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**TAXONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHARACTER
OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS**

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Taxonomic Factors Influencing the Character
of Political Organizations and Political Institutions

The nature and substance of political life are not solely determined by institutions and their functioning but by certain sets of characteristics including life habits, specific and general modes of acting, traditions, and values that are accumulated over a considerable time span and attached to certain practices. These characteristics are the products of individual and/or group experience and exposure, sometimes carrying generational characteristics but more often reflecting cultural/attitudinal characteristics of long-range societal living patterns.¹ Thus, these characteristics tend to be less identified with the life-span of regimes in general, although drastic alterations in the modes of societal interactions or alterations of institutional characteristics may result in the types of rapid changes associated with traumatic periods of national existence we consider to be "historical configurations" (i.e., the era of Peron in Argentina, of Vargas in Brazil, of Nkrumah in Ghana, etc.).

Sometimes these characteristics are formulated as the accepted by-products of colonialism or other forms of external influence. They may result from domination and exposure or even from the simple process of wholesale borrowing of patterns of institutional functioning from the outside world.²

The dominant taxonomic factors specifically pertinent to political organizations and political institutions appear to be grouped in two

distinct but closely related clusters. We intend to classify individual country cases in terms of categories suggested by the first cluster of primary taxonomic factors, while the second set of taxonomic factors suggest subcategories of lesser general applicability and importance.

The primary set of taxonomic factors influencing the character of political organizations consists of those which tend to define the inter-relationship and the binding element between basic social units (in general the social class or an interest identity group) with the decision-making process and institutions. They reflect the social, economic, and political considerations and preferences of these groups.³ This cluster of taxonomic factors will be identified as the factors concerned with the content and scope of bargaining within a political system.

Bargaining

A central feature of politics is the competition for the allocation of scarce benefits and values in society.⁴ This competition, in its organized and societally-structured form, defines the bargaining process. The primary criteria of the bargaining process are in terms of (1) the access of various strata and groups to the determination of or influence on executive and legislative decision-making; (2) the access of various strata and groups to bureaucratic decision-making and the bureaucratic implementation of political decisions. These two criteria involve both the institutional/structural givens of a political system and the specific boundaries of bargaining.

More detailed considerations should be enumerated since they reflect refinements on the primary criteria. The first of these relates to the

scope or magnitude of those participating in the bargaining process. Here we ask which political organizations, representing what groups and political, economic or social interests, do actually partake in the bargaining process. We may consider if few, many, or all identifiable organized or loosely united entities participate. Exclusion of significant group interests - whether they are dissident, non-participant or of disruptive nature - versus the inclusion of all, offers a first type of breakdown for clarification.

A second set of questions concerns the type of results (actions) to which the bargaining process is directed. The most useful breakdown appears to be by reference to whether participation in the bargaining process results in (a) action generating and influencing decisions by political institutions, or (b) no such action but merely a "social ritual" aimed at enhancing internal group cohesion, promoting an operational rationale for existence or status considerations vis-à-vis other groups.⁵

The third consideration takes into account toward whom, (I.E., which and how many other groups) the bargaining process is directed. The primary concern here is "political omnipresence" versus the "political isolation," or the degree of parochialism, of a group. Considerable difference in group efficacy ensues from the differences in a political organization's "participation chart" reflecting group bargaining presence in the process at all times, most of the times, or seldom, and whether this participation involves few, average, or most other groups and group interests.⁶

These three subcategories of taxonomic factors influencing the character of political organizations and institutions deal with sets of arrangements that in their mode and format determine the political style of the decision-making process and reflect upon the patterns of bargaining employed.

Distinct patterns of authority relationships, citizen competence and sense of efficacy, patterns of bargaining modes and styles, and the uses of ideology within the context of bargaining accumulatively account for what we consider to be the essentials of political culture. In addition, we consider techniques and mechanisms, largely borrowed from abroad, as factors influencing political institutions and serving as choice constraints in the bargaining process.

Authority patterns.

People's behavior consists largely of accepting or rejecting certain societal "guidelines" and "directives" insofar as their actions and preferences are concerned. These orientations ("guidelines") reflect values based on how the individual has organized and rationalized his existence and actions in terms of other members of society; they compose a set of relationships toward his immediate or extended family.⁷ Behavior of individuals is determined by authority relations that set the limits of available options; authority relations define the degree to which they can act freely.

The fashion in which authority relationships have developed and are organized in a society determine the internal arrangements, structure, and functioning of political organizations. Men act the way they believe is right, efficacious, and are supposed to act. We define

politics, as the process by which social values are authoritatively allocated. This process of allocation occurs through decisions. Each and all decisions are the products of activities, which by their nature are "separate" from each other. On the other hand, masses (clusters) of activities have shared tendencies in their relationship to decisions. These clusters of activities are essentially what we consider to be interest identity groups (i.e. the activity is the group)

In every society the members' beliefs with regard to authority patterns are reflected in the life style and functioning of political organizations. We focus here on the internal organization determining to what degree these characteristic and identifiable authority patterns affect the participation style, bargaining proclivity, and general external image of the given political organization. The main classificatory categories deal with patterns of internal decision-making authority and processes:

a) -- "who decides" -- general characteristics of leadership, including processes and criteria for selection of leadership, and regulations and criteria of internal promotion/advancement (i.e., whether qualifications, availability and choice based on ascriptive or prescriptive criteria).⁸

b) -- "who decides on what basis" -- processes and criteria for internal bargaining and decision making, especially the degree of participation in the decision-making process; criteria and extent of membership participation, membership vote, and weight of vote versus leadership preference; existence of veto mechanism; regulatory

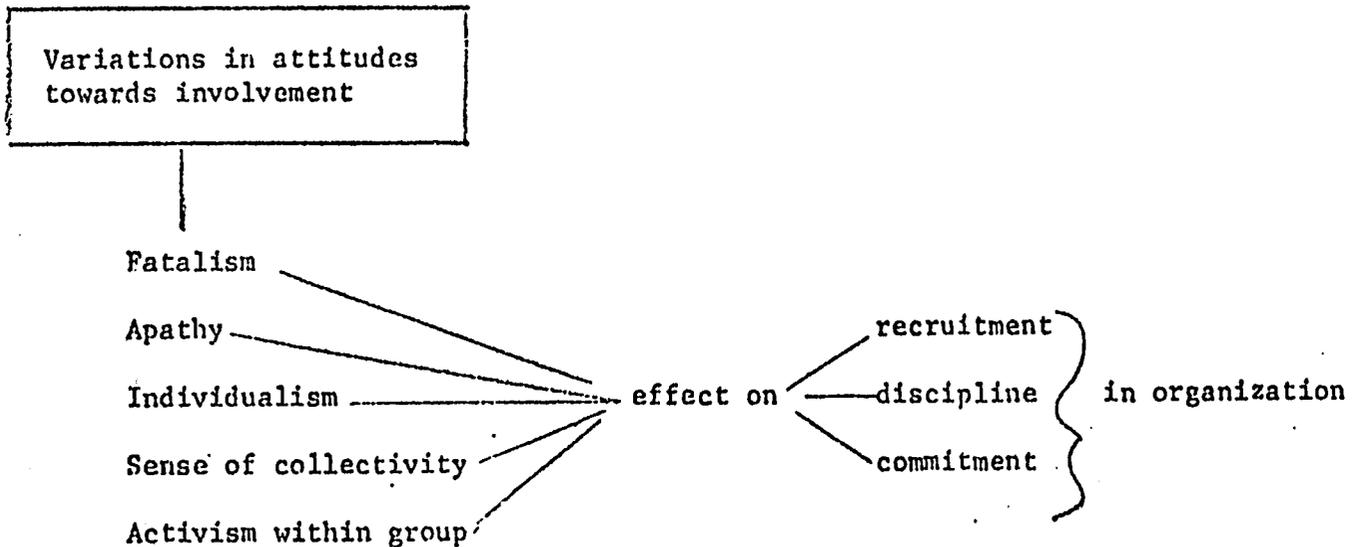
mechanism; possibility for abstention, internal dissent, including the possibility to organize for dissention and secession.

c) --role of value conflicts in terms of respect-- respect or ostracism due to characteristics of membership, including such factors as age, wealth, sex, and years of membership tneure.⁹ The general family values that relate to such authority patterns as respect and which affect political organizations include (1) the form and basis on which resources are allocated within the family, especially with respect to education, (2) the mode in which family decisions are taken and how dissention is structured and accepted within the family, and (3) the degree to which the acceptance of sacrifice and "delayed gratification" is integrated into family values and habits; to what extent abstract values (being "good," righteous, correct, a "believer," etc.) are viewed vis-à-vis the attainemnt of temporary and immediate goals, rewards, and objectives.

Citizen Competence and Efficacy.

The degree to which a citizen feels that the institutions and processes of society are appropriate, just, and available for the expression of his preferences and interest will determine to what extent he will turn to these institutions for the resolution of his problems and the representation of his interests.¹⁰ Some traditional societal values, long-cherished traditions, and ingrained prejudices effect the way people act and get involved in public/civic affairs, and the representation of their interest on the public level.

Our concern is to what degree citizen competence is manifested through a behavior that demonstrates various degrees of fatalism and apathy -- as opposed to a tradition and values of activism and involvement -- on the individual, family, and group (class) level.¹¹ Apathy combined with a general belief that group-activity, involvement, and organizational life are secondary to individual efforts, concerns, and interest can significantly effect the characteristics of political organizations; this is true especially in terms of the organization's abilities in recruitment, the degree to which organizational discipline can be enforced, and the citizens' commitment to organizational goals (see chart below).



Belief in the relevance of specific political institutions also affects the degree to which participants in organizational life (1) view and anticipate success in group action; (2) accept and rationalize defeat, setback, and prejudicial events; and (3) seek internal institutional redress and corrective action versus withdrawal, obstruction, or seeking influence maximization through personalistic/familial channels.

Citizen competence and political efficacy, especially individual and group attitudes toward involvement, influence the specific style which political participation, i.e. bargaining, assumes.¹² On the other hand, the style of bargaining in a society affects the evolution and functioning of political organizations, since their objective is to maximize their organizational effectiveness and influence. In order to do so, they are compelled to adapt to or placate the value preferences of their "constituency."¹³ Some significant contrasting patterns of bargaining style are outlined below:

<u>Personalistic</u>	<u>versus</u>	<u>Institutional</u>
Strong and long-term, persistent emphasis on leader's role and his work style; charismatic belief in leader's infallibility and irreplaceability.		Belief in collective- leadership and bargaining; belief in substitutability (among) bargaining participants, with concern for the primacy of institutional resources and interest

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versus

Secretive

Fostering continuous and all-encompassing internal organizational debate and participation; demanding less group cohesion and discipline, with emphasis upon compliance through incentives and the identification of self-interest with organizational goals.

Enhancing charismatic leader's or a narrow elite group's importance within the organization;

Accumulative/Particularistic

versus

Impersonal/Consensus

Strong involvement of varying and competing interests; community involvement and minority-view representation.

Emphasis on organizational participation, reaffirmation of the need for consensus, emphasis on solidarity, and unity in accepting and adhering to decisions.

If group cohesion, consensus, and organizational unity are a norm and characteristic of a political organization, the explanations and justifications for these characteristics might also help in sorting out various factors for classificatory purposes:

-- "group cohesion" for the purposes of enhancing the prestige and status, and thus the bargaining power, of the organization versus others; ideological and value considerations often determine the format in which the pursuit of these purposes is implemented; formats range from "democratic centralism" to communitarianism;

-- "group cohesion" for the purposes of unity in action, so as to simplify and strengthen bargaining posture and basic policy preferences (e.g., in order to be able to avoid or lessen the need for coalition-seeking);

-- "group cohesion" in order to exclude opposition and internal administrative, leadership, and organizational problems arising out of the necessity to explain all bargaining postures and policies to all participants/supporters;

-- "group cohesion" emphasized because it is the cultural norm and traditionally the acceptable and preferable mode of representing organizational interest and participation in the bargaining process.

The rationalization of behavior: employment of ideology.

Man seeks the help of ideology to explain the limits of his personal and organizational rationality.¹⁴ Ideology in this sense is a subjective "reason" that helps sustain an ordered existence in face of the unexplainable, the unattainable, and the adverse. Our specific concern is the way ideology reflects on the bargaining process and thus influences the structure and functioning of political organizations and institutions.

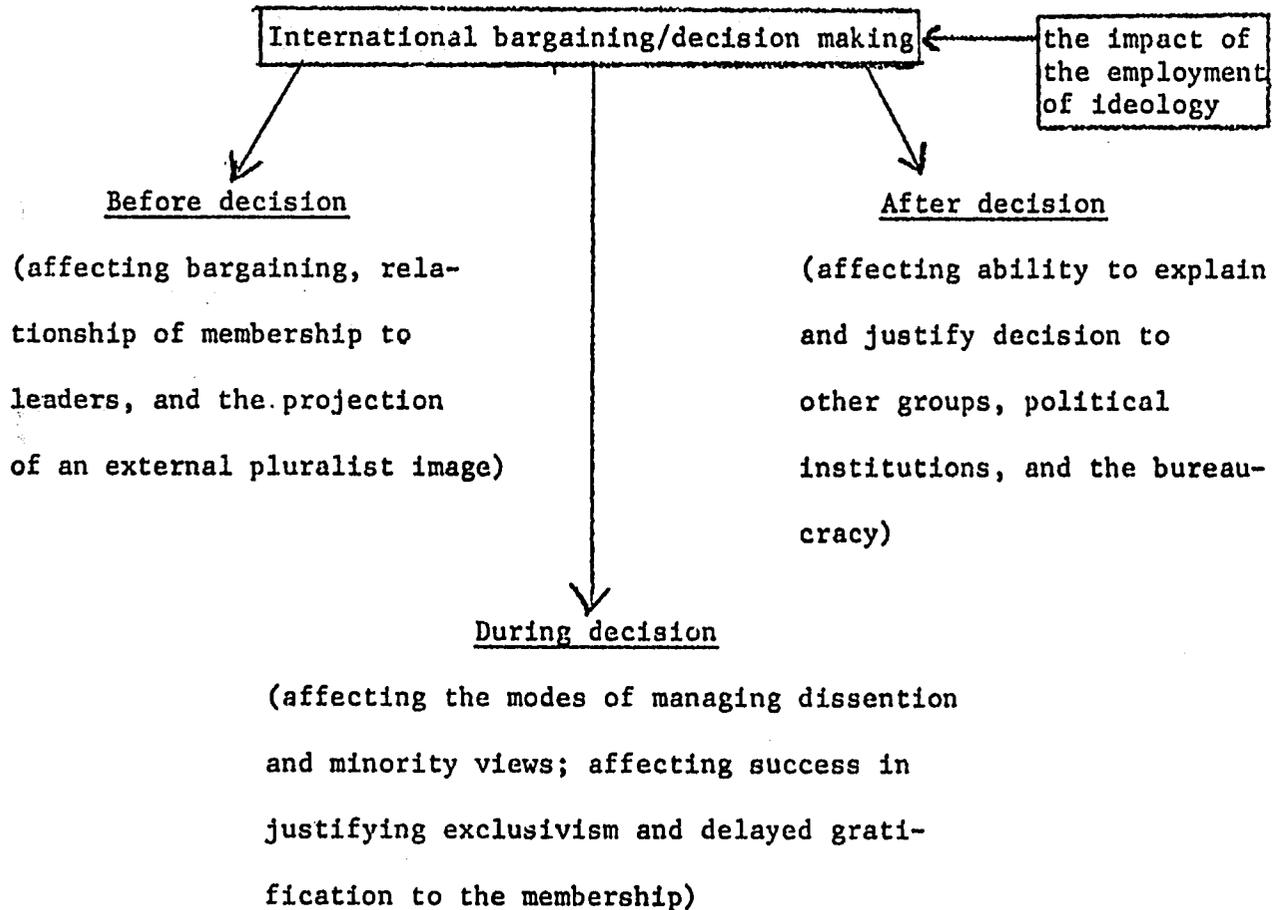
The first set of factors identify whether high or low ideological content is employed by a political organization in terms of justifying its existence, the way it is organizationally structured, and its basic interest-representative and policy concerns (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

	Effects on Institutional Structure	Effects on Policy Orientation
<u>High</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">--Low politicization--High level of militancy--Demand for discipline--Exclusivism (Emphasis on consumatory values)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">--High intensity participation in bargaining ("politics as combat")--Maximization of demands (politics as zero sum game)--Exclusivism (Emphasis on consumatory values)
<u>Low</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">-- Concern with organizational efficiency and pragmatism--High politicization--Shifting internal alliances and factions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">--Low politicization; stress on political pragmatism--High intensity participation with low level of militancy--(Emphasis on instrumental values)



These basic insitutional concerns are amplified by the presence and/or absence of high or low ideological content in the formulation of internal decisions related to group policy. Significant difference ensues from the injection and timing of the employment of ideology:

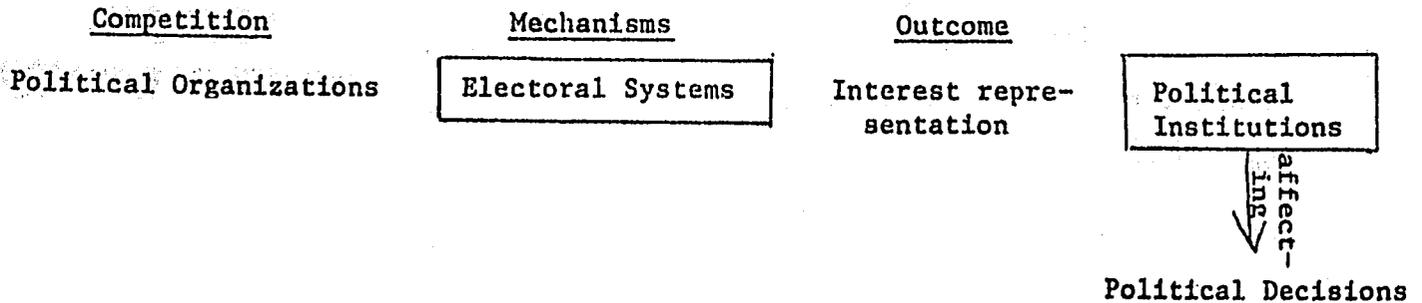


The implication is that the employment of ideology has its primary objective both internally to explain and externally to represent some specifics of organizational life, namely: (1) to influence the internal bargaining process; (2) to rationalize internal decisions; (3) to explain internally and externally the organizational decisions and policy postures which have been taken on various issues. ¹⁵

The relationship between regulatory mechanisms and political culture.

All political systems adopt certain mechanisms and techniques to regulate the procedures of political competition and decision making. Some of these mechanisms appear as pure "techniques"¹⁶ and some or all may appear as choice constraints affecting the outcomes of political competition and conflict.

The primary mechanisms affecting the outcome of political competition and influencing the changes which occur in the structure and functioning of political institutions, are related to the electoral system.¹⁷ Electoral systems per se are "techniques," impersonal, not necessarily time and circumstance bound, and merely reflecting a choice that is often speedily outgrown by changes which occur in social structure, organizational life, and political fortunes. Still, these mechanisms, whether they take the form of a single-member district or proportional representation (or variations of either) system, do determine the nature of the outcome in the competition and affect the institutional structure into which the outcome of competition flows as an input (Figure 2).



In addition, the different types of electoral systems and arrangements effect the nature, scope, and limitations of (1) political recruitment, (2) party life and activity, (3) the extent of extra-party-membership registration for voting, and (4) campaign style and content.

Mobilization style of politics creates and demands political institutions that can accommodate either the "referendum style" of politics -- mass, religious-type political plebiscites -- or provide institutionally for a setting in which a mass dominant party -- with minimal competition -- provides the inputs for political decisions.¹⁸ In contrast, in a so-called competitive-pluralistic political arrangement, a one-party dominant or pluralist/multi-party structure calls for different formal and informal institutional provisions.

Other factors which influence political institutions reflect equally upon choice constraints and inter-institutional (or inter-agency) relations and regulations.¹⁹ Government agency relations reflect such specific characteristics as:

- a) style, content, and nature of communications, including information flow and control of data/information/secrecy;
- b) the nature of subordination (inferiority/superiority), supervision, and the control of relations between governmental agencies;
- c) the nature of interchangeability of roles, functions, and

policy concerns between agencies (including interchangeability of authority and personnel).

Government agency regulations, on the other hand, reflect factors affecting (a) institutional discipline, (b) internal control, and (c) the handling and issuance of decisions. Both government-agency relations and regulations -- together with electoral systems -- represent mechanisms that are highly interchangeable and without much value prejudice; they reflect less the normative preferences of a political system and much more the power exigencies and prejudices of the political present. Thus, their adaptation (or "borrowing") results in only temporary advantages as far as the functioning of political institutions and political decision making, but because they are "techniques" they adapt less readily to societal changes over time.²⁰ The rigidity that characterizes these techniques provides one of the primary sources of distortions which exist between institutional development and changing modes of participation. Herein, possibly, lies the prejudice and subjectivity of "technique!"