Introduction to Political Theory Dr. Mithilesh Kumar Jha Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati

Lecture – 23 Democracy – II: Models of Democracy

Hello and welcome friends. This is the second lecture on democracy. Today, we are going to discuss, some of the competing models of democracy. In the previous class, we have discussed the meanings of democracy and how, it is confusing and difficult to have a consensus on what does it mean to be a democratic country or to be a democratic person, because all things that is good and virtuous, often, associated with democracy.

We have tried to understand different conceptualizations of democracy and also, discussed about the direct and indirect forms of democracy, the procedural and substantive notions of democracy. In this class, we are going to focus, particularly, on different models of democracy, where we will see, how democracy as an ideal or as a principle of governing or a system of rule is having different connotations among different thinkers. They all try to claim themselves as democratic.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:47)

Intro ▶ Bernard Crick (2000) has pointed out that democracy is the most promiscuous of political terms. In the sense that the word means different things to different people. It is an 'essentially contested' concept. No settled model of democracy exist. There are a number of competing models. > This renders the term elastic and also confusing. All thing that is good or virtuous is now associated with democracy. Some of these things we have discussed in previous lectures. Today we will discuss different models of democracy. These are a) Liberal democracy b) Elitist democracy c) Marxist model of democracy d) Participatory democracy e) Developmental democracy f) Pluralist democracy g) Deliberative democracy h) Consociational democracy (1 (b) Ø (2 (-) (9)

To start with, Bernard Crick, pointed out the difficulty of the essentially, contested nature of democracy, by pointing out that democracy is the most promiscuous of political terms.

This idea is that we often, invoke this term, to call someone undemocratic which is seen as offensive or a kind of offense.

We all try to claim ourselves and be democratic, but how, exactly, we are democratic is something which can be debated and contested. So, it is very difficult, to define in clear terms, what does it mean to be a democratic society or democratic person. We have the competing meanings and interpretations of these terms. This is one of the most essentially, contested concepts in political theory, because as we have discussed in the previous lecture, it is something, which has become the legitimizing idea of our times.

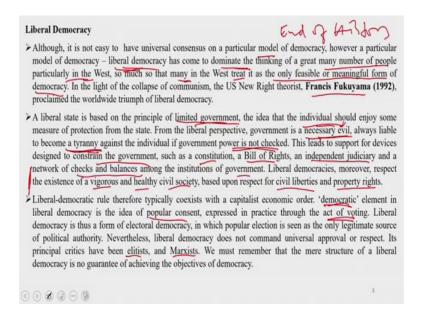
Even, those who are outright and undemocratic, such as military junta (Refer Time: 03:06) or dictatorship or any form of authoritarian regime, yet they justify, their rule in the name of democracy. This is some remarkable or unique power in the very idea of democracy. However, it is not so historic and even many thinkers, who are liberals argued against democracy, associated with the mob rule or mobocracy or the rule by the inefficient. Thus, the idea did not have same meaning or same legitimizing or acceptability, as it has acquired in the modern times.

This remains the most promiscuous of political terms. In that sense, this word means different things to different people. So, there is no consensus on the meaning or definition of the term, different people will associate different meanings and values to this term, democracy. Therefore, it is an essentially, contested concept and there is no settled models of it. There is no one model of democracy, as we have different competing models. And some of these different models of democracy, we will discuss in today's class.

The association or confusion to this term, democracy, renders it elastic. That means, we can expand it, to include newer dimensions or meanings, and it is thus, very confusing. All things that are good or virtuous are associated with democracy. And how, these make the meaning or understanding of democracy a very challenging task, we have discussed in the previous lecture.

Today, we are going to discuss, some of the competing models of democracy, starting with the liberal democracy. We will discuss elitist model of democracy, then Marxist model of democracy, the participatory democracy, developmental democracy, pluralist democracy, deliberative model of democracy and also, the consociational democracy.

(Refer Slide Time: 05:35)



In this lecture, we will discuss about how all these models does talk about democracy, but they emphasize or focus is on different competing ideals of a democratic society and the state. To start with, the liberal democracy which is a widely, prevalent or acceptable form of democracy is about the idea of liberal democracy.

Although, it is not easy, to have universal consensus on any particular model of democracy, such as liberal democracy, however, if a particular model of democracy, which is liberal democracy has come to dominate the thinking of great many numbers of people, particularly, in the west, many in the west thus, treated it as the only, feasible or meaningful form of democracy.

This particular model of democracy which we call liberal democracy has dominated the minds and thinking of so many people, particularly, in the west that they consider or think, only, liberal democracy is the meaningful democracy or a feasible forms of democracy.

And many thinkers, especially, when the liberal democracy, for a very long time, was challenged by the socialism or Marxist ideals, after the collapse of communism in Russia, one US New Right Theorist, namely, Francis Fukuyama, argued about the end of history. By the end of history, he meant, there is no competing idea, as there is only one idea which triumphs and that is called the liberal democracy.

He, argued, the liberal democracy is the only, feasible forms of democracy for the world and there is no competing model of democracy or ideals. So, what is this liberal democracy? A liberal state is based on the principle of limited government. So, the government in a liberal democracy does not have the absolute power and so, it is limited. It exists, to protect the individual life and property, so the state in liberal perspective or government is seen as a necessary, evil. It is seen as limiting the freedom or the movement of the individuals and yet such limiting or curbing individual freedom is regarded as necessary, to maintain order in the society.

The government is a necessary evil, always, liable to become a tyranny. So, government may acquire enormous power and control lives of the people in an authoritarian or in an undemocratic manner. To ensure that the government should not become tyrannical, they talk about checking the government power or putting some balance or check on the power of the government. So, this leads to the support for devices designed to constrain the government, such as, the constitution, bill of rights, independent judiciary and a network of checks and balances among the institutions of government.

So, we remember in the state, we have talked about these three organs of modern state; legislature, judiciary and exertive. And all these three organs derived their powers from the constitution. And constitution sets limits to their functioning. These three organs exists and functions in a way to check each other. The executive should not expand or use its power undemocratically, or unconstitutionally. So, there is a Parliament to check that or a judiciary to ensure the Parliament or executive should not function, besides, the limits set by the constitution or beyond the limits set by the constitution.

The liberal democracy, thus, talks about how to ensure, how a government and state should not become tyrannical. And they do so, by having these mechanisms like constitution, bill of rights, independent judiciary and the network of check and balances among the organs, and the institutions of state. Liberal democracy, moreover, besides, these constitution, judiciary, bill of rights and checks and balances among the institutions, also, respect the existence and promotes a vigorous, healthy civil society, based on the respect for civil liberties and property rights. Thus, the liberal democracy promotes a vibrant or healthy civil society, where freedom of speech and expression is guaranteed, the right to criticize the government is protected, civil liberties and the

property rights are also, protected for the ruled. So, this is the broader understanding of the functioning liberal democracy.

So, liberal-democratic rule, therefore, typically, co-exists with a capitalist economic order. This is the challenging part of a liberal democracy, where we see all liberal democratic states, also, promotes the capitalist, economic order or a free market economy. Thus, the democratic element or a liberal democracy is the idea of popular consent, as expressed in the practice through act of voting.

How this popular consent is exercised in a liberal democracy? It is not done on a day to day basis, as indirect participative model of democracy, which we will discuss later. But it is done through, the periodic elections in a free and fair manner. So, the voting and right to voting ensures the political equality of every member of that society. They come together and participate in the voting, give consent to a political party to form the government.

This popular consent in a liberal democracy is thus, ensured through the act of voting. So, liberal democracy is a form of electoral democracy, in which popular election is seen as the only, legitimate source of political authority. In a liberal democracy, the idea of election and having the election, periodically, in a free and fair manner is therefore, very necessary, for the legitimacy of the government.

Nevertheless, the liberal democracy, does not command universal approval or respect. Its principle critics have been two models that we will discuss today, particularly, elitists and the Marxists. It argues, it provides protection to every individual, but elitists will argue that no, it is only, the few, who is no matter, what the forms of government enjoy or exercise power in the society or the Marxist which believes that liberal democracy is actually, the bourgeois democracy, which protects the interests of capitalists and they work, to enhance or protect the interest of the capitalists against the majority working class in the society.

Therefore, we see a kind of thinking or an assumption that the liberal democracy is the only feasible, modes of democracy particularly, in the west. However, it is not universally, accepted as we have seen by the elitists and Marxists who criticize this liberal democracy. And also, because that simultaneous existence of liberal democracy with free market economy, which many people argue works for private profit or works in

the interest of those, who already, have property. That makes the liberal democracy, somewhat, problematic for many thinkers and scholars, particularly, those who argued about elitists and the Marxists models of democracy.

We must remember that the mere structure of a liberal democracy is no guarantee for achieving the objective of democracy. This we have discussed in the procedural or the substantive notions of democracy as well. It is possible; a country may claim itself, to be a democracy or a liberal democracy in terms of procedure, so there will be a free election.

The periodic election, but that procedural nature of its rule does not necessarily, makes it a democracy, because democracy is something, which is more than the procedure. It is about creating a system, where people's will is reflected in every decision the state or system of rule makes. So, a liberal democracy, also, has this challenge of ensuring that democracy is maintained not just in procedure, but in substance, too.

(Refer Slide Time: 14:51)

Elitist Democracy The elitist theories hold that every society consists of two categories of men: (a) the elite or the minority within a social collectivity (such as a society, a state, a religious institution, a political party) which exercises a preponderant influence within that collectivity; and (b) the masses or the majorcity which is governed by the elite. Vilfredo Pareto (The Mind and Society) was the first to use the term 'elite' and 'masses' to indicate superior and inferior groups in society, although the idea of such division of society was given earlier by Gaetano Mosca (The Ruling Class; 1896) and Robert Michels (Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy; 1911). Mosca postulated that the people are necessarily divided into two groups: the rulers and the ruled. The ruling class controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society and exercises all power. The ruled are not competent to replace it. Michels propounded his famous 'iron law of oligarchy' which implied that every organization—whatever its original aims—is eventually reduced to an 'oligrachy', that is the rule of the chosen few, based on their manipulative skills. Majority of human beings are apathetic, indocent and slavish and they are permanently incapable of self-government. Similarly, In the Power Elite (1956) C Wright Mills argues about the interwoven interests of the military, corporate and political leaders in the society and how ordinary citizens remains powerless and dependent. The champions of democracy found it difficult to repudiate the arguments advanced by the elitist theories. They, therefore, sought to accommodate the elite theory in the framework of democratic theory. The elitist democratic theory or 'democratic elitism' was developed by several writers such as Karl Mannheim, Joseph A. Schumpeter, Raymond Aron, Giovanni Sartori. The attraction of liberal democracy is its capacity to blend elite rule with a significant measure of popular participation. Government is entrusted to professional politicians, but these politicians are forced to respond to popular pressures by the simple fact that the public put them there in the first place, and can also remove them. Joseph Schumpeter summed this up in Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy ([1942] 1976) by describing the democratic method as 'that institutional arrange for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote

Now, moving onto the next model of democracy, which is the elitist democracy. This model of democracy talks about how in a society, it is not the majority who rules or command or exercises power, but it is always, a few selected minority who have the capacity or expertise to command over the ruled and govern.

The elitist theory holds that every society consists of two categories of men, the elite or the minority within a social collectivity. It may be a society, state, religious, institution, political parties. So, in any collectivity, we will find two categories of men. One is the elite, so the elite or minority exercises preponderant influence within that collectivity. Within that collectivity, where the state, society, religious institutions or the party, this small group of people, who are in the minority exercises enormous power.

The masses or majority who are governed by the elite, remain the subject of the power of elite. Vilfredo Pareto's, *The Mind and the Society*, was the first to use the term elite and masses, to indicate superior and inferior groups in society. Although, the idea of such divisions of society were given earlier, by Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels. For example, Gaetano Mosca's, *The Ruling Class* 1896 and Robert Michel's *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of Oligarchical Tendency of Modern Democracy* in 1911. They talked about the division of society into both the inferior and the superior class.

Mosca, postulated that the people are necessarily, divided into two groups, the rulers and the ruled. The ruling class controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society and exercises all power. The ruled are not competent to replace it. So, Michels propounded his famous 'iron law of oligarchy' which implied that every organization, whatever is its original aim is eventually, reduced to an oligarchy, that is small group of people or minority which controls and exercises all power, the institutions and the apparatuses of the state.

This 'iron law of oligarchy' is the rule of the chosen few based on their manipulative skills. So, the majority of human beings are apathetic, indolent and slavish. They are permanently, incapable of self-government. In contrast, to the liberal idea that democracy is about the self-rule or self-government, it is also, there in Mahatma Gandhi.

The elitist theories of democracy argued that it is always, the chosen few who manipulate, or exercise power and authority in society and not the majority of people who are always, dependent on the elite. Similarly, In *the Power Elite,* this is a text written by C Wright Mills, a sociologist from the US, argues, about the interwoven interest of the military, corporate and the political leaders in society, and how this interwoven interests among these group of leaders, military, corporate and political

leaders, actually, command or rule over the ordinary citizens, which remain powerless and dependent to their rule. It is the power elites who actually, exercise power.

In this theory, what we gather is that society which is divided into two groups is always ruled, no matter, what is the form of government or system of rule by the small minority who has the capacity, vision or expertise, to rule or exercise power in the society. The champions of democracy found it difficult, to repudiate this argument advanced by the elitist theory. They, therefore, sort to accommodate the elite theory in the framework of a democratic theory, which is quite contradictory, to each other and yet many theorists considering this functioning of iron law of oligarchy, where there are small men who would be actually, controlling and governing or taking decisions on behalf of everyone.

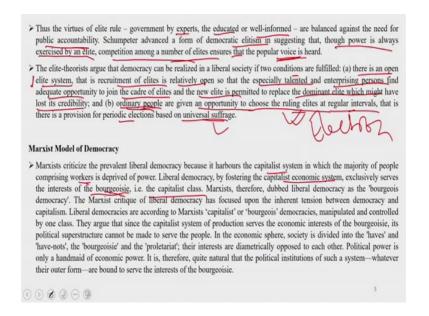
By not repudiating this argument which is advanced by the elitist theory, many democratic theories tried to accommodate the elitist theory of democracy within their democratic theorization. Thus, the elitist democratic theory or democratic elitism was developed by several writers, such as Karl Mannheim, Joseph A Schumpeter, Raymond Aron or Giovanni Sartori.

The attraction of liberal democracy is its capacity to blend. They argue, in democracy, it is possible, to blend the elite rule with a significant measure of popular participation. The popular participation is in this theory is to legitimize the rule of elites. So, it blends, the elite rule with a significant measure of political participation. For example, a country may be governed by the small elites, but during the time of elections, every single individual of a country will participate in voting and thereby, ensuring which elite gets to vote. Thus, it blends, the elite rule with a significant measure of popular participation.

And government is interested to the professional politicians, but these politicians are forced to respond to the popular pressures. The election, therefore, functions as a kind of control or check on the power of these elites and they must respond to the popular pressure. This reason, why the simple fact about the public put them, or they are elected by the public and they can also, be removed by the people from office as the whole. So, Joseph Schumpeter, summed this up, in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* by describing that the democratic method as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide, by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.

This securing of the majority or mandate of the people leads a kind of competitiveness among the elites and democratic methods, provides institutional arrangements, where the political decision in which individuals acquire power to decide is done by the competitive struggle, inorder to secure the majority or most of the votes of the people.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:15)



Thus, the virtue of elite rule is government by the experts, educated or well-informed is balanced against the need for public accountability. Schumpeter, advanced a form of democratic elitism in suggesting that though power is always, exercised by an elite, competition among a number of elites ensures that the popular voice is heard. So, within a democratic elitism, which is supposed to be a government by the experts, educated and well-informed, there is a balance between the elites and their ability, to exercise power and the popular will, because the elites will compete, among themselves.

There is no one fixed elite which will run the government. So, to run the government, there is also, competition among the elites and that competition is to secure the maximum vote from the electorate. And thereby, it ensures, all the elites must hear the voices of the people and that arrangement ensures the popular voice is heard in the functioning of democracy.

The elite-theorists, argued, democracy can be realized in a liberal society, if two conditions are fulfilled. These conditions are there is an open elite system. The elite is not a closed group that is open, or it makes recruitment of elites relatively, open, so that

especially, talented and enterprising persons find adequate opportunity, to join the cadre of elites and the new elites is permitted to replace the dominant elites which might have lost its credibility. There is a continuous movement or inclusiveness of this small minority or a small section in society which we called elites, where new enterprising or competent persons are allowed to join this small group of minorities, in terms of elites, and those elites which are no longer creditable or no longer relevant, also, move out of from that small section in the society.

So, these are continuous flow in the making of the elite in a particular society. That is the one condition that the elite is something, which is not a closed group or a rigid group of people, but there is constant inclusion of new people with competence and expertise, so that is one.

And second, ordinary people are given an opportunity to choose the ruling elites. So, this ensures democracy, where the elites are joining that small groups of elites which require competence and expertise that is open and new people can join that group of elites. And also, it ensures that the ordinary people are given an opportunity to choose the ruling elites at regular intervals. Therefore, the election right in the free and fair manner, there is a provision for periodic elections based on the universal and right to vote which are not limited to only, the males or white males or educated or propertied male.

So, there is kind of universal suffrage. If these two conditions are made, then, it will be a functioning democratic society, where the elites and its constitution are not closed and rigid, but open and inclusive to new person with expertise and competencies. And second, the ordinary people have the right to choose elites through voting which is done periodically, in a free and fair manner.

Now, coming to the next model of democracy, that is the Marxist model of democracy. Marxist criticized the prevalent liberal democracy because it harbours the capitalist system in which the majority of people comprising workers are deprived of power. So, the liberal democracy by fostering the capitalist economic system, exclusively, serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeoisie is the capitalist class in a capitalist society.

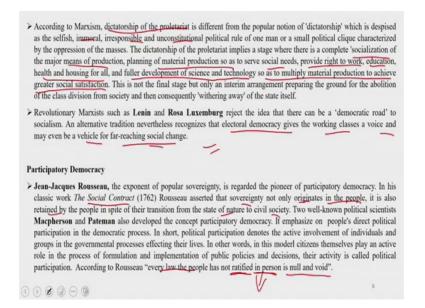
Marxists, therefore, dubbed the liberal democracy as the bourgeoisie democracy. So, the Marxist critique of liberal democracy focused on the inherent tensions between democracy and capitalism. And liberal democracy, according to Marxist, capitalist or

bourgeoisie democracy is where the purpose or the very objective of a liberal democracy is to protect and enhance the interests of the bourgeoisie against the majoritarian working class.

Thus, liberal democracies, according to, Marxist capitalist or bourgeoisie democracy manipulated and controlled by one class. So, they argued that since the capitalist system of production serves the economic interest of the bourgeoisie, its political superstructure which they call liberal democracy is the political superstructure of a class which actually, dominates the economic sphere. In the economic sphere, society is divided into haves and have-nots, which we can also, be called as the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, and their interests are diametrically, opposite to each other.

So, how, a liberal democracy can satisfy, the needs or protect the needs of a society, which is divided into two classes and the interest of which is diametrically, opposite to each other. Therefore, they call bourgeoisie democracy as same as meaningless, a hollow term. The political power is in their understanding is the handmaid of economic power which lies with the bourgeoisie or capitalist class. Therefore, the liberal democracy really, does not serve the interests of the large majoritarian working class.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:29)



Marxist, then, argued about overthrowing this capitalist class or liberal democracy and replacing it with the dictatorship of proletariat. According to Marxism, dictatorship of proletariat is different from the popular notion of dictatorship which is despised as the

selfish, immoral, irresponsible and unconstitutional. This dictatorship of the proletariat is seen as something, which can bring about a radical transformation in the social, economic and the political lives of society.

And these are like socialization of the major means of production, planning of material production, so as, to serve social needs, that provide right to work, education, health and housing for all and fuller development of science and technology, to multiply the material production, to achieve greater social satisfaction.

So, this dictatorship of proletariat is supposed to bring about the social, economic and political transformations in the society. However, this is not the final stage, but only, an interim stage from a capitalist bourgeoisie democracy to a stateless communist society, where there will be no need of state and the society will not be divided into two classes as it is there in the capitalist society. And therefore, in that society, there is no need of state because it will be a kind of self-governing society based on the interests of each and all and not divided into two classes, such as the bourgeoisie and proletariat that exist in the capitalist society.

The revolutionary Marxists, such as Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg rejected the idea that there can be a democratic road to socialism. So, on the method of how to replace a capitalist system with the dictatorship of proletariat or socialism, some theorists argued that it is possible, only through a revolution. And, Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg argued, about overthrowing the existing state with their violent revolution.

An alternative tradition, nevertheless, recognizes the electoral democracy that gives the working class a voice and may, even be a vehicle for far-reaching social changes. So, there are different variances of bringing about social and economic transformations, and not just by a violent revolution, but also, through the election or participating in the democratic process, through which one can achieve far-reaching social and economic transformations in the society. Within Marxism, we have a range of arguments about how to bring about those changes and create a society which will be truly just, free, equal and democratic. Thus, this is the Marxist approach to the cohesion of democracy.

Now, moving, onto the participative model of democracy, which is a kind of direct democracy as we have discussed in the last class. Rousseau is an exponent of this popular sovereignty or participative model of democracy. And in his classic work, *The*

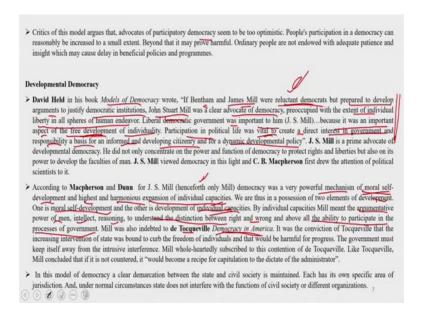
Social Contract, he asserted that sovereignty not only originates in the people, it also, retained by the people, in spite of their transition from the 'state of nature' to the civil society. So, the sovereignty rests with the people.

Two well-known political scientists, Macpherson and Pateman also, developed the concept of participative democracy. It emphasized on people's direct political participation in a democratic process. So, the political participation denotes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental process affecting their lives.

So, usually, the modern democracy is not direct participatory democracy, in a sense, people govern themselves through their representatives, indirectly, but participatory democracy and the theorists of participatory democracy, argues that people should directly participate in the decision-making and the governmental process, and they are the ultimate sovereign, as we see in Rousseau.

Therefore, the political participation denotes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental process affecting their lives. In other words, in this model, citizens themselves play an active role in the process of formulation and implementation of public policies and decisions, their activity is called the political participation. According to, Rousseau, every law, the people is not ratified in person. That means, their direct participation is null and void. It cannot be implemented.

(Refer Slide Time: 33:41)



The critique of the participatory model of democracy, argues that advocates of participatory democracy seems to be optimistic, in a sense, that it is not possible first in a large country with huge population to sit together at one place and collectively, decide on some matters. It is perhaps, too, optimistic to think about a participatory and direct model of democracy.

And the people's participation in a democracy can reasonably, be increased to some extent, but beyond that it may be harmful, also. The ordinary people are not endowed with adequate patience and insight which may cause delay in beneficial policies and programmes. So, largely, the population is regulated by emotions or patience and they do not have the patience to deliberate on the issue of national importance in a calm and patient manner through logic and not by patience or emotions.

Therefore, too much of public participation can be detrimental to the beneficial policies and programmes of the state. So, these are some of the criticisms against the participative model of democracy.

Now, moving, onto the next model of democracy, we have the developmental model of democracy, where we find in John Stuart Mill, democracy is seen as a model of government which enables the individual to develop his faculty, it is for the individual as well as for the society. David Held, in his book, *Models of Democracy*, wrote, if Bentham and James Mill were reluctant democrats, as I said that democracy is not something which is always desirable, it is only in the modern times, it becomes the legitimizing idea. There is a kind of reluctant or suspension or apprehensive of democracy, because it is equated with the mob rule or mobocracy for a very long time.

David Held, writes, if Bentham and James Mill were reluctant democrats, but prepared to develop arguments to justify democratic institution. John Stuart Mill was a clear advocate of democracy, preoccupied with the extent of individual liberty in all spheres of human endeavors. On liberty, we have discussed this idea of John Stuart Mills in defence of individual liberty. The liberal democratic government was important to him, because it was an important aspect of the free development of individuality.

Participation in political life is vital to create a direct interest in government and responsibility, a basis for an informed and developing citizenry for a dynamic

developmental policy. So, this participation or deliberation in the decision-making is vital for the social or individual development and progress.

John Stuart Mill is a prime advocate of developmental democracy. He did not only, concentrate on the power and functions of democracy to protect the rights and liberties, but also, on its power to develop the faculties of men. So, John Stuart Mill, viewed democracy in this light and C B Macpherson, first drew the attention of political scientists to it.

According to Macpherson and Dunn, for John Stuart Mill, democracy was a very powerful mechanism for the moral self-development, highest and harmonious expansion of human capacity, because it is not a rule based on the coercion of one against the other. It is the collectivities, coming together and deliberating in a rational manner, and that creates the individual who is morally, or intellectually, far more developed than he or she was prior to such deliberations.

For Mill, democracy is a powerful mechanism for the moral development, highest and harmonious expansion of individual capacity. We are in position of two elements of development. One is moral self-development and the other is development of individual capacity, both of these are developed in a democratic set-up.

By individual capacity, Mill, meant the argumentative power of man, intellect, and reasoning to understand the distinction between right and wrong, and above all, the ability to participate in the process of government. So, democracy not just help individuals to develop his or her moral shape, but also, his or her capacity to reason, to argue, to distinguish between what is right and wrong and to arrive at its consensus in a logical deliberation.

Mill was indebted, to De Tocqueville who writes, his text called *Democracy in America*. It was the conviction of Tocqueville that the increasing intervention of the state was born to curb the freedom of individuals and that would be harmful for progress. The government must keep itself, away from the intrusive interferences and Mill wholeheartedly, subscribed to this idea of Tocqueville.

And like him, Mill, concluded, if it is not countered, it would become a recipe for capitulation to dictate the administrator. So, he also, argued that state and the government

must not interfere in the life of people, particularly, the area which is self regarding functions of the individuals.

Only some reasonable restrictions can be put which is the other regarding that relates to public life. In this developmental model of democracy, a clear demarcation between the state and civil society is maintained. Each has its own specific area of jurisdiction. And under normal circumstances, state must not interfere with the functions of civil society and various volunteer organizations in the civil society. So, both the individuals and society should be allowed to function, independently, of the governmental control or interference.

(Refer Slide Time: 40:27)

Pluralist Model of Democracy

Robert Dahl is a leading exponent of pluralist theory of democracy. He contrasts modern democratic systems with the classical democracy of Ancient Greece, using the term 'polyarchy' to refer to rule by the many, as distinct from rule by all citizens. Empirical studies led him to conclude that the system of competitive elections prevents any permanent elite from emerging and ensures wide, if imperfect, access to the political process. In the pluralistic democracy we find that the policy-making process, however centralized it may appear in form, is, in reality, a highly decentralized process of bargaining among relatively autonomous groups. In other words, public policy is not a product of the will of the elite of the chosen few, as the elitist theories of democracy argue. On the contrary, it is an outcome of the interaction of all groups who make claims upon or express interest in that particular issue. The extent to which different groups will get their way, is a function of the strength of the groups and the intensity of their participation. In fact, the pluralist theory calls for the revision of the democratic theory itself as well as of the elitist theory of democracy. In its view, policy-making is actually done neither by the representatives of a coherent majority, nor by an autonomous and unresponsive elite, but is a product of the interaction among the groups.

The *Elitist model* concede that policy-making in a democracy is the function of the elite while the people's role is confined to approval and rejection of particular policies made or advocated by the competing elites; and the pluralist theories view policy-making in a democracy as a decentralized process characterized by bargaining between competing groups. The *Pluralist theories* are more optimistic than elitist theories because they repudiate the authoritarian basis of policy-making in a democracy. The elitist-pluralist theory of democracy tries to justify the phenomenon of domination on grounds of certain outstanding inborn qualities of persons, or on grounds of better organization of certain interests. In effect, it tends to maintain the status quo.

Now, next is the pluralist model of democracy. And, Robert Dahl is the leading exponent of the pluralist theory of democracy. He contrasts the modern democratic systems with the classical democracy of Ancient Greece, using the term, polyarchy. Polyarchy, refers, to the rule by many, as distinct from the idea of rule by all citizens. So, the empirical studies led him to conclude, the system of competitive elections and to prevent any permanent elite from emerging and it ensure wide, if imperfect, access to the political process. The political process is open for everyone, even if, that openness is somewhat imperfect, yet it is not limited to permanent elite.

In the pluralist democracy, we find that the policy-making process, however, centralized it may appear, in form is in reality a highly decentralized process of bargaining among

relatively, autonomous groups. There are different groups competing and expressing their interests on some issue which concerns them. The final decision is taken as the result of the bargaining among these autonomous groups. So, it is not a kind of centralized decision-making which we often, see in the arguments of the elitist theory of democracy.

In other words, the public policy is not a product of the will of the elite or the chosen few, as the elitist theory of democracy, argues. On the contrary, it is an outcome of interaction of all groups who make claims upon and express interests in that particular issue, to the extent to which different groups will get their way is a function of the strength of groups and intensity of their participations. So, which groups gets what is dependent on their interests and the involvement in the deliberation about that issue. In fact, the pluralist theory calls for the revision of a democratic theory, itself as well as of the elitist theory of democracy.

In its view, policy-making is actually, done neither by the representatives of a coherent majority, nor by an autonomous and unresponsive elite, but it is a product of interaction among the groups. These groups are multiple or plural in the society and their interaction leads to the formulation of policy and not by the representatives of the coherent majority or by an autonomous, unresponsive elite. Thus, the rule of groups or different groups in the society is central in the understanding of democracy, in the pluralist model of democracy or what Robert Dahl called it as the polyarchy.

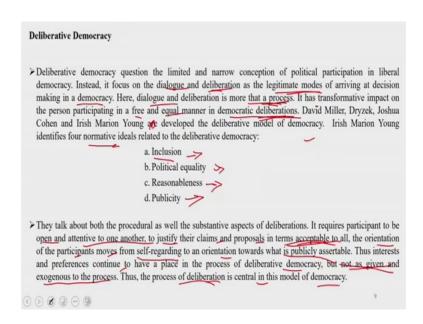
The elitist, if we make the comparison between the elitist and pluralist model of democracy, we find that the elitist model concedes the policy-making in a democracy as the function of the elite. So, elites, takes the decision. The people's role is merely, limited or confined to the approval and rejection of the particular policies made or advanced by the competing elites or in the choosing of elites beyond that it is left for the elite to take decisions. Thus, the role of people is merely, confined to just approving or rejecting particular elite, beyond that it is the elites who take the decision.

The pluralist theory, views policy-making in a democracy as a decentralized process, characterized by bargaining between different groups, as we have discussed. So, the pluralist theory is more optimistic than the elitist theory, because they repudiate the authoritarian basis of policy-making in a democracy. It is not one man or a few chosen men who takes decisions on behalf of everyone. It is the result of constant or rigorous

bargaining, among different groups in the society and that makes democracy a vibrant system of rule.

The elitist, pluralist theory of democracy, tries to justify, the phenomenon of domination on grounds of certain outstanding in born qualities of persons or on grounds of better organization of certain interests of different groups. In effect, both of them tend to maintain the status quo. Unlike, the Marxist theory of democracy which talks about transformation of social and economic relations, the pluralist and elitist theory talks about maintaining the status quo.

(Refer Slide Time: 45:25)



Now, we will come to the deliberative model of democracy, which emphasis on the deliberation and dialogue as modes of democratic decision-making. So, deliberative democracy, questions the limited and narrow conceptions of political participation in liberal democracy. In the liberal democracy, political participation is basically, by and large, limited to electing the government or the right to vote is a broad and popular participation. The deliberative democracy is regarded as the limited political participation, where they argue for a kind of sustain participation in deliberation and dialogue of democratic decision-making.

Instead, it focuses, on the dialogue and deliberation as the legitimate mode of arriving at decision-making in a democracy. So, decision-making in a democracy must be result of this sustained deliberation and dialogue, and the involvement of population in such

dialogues and deliberations. Here, the understanding of dialogue and discussion is more than a process.

In a sense, that it is not just enough to have deliberation and dialogue, it also, has the potential to transform the individuals and his or her thinking. It has transformative impact on the person participating in a free and equal manner in democratic deliberation that is something, which is much beyond the idea of dialogue and deliberations merely, as a process. When individuals participate in deliberation and discussion, and free and fair manner, it has transformative impact on his thinking or his ideals.

David Miller, Dryzek, Joshua Cohen and Irish Marion Young are theorists who developed the deliberative model of democracy and Irish Marion Young, identify, this four normative ideals, related to the deliberative democracy. First, is the idea of inclusion. That means the process of dialogue and deliberation is not exclusive. It includes every member in the society and they should participate in the deliberation. It does not exclude the female or illiterate or the marginalized or the vulnerable.

The first criteria or normative ideal of a deliberative democracy is inclusive. The second is the political equality. In the deliberation, none of the individuals or participating member is given any higher status. All are free and equal. Second is the deliberation must be based on the reasonableness and that is something, which one develops, when we participate in the dialogue and deliberation that what should be said, and what should not be said, on what grounds, we should convince others. So, it is not just enough, to express what you think or what you recognize as correct, but also, we have to use the logic and reason, to convince others that whatever we think is right not just for us, but for everyone.

The deliberative exercise, help us, to develop this reasonableness and the final is the publicity. Publicity is, it creates public, where we treat each other or we hold each other accountable. In a free and fair deliberation, in the public realm is therefore, requires the individual to make a statement or speech on the basis of logic, and that speech or the statement can be countered by others, to hold him or her accountable, for what he or she is speaking on.

These four normative ideals make the democratic democracy an effective tool for selfgovernment. They talk about both the procedural as well as the substantive respect of deliberation. It requires, participant to be open and attentive to each other.

The benefit of the deliberative democracy is possible, when the participant is open or not closed. That means, we just speak and do not listen, even we listen, we do not accept even the argument is logically, convincing. Thus, deliberation, requires a degree of openness and attentiveness to each other, to justify, their claims and proposals in terms acceptable to all, the orientation of participants move from the self-regarding to orientation towards, what is publicly, assertable

Thus, the interests and preferences continue to have a place in the process of deliberative democracy, but not as given or exogenous to process. Thus, the process of deliberation is central in the models of democracy which also, leads to some substantive impact on those who are participating. It is a process of arriving at decisions and individual learns or develops the capacity, to state his or her interests in a manner which is acceptable to others and also, listen to others. This has a kind of positive impact on the participants in the deliberation.

(Refer Slide Time: 51:11)

Consociational Democracy

(1 (b) **2**) (2) (-) (3)

While the notion of consociationalism has been known since the 17th century, it was conceptualized in the 1960s, in particular by Arend Lijphart Consociationalism, a stable democratic system in deeply divided societies that is based on power sharing between elites from different social groups. This system involves an elaborate arrangement to ensure minority representation. It is regarded particularly suitable for the governance of the societies which are deeply divided by religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial or ethnic differences. The two central characteristics of consociationalism are government by grand coalition and segmental autonomy. Government by grand coalition is the institutional setting in which representatives of all significant segments participate in common decision-making with regard to common concerns, whereas decision making remains autonomous for all other issues. In all respects, consociationalism contrasts profoundly with majority-rule democracy.

Consociational democracy has been tried in many parts of the world. For instance, in Austria Catholic and Socialist parties formed a coalition from 1945 to 1966; in Netherlands this principle-was adopted from 1917 to 1967; and in Lebanon Consociational democracy remained operative from 1943 to 1957. In fact consociational democracy provides for a working government in a society sharply divided by multifarious interests.

Finally, the last model of democracy is the consociational democracy. Although, this notion of consociationalism is known since the 17th century, yet it was conceptualized in 1960's, particularly, by Arend Lijphart. So, consociationalism, a stable democratic

system in deeply divided society, consociationalism is a stable democratic system in deeply divide societies that is based on power sharing between elites and different social groups. Consociationalism, talks about a kind of collective government, especially, in a society which is divided in different groups on racial, ethnic or other lines.

This system involves an elaborate mechanism to ensure minority representations. So, even, those who are in the minority should have a say in the policy-making or decision-making of the government. It is regarded, particularly, as suitable for the governance in a society which is deeply, divided by religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial or ethnic line. If, a society is divided on these lines, the consociational model of democracy is regarded as the most suitable form of government.

The two central characteristics of consociationalism are government by grand coalition and segmental autonomy. All the groups have certain autonomy, but government functions as a large grand coalition. A government by grand coalition is the institutional setting in which representatives of all significant segments are divided on linguistic, racial, cultural, ethnic, and racial lines who participate in the common decision-making with regard to common concerns, whereas, decision-making remains autonomous for all other issues.

In all respects, consociationalism, contrasts, profoundly, with the majoritarian rule in democracy which is about those who have the majority get the final say, in the decision-making. The consociational model, even they fragmented minority have their own say in the decision-making of the government.

Consociational democracy has been tried or experimented in many parts of the world. For instance, in Austria, Catholic or Socialist parties formed a coalition from 1945 to 1966, in Netherlands, this principle-was adopted from 1917 to 1967 and in Lebanon, consociational democracy remains operative from 1943 to 1957. In fact, the consociational democracy provides for a working government in a society sharply, divided by multifarious interests or divided on so many, social, ethnic, cultural, racial and linguistic lines.

Thus, the consociational democracy as a model of government helps in the decision-making in the government by providing a space, even, to the fragmented minorities in the society. So, it takes everyone along in the decision-making or in the governing

process, particularly, in a society which is deeply, divided on the religious, ideological, linguistic, cultural, racial and ethnic lines. These are some of the models of democracy which we have discussed.

(Refer Slide Time: 54:51)

References

1. Srinivasan, Janaki(2008). 'Democracy' in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya (eds.) Political Theory: An Introduction. Delhi: Pearson Longman

2. Dryzek, John S., Bonnie Honig and Anne Phillips (eds.) (2006). The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory, New York: Oxford University Press.

3. Barry, Norman P. (1989). An Introduction to Modern Political Theory. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.

4. Held, David(1989). Political Theory and Modern State. United Kingdom: Polity Press.

And on this, you can refer to some of these books by Janaki Srinivasan and then, by John Dryzek, Norman P Barry and David Held. These are some of the texts, which you can refer to and that are all, for today's lecture. In the next class, we will look at some of the critical aspects of democracy.

Thanks for listening. Thank you all.