

re-establish equilibrium. The other positive loop is due to economic damage caused by the uprisings. A damaged economy produces less output, causing more unrest. The influence of these two unstable mechanisms makes rebellion a very volatile process, certainly worthy of closer scrutiny. However, before we proceed with a more detailed description of this revolutionary process, it is useful to consider exactly what we mean when we speak of "authority."

Max Weber distinguishes three types of political authority : charismatic, traditional, and rational/legal. Charismatic is a "rule over men . . . to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extra-ordinary quality of the specific person." As Weber points out, "charismatic rule is not managed according to general norms, either traditional or rational, but in principal, according to concrete revelations and inspirations, and in this sense, charismatic authority is 'irrational.' It is revolutionary in the sense of not being bound to the existing order."

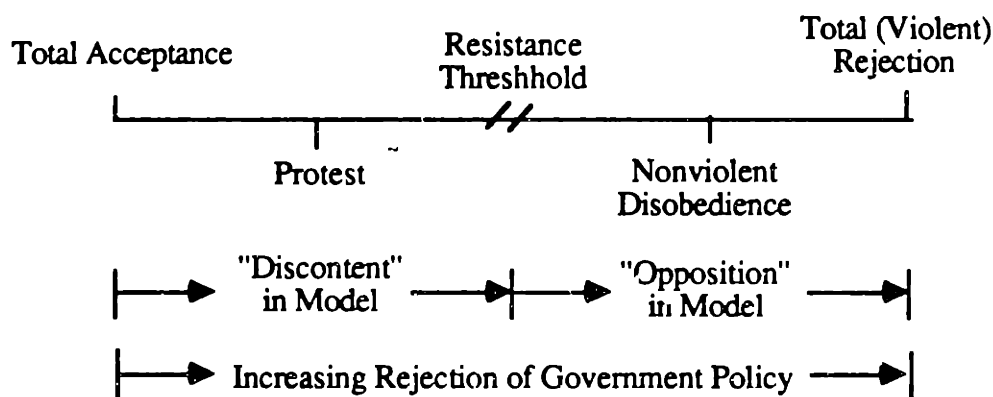


Figure 3.9: David Bell's 'Responses to Authority'

Traditional political authority is "domination that rests . . . upon piety for what actually, allegedly, or presumably has always existed" and carries the assumption that "the system of inviolable norms is . . . sacred; and infraction of them would result in magical or religious evils."

Legal political authority is "based on an impersonal bond to the generally defined and functional 'duty of office.' The official duty . . . is fixed by rationally established norms." (Weber 1958, 196-204)

In fact, any political system is likely to contain all three types of authority. In our model, charismatic authority expresses itself through the interactions of the executive with the political process and his aggrandizement of Executive Power. Traditional authority is accounted for by

the initial calibration of those parameters controlling power distribution, as well as the initial values chosen for the levels of popular and aristocratic norms. Perhaps the most difficult model considerations are those involving the interaction of the populace and rational/legal authority. A breakdown of rational/legal authority implies a breakdown of the law, around which Machiavelli's writings revolve. Concerning rational/legal authority, Bell (1973, 48) points out:

"This type of authority implies a set of norms governing its exercise. If authority is being exercised in agreement with the norms, it may be called legitimate. If the norms themselves enjoy widespread acceptance (or at least respect) in society, the whole system of authority may be said to enjoy legitimacy. Breakdowns can occur through repeated illegitimate exercise of authority or through lack of legitimacy of the system as a whole."

"Breakdowns in rational/legal authority are, therefore, usually related to one of these conditions:"

- "1. The rulers repeatedly break existing law."
- "2. The rulers attempt to extend their authority into spheres considered illegitimate by a large portion of the people."
- "3. The laws (or some of them) contradict prevailing patterns of social behavior which have evolved . . ."

We are now led to isolate the causes of government opposition. One useful concept is the idea of relative deprivation presented by Ted Gurr (1970) in Why Men Rebel. Relative deprivation is defined as "actors' perceptions of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities." The reader will note that this is functionally identical to the definition of discontent within our model. Even though relative deprivation (discontent) is a powerful determinant of action within the political system, there are a number of ideological issues for which it is unable to account. Often, men's actions are linked not to physical deprivation, but to a sense of political injustice. In Bell's (1973, 75) words:

"Gurr includes in his model a lengthy analysis of the kind of social conditions likely to contribute to relative deprivation, but he appears to place little emphasis on the basic *political* preconditions such as the government's adoption of an 'unjust' policy."

Similarly, injustice does not result from the low absolute level of privileges (Freedom and Economic Welfare), but from a number of dissonances which arise from conflicting norms, desires, policies, and privileges.

"In all three varieties of injustice, as many writers have pointed out, hope or aspiration is an essential ingredient, for despair dampens the tinder of outrage, extinguishes the spark of revenge. Only when we feel there is some possibility of changing a situation do we regard its continued existence as an injustice. This observation explains the otherwise paradoxical appearance of revolution during periods of improvement in economic conditions, freedom of speech" (Bell 1973, 84)

Even though discontent is a relative quantity, it is insufficient for one last reason; it fails to assign any responsibility for injustice. It provides destructive energy but no focus:

"In order for the rise of aspirations to have political significance, however, the government must be considered at least partially responsible for bringing about change or preventing deterioration. Otherwise, the underlying discontent may be channeled into alternative outlets . . . a belief that improvement is possible must be coupled with the assumption that government could do something about the situation before injustice will affect politics or lead to resistance." (Bell 1973, 84)

This shortcoming is overcome by formulating two more variables measuring social dissonance. Popular discontent with the law is known in the model as Disagreement (representing disagreement with the legislature). Discontent with government interpretation of the law is labeled Disaffection (representing public disaffection with the actions of the executive--any discrepancy between those conditions mandated by the law and actual government practices are

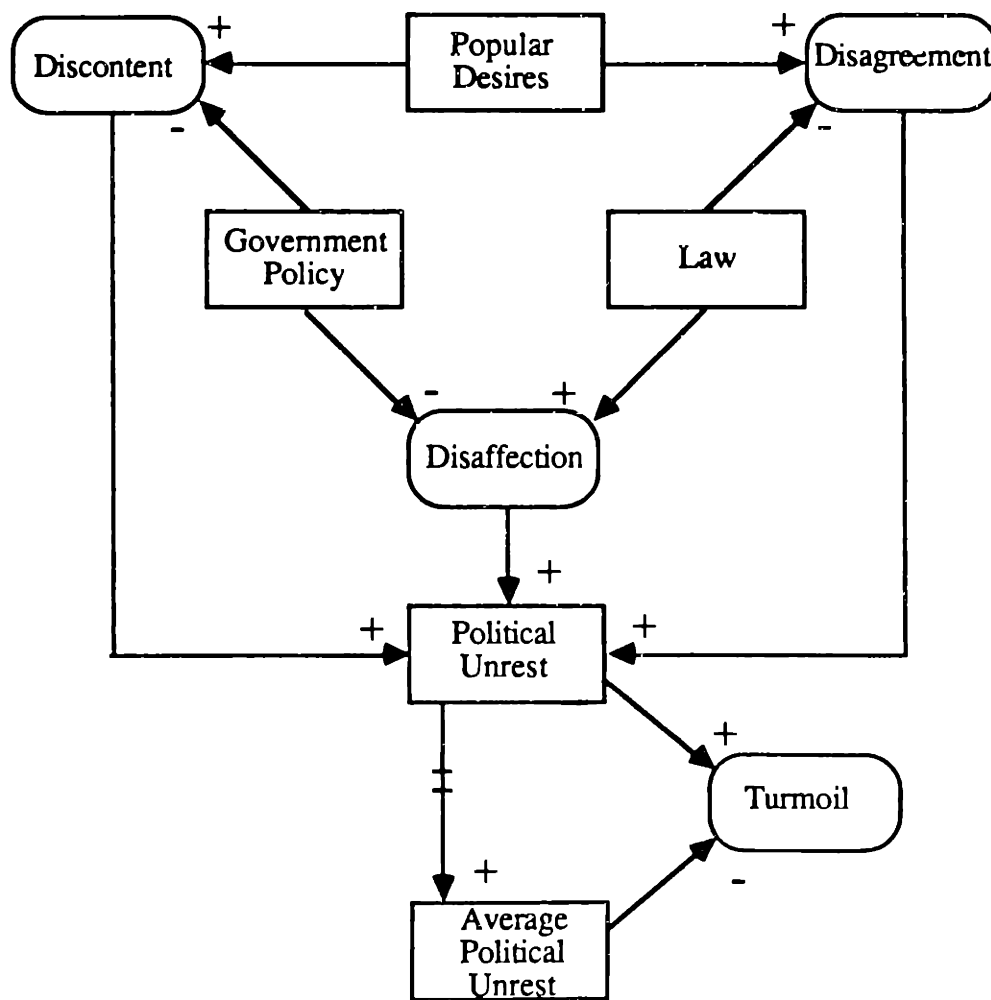


Figure 3.10: Factors Leading to Political Unrest