of facts or experimentation in a laboratory setting; inter-subjectivity communicable or transmissible of the scientific knowledge; objectivity or value free analysis through the use of precision techniques such as statistics; systematic and orderly analysis of data with aim of identifying similarities and differences; laying down of universal laws or generalisations and high level theory for the purpose of explanation and prediction.

### 1.1.7 Arguments against science of politics

However, there have been arguments that political science or the study of politics cannot attain to these ideals set out for science. Vernon Dyke (1971) observes two major obstacles in the scientific study of politics, the first relate to political scientist himself conducting the research and the second concerns with the subject matter of political science.

Other limitations that have been observed in scientific study of politics or the study of political science are the following:

- That most materials considered in politics are imprecise and not measurable as they are often based on intuition and are irrational.
- That there are difficulty in observing regularities and uniformities in human behaviour, which is the subject matter of political science unlike the situation in natural sciences.
- That human being cannot be subject to a particular pattern of behaviour as they can always change their action as they so desire according to changing circumstances and situations. Therefore, it will be difficult to decree an absolute or universal law of behaviour for man as it obtains in the natural sciences.
- That human being cannot be subject to laboratory experiment as it obtains in the natural sciences.
- That due to changes in human nature it will be difficult in explaining and predicting the behaviour of individuals.
- That it is very difficult to eliminate the subjective element, personal values, feelings, attitudes, opinions, preferences, and biases from political investigation.
- That due to the nature of the data of political science it is difficult to achieve precision, thus, assumptions or generalisations are probable unlike the generalisations in the natural sciences.
- That the scientific study of politics concerns with only limited, narrow and trivial matters and leave out the larger problems of political philosophy.
- That there may be changes in the environment that do render previous observed human behaviour untenable thereby making a cumulative development of knowledge of political behaviour difficult.

However, in spite of the foregoing criticism of the scientific study of politics, political science as a discipline has improved tremendously from adapting the methods of science. The discipline can now employ sample survey for gathering information and statistical methods for quantifying the data among others.

#### 1.1.8 Political Science and Politicians

Having examined the various definitions of politics and political science, and also, considered the debate on whether or not political science can be studied as art or science, it is necessary to clear the air on the confusion of some people on what political science really entails. It is important to do this as some claims that political scientists are politicians. Political science conducts systematic and objective analysis of politics which may or may not help the workings of politicians. It should be noted that the motives of politicians are different from that of political scientists. The politicians seek power and personal prestige while political scientists are sceptical of power and pursue professional prestige. Billy Dudley in his famous *Scepticism and Political Virtue* (1975) stated that political scientists engage in five major activities: consciousness formation, social mobilisation, contestations, institutional struggle; and transcendence.

1. **“Consciousness Formation**, that is, the evolving of awareness amongst a collectivity of the issues and problems that confront that collectivity”.
2. **“Social Mobilization**, which is the organisation of a collectivity for joint collaborative action”.
3. **“Contestation”**, the contesting of the determination of natural priorities through the process of argumentation and debate.
4. **“Institutional Struggle** or the conversion of fights into games and debates” and
5. **Transcendence**, the bringing about of change both at the level of the person and at the systemic and sub-systemic levels.

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

1. Do you think politics is art or science?
2. Are political scientists the same as politicians?

## IN-TEXT ANSWERS

1. The answer cannot be in a strict yes or no format. The reason is because you have to argue for the two sides, you must state the reasons why politics can be studied as art as well as science. You can then decide on your own position based on superior reasons. The answer must also draw from practical situations within the society.
2. The second question is more straightforward than the first; this is because political scientists are not politicians by the reasons of what they do. However, individual political scientist can become politician but it is not their training as political scientist that makes him/her to be a politician.

## PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

### ACTIVITIES

Write out the names of prominent political scientists and politicians in Nigeria that you are familiar with.

### SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This lesson introduces students to the foundation of the discipline of political science. The lesson gave various definitions of political science and also examines the debate on whether political science can be studied as art or science.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Define Politics and Political Science.

### NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

The answer to the above question should not be less than 250 words. Clarity of expression and adequate illustrations are very important in the answer.

### GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION



## TITLE

Scope and fields of political science

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3hours

## INTRODUCTION

This study session examines the scope of political science and the various fields that the discipline can be divided to and the relationship of political science to other disciplines.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to identify and explain the scope and various sub-fields within political science and its relationship with other disciplines.

## CONTENT

### 2.1 Scope and fields of political science

Political science can be divided into many fields. These include the following:

National Politics or Government; this involves the study of politics of a given country. It usually involves the study of domestic politics of such a country. This would include examination of political ideas, institutions and processes such as the executive, legislative and judicial processes, constitutional laws, interest groups, political parties among others. This aspect of the study of political science introduces students to the politics of his/her country.

Comparative Politics; this field of political science involves comparing and contrasting of different governmental system of one country with another. It has been argued that the study of contemporary politics helps in understanding and identifying those characteristics which may be universal to the political processes regardless of time or place (Rodee, 1983:12).

International Relations, This field of political science analyses how different states interact with one another with the ultimate aim of promoting world peace. Areas included in the

international relations are international organisations, foreign policy, international economic relations, international conflict, security and conflict resolution among others.

Political Theory; political theory otherwise refers to as political philosophy is the oldest field in the study of politics. It is normative, speculative, subjective, value laden and idealistic. It deals with the issues of right and wrong and thus judgemental like justice, moral obedience to the state, good life, democracy among others.

Public Administration is the field of political science that focuses attention on the organization (bureaucracy) which is responsible for implementing government policies. This field includes examination of theory and practice of administration such as organizational and administrative theories, examination of national, state and local government bureaucracies and inter-governmental relations among others.

Political Economy; political economy studies the relationship between politics and economics and the implications of this relationship on the society. The connection between politics and economics has long been a subject of attention among scholars. From the classical economics of Ricardo and Adam Smith to the Marxist economics of Marx, Engels and Lenin, amongst others, attempts have been made to draw out the interconnection and the relationship between the two aspects of human life. The neo-classical political economists were against the views of the classical political economists on the non-intervention of the government or state in the market system. Theorists of this school were of the view that laissez-faire did not in any way promote the survival of the fittest; rather the principle only ensured the exploitation of the many by the few. Their conclusion after assessing the impact of monetary and financial arrangement on the economy, led to arguments for active fiscal and monetary policies to correct any form of distortion such as general recession. However, the Marxists, while recognizing the influence of socio-economic and political factors on the economy, also, take into cognizance the interconnection of social relations, class conflicts and the organic relationship between the sub-structure (economy) and the super structure (polity) (Munich; 43) For the Marxist economists, therefore, the economy or the sub-structure controls the polity or the super-structure.

## 2.2 Political Science and other disciplines

Political science is related to other disciplines by the virtue of being part of social sciences which focus on human behaviour. Political science is also related to other social sciences as a result of borrowing models, concept and theories from other natural sciences. The various forms of relationship that exists between political science and other academic disciplines include the following:

#### Political science and Economics

Briefly defined, Economics is the science of wealth; it is concerned with the allocation and use of limited resources among the various groups in a society. Thus, while money is the currency of economics, power is the currency of politics and both are scarce in relation to the desire for them. The acquisition of both necessarily engenders competition, and setting of the rules to prevent conflict in order to achieve economic prosperity or political stability. Economics and politics intersect at many points because the political leadership takes vital economic decisions in a country.

#### Political science and Law

Political Science as a discipline can also be meaningful within the context of law, or what is known as constitutional order. It is well known that no society can be governed without the constitution either written or unwritten being the legal basis of authority in a society. The legislative processes in the parliament, the enforcement or implementation of law by the executive, as well as the business of interpretation of the constitution by the judiciary are major areas where political science and law intersects.

#### Political Science and Geography

Since Alfred Thayer and Sir Halford Mackinder coined the term geopolitics to explain the interaction of politics and human geography, the relationships between the two disciplines

has not been in doubt, and has become widely accepted. Both scholars have particularly stressed the deterministic relationship between a country's geographical endowments and its foreign policy reflexes. It is a fact today that the wealth and power of a nation is a function, among other factors, of its location. Resources are located within the territorial confines of a state, and territory is an attribute of a state within which its citizens live, over which its government rules and exercises sovereignty

#### Political Science and Philosophy

Political Science is closely related to philosophy especially in the areas of concepts and doctrines introduced by political thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, and Locke among others. Political philosophy contributes to political science in form of ideas and values on how best to organize the society.

#### Political Science and History

History as the study of past events provides the data for political science analysis. Adequate knowledge of the past events helps in the interpretation of the present and suggests probable developments in the future.

#### Political Science and Sociology

Sociology as a discipline studies the society as a whole and thus provides insight to understanding human behaviour for political science. For instance, areas of interest to sociology such as social stratification, social class, culture, socialization and social background also contributes immensely to political analysis.

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

1. Briefly mention the various fields of political science.
2. Mention at least five disciplines that have relationship with political science.

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

1. Answer to this question requires mentioning with brief explanations of the various fields and how they serve overall interest of political science. There should also be illustrations of these fields.
2. Answer requires at least five disciplines that are related to political science. The answer must emphasise these relationships with examples.

## PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

## ACTIVITIES

## SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This lesson introduced the students to the foundation of the discipline of political science.

This is done through setting out clearly how to identify political science from other similar discipline and through stating the essential features of political science as a field of study.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Mention and discuss with relevant examples disciplines that are related to Political Science.

## NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

The answer to the above question should not be less than 300 words. Clarity of expression and adequate illustrations are very important in the answer.

## GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION

3

## TITLE

Approaches and methods of studying political science

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3 HOURS

## INTRODUCTION

This lessons review different approaches and methods that have been employed over time by various scholars in their analysis of political events and processes. These approaches are examined in this lesson.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

The students at the end of the lecture will be able to discuss the different approaches that can be adopted to study the disciplines. Also, the students will learn about other various methods to carry out academic enquiries into different aspects of political science.

## CONTENT

### 3.1 Evolution of political science and different approaches.

Political science as a branch of social science developed from a mere descriptive and prescriptive area of knowledge to a scientific status, with a wide-ranging techniques and methods of understanding, analyzing and predicting political phenomenon. Rodee, et al in their book, Introduction to Political Science noted that the term political science could be traced to Jean Bodin (1530-1596), a French political philosopher and lawyer who termed the study of politics "Science Politique" and gave Political science an abiding concern for the organization of institutions related to law. Another French, Philosopher, Montesquieu (1689 - 1755) argued that all functions of government could be encompassed within the categories of legislation, execution and the adjudication of law.

The term Political Science is one of the oldest in the pedigree of social sciences in particular, and sciences in general (Varma, 1975: 1, Dryzek and Leonard, 1988: 1246). In a more deductive

sense, we can say that political science as an academic field of study, originated from the works of the ancient Greek philosophers whose major preoccupation was how to create an ideal state (Varma 1975: 1), or to avoid what was later described by social contract theorists as the state of nature. However, this is not to suggest that the study of politics in the ancient Greek city- states was the study of the "Science" of politics, as it is known in modern times. Rather, the main preoccupation of political thinkers of the time was historical and descriptive understanding of political phenomena.

Thus, in order to understand the different phases in the development of the field of political science Varma (1975:1) has clearly delineated four characteristic features of classical tradition to the understanding of political science - the historical - analytical, legal-institutional, normative -prescriptive, and descriptive taxonomy. Mbah (2007:28-9) also identified five main phases in the development and evolution of the discipline: the philosophical and deductive phase, the historical and comparative phase, juridical and constitutional phase, the observational and measurement phase and the psychological phase. Political science has therefore developed from historical perspective of dealing with the study of past and present political phenomena, and with a view to predicting the future of political processes. The first political scientist known to have analyzed information systematically was the Greek philosopher, Aristotle. He compared the constitutions of Greek city states during the 4th century B.C. and generalized about the political consequences of the different constitutional systems (Appadorai, 2004).

The study of Political Science also flourished in ancient Greece during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. in the Roman Republic from 509 to 31B.C. in the Republic of Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries, amidst the political turmoil of 17th century Britain, and during the French and

American Revolutions towards the end of the 18th century. The concern of political scientists then was how to provide useful advice to rulers on how to organize government more effectively. However, Political Science as it is studied and taught today was developed more recently. In the 19th century, Germany, academics developed a systematic science called “Staatlehre” to provide useful information to governments. The first Professor of Political Science in the United States was German émigré Francis Lieber, who was appointed Chairman of Political Science at Columbia College (now Columbia University) in New York City, in 1857.

The next generation of Political Scientists sought to establish the discipline's identity and influence in the emerging American university system, rather than through the American government. During 1920s and 1930s, Charles E. Merriam and his colleagues at the University of Chicago in Chicago formed the Chicago School. Merriam's many interests included the history of political thought and education. Most notably Harold Gosnell and Harold Lasswell conducted researches that focused on voting, mass political participation, the psychology of political behavior, leadership and wartime propaganda.

#### The Era of Behavioral Revolution

The Chicago school was the forerunner of what became known as the behavioral revolution of the 1950s that influenced political science during the last half of the 20th century. Many of the behavioralists served U.S.'s government during World War II (1939 - 1945), and conducted economic and social analysis as part of the war effort. This marked the genesis of the ground-breaking works of behavioral scholars who emphasized the need to introduce new scientific methods and techniques of science. The tradition of scientific methods in political science was also informed by what is considered by the proponents of scientific study of politics as "Behavioral Revolution.



The idea of behaviorism was the development of research in political science using scientific procedure and methods. According to the major founder of the idea of behavioral revolution, David Easton, there are a number of assumptions and objectives upon which the idea of the revolution was built. These are regularities, verification, techniques, quantification, values, systematizations, pure science and; integration. Thus, it could be said that while the discipline of political science originated from the works of ancient philosopher such as Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle, the credit for its development as a scientific discipline should go to leading English and American writers of 20th century.

Indeed, since 1930s, the Political scientists of the Chicago University, popularly known as the Chicago school, had made a clean break with the study of philosophical, historical and institutional approaches and, instead, began to lay stronger emphasis on the observable behaviour of man as a political creature" (Johari, 1979:79). The result of the works of modern intellectuals in political science led to the development of theories, prominent of which are, general system theories, structural-functional analysis, communication group and cybernetic theories.

#### The Era of Post-behaviourism:

The post-behavioral period is also referred to as the age of action and relevance of the science of politics. Towards the end of the 1960s; Political Scientists in the United States became deeply involved in political, social and economic rethinking, especially about the relevance of using scientific theories and tools of political analysis. The goal was how to employ these new methods and techniques to confront and solve emerging problems and challenges, to prove the continuing relevance of political science to the analysis and understanding of a changing and more complex society. The result of this reawakening was the challenge posed to the behavioralists, and the response to it was the emergence in political science of a paradigm called "post behaviorism".

Since then the focus has been how political science can serve the rich and advanced nations without losing sight of the myriad of socio-economic problems confronting poor countries of the Third world. The emphasis of post-behaviorism is on values such as democratization and good governance; Human Rights in which the engagements of civil society groups now become more prominent; Global partnership and justice between countries in the North versus those of the South; Change in policy focus and priorities in quest of a new world order, rather than mere formulation of public policies or the development of conceptual frameworks, models and theories, that are value neutral.

In order to realize these noble goals, post-behavioralists argue, "knowledge must be put to work" (Varma 1975: 36). In other words, it is not only what you know but what you do with what you know. To be able to serve this purpose Political Science has now developed into different specialized branches and areas of study which include public administration, political economy, comparative politics, public policy, political sociology, political theory, international relations and development administration.

### 3.2 Approaches to the study of political science.

Emenuo, (1999:17) in a simplify manner sees an approach in political research as a type of lens for focusing on a particular aspect of political reality. It is an angle or perspective from which to view political reality. He maintains that an approach to research leads the political scientists to concentrate on specific aspects of political phenomena.

#### Historical Approach

This is a way of studying political phenomena or political events and processes from the examination of past events through documentary evidence available, from this we can then describe, explain and predicts political phenomenon. In the words of Akindele et al (1998:12),

this approach pays attention to the connection between political events and their past based on the assumption that the understanding of their past would automatically enhance the understanding of present and a possible prediction of the future.

#### Sociological Approach

This approach to the study of political phenomena follows the focus of the study of sociology by examining the relationship between social environment, on one hand and political behaviour on the other hand (Enemuno, 1999:18).

#### Philosophical Approach

This approach concentrates on issues such as values, ideas, and doctrines and personal views and judgment of political thinkers on the best way to organize society. Most studies that adopted philosophical approach are based on deductive reasoning and not on empirical facts and as such they are concerned with what 'ought to be' and not 'what is'. Writings of political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, St.Aquinas and others fall under this category.

#### Economic Approach

This approach focuses on the interrelationship between economics and political life. However, there is fierce contestation among scholars on the pattern that the interrelationship should follow. Scholars adopting Marxian political economy would argue that the economic structure of the society determines political institutions and other institutions referred to as the super structure while to the institutional political economic scholars, the political institutions of the society determines the economic structures.

#### Psychological Approach

This approach studies political events and processes from the angle of individual personality and other psychological variables such as motivation, perception and attitudes on politics.

### Geographical Approach

This approach examines the impact of geography on the study of political phenomena. This is particularly relevant in concern of global politics with the issue of environment, population and in general the concern with sustainability.

### Institutional Approach

This approach focuses on the formal structure and agencies of government such as legislatures, executives and the judiciary and party system, the aim is to understand politics from the complex of interactions that take place among these institutions in a given political system.

### Traditional Approach

This is another name to describe various approaches such as the philosophical, institutional and historical, these approaches as observed from previous explanations are based on deductive reasoning and not on empirical facts and as such they are concerned with what 'ought to be' and not 'what is' They are merely descriptive.

### Behavioral Approach

This approach takes the study of politics beyond mere description and normative studies to a rigorous and analytical study. The focus is to employ the methods of science which includes (i) selection of problems (ii) formulation of hypothesis (iii) collection of data (iv) data analysis (v) data interpretation (vi) conclusion. Thus, the emphasis is on making accurate statement about political phenomena, cumulative research and broad generalization and not only on the attainment of good life but to understand and describe political phenomena realistically and to predict trends. Behavioral approach concerns with the behaviour of persons and social groups rather than events, institutions, structures or ideologies as the units of both theoretical and empirical analysis (Varma, 1975:64-65)

Behavioral approach has attracted much criticism from scholars; they argue that human beings are unique and therefore difficult to have regularities of behaviors or form generalization on such behaviour and that any observed regularities will be trivial in nature. They further argue that due to the individual uniqueness, it will be difficult if not impossible to form experimentation on political phenomena and lastly that behavioral approach laid undue emphasis on the use of numbers, statistics and methodology. In spite of these criticisms, behavioral approach is still very relevant in political science analysis especially in its post-behaviouralism variant.

### System Approach

This approach studies political phenomena from the angle of a system theory. David Easton pioneered the study. He defines politics as the authoritative allocation of values for a society and the political system is that system of interaction (set of interrelated courses and processes) in any society through which binding authoritative allocations are made

The graphical illustration can be expressed as follows; inputs from the environments, these are forces or events inside the society that can affect and are affected by the political system, are fed into the political system and after going through the conversion processes are produced as outputs, which may be decisions or actions such as government policies or acts of parliament, into the environment. Inputs could be 'demands' which are expression of desires that values be allocated in particular ways and 'support' which are expression of willingness to accept particular value allocated or the processes by which the allocation are made. The outputs usually affect the environments as outcomes which in turn may affect the political system as feedback (Enemuo, 1999:21, Akindele et al 1998:39-40).

### Structural-functional Approach

This approach builds on the system theory. According to Gabriel Almond, one of the proponents of this approach, every political system has certain functions to perform. He identifies the input and output functions of all political system. On the input sides are the functions of interest articulation and interest aggregation while on the output side are the functions of rule-making, rule-application and rule-adjudication. The functions of political communication is to inform all within the political system and outside of these diverse activities and lastly every system performs system maintenance and adaptation functions through political socialization and recruitment of people (Almond and Powell, 1966)

This approach has been criticized for being supportive of the status quo rather than change through its emphasis on system maintenance functions (Rodee et al, 1983)

#### Group Approach

This approach focuses on groups within the society as basis for understanding politics or political phenomena. Politics can only be explained by reference to groups as claimed by its proponents, Arthur Bentley and David Truman in their books the process of government and the governmental process respectively. To them the society is composed of different groups, pursuing different interests and making competing claims against one another.

However, the group approach has been criticized for its undue emphasis on groups which leaves out the individual and the society.

### 3.3 Methods of Studying Political Science

Methods of political inquiry have been defined as the processes for acquiring and treating data (Van Dyke, 1969).

#### Analytical Method

This method brings out the various components of what is being examined and explain how these parts are related and fitted into a whole.

#### Quantitative and qualitative methods

This method involves measuring or counting of data as they concern events under examination while qualitative method relies on the researcher sense of judgment to generate data and establish relationship among variables.

#### Inductive and Deductive methods

Deductive methods draws conclusion from premises or propositions that are assume as valid or taken as given while inductive method establishes truth or through observation.

#### The comparative method

This method tries to establish similarities and differences among political phenomena as a source of data for concept formation and classification (Enemuo, 1999:26)

#### Scientific method

This involves (i) the statement of problem, (ii) the formulation of hypothesis (iii) the collection of data (iv) data analysis, (v) data interpretation and (vi) conclusion (Akindele et al 1998:16)

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

1. One of the following is not a method of studying political science but it is an approach to studying political science
  - a. Scientific
  - b. Comparative
  - c. Analytical
  - d. Structural-functional

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

## 1. D. Structural-functional

### PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

### ACTIVITIES

### SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This lesson has discussed the various stages in the evolution of political science as a discipline. The lesson also pointed our attention to various approaches and methods of studying political science.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the connection between behavioural approach to the study of political science and the scientific method of analysing political science.

### NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

The answer to the above question should not be less than 300 words. Clarity of expression and adequate illustrations are very important in the answer.

### GLOSSARY ITEMS

### STUDY SESSION

### TITLE



Definition, origin and theories of State

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3hrs

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson examines the state as the central focus of political analysis. The lesson examines the evolution of modern state from its origin as city-state in the ancient Athens and Greeks. The various definitions and theories of states are also examined.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

The students will be able to understand and appreciate the centrality of state to political analysis. Also, students will be able to describe the origins and evolution of the state as a political institution and explain and analyse different theories in order to know which of them fully captures the essence of the state as a political concept.

## CONTENT

### 4.1 Defining the state

As a point of departure, (Victor Azanya cited in Ramaswamy, 2003) defines the state as “an organization within the society where it co-exist and interact with the other formal and informal organizations which includes families, economic enterprises or religious organizations. ” Here, Azanya suggests that the state is a real organization of the society which also relates with other formal and informal organization that exists and performs its function within a given societal boundary.

Azanya further contends that the state is “distinguished from myriad of other organizations in seeking predominance over them and in aiming to institute binding rules regarding other organizations’ activities. In other words, the state relates to other social organization including

the economy and religious organizations in terms of instituting binding rules for their activities. This is a function performed in consonance with the conception of the state as a compulsory association which organizes domination. This is because even though the state is only one of the many associations in the society, it is the crucial association to which all members of a society belong, thus making it a compulsory association. In the same vein, the state as a supreme coercive power in any given political society retains a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within its territory and is not subject to any higher power in its activities and action. The true basis of the dominance of the state in the society therefore is its 'dominant power' vis-à-vis other societal structures competing for influence and power.

The state, the political institution, is that social agency that exercises a supreme monopoly of authority within a given territory. In the final analysis, the authority rests on the right to apply physical coercion (Zanden, 1979). This implies that the state possesses a territorial authority which is its exclusive preserve within the society.

Another definition sees the state as a political entity that possesses people, territory, a government and sovereignty (Ramaswamy, 2003). A government is a concrete reality of the state, which is an abstraction. State is an abstraction in the sense that it cannot be seen physically existing or being situated anywhere. Governments change structurally and can be removed without entailing a change in states. A government is the policy deciding body that makes, declares and enforces a law. It can exist and does exist without a state as history and anthropology reveal. An administration is a set of the ordinary public services. A government is the political executive while administration is the permanent executive.

As a modern phenomenon, the state develops the sovereignty as its distinguishing trait. State can be defined as the institutional representation of the peoples' will, enabling it to act effectively in

both the normal and extreme situation to secure the defense and welfare of the whole and the rights of the parts-together with this very activity itself (Forsyth, 1987). State is a bureaucratic and a government body of the institution and the officials with a special purpose of maintaining a compulsory scheme of legal action and acting through the laws enforced by direct and positive sanction.

#### 4.2 Origin and evolution of the state

As earlier noted, the question of state has been so confused deliberately and unwittingly by representatives of bourgeois science, philosophy, jurisprudence, political economy and journalism. To this day, it is often confused with religious question, not only those professing religious doctrines but even people who consider themselves free from religious prejudice, very often confuse the specific questions of religion and endeavor to build up doctrines (very often a complex one) with an ideological, philosophical approach and argument which claims that the state is something divine, something supernatural, that it is a certain force by virtue of which mankind has lived, that it is a force of divine origin which confers on people, or can confers on people, or which brings with it something that is not of man, but is given to him from without (Lenin 1975).

The most important thing if one is to approach this question scientifically is not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what were the principal stages in its development and from standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today.

It is interesting to note that the state has not always existed. There was a time there was no state. It appears whenever and wherever a division of society into classes appears, wherever exploiters and exploited appear in a particular society. Before the first form of exploitation of man by man

arose, the first form of division into class (slave-owners and slaves), there existed the particular family, or as it is sometimes called, the clan family (Clan-tribe, at the time people of one kin lived together). Fairly definite traces of these primitive times have survived in the life of many primitive peoples.

Primitive society existed when people lived in small family groups and were still at the lowest stages of development. In a condition approximating to savagery (an epoch from which modern, civilized human society is separated by several thousand years) there were yet no sign of the existence of a state. There was the predominance of custom, authority, respect, the power enjoyed by the elders of the clan (this power was sometimes accorded to the women) the position of women then was not like the downtrodden and oppressed condition of women today but nowhere do we find a special category of people set apart to rule others and who for the sake of and purpose of rule, systematically and permanently have at their disposal a certain apparatus of coercion, an apparatus of violence, such as is represented at the present time as armed contingents of troops, prisons and other means of subjugating the will of others by force (all that which constitutes the essence of the state).

#### 4.3 City states and modern states

Political development however reveals that two types of states have emerged, namely the city-state and the country state. The city-state is geographically associated with the ancient Greece, Italy and Medieval Europe, In pre-colonial Nigeria, what could approximate the city-state are the various Igbo village groups in Eastern part of the modern country (Afikpo, 1978)

The city-state was an organized society of people living in what the Greeks called “polis.” The Greek-city state shared three basic characteristics: small size, love of independence and

all-inclusiveness. Appadorai (2004:175-7) has suggested that geographical factor may be responsible for this preference for small size in the days of the Greek city-states. Greece is a land dotted and interspersed with mountains and small valleys, making it impossible for big, linear settlements. Consequently, this natural division encouraged the development of small and separate communities, popularly called the city-states. The Greek city-states also preferred their separate independent status, for reasons that ranged from freedom to practice their different religions, and to pursue different economic activities. By its nature, a city-state was an isolated community that rarely admits of stranger that could possibly pollute its purity. Citizenship status or rights could only be granted by virtue of birth. All the activities of the state: political, economic and social were restricted to the city. According to Aristotle, a city-state must be large enough to be economically viable or self-supporting, but must not be too large as to prevent unity or personal feelings among its members. The city-state also approximates to the Platonic notion of an ideal state: something that is close to the idea of an individual, in which if a part of the body suffers, other parts will feel it and sympathize with the affected part, in the manner of the saying that the “pain of the toe is that of the whole body”. However, the city-states could not endure for long and had to collapse because of quarrels and disagreements among them, which peaked when a powerful state in the north, under Philip of Macedon, emerged. In contemporary time the Vatican with its seat in Rome, because it fulfills the features of modern sovereign states of the post 1648 Treaty of Westphalia can be regarded as a city-state. .

The second category of states, the country-state represents the modern states which are larger demographically and territorially than the city-states. The theory of the origin of the modern state is usually based on several postulations derived from Western tradition; notable among them are

the organics or voluntary theory, divine theory, patriarchal theory, the matriarchal theory, force and the social contract theory.

#### 4.3 Theories on origin of the state.

##### Organic theory

Largely the natural theory or organic theory of state has conceived the state as a product of history. In this sense, it means that it evolved through a gradual and continuous development of human society of a grossly imperfect beginning through crude but improving forms of manifestation towards a perfect and universal organization of mankind (Burgess, 1980).

The organic theorists see the state as evolving naturally. Aristotle, a foremost proponent of the school, believes that the state is natural in two senses. One because it is the apex of the evolutionary trend from the family, and thus the state evolves through the family to the village, to the city which invariably expanded to become a state. This second dimension flows from the first (Appadorai, 1977).

##### Divine theory

The proponents of this theory believe that both spiritual and temporal authority comes from God. Hegel sees the state as a divine idea, as it exists on earth which represents order, permanence and legality and standing over and above the civil society which is characteristically individualistic and self-regarding in action (Bronsteinns, 1977).

Scholars opined that history is the expression of God's will and the state is the appointed instrument for the actualization of God's will on earth. The will was believed to be aroused by the people when they were living in the state of nature and pervading anarchy, they appealed to God to provide a recipe. The divine authority of the ruler makes obedience to them and the state as a matter of religious as well as a civic responsibility, while disobedience is a disrespect and injury to God (Kolawole 2002).

### Patriarchal theory

The protagonist of this theory enunciated that the unit of primitive society was the family in which Descendancy was traced through males with the eldest male parent as absolutely supreme. The position conferred on him power over life and death and has unqualified power over his children, properties and slaves. Overtime, the single family breaks up into more families, but all galvanized by the family or the chief or patriarch into a tribe of a bigger entity.

Maine explains this more succinctly when he opined that:

the elementary group is the family, connected by common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of families from the 'gens' or House and the aggregation of tribes constitutes the commonwealth (Maine, 1861).

### Matriarchal theory

The proponents of this theory, McLenna, Jenks and Morgan are of the belief that the primitive group had no common male head and that kinship among them is only traced to the female (Appadorai, 1977). The theory believes that any blood relationship is undoubtedly through women rather than men, that the only fact is that of maternity while paternity is merely an opinion.

Overall, the matriarchal theorists affirm that the tribe as traced through the mother, instead of the family, is the primary group, which in time breaks into class, households and invariably into individual members.

### Force theory

The force theorists here believe that the state is the aftermath of the conquering of the weaker by the stronger. The thrust of this theory lies in the fact that all contemporary political communities

owe their existence to successful warfare. The state is thus founded when a leader, with his brigade of soldiers get permanent control of a defined geographical area. Appadorai, (1977) observes that the founding may take a manner of either the leader extending his authority over neighboring tribes after firmly establishing his position as ruler of his own tribe, until he comes to rule over a large territory or a state is founded by successive migration and conquests.

The social contract theorists

The social contract theorists like Locke, Hobbes and Rosseau came up with a common current in their essays that society came into being by men who agreed to be under the same political body and put aside the disintegrated political existence they had lived prior to the internalization of the state. These theorists argued that men live in a state of nature in which they were subject only to such regulations as nature was supposed to prescribe, there was no human authority to formulate these rules precisely or to enforce them. John Locke believed that the civil society was highly organized and interdependent but a civil government was conspicuously absent, the people therefore only decide to set up a government while they part with the natural liberty they enjoyed in the state of nature. The basis of this theory is its explicit explanation that the state came into being by agreement or as a voluntary task by the people as the basis of the power of the state. For Hobbes, in the beginning men were living in a “state of nature” where life was “poor, solitary, nasty, brutish and short.” However, as a way freeing themselves from the state of nature, which was characterized by selfishness and unbridled desires, men decided to surrender all liberties to one man (the leviathan or king) or an assembly of men. The aim was to transform the state of nature with its insecurity of life and property to a civil society, where peace and order prevails.

IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

One of the following is not a theory of the State



- a. Social Contract
- b. Force
- c. Divine
- d. Delight

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The correct answer is D; all other options are among the theories of State.

#### PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

#### ACTIVITIES

#### SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

In this lesson, we examined the evolution of the state, beginning from its origin as city state to its modern type of country-state. We have also examined various theories on origin of the state in its present form.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Define and state the various theories of State.
2. Examine major difference between city-state and modern state.

#### ANSWER TO SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

#### GLOSSARY ITEMS

#### STUDY SESSION

5

#### TITLE

Features and purpose of state

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3 hours

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson describes the main features of state that distinguish it from other forms of association and organisations in any political community. The lesson also examines the purpose of the existence of state.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

The students will be in a position to identify and explain the features of state as different from other forms of organization and associations they come in contact with as well as recognize the purpose for the existence of state.

## CONTENT

### 5.1 Features of a state

A state in any part of the world is expected to possess certain attributes. These attributes are essential for an institution to be recognized as a state in any society. They include sovereignty, population, government, territory and independence and a sense of nationalism or national identity (Anifowose, 2005). These features shall be explained in turn:

#### Sovereignty

5.1.1 Sovereignty is a major attribute and distinctive mark of the modern state (Kolawole, 2002).

It connotes supremacy and reflects the view that a final and absolute authority can be found in a political society. This attribute distinguishes the state from all other associations. The word is derived from Latin word 'supranus meaning supreme'. It means that in every full-fledged or independent state there is no appeal to its final decision (Sushila, 2005).

The ability of being sovereign means that authority has to be independent from external powers and supreme over groups with its territorial jurisdiction. An authoritative definition of sovereignty is given by Jean Bodin that sovereignty is the supreme power of a state over its populace and territory, independent of any external authority. This conception of sovereignty has two basic aspects.

Firstly, it means that the government of a sovereignty state has exclusive jurisdiction over the people who live within its territory and in the second place, that no other government or any international organization or agency has the legal authority to impose its will on the government of a sovereign state (Kousoulas, 1982)

However, sovereignty as a power supreme over citizens and subjects, is itself not, bound by the laws (Kinsley, 1986) and no final and absolute authority exists elsewhere (Appadorai, 1977).

Comprehensiveness is salient to sovereignty. The power and authority of the sovereign are wide and expensive. Its terrain is total, extensive, embracing, and binding on all subjects, groups and institutions domicile within the territory. Sovereignty equally has permanent and durable characteristics since it lasts as long as the state lasts and it does not change with government. It equally outlives the government since the state endures indefinitely (Kolawole, 2002).

There are various dimension of sovereignty, namely; legal popular sovereignty, de facto, de jure, internal and external.

5.1.2 The legal sovereignty refers to the person or group of person empowered to make laws for the state. The laws so legislated are equally made by the state and they are binding on all except the state which is above the law because it is the source of the laws. This type of sovereignty is aptly located in the Head of State or President as the case may be and the parliament which jointly participate in the law-making process.

5.1.3 Political or popular sovereignty refers to the body of person appropriately called the electorate whose will and preferences prevail even over the legal sovereign. The legal sovereign is therefore subordinate to the political sovereign.

5.1.4 De facto sovereignty depicts a situation of fact. It exists when the lawful sovereignty has been ousted either through a coup d'état, occupation or other non-electoral means that is devoid of popular will. Thus, the individual or group of persons who usurp power from the legitimate political authority can assume authority and earn obedience of the people by force and despotism, since it is the only source of power for that moment. This dimension of sovereignty lacks the legal and moral right to rule the state, but over time, it may legitimize itself through performance and thereby become accepted by the people.

5.1.5 De jure sovereignty is a contradiction of de facto sovereignty. It is sovereignty founded on legal-rationale and legitimacy rather than the mode of operation (modus operandi) of coercive force. Legitimacy of political authority is acquired through the electoral process.

The emphasis on external sovereignty is on the independence of state from external or foreign control. The abhorrence by states of external intervention in their internal affairs and their exclusive right to act as they deem fit in the global system and to act independently in their foreign affairs are predicted on the principle of sovereignty.

#### 5.1.6 Population

A group of individuals co-exist within a particular territory and such individual are regarded as citizens and others as aliens. There are no prescriptions as the minimum or maximum number of individuals that could form the population of any state. The population of a state includes persons who enjoys full civil rights and owe full allegiance, nationals, natives of the

dependencies of a state, slaves, aliens or citizens and subjects of other states who reside within the territory of a given state.

#### 5.1.7 Government

In a political science discipline, several scholars have given various postulations and definitions to 'government', albeit, they still come to agree that it is a machinery of the state. Anifowose (2005) adjudged government to be "the agent or machinery through which will of the state is formulated, expressed and realized". Sushila, (2005) opined that government is a concrete reality of the state, which is an abstraction. It is a policy deciding body that makes, declares and enforces a law. This implication of the above definition of Sushila is that government is the physical reality of the state which is unseen.

Government in its widest sense involves the legislature (rule-making), the executive (rule-application) and the judiciary (rule-adjudication) being the three arms. However, it should be noted that government and state are not synonymous, as earlier pointed out; government is only the concrete reality of the state and the state itself. Although any act of the state eventually becomes that of the government, hence, it is simply "a recognized legal agent of the state" (Anifowoshe, 2005).

The state includes both the government and the governed, thus making government a narrower means and institution through which the will of the state is exercised or achieved. To buttress this disclaimer position, a brief look into other characteristics of the state such as sovereignty reveals a clear difference between government and the state in that government is under the law of the society while the state is the supreme institution (even over the law) in the society. The state enjoys permanence while government changes with time.

#### 5.1.8 Territory

Territory refers to the extent of the area for which a state has responsibility. In another sense, the extent of area claimed or dominated over by the state and defended against other state. The territory of a state however, has generally recognized boundaries that do not overlap the area of any other state. It is not limited to the land or surface area alone but also extends to the water, the air above the land, the resources beneath the land and sea, etc. It should be noted that territory is an essential element of any state, in fact without territory there is no state in existence.

#### 5.1.9 The Sense of Nationality Identity

This has to do with the feelings and attitude of the people of the state. The people feel attached to certain practices, cultures and norm of their society which makes them distinct from the others. This includes possession of common history; language and territory which they never wish to do away with. They see such components as heritage which must not be lost by them and uphold them as a symbol of nationalism.

#### 5.2 Purpose of a state

Aristotle points out a number of natural associations are formed for some good purpose and the highest of them is the state. This is based on the belief that the state is a natural institution which is needed for good life and considers security and safety as the *raison d'être* for the state that was artificially created for specific ends. The state to some other authors is an artificial body, a third party and a consequence of each individual contracting with others agreeing to surrender their total powers, except the right of self-preservation.

Hobbes credits the state as an abstract entity separate both from the sovereign and the ruled, 'that great Leviathans, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that Mortal God, to which we owe under the Immortal God, our peace and defense' (Hobbes, 1991). It exercises public power as a permanent sovereign which comes into existence by two methods: acquisition and institution. Acquisition was when individuals were threatened into submission while institution is when individuals were, of their impulse, unite, and agree to transfer all natural powers through a contract to a third party of one, few or many. According to Locke, the state comes into being to fulfill three importance wants: the want of an established settled known law, the want of a known indifference judge and the want of an executive power to enforce just decision, which at any state of nature or the pre-political order, lacked. He cleverly observes that people at any given time will not surrender all their powers to an outside body including their own government. He insists that all the states are established by consent and assumes that a minority will consent to all things in the rule by the majority. For Adam Smith, the purpose of the state are mainly three as follows, the duty of protecting society from violence and invasion of other independent societies, the duty of protecting subjects from injustice, that is, the duty of establishing a system of justice; and the duty of creating and maintaining some certain works and public institutions (1976:272-273).

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

According to Adam Smith, the purpose of the state are-----

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

Answer is three; they are, 1. The duty of protecting society from violence and invasion of other independent societies. 2. The duty of protecting subjects from injustice, that is, the duty of

establishing a system of justice. 3. The duty of creating and maintaining some certain works and public institutions

## PICTURE ILLUSTRATIONS

## ACTIVITIES

## SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This module examines the main features or characteristics that distinguish state from any other associations in the society and the main purpose for the existence of a state.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Mention and explain features of a State.
2. What are the purposes for existence of State?

## NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

## GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION



## TITLE

Nation, Nation State and Society

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson explains the concepts of nation, nation-state and society. This is done to bring out the similarities and differences of these concepts to the State.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

The lesson will give the students a clearer and better understanding of the differences that exist between related and similar concepts of nation, nation-state and society.

## CONTENT

### 6.1 Nation and nation-state

A nation is often erroneously used to refer to a State, however, a nation may extend beyond a State while a State may contain more than one nation. A nation is a group of people with common history, language, ancestors, customs, traditions, culture and descent. Nigeria, for instance, has three major nations amongst others – Igbo Nation, Yoruba Nation and Hausa-Fulani Nation which makes Nigeria a multi-national state (Nwankwo 1992). A nation is an association or a community of people united by common ties. This community of people is associated with a particular, usually speaking a single language having the same political aspiration and consciousness. It is this consciousness of unity that is referred to as nationalism or a sense of nationality (Anyaele, 1994).

Another school of thought regards the nation as a product of affinity among people who share the same language, history, culture and traditions and are skeptical of multi-cultural, multi-racial and socially plural societies. A nation in the ethnological sense is commonly defined as a group of people who form distinct community by inhabiting a definite territory and recognized themselves as possessive of a relatively homogeneous set of cultural traits; these include a common or related blood, a common language, a common religion, a common historical tradition and common customs and habits. The desire to continue in their fellowship and distinctiveness in the future is a basic ingredient of a nation. It may be pervaded by a sense of nationalism – a spiritual sentiment or feelings of a special unit which marks off those who share in it from the rest of mankind (Anifowose, 2005). In summary a nation could be regarded as an association of “all minos”, that is, an association having homogeneous characteristics.

#### Evolution/development of a nation

The importance of the concept of nation, today in political science, is highly appreciated. This importance may be as a result of the idea of nationalist under-tone caught effectively and achieve much. What brings people together naturally has to be a common phenomenon, something they have a common belief and perspective about and on which they have joint agreement.

#### Features of a nation

A nation possesses all the characteristics possessed by the state except sovereignty. For a nation to attain the status of statehood, it must gain independence and therefore have supreme power to enable it make and enforce its own laws. Even though, a nation possesses the attribute of a territory but unlike a state, a nation has no definite territory.

#### 6.2 Nation-state

A nation-state refers to a state which in spite of its differences in national historical origin, common language, culture, common ethnicity, and common religious beliefs of its people and still characterized by a strong sense of national unity is described as a nation, state. Examples are the United States of America and the defunct U.S.S.R.

In other words, a nation-state has been described as a context in which a geographical area that is the homeland for people who identify themselves as a community because of share culture, history and probably language and ethnic character is governed by one political system (Nwaorgu, 2002:93). When people identify with others who live within the state, they constitute a nation. Nationalism supplied reason for people to set aside the internal division within a state. Thus, to another scholar, a nation-state means political institution that combines the concepts of nation (an anthropological idea) with State (a legal nation). All modern states are nation-state (Shushila, 2005).

### 6.3 Society

Society represents all human associations and groups and it suggests the whole intricate relations among men, groups and institutions. There are several groups in the society whose affiliations could be based on a wide range of criteria including family, ethnic cultural, religious, professional, trade, ideological and social status. The internal dynamics of the society is propelled by social forces and social motives such as customs, initiation, friendship, jealousy and competition (Kukah, 1999). The society is an embodiment of all institutions involving human and human properties.

Society does not only refer to the fundamental union between human beings that the state establishes but a network of interaction and exchange formed by individuals exercising the right to pursue the satisfaction of their particular needs in their own way (Sushila, 2005). Hume

considers interest rather than the contract as the factor that cements individual to the society. Smith together with his contemporaries shares the perception that advantages secure by commerce and mutual support are the bones for forming society. Some scholars (the conservatives and idealists in particulars) see society as an aggregate of individuals pursuing their self-interest. They conceive the individuals in the context of groups and stress the importance of family and neighborhood community for the security and meaning they provide. They regard society as natural for the fulfillment of human needs with each part – family, church, work and government playing a particular role in sustaining and maintaining the health of the social fabric. Each part understands its role and perceives society as a whole that is continuously evolving and changing. They understand authority as a hierarchy with each level playing a major role in society.

In another sense, society is a wider term than the state. It is the nation, socially organized and assuming the aspect of a plurality of association. Society, thus suggest many social relationships, it consist of the complex network of groups and institutions expressive of human association (Anifowose, 2005). Society exists for a number of purposes, educational, economic, religious, cultural, etc. Society uses the method of voluntary action and the process of persuasion to achieve its wills or objectives.

#### Evolution and development of society

Human societies have existed for thousands of years. Development in all countries of the world without exception, reveals a general conformity to a law, a regularity and consistency; that at first we had a society without classes (the original patriarchal, primitive society) in which there were no aristocrats; then we had a society based on slavery (a slave-owning society). The whole of modern civilized Europe has passed through this stage (slavery ruled supreme two thousand

years ago). And according to Lenin (1975) the vast majority of people of the other parts of the world also passed through this stage.

Aristotle points out that society arises naturally out of the union of male and female for the satisfaction of daily needs. Within the household, there is natural hierarchy of the husband over the wife and master over slave. A cluster of households form a villages and several villages together constitute the society in which the state ensures economic and political independence.

However, one could say that the emergence of the society started from the family to the clan, village, and tribe and to the large human population having certain mutual interest and giving birth to such other institutions as the church, state community etc. which are embedded in as products of relationship.

#### Features of society

The attributes of a society are the same as those of a state with exception of sovereignty. The sovereign power in any society is entrusted with the state. The state possesses the supreme power of the state which it uses to achieve both its internal and external objectives.

As earlier said, the attributes of the society include population, territory, government (machinery through which the will of the state is achieved). More so, a society is characterized by culture, norms, belief, values, etc. which could be plural or homogenous.

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

What is that particular feature of state that is not present in Nation, Nation-state and society?

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is sovereignty; sovereignty is the attribute of state that state does not share with any other organisation or entity.

#### PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

## ACTIVITIES

### SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This lesson have examined the concepts of nation, nation-state and society and makes clear distinctions between these concepts and the state.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Briefly define the following; Nation, Nation-State and Society.

### NOTES ON SELF ASSESMENT QUESTIONS

### GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION

7

## TITLE

Power, influence, authority and legitimacy

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson describes and explains the concepts of power, influence, authority and legitimacy which as similar terms derive from human interactions and relationship. These terms constitute the central organizing concepts for the study of politics.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the lesson the students will be able to explain and describe the differences among the four concepts of power, influence, authority and legitimacy.

## CONTENT

### 7.1 Power

According to Max Weber, power is the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of other persons. For Laswell and Kaplan, power is a special case of influence. It is the process of affecting the policies of others with the help (of actual or threatened) severe deprivation for non-conformity with the policies intended. In the view of Carl Fredrick, power is the capacity of an individual to modify the conducts of others in the manner which she/he desires.

From the above definition given by various scholars, it is obvious that power is about domination and it is relational. In other word, a situation of power exists when two or more people have a form of contact or the other. Thus, exercise of power by an individual makes another individual does what he would not ordinarily have done. Power involves the use of sanctions; coercion and

physical force. Political power is defined as the capacity to affect another's behaviour by the threat of some form of sanction (Obiyan, 5). The sanction may be negative or positive, negative sanction includes the threat of denial of reward while positive sanction involves reward (Obiyan, 6). Other forms of power base include military power and economic power.

## 7.2 Influence

Robert Dahi defines influence as a relationship among actors such that the wants, desires, preference or intention of one or more actors affect the actions or predispositions to act, of one or more other actors. Power and influence though similar is however different to the extent that while the exercise of power depends on the application of sanctions; the exercise of influence is devoid of the use of sanctions.

Influence can be either coercive or reliable, coercive influence involves the threat or expectation of sanctions while reliable influence refers to a situation where there is high level of compliance as a result of willing obedience or legitimate influence.

Influence could also be manifest, this is when A manifest influence over B to the extent that A's actions causes changes in B's behaviour. Implicit influence on the other hand is more of potential possesses by individual in a relationship. For instance, when A anticipates what B wants and A acts accordingly.

## 7.3 Authority

According to Anifowose (1999:114), authority is the quality of being able to get people to do things because they thinm the individual or group has the right to tell them what to do. Legitimate power or influence can be referred to as authority; this is in the sense that legitimacy connotes popularity of acceptance of justification for exercise of power and influence.



Max Weber has classified the sources of political authority into three viz. traditional, charismatic and legal-rational.

#### 7.3.1 Traditional Authority

This is based on the right to rule that has always existed, it is based on inherited positions or claims as supported by the customs, norms and belief of the people. This type of authority justifies the power of Kings, Chiefs and other traditional leaders in Africa and some other societies.

#### 7.3.2 Charismatic Authority

This is based on the right to rule based on individual's possession of extra-ordinary abilities, personality, character, gifts, charms etc. People are drawn to and obey or do the bidding of such individual on the strength of their uncommon traits. Leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi of India, John F. Kennedy, Barack Obama of the United States Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Muritala Muhammad of Nigeria are examples of leaders who, possessed charismatic qualities that endeared them to the people of their countries.

#### 7.3.3 Legal-rational Authority

This is based on the right to rule that derives from established rules and agreed procedure.

Individual right to rule and to command obedience is derived from the existing laws, rules, regulations and policy decision of the state. In other words, authority is seen as legitimate power, that is, power derived from accepted rules and exercised with the consent of the people. Thus, authority rather than brute force is better understood when power is seen as a right to issue command and have them obeyed willingly.

#### 7.3.4 Legitimacy

According to Bentham, legitimacy is described as “where power is acquired and exercised according to justifiable rules and with evidence of consent, we call it rightful or legitimate”. Legitimacy has to do with the acceptance of the right of an individual or group of people to rule by others within a particular community or society.

From the foregoing, legitimacy denotes the belief in the rightness of an individual to make authoritative and binding decisions. It is the belief in the right to govern and to be governed. Legitimacy refers to an attitude in people’s mind (in some countries strong, in others weak) that the government rule is rightful. Through it, power is translated to authority.

When the government is perceived as dishonest and dirty, people feel less obliged to obey laws which can lead to the erosion of the legitimacy of the government of the day. Government is seen as legitimate when its rules and decisions are respected and obeyed. To get citizens’ approval of its policies and programme, government in most cases follows public opinion.

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

Power, Influence and Authority derive from one common source\_\_\_\_\_

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is human interaction.

#### PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

#### ACTIVITIES

#### SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

In this lesson, you have learnt the meaning of the common concepts in the study of political science which are power, influence, authority and legitimacy. In addition, you can now distinguish the differences among these concepts.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

1. What do you understand by power, influence, authority and legitimacy?

#### NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

#### GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION

8

## TITLE

Classification, types and forms of government

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

The lesson discusses method of classifying governments and explains various types and forms of governments existing in various parts of the world. The lesson further describes their developments in history to the contemporary time.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this lesson, you should be able to analyse and describes the characteristics of forms and types of government in the world. Also, you should be able to describe their evolution overtime.

## CONTENT

### 8. 1 Classification of government

There are various criteria for classifying forms of government. Some are based on the number of people who exercise political power and some on the pattern of distribution power among the various level of government. However, the major concern of political philosophers across different periods of human existence has been how to evolve a form of government that will result in the best society.

#### 8.2.1 Monarchy

This is a form of government so classified on the basis of the number of people that rules. In monarchy, one man or woman rule call King or Queen, he/she occupies the position throughout its lifetime or until he/she voluntarily abdicates the throne or is removed by one insurrection or the other. Monarchy is based on hereditary or ascription. Absolute monarch as a form of government is where the king or Queen exercises absolute power without being subject to any form of control. Examples of countries still operating absolute monarch include UAE, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan.

#### 8.2.2 Constitutional Monarchy

This refers to situation where the King or Queen performs only ceremonial functions while the executive functions are performed by another person, for instance, called Prime Minister in Great Britain. Other countries with ceremonial monarchy include Australia, Spain, and Netherland, Japan among others.

#### 8.3 Oligarchy

This is a system of government where only few people rule for their own selfish interests. The few may be military (which is also refers to as stratocracy) or rich people.

##### Aristocracy

This is a government that is controlled by few people that are of noble birth. This refers to people with royal descent.

#### 8.3 Theocracy

This is a government that is based on the rule of religious leaders. Government is based on the tenets of such religion as revealed in the holy books-Bible or Quran. Iran is an example of a modern theocratic state.

#### 8.4 Anarchy

This refers to a situation where there is absence of government; there are no rules and regulations guiding people's conduct or behaviour. The argument of the anarchist is that "no group should be able to coerce any other or anyone.... Power exercised by a group or persons over another is the cause of the problems in the world today (Oyediran, 2007: 38).

## 8.5 Democracy

Liberal democracy allows for people's participation in the determination of ends, interests or values of the society. In fact, decisions making is done by the people through their elected representative. The origin of democracy is often traced to the ancient Greece, especially the city state of Athens or "polis" where people take part directly in popular assembly to determine their own affairs. Thus, the word democracy derives from two Greek words 'demos' which means the people and 'kratein' which means rule of or by'. The word democracy therefore means 'rule by the people'. However, due to the complexity of modern society it is difficult to have direct democracy in the fashion of the Greek's city states, what now obtains is indirect democracy where people participate in decision making through their elected representative.

The popular definition of democracy as given by Abraham Lincoln is government of the people by the people and for the people. However there is no common agreement of what constitute a democratic government as divergent views exist from the liberal perspectives and the Marxist perspectives. The dominant view which is the Liberal perspectives has the following attributes:

1. Popular participation is ensured through the existence of more than one political party competing for political power.
2. There are periodic regular elections based on universal franchise to determine which party will run government.

3. There is existence of trade unions and other voluntary associations which are free to-operate and influence government decisions.
4. There is recognition of civil liberties such as freedom of speech, association and religion as well as freedom from arbitrary arrest.
5. Relative freedom for the mass media, i.e. the press, radio, television and newspapers from government control (Nwabuzor and Mueller, 1985).

#### 8.6 Feudalism

This is a form of government that is based on land ownership and service. The owner of the land usually refers to as Lord grants land to his tenants refers to as serfs. The serfs provide services sometime to the owner of the land including military service.

#### 8.7 Capitalism

Capitalism is more than a political system, it is an economic system that can be adopted by both democratic and authoritarian and dictatorial systems. Capitalism allows for individual ownership of means of production. The major principles of capitalism include the following:

1. There is private ownership of property and businesses.
2. There is limited government-government only maintain law and order and does not interfere in the running of the economy.
3. Profit is the main motive in any capitalist economy
4. There is belief in equal opportunity for all.

#### 8.8 Socialism

Socialism is both political and economic system. The major argument of socialism includes state or collective ownership of means of production. However, there is distinction between

democratic socialism and Marxist socialism. For democratic socialism, government should regulate and control the economy, be directly involved in some strategic parts of the economy and set limit to the acquisition of private property. The Marxist socialism stresses the complete overthrow of the capitalists, establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat (workers and peasants) and is regarded as a transitional stage between capitalism and communism (Akindele et al 1998:132). Examples of socialist states include China, Cuba and North Korea.

### 8.9 Communism

Communism according to Karl Marx represents the last stage of societal development as it will be the last political system in the world. Communism stresses common ownership of the means of production for the benefit of all the members of the society on the basis of their needs.

According to Oyediran, (2007:35). The following features can be identified with communism:

- i. Classless society;
- ii. Need is the basis for the distribution of income;
- iii. There is plenty for all since productivity is very high;
- iv. No need for money;
- v. The state withers away;
- vi. Free and equal association of producers is the basis on which economy is managed;
- vii. People work without incentives;
- viii. No difference between occupations;
- ix. The system is worldwide and not peculiar to a particular community or country and
- x. There exist more but not absolute equality.



However, communism has been criticized on the basis that it is not realisable; it is referred to as Utopian idea. To this extent no state actually practices communism as propounded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

### 8.10 Fascism

Fascism as a form of government though similar to authoritarianism is more than authoritarianism in its features and principles.

According to Oyediran, (2007: 40) Fascism is characterized by the following:

1. Irrationalism, it rejects reason but employs myth, emotion and heart.
2. Social Darwinism, it sees life as struggle and the survival of the strong.
3. Nationalism, individual has no separate existence but as a member of the nation
4. Glorification of the state, state is seen as the source of life of the people that make up the state
5. Leadership principle, there is hierarchy of leadership and the authority of the leader is absolute.
6. Anti-communism; fascism is against communism idea

### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

List the two types of Monarchy discussed in the lesson.

### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is Constitutional Monarchy and Absolute Monarchy.

### PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

### ACTIVITIES

## SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

We have examined different forms and types of government in the contemporary world; starting from the oldest form to the most recent forms.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

Discuss the major attributes of Democracy as a modern form of government.

## NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

## GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION

9

## TITLE

Major contemporary systems of governments

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson discusses major contemporary system of governments. The systems of governments include; unitary, federal, con-federal, parliamentary and presidential. Also, their features, advantages and disadvantages will be examined.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the lesson, students should be able to explain unitary, federal, con-federal, parliamentary and presidential systems of government.

## CONTENT

### 9.1 Unitary System of Government

This is a system of government whereby the powers and functions of government are organized under a single central government. All other sub-units within the state derive their powers and functions from central authority and such powers are held at the discretion of the central government. The central government has the supreme power over the whole state without any form of sharing with other sub-units within the state. Other sub-units as local authority are created by the central authority and exist at its pleasure; also, the local authority exercises delegated powers which can be withdrawn by the central government. Unitary system of government is common with most homogenous states like the Great Britain, France and

Belgium. Most unitary system of governments provide for unicameral legislature which in most cases is the supreme authority unlike what obtains in a federal system whereby the constitution is supreme.

#### 9.2.1 Federal System of Government

A federal system of government provides for constitutional division of powers between the central and component units within the country. The constitution is the supreme authority and it sets limits to the powers of both the central and components units of the federation. The system allows for coordination and cooperation among the central and component units within the country. Therefore, K.C. Wheare, a foremost scholar of federalism sees federalism as the constitutional division of powers between two levels of government which are independent and coordinate in their respective sphere of influence (Akindele et al 1998: 50). The constitution is usually written and rigid to define the relationship as well as serve as check on the central and components units respectively. Most heterogeneous societies adopt federal system of government such as the United States of America, Switzerland, Nigeria, India, Canada, Australia and Brazil. In a federal system of government like that of Nigeria, power is usually divided among the levels of government. These are the following: exclusive legislative list; the concurrent legislative list and the residual legislative list.

#### 9.2.2 Exclusive Legislative List

The list consists of matters that are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government. These include customs, armed forces, foreign relations etc. in Nigeria

#### 9.2.3 Concurrent Legislative List

This consists of matters that are within the jurisdiction of both the federal (central) and state government (regional). Federal and state governments are empowered to both legislate on these matters. These include agriculture, sport, education, works and health in Nigeria.

#### The Residual List

This refers to matters that are reserved for exclusively for the component units (states) to legislate on. These are customary, chieftaincy matters among others.

#### 9.2.4 Reasons for adopting federal system of government include:

- Geographical factor, most states adopting federalism do so on the basis of nearness of the constituent units.
- Historical experience, some states adopt federalism as a result of past relationship which may include administrative, culture or otherwise.
- Need for union, this arise as a result of recognition of the need for a union owing to existence of common interest or challenges. These may include trade relations, search for security and resources.
- Need for local independence, the desire of groups within a state for some of local independence may result to a federal arrangement
- Fear of domination, a federal government may come into existence as a result of genuine fear of domination by some groups especially the minority from the majority within the state.
- Need for protection, independent states can come together to form a federal state as a result of persistence fear of attacks from a common enemy.

#### 9.3 Con-federal System of Government

Con-federal system of government is similar to federal system of government to the extent that there is also a constitutional division of powers between the central and the component units. However, there is a weak central government and powerful component units (states). The central government is subordinate to the government of the component units; in essence the powers of the component units are supreme to that of the central government. The central government requires the consent and approval of the government of the component units for its law to be applicable to their citizens. Also, unlike federal system government, the component units can secede from the confederation. The original thirteen (13) independent states that made up of United States of America operated a confederal system of government. In the contemporary world, the most notable example of confederation is Switzerland.

#### 9.4 Parliamentary System of Government

Another name for the parliamentary system of government is cabinet system of government. This form of government is characterized by dual executive. There is titular or ceremonial executive who can be a king or head of state and real executive who could be a Prime Minister or Premier. The executive which is the cabinet are chosen from the legislature and therefore responsible to it. The chief executive known as Prime Minister or Premier is chosen from the legislature and he/she is the leader of the party that controls majority seats in the legislature. The cabinet holds office as long as it controls the majority seats in the parliament. The parliament is supreme, it has the power to dissolve the executive (the cabinet) and no court of law can challenge the decisions of the parliament. However, the head of the cabinet (the Prime Minister or Premier) can also dissolve the parliament and demand for a new election for the members.

Parliament system of government is also characterized by fusion of powers as members of the legislature also belong to the executive (the cabinet). There is close relationship between the two arms of government.

Another distinguishing feature of this form of government is the principle of collective responsibility. This refers to a situation whereby members of the executive who are appointed ab-initio from the parliamentary are collectively responsible to the parliament for all decisions taken by them.

The parliamentary system allows sharing or dividing of responsibility. It also ensures that people's liberties are not easily encroached upon. However, the system can encourage instability in government as the executive can easily be removed by the legislature through the passage of a vote of no confidence.

#### 9.5 Presidential System of Government

The president is the chief executive and he functions as both the head of state and head of government in other word, he performs both as titular executive and real executive. The chief executive appoints all the other executives or members of his/her cabinets and they are directly responsible to him/her. The chief executive is elected directly by the people eligible to vote in a country for a fixed period of term and he/she cannot be removed from office before the expiration of his/her tenure except in rare occasion of an impeachment. The impeachment process is often laborious and cumbersome. Thus, the presidential system of government allows a clear separation of powers between the executive and the legislature as both not only perform different functions but also have different members.

Presidentialism allows for dispatch in decision making especially in the period of emergency, example of countries practicing presidential system of government include United States of America, Ghana and Nigeria.

However, the chief executive combines all executive powers titular and real and subject to few limitations by the constitution. This arrangement can result to a situation whereby peoples' liberties are easily encroached upon.

#### IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

Mention the three lists that legislative powers are divided to in Nigeria

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is Exclusive, Concurrent and Residual legislative lists.

#### PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

#### ACTIVITIES

#### SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

The lesson discussed contemporary systems of government including unitary, federal, con-federal, parliamentary and presidential systems of government.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

Briefly discuss those factors that would make an heterogeneous country like Nigeria adopts a federal system of government.

#### NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

#### GLOSSARY ITEMS



## STUDY SESSION

10

## TITLE

Structure and organisation of government

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson examines and describes the characteristics and functions performed by the three arms or branches of government; legislature, executive and judiciary.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the lesson, the students will be able to identify and explain the characteristics as well as the functions of the three arms or branches of government.

## CONTENT

### 10.1 Meaning of Government

Government is the policy deciding body that makes, declares and enforces a law. For effective and efficient performance of these functions, government is separated into legislature, executive and judiciary arms.

### 10.2 Legislature

Legislature represents the very essence of representative government and is the organ of government that is closest to the people. It represents the diverse interest of the people within the political community.

Legislature is the law making arm of government while this is the primary responsibility of the legislature, it also performs other functions.

Legislature is responsible for raising and spending of public money. This is done by determining the tax regime i.e. the nature and mount of taxes and amount to be spent through budgetary allocations.

The responsibility of approving the appointments made by the executive arm of government rests with the legislature. Such appointments include ministerial, ambassadors and judges.

It is also the responsibility of the legislature to approve international treaties negotiated and signed by the executive on behalf of the state before such treaties can become effective.

Legislature exercises oversight authority over the activities of the executive. Every action or inaction of the executive can be brought under the scrutiny of the legislature. This function involves the supervision of the operation of public institutions and the way and manner they spend public funds.

The responsibility of reviewing and amending the constitution especially in countries operating written and rigid constitution rests with the legislature.

Legislature also performs judicial functions which include impeachment procedure against any erring member of the executive in the presidential system of government while in parliamentary system of government especially Great Britain, the House of Lords is the highest Court of appeal.

Legislature possesses investigative power. This used is used to obtain necessary information through its various committees that conduct both public and private hearing, such information are used to make informed decisions on various issues.

The legislature is involved in educating and enlightening members of the public about various issues being handled by them and the activities of government. The avenue for this includes the various committees' hearings, engagement with mass media, public speaking and visits to their respective constituencies.

In some countries, legislatures serve as Electoral College. This is the practice in the parliamentary system where the members of the parliament indirectly elect the Prime Minister.

#### 10.2.1 Types of Legislature

There are two type of Legislature, unicameral and bicameral.

Unicameral Legislature is where there is only one house or chamber of the legislature. Examples of countries that have unicameral legislature include Israel, Spain, and Ghana among others. The advantages of one chamber or arm of the legislature includes:

- The structure of the house is simple and it is easy to locate responsibility for legislative decisions.
- Most homogenous and relatively small countries adopt unicameral legislature.
- There is quick passage of bills by the single house
- The cost of maintaining the single house is usually less than in bicameral legislature.

However, unicameral legislature has some disadvantages which include:

- Bills may be hastily passed into laws by the house without adequate and necessary consultations.
- Unicameral legislature does not allow for effective checks and balances

- The house may not be able to represent adequately all shades of views and interests within the political society.
- The house can be easily manipulated by a dictator.

### 10.2.2 Bicameral Legislature

Bicameral Legislature exists where there are two chambers of the legislature, the lower and the upper chambers. Examples of countries with bicameral legislature include Nigeria, United States of America, Great Britain, Russian Federation, France, India etc. The Lower chamber usually consists of members elected on the basis of population while for the Upper Chamber in some states they are elected like Nigeria and United States of America while in other states they are nominated as the case in Canada and Italy and hereditary as the case in Great Britain. Federal System usually operates bicameral legislature. Advantages of Bicameral Legislature include the following:

- Bicameral legislature allows for extensive deliberation before bills are passed into laws thus guarding against hasty passage of bills into laws
- It ensures adequate representation of diverse interests especially in heterogeneous state with majority and minority interests.
- In most cases, the second chamber has equal representation of all units in spite of their population characteristics, thus allowing for togetherness and unity.
- Bicameral legislature serves as check on despotism that may result from the existence of a single chamber and this ensures adequate protection of individual freedom.
- It allows for representation of certain interests especially in countries where members of the second chamber are nominated. For instance in Great Britain, members of the Upper Chamber, the House of the lords represent the aristocratic class.

- There is existence of division of labours between the two Chambers of the legislature.

However, Bicameral legislature also has disadvantages. These include:

- It is expensive to operate a bicameral legislature.
- Bicameral legislature encourages long delay in passage of bills into laws,
- There may be unhealthy competition between the two Chambers which can paralyse government activities.
- It may result in duplication of efforts at making laws.
- Bicameral legislature can encourage the dumping of spent or rejected politicians in the second chamber. We can see this trend in the Nigerian second legislative chamber, the Senate which has become the dumping ground for former state governors in the country.

### 10.3 Executive

The arm of government that is given power to implement and enforce decisions or policies is the executive. The executive is seen as that branch of government which gives effect to the will of the state by carrying out or enforcing the law of the land (constitutions, statutes, decrees, treaties, etc.) (Anifowose, 1999:171).

#### 10.3.1 Types of Executive

There are three types of executives; these are the single and collegial executive, the titular and real executive, and the parliamentary and non-parliamentary executive.

#### 10.3.2 Single and Collegial Executive

There is a chief executive; all other executives are subordinate to the chief executive. The chief executive appoints all the other executives or members of his/her cabinet and they are directly

responsible to him/her. Single executive allows for dispatch in decision making especially in the period of emergency. Examples of countries with one single executive include President of United States of America and the President of Nigeria

The collegial executive involves a council or a cabinet. Executive powers are performed by the council or cabinet and there is no specific number of people constituting the council or cabinet. The collegial executive allows sharing or dividing of responsibility. It also ensures that peoples' liberties are not easily encroached upon.

#### Titular and Real Executives

10.3.3 The titular executive performs symbolic and ceremonial functions. Most parliamentary systems of government including Great Britain, Australia, India and Nigeria's first republic operate titular executive. For instance, the Queen performs this role in Great Britain while Dr. Nnamidi Azikwe performed the role in the Nigeria first republic.

Real executive is the head of government. The real executive performs the day to day business of government. In the presidential system, the real executive is the president who also double as titular executive while in parliamentary system, the real executive is the cabinet headed by the prime minister.

#### 10.3.4 Parliamentary and non-parliamentary executives

In parliamentary executive, the executive which is the cabinet are chosen from the legislature and therefore responsible to it. The chief executive is chosen from the legislature and he/she is the leader of the party that controls majority seats in the legislature. The executive or the cabinet holds office as long as it controls the majority in the parliament.

Non-parliamentary executive is elected directly by the people eligible to vote in a country for a fixed period of term. A non-parliamentary executive cannot be removed from office before the

expiration of his/her tenure except in rare occasion of an impeachment. The chief executive combines all executive powers titular and real and subject to few limitations by the constitution.

#### 10.3.5 Functions of executive

The executive performs a wide range of functions which can be classified as administrative, legislative and judicial.

##### Administrative functions

- The executive controls and administer the state.
- It directs and supervises the execution and enforcement of laws
- The executive appoints disciplines and remove administrative officers of government.
- It controls the military and responsible for declaration and prosecution of wars. The chief executive is the supreme commander of the military.
- The executive is in charge of conduct of foreign relations of a state. This is done by appointing ambassadors and other representatives of the country. He/she recognizes or withholds recognition of government of foreign states and can dismiss their ambassadors.

In essence the chief executive determines a country foreign policy.

#### 10.4 Legislature

- The executive recommends and initiate bills which are considered by the legislature.
- In a presidential system, the executive exercises veto power over bills passed by the legislature.
- In a parliamentary system, the executive has the power to call and dissolve the legislature.

- The executive makes delegated legislation, this refers to the power vested in the executive by the legislature to issue statutory orders and rules and regulations especially to meet emergency situation.
- The executive gives assent to bills before they can become laws.

#### 10.4.1 Judicial functions of the Executive

- The executive exercises power of pardon to people who have committed offences against the state. This may take the form of reduction in sentence, reprieve or delay execution of sentence.
- The executive can also grant amnesty to offenders to exempt them from the legal consequences of their actions.

### 10.5 Judiciary

The judiciary is the arm of government that is responsible for the interpretation of the laws of the land and their application to individual cases. The judiciary adjudicates disputes between the citizens and government, between the other branches of government or between levels of government especially in a federal system of government.

#### 10.5.1 Functions of the Judiciary

- The judiciary has the responsibility of interpreting the constitution.
- It has responsibility of punishing offenders against the law of the land.
- The judiciary settles any disputes between individual and the state and disputes between different levels of government.
- The judiciary is responsible for reviewing the activities of other arms of government and may declare them null and void that is unconstitutional when they are against the constitution or exceeded their power.



- It has the responsibility of protecting citizens' rights and liberties against arbitrary laws and abuse of powers.
- The judiciary also makes laws through judicial precedents.

#### 10.5.2. Independence of Judiciary

This term refers to the absence of external control, impartiality and absence of bias in the administration of justice by the courts (Anifowose, 1999:187).

The independence of judiciary can be assured through the following:

- Judiciary should be independent of both the executive and the legislature. The judiciary should be separated from the other arms of government both in terms of membership and control or influence.
- The members of the judiciary should be immunized from prosecution arising from the performance of their official duties.
- The members of the judiciary must be allowed to enjoy security of tenure of their offices.
- The appointment of judges must be on merit and high qualification and based on recommendation of an impartial and independent body.
- There must be security of salaries of judges, salaries of judges should not be subject to consideration of the legislature but charged on the consolidated fund of the state.

#### IN-TEXT QUESTION

How many types of legislature are you familiar with?

#### IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is two types; unicameral and bi-cameral legislatures.

## PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

## ACTIVITIES

## SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This lesson has examined and described the characteristics and functions of the three arms or branches of government. These arms or branches of government examined are the legislature, executive and the judiciary.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

Do you agree that the Executive is the most important arm of government?

## NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

## GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION

11

## TITLE

Constitution

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson examines constitution as one of the institutions of politics; sources of constitutions, the types of constitutions, advantages and disadvantages of different constitutions' types and reasons for their adoption.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to explain;

1. Constitution, its sources and types.
2. Advantages and disadvantages of different types of Constitutions.

## CONTENT

### 11.1 Meaning of constitution

A Constitution can be defined as a set of agreed rules and principles upon which a country is governed. In the words of Anifowose, 1999:157, "A constitution may be defined as a collection of norms or standards according to which a country is governed. It contains statements intended to define the relations between rulers and ruled, the basic institutional framework of government, the rights and duties of citizens, and many important procedures to be followed in connection with those matter".

## 11.2. Sources of Constitutions

### Custom of the People

This refers to all customary constitutional rules that are generally accepted and obey by the people.

### Conventions

These are referred to as 'established usages' fundamental rules that guide government operations which are not stated in a written form but they are accepted practice or behaviour.

### Written document

This is a document specifically written and designated as a constitution of a Country. Written Constitution is the accepted practice in virtually all federal systems of governments.

### Organic laws

These refer to laws passed by the legislature that are regarded as special. The British constitution is replete with many of such laws. These include the Magna Carta of 1215 which provided for trial by jury and the Habeas Corpus Acts of 1679 which confirms the citizen's right to protection against imprisonment without a cause being shown.

### Judicial decisions

This refers to interpretation given by the courts in certain cases involving clarification of aspects of a constitution. Also, decisions of the courts which are collated can form part of constitution as judicial precedents.

### Experience

According to Anifowose, (1999:161) framers of constitution can draw from the unique experience of their people in framing or amending their constitutions. He added that constant

military incursion led to the inclusion in 1979 Nigerian constitution of a provision which specifically outlawed taking over power by means other than those outlined in the constitution.

### 11.3 Types of Constitution

#### Written Constitution

This is where the fundamental principles, powers of government and its agencies and the rights of citizens are written in a single document. Most modern states adopt written constitutions especially states that are heterogeneous such as Nigeria. Also, almost all federal states adopt written constitution; this is necessary to define the relationship between the central and other component units within the federation. Written constitution does not allow for easy amendment which can be subject to easy manipulations by those in government and such it discourages the emergence of dictators. The existence of written constitutions allow for easy study of the law of a country.

However, a written constitution cannot be easily adapted to changing circumstances or challenges within the society. The amended procedure is always very cumbersome.

#### Unwritten Constitution

This is where the fundamental principles, powers of government and its agencies and the rights of citizens are not written down in any single document. However, they can be found in many different documents. Most homogenous societies such as Great Britain adopt unwritten constitution. Also, unitary state again such as Great Britain and Ghana in Africa adopt unwritten constitutions. The provisions of unwritten constitution can be easily amended. The constitution is flexible and thus can easily adapt to changing circumstances or rapid changes in the social system. Unwritten constitution consists mostly of customs and conventions of the people which have developed and became part of the society over time.

The major disadvantage of unwritten constitution is that due to its flexibility, it can be manipulated by those in government. Unwritten constitution thus can lead to emergent of dictators.

### Rigid Constitution

A constitution is referred to as rigid when it cannot be easily amended. Rigid constitutions are mostly written constitutions. There is elaborate provision for its amendment to the extent that it is often become cumbersome and a difficult exercise. The constitution states special procedure for its amendment beyond the procedure for amending ordinary law. For instance, in Nigeria, the procedure for amendment of the 1999 constitution requires the support of the 2/3 majority of each of the arms of the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) and 2/3 of the State House of Assemblies in the country.

The elaborate procedure for the amendment of rigid constitution ensures that there are diverse and extensive consultations before its amendment. Also, due to the long process of amendment, written constitution discourages the emergence of dictators.

However, the long and slow procedure will not allow written constitution to be amendable easily to changing circumstances in the social system. The cost of amendment is usually very expensive economically to the country. Also, excessive reliance on the judiciary for interpretation of its provision can lead to the politicization of the judiciary as witnessed in the Nigerian Fourth Republic.

### Flexible Constitution

This refers to a constitution that does not require any special procedure for its amendment. The constitution can be amended by a simple majority as the case with the process of passing of

ordinary laws. The constitution has the advantage of being able to adapt to changing circumstances and challenges.

However, the constitution has a lot of drawbacks. These include the following: it can be easily manipulated since it is easy to amend, it can lead to dictatorship as leaders can change the constitution at will, it can result to instability and unrest due to frequent and incessant amendments.

### Unitary Constitution

This is a constitution whereby the powers and functions of government are organized under a single central government. All other sub-units within the state derive their powers and functions from that central authority and such powers are held at the discretion of the central government. The central government has the supreme power over the whole state without any form of sharing with other sub-units within the state. Other sub-units as local authority are created by the central authority and exist at its pleasure; also, the local authority exercises delegated powers which can be withdrawn by the central government. Unitary constitution is common with most homogenous state like Great Britain, France and Belgium. Most unitary constitutions provide for unicameral legislature which in most cases is the supreme authority unlike what obtains in a federal constitution whereby the constitution is supreme.

### Federal Constitution

A federal constitution provides for constitutional division of powers between the central and component units within the country. The constitution is the supreme authority and it sets limits to the power of both the central and components units of the federation. The constitution allows for coordination and cooperation among the central and component units within the country. The constitution is usually written and rigid to define the relationship as well as serve as check on the

central and components units respectively. Most heterogeneous societies adopt federal constitutions such as The United States of America, Switzerland, Nigeria, India, Canada and Australia.

#### Con-federal Constitution

Con-federal constitution is similar to federal constitution to the extent that there is also a constitutional division of powers between the central and the component units. However, there is a weak central government and powerful component units (states). The central government is subordinate to the government of the component units; in essence the powers of the component units are supreme to that of the central government. The central government requires the consent and approval of the government of the component units for its law to be applicable to their citizen. The original thirteen independent states that made up of United States of America operated a con-federal constitution. In the contemporary world, the most notable example of confederation is Switzerland.

#### 11.4 Functions of Constitution

- Constitution defines the powers and functions of government and its agencies.
- Constitution also serves as symbol of national unity and sense of togetherness especially in a heterogeneous society.
- Constitution set limits on the powers of government and thus guarantees the protection of individual rights and liberty.
- Constitution specifies the extent of powers of each arm and levels of government.
- Constitution serves as a code of conduct and the acceptable pattern of behaviour
- Constitution states in unambiguous terms the duties and rights of the citizen.



## IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

The process of amendment of a Constitution makes it to be referred to as \_\_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_\_

## IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is Rigid or Flexible.

## PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

## ACTIVITIES

## SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

This lesson examined different types of constitutions, their features, origin, advantages and disadvantages and reasons for adopting them.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

Examine the various sources of constitutions that you are familiar with.

## NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

## GLOSSARY ITEMS

## STUDY SESSION

12

## TITLE

Constitutionalism

## EXPECTED COURSE DURATION

3

## INTRODUCTION

This lesson examines institutions of politics that set limits to the activities of government in their relationship with the citizens. In other words these institutions are put in place to ensure that government operates according to law; that is in accordance with established rules and agreed procedure.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the lesson, the students will be able to recognize the various ways through which government and its agents can be made to follow the dictates of the law and not their individual whims and caprices. The student will understand and appreciate that government must follow the law of the land.

## CONTENT

### 12.1 Meaning of constitutionalism

Constitutionalism refers to limited government, it concerns with rule of law, which means that government must be according to law and not according to the whims and caprices of the functionaries government. Constitutionalism sets limits on actions and even in action of

government as a way of protecting the citizenry from arbitrariness and thus guaranteeing their fundamental human rights.

In the words of Anifowose, (1999:168) Constitutionalism “asserts that there are fundamental limits which must be observed in the relationships between rulers and the ruled. There are limits beyond which no just government can go”.

Thus, constitutionalism refers to the process of orderly government involving a system of effective, regularized restraints on the exercise of political power. The goal of constitutionalism is constitutional government (Anifowose, 1999:168).

However, most governments in Africa and other developing world of Asia and Latin America unlike most countries in the developed world do not observed constitutionalism as they rule arbitrarily, dictatorially without respect for the constitution, established rules and regulations and trample on citizens’ rights and freedom with impunity. This practice has continued in most of these countries in spite of return of democratic rule. For instance, in Nigeria as recent as January, 2010 soldiers were drafted to curb legitimate and peaceful protests against government policies of removal of oil subsidy which increased the cost of a litre of premium motor spirit astronomically from N65 to N141. This action contravenes the fundamental right to lawful assembly, association and freedom of expression of the people.

The following attributes among other help to achieve constitutional government in any state; separation of powers, system of checks and balances and rule of law:

### 12.3 Separation of powers

The concept of separation of powers can be traced to many political philosophers including Jean Bodin and John Locke; however, it was Charles Louis Montesquieu that popularized it in his ‘Espirit de Lois’ (the Spirit of Laws). This principle sets limits on the powers of government and

its personnel by arguing that the three organs of government (legislature, executive and judiciary) must be separated from each other in terms of functions and personnel performing those functions.

In essence, those who make laws must not also take part in its execution or interpretation, while the same go for other organs to stay within their activities and functions. The aim of this separation is to ensure that rights and liberties are protected.

However, no form of government in reality practices total separation of powers, what obtains in parliamentary system of government is referred to as fusion of powers while in presidential system, there is greater compliance to separation of powers doctrine.

#### 12.4 Checks and balances

The doctrine of checks and balances works in tandem with that of separation of powers. As argued earlier, it is impossible to have a situation of total operation of separation of powers, thus to ensure that individual rights and liberty are protected adequately, an arm of government serves as a check on another arm of government and each balance the powers of the others. For instance, the legislature can control the executive through various means such as approval of budget, confirmation of appointment, ratification of treaties, impeachment or vote of no confidence among others; the executive on its own can control the legislature by withholding assent to a bill passed by the legislature, this is particularly common in the presidential system when the president can veto a bill duly passed thereby ensuring that the bill does not become law. The judiciary can control both the executive and the legislature by declaring their actions or decisions illegal, null and void, in other word, unconstitutional. This can be done through the judicial power of review, however, the judiciary is also subject to the control of the executive and legislature as they appoint and approve or confirm the appointment of judges

## Rule of law

The concept of rule of law as stated earlier is one of the basic conditions for constitutionalism. The concept is associated with Lord Bracton while A. V. Dicey in his book Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution popularized the concept. The doctrine emphasizes the Supremacy of the Law as administered by the law Court as opposed to arbitrariness and whims of the office holder and equality of all before the law.

## IN-TEXT QUESTIONS

Mention three political philosophers that are connected to the Principles of Separation of Powers.

## IN-TEXT ANSWERS

The answer is Jean Bodin, John Locke and Charles Louis Montesquieu.

## PICTURE ILLUSTRATION

## ACTIVITIES

## SUMMARY OF STUDY SESSION

The lesson discussed various ways through which government and its agents can be made to follow the dictates of the law and not their individual whims and caprices. Various principles discussed included separation of powers, checks and balances and rule of law as means of ensuring constitutionalism.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

Examine the ways in which the principles of Separation of Powers and Rule of Law can guarantee constitutionalism in a political system.

## NOTES ON SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTION

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GLOSSARY ITEMS