The Development of Socio-Political Centers at the Second Stage of Modernisation - A Comparative Analysis of Two Types

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In this paper we shall attempt to analyse briefly two types of socio-political regimes which develop at second phase of modernisation, the phase of so-called "mass modernisation".

This analysis will be based on the several assumptions about modernisation developed in other papers – assumptions which see modernisation as a process of continuous socio-demographic and structural differentiation of a growing tendency to a "mass-consensual" society – all of which create continuously new, changing problems and which pose therefore the general problem of sustained growth, of the ability to absorb such continuous changes as the major problem of modernisation.1 It is within this broad conceptual framework that the distinction between the two phases of modernisation may best be understood.

These phases can be distinguished according to the two major aspects of modernisation – the continuous structural differentiation, the impingement of broader groups on the center and the problems arising out of these processes on the one hand, and the ability of the centers to deal with these problems – to develop adequate institutional and symbolic arrangements on the other hand!

The most important structural characteristics of the first, "Limited" phase, which developed in the late 18th and 19th centuries in Europe (especially

Western Europe, the U.S. and to a smaller extent in Latin America and Asian countries) are the relatively small scale of the scope of various new organisations; the development of many relatively specific, goal-oriented, organisations; the development of as yet restricted markets in the major institutional spheres and the relative predominance of "public" - representation, communal or professional - regulative and allocative arrangements.

At this phase the upper and middle classes have usually been predominant in the active process of modernisation, which was gradually extended to the wider groups and strata, through the relatively slow and gradual tempo of urbanisation and industrialisation and by the gradual extension.

The most general problems arising at this phase of modernisation have been the ways in which the broader groups and strata which have been undergoing more restricted processes of modernisation can be drawn into the central institutions of society, the way in which their various problems crystallised into orientations of protest and political demands and then became "translated" into various policies which extended the scope of the central institution of the society, and the extent to which at the center there did indeed develop cohesive frameworks and collective identities became crystallised.

These general problems could be subdivided into several areas. The first was the extension of political participation - both formal (i.e. franchise) and more general actual participation in the community in terms of access to various positions of power on the one hand and the ability to influence policy-making and decisions on the other.

Second were the various problems attendant on the growing transformation of the cultural-collective identity from a traditional-ascriptive one to a more secular differentiated civil and national one, and the consequent problem of the extent to which it was possible to incorporate the distinct traditions of different groups in the new symbolic center.

The third broad area of problems accrued from the first upsurge of industrialisation and urbanisation. It was here that the whole gamut of social problems and as well as more articulate social and political demands connected with these problems developed.

The way in which these problems were dealt with varied here greatly according to the orientation and interrelation of the major modernising elites and the initial pushes to modernisation - and were most evident in the structure organisation and symbols of the new centers.

The center of the society which tended to develop at this stage of mobilisation has usually, although not always, been characterised by the development of some strong, modern central political framework and sometimes also of relatively new differentiated central symbols before the onset of industrialisation and before the rapid extension of political aspirations to wider groups and strata.

But such centers have differed greatly according to their strength and flexibility, according to the extent to which they tend to retain rigid traditional orientations, and according to their ability to deal with the various problems