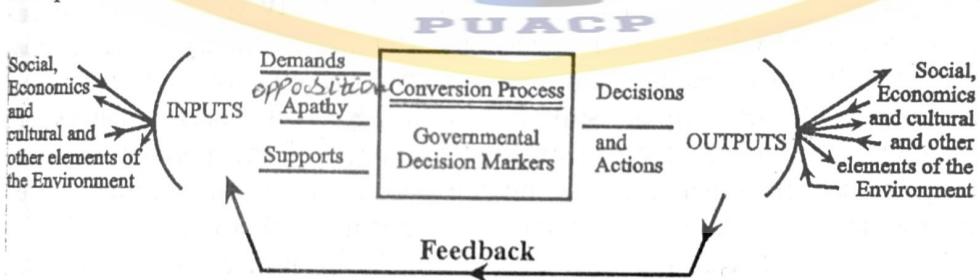


two are most prominent, namely David Easton, who "was, in fact, the first to do so, and Gabriel A. Almond, who further elaborated it. We shall first discuss David Easton's analysis of the political system, and afterwards that of Gabriel A. Almond's.

### David Easton and his Systems Analysis:

David Easton was the first American political scientist to apply systems analysis to politics in his book, *The Political System*, which he wrote in 1953. He continued to discuss the systems approach in his later books: *A Framework for Political Analysis* and *A System Analysis of Political Life*, both written in 1965. He claimed that his systemic theory embraced all the social systems as well as the whole political process. Since 1953, David Easton became one of the prominent exponents of the "general systems" approach to Political Science. He was one of the few who came from within this discipline rather than from other social sciences, such as sociology. In 1969, he became the president of the American Political Science Association. In his presidential address to the Association, he modified somewhat his behavioural approach to politics. He asserted that the political scientists should not concentrate on facts only, but explain them on the basis of a theory which was usually neglected by them, i

Before we explain his political system, we may depict its basic components in a diagram as below:



Flow Chart of David Easton's Political System (Polity or State)

**Definition:** Easton defines a political system as "that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented. Authoritative allocations relate to the values or objects or resources of human needs and desires. They can be roughly translated as laws or acts of policy.

Easton's model of the political system (commonly called a polity or State) consists of two main parts: the environment and the political system as such. The political system consists of (i) the conversion process, shown as "the box" in the model (ii) the inputs, (iii) the outputs and (iv) the feedback. We may add here that, according to Easton, there are, besides the

political system, two other political systems. One of them is below it, which he called *para-political* system, e.g. political panics, pressure groups, etc. and the other is above it, namely the international political system. But it is the national political system which is a political system par excellence because it alone makes and implements authoritative decisions allocating values or goods and resources to individuals, and groups, in the society.

Environment: According to Easton, political life is "a system of behaviour embedded in an environment to the influence of which the political system itself is exposed and in turn reacts". The environment, within which the political system exists, comprises all the social, economic, cultural, religious, ideological and other conditions, without which a political system cannot exist. In more concrete terms, it means the natural and human resources of the economy, ecological conditions, and all other material and non-material variables. They also include the international resources, influences and conditions. For instance, both Soviet Union and U.S.A. are international resources for Bharat, while for Pakistan, America is the only resource. Both the internal and external variables are not a part of the political system. According to Easton, "In the environment we have such systems as the ecology, economy, culture, personality, social structure and demography" (The limits or lines, which separate the environment from the political system, constitute its boundary). Within the boundary lies the political system, which is defined by the possibility of the exercise of legitimate force of its binding decisions. But the boundary is constantly changing, because the conditions in the environment are also constantly changing and the political system has to cope with these changes or variables. They constitute the external variables of the political system. They are the forces which shape and change the inputs some of them come from within the system itself. It may be further noted that Easton's model is based on behavioural approach to politics. As he himself said in a later article, "We have been interpreting political life as a system of behaviour set in an environment and open to the influences stemming from that environment, as well as from internal sources."

The Inputs: Political process begins with the inputs. They are, broadly speaking, of three kinds: demands, supports and apathy or opposition. The government receives the demands and the supports from the domestic and foreign interests, that is, from the environment around the political system. Demands provide the raw material or information, which the system must process and the energy which the system needs. They lead to political activity. They are the signs that the people or the groups want action. They arise either in the environment (external) or within the system itself (internal). The external or environmental sources of the demands are the major portion of the demands, shaping the variables from outside the

political system. They can be expressed in all manner of ways, such as public opinion, polis, political parties, pressure groups, letters written to the governmental system, and also by means of riots, public demonstrations, and protest marches, etc. But the demands may arise internally from within the governmental system itself. They arise from such aspects and influences as the representation system, the nature of the constitution itself and the norms and procedures of the governmental system; they also arise from the values of the political culture of a political system. In short, they are the significant parts of the material on which the system operates. They are also the one important source of change in the political system. Roughly speaking, out of about one lakh needs, desires, expectations, plans and projects of the people, including social groups and political parties, about one thousand become their demands. Out of about one thousand demands about one hundred become challenges or issues which influence the government decision makers. Out of one hundred issues about ten are actually converted into outputs, i.e., become laws and acts of policy. In a democratic polity, out of the ten outputs, nine have originated from the people or political parties and groups, while one has come from the government itself. But in an undemocratic polity, such as a dictatorship or an autocracy, the ratio is reversed: one effective demand comes from the people, while the nine come from the government. Demands are of several kinds. They depend on the type of the political system. Some of them are as follows-

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Economic demands include the desire for higher living standards, better employment opportunities or welfare or social security benefits.

Regulatory demands means the demands for specific legislation, laws for maintaining peace and order, improving Community relations, protecting human rights, etc.

In Islamic countries like Iran, Pakistan, or Saudi Arabia, religious demands may be more important than economic or cultural demands.

The "*Intermediary gatekeepers*" In the examples given above, we have said that demands can be in thousands. If all of them become effective or realisable demands or issues, requiring to be convened into outputs, they will overload the political system the conversion "box", i.e. the government. Every desire or hope cannot become a demand. The "*intermediary gatekeepers*" are the regulatory mechanisms which enable the political system prevent some wants, e.g. expectations, opinions, preferences or interests, from becoming issues or realisable and effective demands, and thus prevent overloading of the political system. They are as follows:

1. Structural mechanisms: They are the activities of opinion-leaders, political parties, mass media, pressure groups and the elite classes.

**2. Cultural mechanisms:** The cultural mechanisms are the norms which regulate behaviour, impose taboos; and also include the socialisation process.

The "*gatekeepers*" operate at various levels of the political system. They sit astride the flow from demand to output and, via the feedback loop back to the input side. They are known as "gatekeepers" because they operate at those strategic points, where demands can be stopped, selected, winnowed down, combined with others or are otherwise altered. It may be mentioned that there are more "gatekeepers" in a democratic State than in the undemocratic dictatorships or autocratic governments, which restrict them from arising. In the examples given above, in a theocratic State, the gatekeepers winnow out economic or cultural demands, while they select and strengthen religious ones.

**The supports:** Supports constitute another kind of inputs. In simple terms it means that the political system exists so long as the government has the support of the people. Supports can be in both active and passive ways. An active support is in the form of actions or attitudes which promote or resist a political system or the demands and decisions which are needed to keep the system going. This refers to three levels which exist to ensure the maintenance of the system which are as under:

**Firstly, the political community:** It supports the system through payment of taxes, participation in elections, obeying laws and accepting certain values. Thus people are part of a total political community, and provide allegiance to the system. The allegiance expresses national unity or "consensus".

**Secondly, the regime:** its members must support the constitutional principles of the political system which legitimise action and provide authority and links between various parts of the political system, such as the executive, the legislature, judiciary, political parties.

**Thirdly, authorities:** They must support the actual government if it is to perform its functions. Public opinion or the views people hold on political or social issues, can also act as a support. Governments generally see to it that their policies satisfy the public's expectations.

**Apathy:** It is a lack of input. It is a matter of common observation that there are always some people who are indifferent to the political demands. For instance, they do not participate in voting at the time of election. It is a passive indifference. But it affects the inputs. The fewer there are those who participate in politics, the lesser the inputs in the conversion process. Thus the political process is both quantitatively and qualitatively affected.

**Conversion Process:** Surprisingly enough, Easton says little about the conversion process by which the government actually transforms the inputs into outputs by authoritative allocations or binding decisions. It is the process by which (i) demands are articulated and aggregated into policy proposals and (ii) demands are converted into authoritative decisions which are the OUTPUTS.

**Outputs.** Outputs are laws or policies. They are the decisions and actions of the authorities. They are of the following kinds:

- (a) extractive, e.g. tax-collection;
- (b) regulative e.g. laws;
- (c) allocative, i.e. activities which allocate public funds to alternative uses; and
- (d) judicial decisions, treaties, executive orders and administrative decisions.

The list of the outputs can be much longer than mentioned above. Briefly, all the activities of the government can be grouped under the broad heading of the outputs of the government. What government does to allocate values or objects of human needs to the society in response to the demands and supports of the people and of special interests are the-outputs.

**The feedback:** The feedback may be defined as the reactions of the people to the decisions and acts of the-government called the output. Every government action is bound to cause some reaction from at least some of the people. It may be a response of the people who made the original demand or of those who are affected by the output. The feedback is, thus, a dynamic process through which information about the output is communicated back to the system in such a way as to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system. It is a cyclic process by which the government can know how the system is working for the satisfaction of the needs or demands of the people. This is the reason why Easton's model is called flow model of the political system.

**The stress:** A political system may be in a State of stable equilibrium when the input-output flow may be operating smoothly. But there may be conditions when it is subject to various stresses. They are, for example excess demands, lack of support or the outputs which produce hostile or adverse effects in the environment or the feedback may be overcharged with old and new demands. In such conditions there are various kinds of political protests, which include pickets and strikes, rallies and riots. As the political system seeks to persist in time, it will meet the stresses by its own remedial or regulatory mechanisms and responses. Indeed, no real political system works exactly like the model. There are often many kinds of snags, especially in the developing countries. They are,

to mention a few, lethargy of the people, including that of the authorities, corruption, lack of democratic freedoms or outright acts of tyranny and oppression.

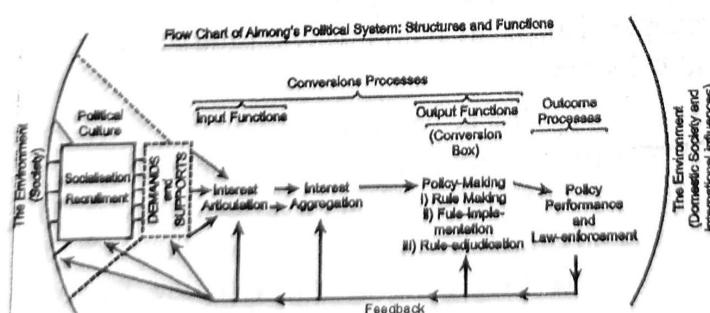
### Gabriel Almond and his Systems Analysis:

Gabriel Almond is another prominent American political scientist who has adopted the method of systems analysis in Comparative Politics. He presented it in a number of articles, first of which was written in 1956, and later in a number of books, viz. *The Politics of the Developing Areas* written in 1960 and *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach* written in 1966. He became the President of the American Political Science Association in 1966. In his presidential address, he again discussed the systems approach to politics.

Like David Easton, Almond was in search of a "functional theory of polity". His field was comparative politics, which he studied as a developmental process. He sought to explain how various types of political systems change from the "traditional" to the "modern" systems. His aim was, as he says, "to explain and even predict cycles of short range or long range change of the political system in response to various kinds of environmental pressures." This is developmental approach, which is the main difference between his and Easton's theories.

Almond's theory was more sociological than that of Easton. He was influenced by the German sociologist, Max Weber, and still more by the American Sociologists, Talcott Parsons and Edward Shills. Indeed, it was Talcott Parsons' theory of social systems which he adopted in his analysis of the political systems.

We shall first describe Almond's political system in the form of a flow chart.



Flow Chart of Almond's Political System: Structures and Functions

<sup>6</sup> See Comparative Politics: System Process and Policy by Gabriel A Almond and G Bingham Powell, Jr. Second Edition, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd. Lahore. 1987

### **Political System:**

Why do we use this term? First of all, Almond discusses the reason why the term political system is used in Comparative Politics. Formerly, political scientists used such terms as State, government, nation, etc. But these terms are limited by their legal and institutional meanings. Their use does not inform us about the roles played by these institutions in different States or countries. The reason is that the role of such an institution as a legislature or a court, is determined not only by the formal provisions of the constitution and law, but is also influenced by the informal groups, political attitudes, and a great many interpersonal relationships. Therefore, Almond says, "If political science is to be effective in dealing with political phenomena of all kinds of societies, regardless of culture, degree of modernisation, and size, we need a more comprehensive framework of analysis." Now the concept of political system directs our attention to "the entire scope of political activities within a society, regardless of where in the society such activities may be located." In other words, the use of the term "political system" is structurally and functionally more accurate and meaningful than the use of such terms as State, government or the like. These are particular terms and not universal terms like political system.

Regarding the usefulness of the concept of political system, Almond says further 'The principal advantage of the system concept is that it analytically differentiates the objects of study from the government, directs attention to the interaction of the system with other systems in its environment, to its own conversion characteristics, and to its maintenance and additive properties."

What is a political system? This term consists of two parts, "Political" and "System". The term "system" we have already explained as the interdependence of the parts of an organism or machine on each other. If one part is changed in any way, it affects all the others. For instance, in a motor car the ring is a very small part of its engine. But if it is worn out, it will affect the working of the engine. It will then consume more petrol and produce less power, which will affect the speed of the car. Thus the wearing out of the ring will change the whole performance of the car.

Now, interdependence or interaction between the parts and the whole is common to all systems, whether social, economic or political. The question is: what makes a system political? It is the use of legitimate force or physical compulsion which distinguishes the political system from all other kinds of systems. Therefore all relations, whether social, economic, cultural, religious, etc., which depend upon the use of legitimate force or threat of use of such a force become political relations and thereby become a part of the political system. He says, "When we speak of the political system, we include all the interactions which affect the use or threat of use

of legitimate physical coercion. The political system includes not only governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts, and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspects. Among these are traditional structures such as kinship and caste groupings; and anomie phenomena such as assassinations, riots and demonstrations; as well as formal organisations like parties, interest groups, and media of communication." For instance, the political system of a country is of one kind, when there is no television station in it. But it will be changed into another kind when a TV station or stations are installed in it. What is more, even, if a country has no TV station in it, but a neighbouring country installs one, the political system of the TV-less country will be accordingly changed, for it will be affected, adversely or not, by foreign telecasts. Thus the installation of a TV system is not merely a recreational matter, but has political effects not only on the political system of the country in question but also on all those countries which come within its telecast range. This leads us to the question: where is the boundary of a political system?

### **Boundary of a political system:**

David Easton has given a rough and ready description of the boundary between the society and the polity. But Almond has described it in more operational terms hard and fast line of demarcation can be drawn between a political and the social, economic or religious systems, because the boundary of the political system is constantly changing. It is sometimes expanding, and at other times contracting. Take the case of inflation. When prices are stable, the political system of a country has nothing to do with religion the question of wages or salaries. It is a matter between employers and employees. In other words, it is only an economic relation. However, when prices rise, the wages of the workers may not be sufficient for their daily needs. But their employers may refuse to increase their wages accordingly. The workers may threaten strike to compel the employers to do so. The strike may turn into a riot, which becomes a political question. Thus inflation brings economic relations within the boundary of a political system, which may in its turn affect even the political philosophy of the country. In short, the question of inflation expands the political system. Or take another example. In an Islamic country, religious questions expand the political system. While in a secular country, in which politics has nothing to do with the religious questions do not become political, the political boundary is accordingly contracted. Or take the case of the student's unions. Once they were peaceful bodies, interested in training students for debates and such other educational matters. But when they were turned by some political parties into instruments of students' strikes and riots, they have become political and come within the boundary of the political system. Or take the case of women. For centuries women lived under the domination

men and were confined within their houses and domestic chores. Political system had then nothing to do with women. Instead, politics was meant for men only; something run by men, and consisted of men, even though a woman, like Razia Sultana of Delhi, Elizabeth I of England or Catherine of the Great Russia, might rule over men. But when women have started coming out of their homes and asking for the same rights and freedoms as enjoyed by men, women's demands have also come within the bounds of the political system. In other words, it has now expanded the political system to include women's problems. In short, the boundary of the political system may sometimes expand and at other times contract. What is more its boundary may at one and the same time expand in one direction and contract in another. This characteristic of the political system distinguishes from the State. The boundaries of the State always remain fixed, unless changed by war and aggression, while the boundary of the political system is constantly changing, as we shall now explain.

A system does not consist of individuals but is defined by their roles or expected behaviour towards each other. A family, for example, is a social system consisting of husband and wife and children or of father and mother and brothers and sisters. Each member of the family interacts with the other in a prefixed or expected behaviour, which is his or her role in the family. The performance of these roles makes this group a family. If a son does not behave towards his father or mother as is expected of him in the family life, the family system is disrupted. Moreover every member of the family has roles in other systems. In short, social or economic system is a network of roles or expected behaviours. The political system is also a complex of interactions of voters, legislators, ministers, administrators, judges, nationals, etc. The same individual who performs a political role also perform economic, social, religious and other roles. For instance, on the Election Day, when people leave their homes, offices, factories, farms, etc., to go to the polling stations, they are changing their social or economic and other roles into the political role. Thus on the Election Day, the boundaries of the political system extend to the great majority of the people, who now cross the boundary of the society or economy into that of the polity. Similarly, inflation may make the workers or their trade unions, or an interest group, or a political party, demand the authorities to adopt a policy or pass a law regarding increase in wages. Such economic demands may cross the boundary of the economic system into that of the political system. These examples show that of all the systems, the boundaries of the political system are subject to relatively greater fluctuations. Now, these demands are inputs of the political system. The policy or law made in response to them are its outputs, that is, they are converted by the authorities into outputs. A political system, therefore, as a flow of the interactions, consists of three parts: the inputs or sources of the demands

which come from the people, the conversion process, and the outputs, which are governmental acts and laws. They are the authoritative or binding decisions of the authorities or the conversion process. The political system is the set of interactions of these three parts, and its boundaries are determined by these factors in its environment. Almond says, "When we talk about the sources of inputs, their numbers, content, and intensity, and how they enter the political system, and of the number and content of outputs and how they leave the political system and affect other social systems, we shall in effect be talking about the boundaries of the political system." Almond defines the boundary as "points where other systems end and the political system begin".

### *Form of the Political System:*

Up to now we have been describing the nature of the political system. Every political system has a definite form. Like every social system, it is a definite mode of behaviour, which can be actually observed. It consists of various units, called structures. A structure is a unit of behaviour or interaction which is regularly performed and is actually observable. For example a court, is a unit of interaction (or behaviour) between a judge, an advocate, witnesses and clients? Ordinarily a court is called an institution. But in system analysis it is called a structure. Here we are not interested in the legal rules which govern its working, but in the actual behaviour or interaction between its units which is regularly performed. It is an operational concept, and can be tested and verified by empirical or experimental methods.

Every structure consists of units, which are called roles, e.g. the role of a judge or of an advocate. A role is the particular part of the activity of the individual who are involved in a political process. Every individual performs several roles, but only that role is political which is performed in political processes. The political role is the basic unit of the political system. A role is neither a rule nor a norm, because it is only the observable behaviour of an individual. A rule or a norm may influence the behaviour of the individual, but it rarely describes it fully. For instance, the behaviour of a judge in the court is governed by the rules, but it is his role is his actual and observable behaviour, that is much more than what is covered by the rules.

### **Recruitment Function:**

Every political system is subject to a particular change, viz., the change of personnel. That is to say, the individuals who perform political roles may die or leave them; hence new individuals have to be recruited or enrolled to perform these roles. This is the recruitment function of the political system, which alone makes possible for it to continue to exist over

time. The new individuals may, however, not perform their roles in the same way as did their predecessors. Thus with the change of the personnel, the political system is subject to change. It means that the new individuals have to be trained to perform the roles in the manner as expected of them.

### **Roles and Structural Differentiation:**

A political system is subject to another kind of change, that is, the differentiation of roles and structures. It is its developmental phase. By differentiation of roles and structures we mean the development of new roles and structures, the transformation of the older ones into new ones and, the growth of new relationship between the roles and between structures or sub-systems. "In speaking of the developmental aspect of role and structure then, we are interested not only in the emergence of new types of rules or the atrophy of old ones, but also in the changing patterns of interaction among roles, structures, and sub-systems".

### **Political Culture:**

A political system is not merely a matter of roles and structures. There is always something more to it: it is its culture. Just as we can know about a man not merely by looking at his outward bodily behaviour but also by looking inside him, into his habits, attitudes, and beliefs, so we can study a political system by observing not only the outward behaviour of its component units, structures and roles, but also the habits, attitudes and beliefs of the individuals performing these roles, which is the culture of the political system. Therefore, to know about the political system it is necessary to know about its actual performance as well as the underlying propensities, which constitute its political culture. Political culture means the attitudes, beliefs, values and skills of the population as well as the special propensities and patterns which are found within separate parts of the population. While the political culture is common to the whole population, the special propensities and tendencies are found in particular classes, ethnic groups or tribes, castes, etc., and also among the groups performing definite roles in the political system. They constitute its subcultures. The more we know about the structure and culture of a political system, the more we know about its performance and present and future developments. "As we learn about the structure and culture of a political system, our capacity to characterise its properties, and to predict and explain its performance, is improved."

### **Political socialization:**

By political socialization is meant the way an individual acquires the attitudes, values, skills, etc., of his political culture. A child is socialised into his political culture in his family, and school, and the adult individual is

further socialised by his experience of the performance and behaviour of the various roles of his political system. Thus Political socialization is the process by which political attitudes, values, etc., are inculcated into children, who become adults and as adults are recruited into roles.

### **Development of the political culture:**

Just as the structures of a political system develop, so does its culture. The development of a political culture is commonly known as Secularisation. "Secularisation is the process whereby men become increasingly rational, analytical and empirical in their political action." It distinguishes a traditional political system from a modern political system. In a traditional political system, as for example that of a tribal or caste based government, an individual e.g. a tribal chief, in his political activities does not depend on a rational analysis of his experience but on the traditions and customs of his culture. On the contrary, a politician in a modern political system seeking election in his constituency will rationally analyse the needs, wishes and demands of the people in his constituency and behave accordingly. He will gather information about the wishes and demands of the people, decide which of them can be realised in his political system and will seek votes on the basis of his knowledge and experience. Thus he will judge the intensity of some demands and combine others into his election programme and strategy. His behaviour is rational or secular and not traditional or custom-bound, as is that of a tribal chief. But even in a modern political system, all behaviour is not necessarily rational and secular. It may be influenced by old traditions and customs. Anyhow, the political culture and subcultures of a political system develops in two ways, by differentiation of roles and by secularisation or rationalisation of behaviour.

### **Inputs and Outputs:**

A political system is essentially an input output conversion process. Inputs are the demands which arise in the environment. But some inputs come from the rulers and elites of a political system. When they are fed into the conversion process, they turn out as outputs or authoritative decisions and go into the environment. Some of them may again return to the political system as feedback, and may thus affect or change the system. Some of the inputs are supports. As regards the conversion process, Almond has mostly adopted the input output analyst of David Easton. However, he has classified the demands into different kinds. They are (1) Demands for the regulations of behaviour, such as provisions for public safety, control over markets, and rules relating to marriage, health, education, sanitation, etc; (2) Demands for allocation of goods and services, e.g. demands for wages, laws about working hours, educational opportunities, recreational

facilities, roads, and transportation; (3) Demands for participation in the political system, e.g., for the right to vote, to hold office, to organise political associations, etc.; (4) Demands for communication and information, such as demands for the communication of policy aims from the policy-making elites, or the display of majesty and power of the political system in times of war threats or on ceremonial occasions and displays.

It may be noted that demands need not come singly. They may unite with each others in various combinations. Moreover, some demands are more intense and urgent than others and will, therefore, be attended to more promptly by the conversion process of the political system.

*Supports can also be classified as thus:* (1) material supports, such as the payment of taxes and other levies, the provision of services like military service or voluntary labour on certain occasions; (2) obedience to law and regulations; (3) participatory supports, such as voting, political discussions and other forms of political activity; (4) attention paid to governmental communications, and the manifestation of deference and respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials, e.g. saluting the national flag when it is displayed in the public ceremonies.

*Demands and supports are closely related and interdependent.* The political system and its elites performing various roles will process the demands effectively, if support is received from the environment and other social systems and from individuals working in the political system.

### Capabilities of a Political System: UACP

Like every organism, a political system needs capabilities which it performs as a unit in its environment. Capability means the behaviour of the political system as a unit in its environment. Capabilities of a political system are also related to the types of inputs and outputs. They are of four kinds: regulative, extractive, distributive and responsive capabilities. The capabilities are really ways of talking about the flows of activity into and out of the political system. They tell us how the political system is operating in its environment, how it is shaping the environment and how it is being shaped by it. Really political systems differ in the types of capabilities they perform. A democracy performs responsive capability more than any other. A dictatorship performs regulative capability more than others. A communist political system is more interested in distributive capability, that is, it shifts resources from the capitalist classes to the working classes. Almost all political systems perform extractive capabilities in the form of collecting taxes from the people. The performance of the capabilities enables a political system to perform its input-output conversion functions.

### **Conversion Functions:**

Gabriel Almond gives a list of six conversion functions of a political system. Three of them are input functions and the other three are output functions. They are as follows:

#### A. Input Functions (political)

1. Political socialisation and recruitment.

2. Interest articulation.

3. Interest aggregation.

4. Political communication. (*mobilization of man*)

#### B. Output functions (governmental)

1. Rule-making, (legislative)

2. Rule-application, (executive)

3. Rule-adjudication, (judicial)

### **Political socialisation and recruitment:**

We have already discussed the socialisation and recruitment functions of the political system. They are really the functions of citizenship training and recruitment into political roles. (They are functions of its structure and culture, mainly by the socialising influences of the primary and secondary structures through which the children and the young pass and which continue throughout adult life. These structures are the family, the school, the religious bodies, the work groups, voluntary associations and the media of communication such as press, radio, TV., etc., the political parties and interest groups as well as the governmental institutions. It means that socialisation is the process of induction into the political culture, which is either latent, as in family life, or manifest, as in a political party.)

The process of socialisation differs in different kinds of political systems. In traditional political system, it is particularistic, diffuse and ascriptive, that is to say, it is influenced by kinship relations of castes and tribes, and other traditional groups. In a modern political system, socialisation is more universalistic, manifest, rational, secular, and achievement-oriented. Almond writes, "If political socialisation produces the basic attitudes in a society towards the political system, its various roles, and public policy, then by studying political culture and political socialisation we can gain understanding of one of the essential conditions which affect the way in which these roles are performed, and the kinds of political inputs and output which these roles produce."

(Political recruitment takes up where political socialisation leaves off. The induction of the individuals into various political roles is also

influenced by the kind or type a political system is. In traditional political groups, recruitment is on the basis of family, caste, baradaries and tribes and on kinship and social status, while in the modern societies it is made on the basis of political party membership, achievement performance, etc.)

### **Interest articulation:**

The first input function is interest articulation. It means the formulation and expression of claims and demands by the individuals or groups in the environment (society) for political action. Interests are articulated by legislatures, political executives, bureaucracies, armies, religious bodies or churches. They also include such groups and interests which stir up riots, demonstrations, strikes, etc. There are four kinds of such groups: (1) institutional interest groups like legislatures (2) associational interest groups, like political parties, trade unions, traders and industrialist chambers, etc; (3) anomic interest groups, e.g. riot-causing groups, and (4) non-associational interest groups, e.g. kinship and lineage groups such as tribes, castes, etc., ethnic, regional, religious and class groups. The style of expressing interests may be manifest or latent, open or covert, specific or diffuse, general or particular, instrumental or affective. For instance, too much expression or articulation of the anomic interest groups, causing riots, etc., would become a problem for the political system to maintain the boundary between it and the environment, between the polity and the society and also between it and the neighbouring political systems, which may intervene in it directly by war and aggression or indirectly by encouraging terrorists and extremists or the like.

### **Interest aggregation:**

Interest articulation leads to interest aggregation. It means that the articulated or expressed claims and demands of the groups and individuals are combined, accommodated and compromised. Thus they become inputs of the conversion process. Some claims or demands may be so forceful or urgent that they become intensified interests, which cannot be ignored by the governmental conversion process. The intensification may be due to influential families, castes or tribes, as in a traditional political system, or may be due to influential leaders, charismatic leaders, political parties, or interest or pressure groups, as in the modern political systems. Almond gives the example of Great Britain, where political parties act as powerful articulative and aggregative groups, while in Bharat the castes, especially the Brahmin and Bania castes, play this input function.

### **Political Communication:**

Almond compared political communication function to the circulation of blood in human body. It is the medium through which other

functions in the political system are performed. "It is not the blood but what it contains that nourishes the system", writes Almond. The "blood" is the neutral medium carrying claims, protests and demands through the veins to the heart; and from the heart through the arteries flow the outputs of rules, regulations and adjudications in response to the claims and demands". He says that communication function is the crucial boundary-maintenance function. Communication facilities are, therefore, of the highest importance in determining the character of a political system. In fact, decision-making depends upon and is determined by contents of communication. They determine the flow of information between the society and the political system. Styles of political communication also differ in various political systems. They may be manifest or latent, specific or diffuse, particularistic or generalistic, affectively-neutral or affective in modern and traditional societies respectively. But even in the modern systems there is a mixture of these styles, though in them latent, diffuse, particularistic and affective 'messages' tend to get translated into manifest, specific, generalistic, and affectively-neutral ones, and also to get "placed in envelopes with the correct political address."

In this respect Almond contrasts the United States and India, the former being a modern political system, while the latter a mixture of modernity and traditionality. Hence their styles of political communication also differ. In the USA, there is, firstly, homogeneity of political information; and secondly, there are widely distributed 'interpreters' of political information, which penetrate the primary cells and connect them with the secondary media of communication. In India, the messages are heterogeneous; the impact of the specialised media is relatively limited, and there is a greater gap between the literate modern sector and the illiterate traditional sector, due largely to difference of language And - cognitive maps. In the U.S. there is mobility of information; in India there are many obstacles, such as those of language, religion, region and of caste system, etc.

### **Output functions:**

They are authoritative decision-making functions of the governmental structures of the conversion process lying "inside the box". They are of three kinds: rule-making legislative function, rule-application function of the executive organ, and the rule-adjudication function of the judiciary. Some of the outputs of the policy-making functions may be characterised as involving resource extractions (taxes, etc.), distribution of goods and services, regulation of behaviour (e.g. traffic laws) or communication of symbols (e.g. flags, etc.) and information. However, it should be noted that these functions are differently performed in the modern and traditional political systems.

**Outcomes:**

An outcome means the consequences of the policy outputs on the environment or society in which a political system exists. The concept of outcomes is an interesting contribution by Almond to the theory of political system. The outputs of the political system interact with the previous State of the environment and with other events taking place simultaneously within it. They become the outcomes. For example, an increase in educational expenditure under a policy may be diminished by bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption, with the result that the benefits of the expenditures may not come about or may be much lesser than expected. Or take another example, the benefits of the economic development planning may be nullified by population increase.

**Feedback:**

Feedback means the effects, by which successful or unsuccessful efforts to change the environment have consequences for a new round of political inputs. In other words, feedbacks are the effects of the (outcomes of a policy or law on the environment leading to new demands for inputs. For example, as net expenditures for each pupil decline, parent group, may articulate new demands for further increases in the education budget.

**Political Development:**

One of the important contributions by Gabriel Almond to the theory of political system is his concept of political development. It is on the basis of this concept that he has classified political systems into various types, which we shall presently describe. Political change is one of the most pervasive and fundamental factor in the life of the political systems. Hence, as Almond says, it is necessary that "the study of politics must be a dynamic system-and-process analysis, aid not a static and structural one."

By political development Almond means any situation or challenge which compels a political system to change or re-adjust its culture or structure. Cultural change is due to secularization and structural change is due to differentiation of roles. Development can be produced due to problems and challenges for change, which are of five kinds, as under.

- State-building:** It is an integrative response to the challenges confronting a political system.
- Nation-building:** It is the system-development by promoting the loyalty and commitment of its nation or people.
- Participatory Development:** This type of change comes in the form of the pressure from the groups in the society for having a part or share in the decision-making process. It is the

participatory development of the political system which tends to make it a democracy.

4. **Economy building:** By using political system to greater production.
5. **Distributory Development:** The pressure from the domestic society to employ the decision-making authority of the political system to re-distribute income, wealth, opportunity and honour leads to distributory development. It will make it a Welfare State.