

## **CIRCULATION OF ELITE IN WEST AND IN PAKISTAN: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

### **Abstract:**

*The subject of Elite is not new in international politics but in Pakistan very few attempts have been made to discuss this concept. In the west after Renaissance, Reformation and Industrialization the social idea of progress was changed and occupation became the central concept of progress. These occupations may be both traditional and modern. The most important traditional professions are landowning, religious, bureaucracy, military, industrial or merchant class while modern professions are lawyer, artists, players etc. The Question is that who is better for leadership or who is better for govern on the population and who is elite. This paper will attempt to (i) an overview of the concept of Elite and (ii) its Circulation process, in the west as well as in Pakistan. It will be concluded that in a society like Pakistan, where many problems in political, economic, religious, military, landowning, professional and bureaucratic levels, the circulation of elite is not much obvious. I try my best effort to collect different author's work which is available to me on this topic western as well as Pakistani. This work is taken from my M. Phil dissertation. The present paper is a tiny contribution for beginning of this conversation in Pakistan.*

### **Introduction:**

When most social scientists talk about elites, they have in mind those who run things—that is certain key actors, playing structural, functionally understandable roles, not only in a nations governance process but also in other institutional settings—religious, military, academic, industrial, communication and so on.<sup>1</sup> The following paper is descriptive study of elites and presents this concept through different authors who treated this subject in different manner.

Plato, Aristotle and Machiavelli--the early philosophers touched a little bit of this subject. Plato defined the ideal state and declared that a society is best governed, when it is under the rule by intellectual elite (a Philosopher King). In Republic, he said, "The best philosophers and the brave warriors are to be their kings"<sup>2</sup> Aristotle classified political organizations by indicating the manner in which they were ruled: dictatorship is rule by one person (a king), autocracy by few persons and democracy by many persons. On the other hand, Machiavelli has been remembered by social Psychologists constructing a questionnaire to measure the manipulative tendencies of personality. Those who score high are called 'high machs', while less manipulative people are called 'low machs'.<sup>3</sup> Every major philosopher since the time of these above mentioned philosophers, attempted to popularize their particular version of who should constitute the ruling class and who should be the governed.<sup>4</sup> The study of elites was established as part of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ph D Scholar Visiting Faculty, University of the Punjab Lahore

political science in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, largely as a result of the works of two Italian Sociologists, Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), and Gaetano Mosca (1818-1941).<sup>5</sup> Other prominent elite theorists are Lasswell, Mills, Marx, Weber, Bottomore, Saeed Shafqat, Asaf Hussan, etc.

In 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the word “Elite” was used to describe “commodities of particular excellence”. Later it extended to superior social groups, such as military units or the higher ranks of the nobility. In 18<sup>th</sup> Century, Oxford English Dictionary (England 1823) applied this term as social groups and this term did not become widely used in social and political writing until late in the 19<sup>th</sup> C. in Europe, or until the 1930s in Britain and America. This term was diffused through the Sociological theories of elites, notably in the writings of Vilfredo Pareto.<sup>6</sup>

### **Vilfredo Pareto**

Pareto was the most important of the Italian political sociologist, who started the “elitism” school of analysis in modern societies. It is a basic axiom for Pareto that people are un-equal physically, as well as intellectually and morally. In the society as a whole, or in any of its particular strata and grouping, some people are more gifted than others. Those who are most capable in any particular grouping are the elite.<sup>7</sup> He defined elite as, “a class of the people, who have the highest indices in their branch of activity, and to that class is given the name of elite”.<sup>8</sup> He further explains that, in every branch of human activity each individual is given an index, which stands as a sign of his capacity, very much the way grades are given in the various subjects in examinations in school.<sup>9</sup> For example:

To the man, who has made his million-----we will give 10 numbers.

- i. To the man, who has made his thousand ----- we will give 6 numbers.
- ii. To the man who, manage to keep a poor house ----- we will give 1 number.
- iii. We'll give zero for the person, who is an out – and – out idiot.

In the history of Sociological thought the concept of ‘elites’ has been closely bound up with the theory of the “circulation of elites”, derived from Mosca and Pareto which, in its historical origins, stands in polar opposition to the Marxist theory of permanent struggle between fixed classes of owners and produces. Elitist analysis is concerned with how individuals are recruited into positions of personal influence as part of a political process. ‘The Rise and Fall of the Elites’ is an initial statement of Pareto’s theory of circulation of elites, for which he became well known.<sup>10</sup> His following division of ‘inequality of individuals’ into two categories is also significant:<sup>11</sup>

I.Individuals are arranged according to their level of intelligence, aptitude for mathematics, musical talent, moral character etc.

II.According to their degree of political and social power or influence. (In most societies that the same individuals occupy the same place in this hierarchy as in the hierarchy of wealth.).

He devotes most attention to the circulation of individuals between the elite and the non-elite; and this preoccupation follows directly from his choice of ‘social equilibrium’ as the main subject of his investigation.<sup>12</sup> These are two following principal difficulties to be confronted.<sup>13</sup>

I. Does the “circulation of elites” refer to a process in which individuals circulate between the elite and the non-elite?

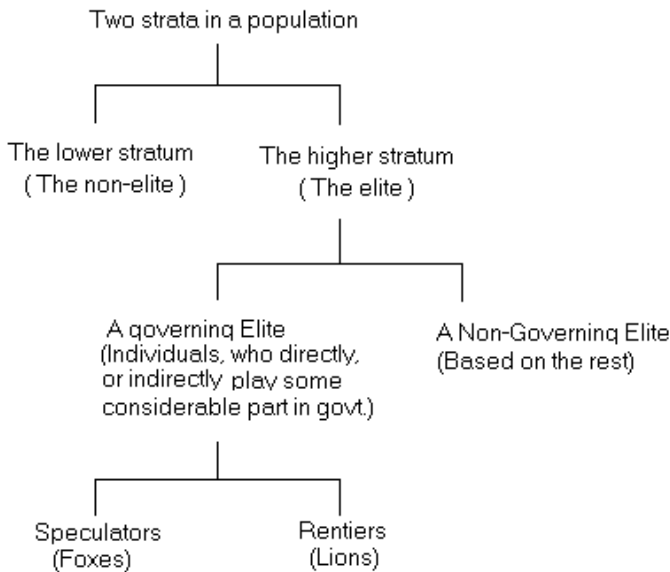
II. A process in which, one elite is replaced by another.

The point was made more sharply in a study of elites in France by a pupil of Pareto, Marie Kolabinska, who discussed explicitly the movement of individuals between the different sub-groups of the governing elite, and set out to examine in some detail the history of four such groups: the rich, the nobles, the armed aristocracy and the clergy. The Author distinguished different types of circulation in a society:

- I. Circulation between different categories of the governing elite.
- II. Circulation between the elite and the rest of the population.

It means that individuals from the lower strata may succeed in entering the existing elite and individuals in the lower strata may form new elite groups.<sup>14</sup> While Pareto’s concept of the “circulation of elites”, draws attention to this problem without resolving it. His reference to the constant decadence and renewal of elites and his statement that history is “graveyard of aristocracies”, reflect two different aspects of what he means by ‘circulation’.<sup>15</sup> He himself concerned with the two classes in a society: the elite and non-elite. After analyzing the detail of his concept, the researcher has come to the point that his theory (class stratification) can be expressed more effectively by drawing a following figure:

**Figure: 1, Pareto’s Class Stratification:**



In the view of Pareto, that the ideal governing class contains a judicious mixture of lions and foxes, of men capable of decisive and forceful action and others who are imaginative, innovative, and unscrupulous.<sup>16</sup> He perceives a pattern in history, according to which there is a constant alternation between an elite with a preponderance of class I, residues—the tender-minded “foxes” --- and an elite with a preponderance of class II, residues—the tough—minded “lions”.<sup>17</sup> The former are dominated by class II residues (Group-Persistence) are typified by military and religious elite; emphasize loyalty, solidarity, and patriotism as central values; and are prepared to use force when necessary. “Foxes”, in contrast, typify class I residues (Instinct for combinations), are often financiers are manipulative and developmental in orientation, and are efficient in the fusion and further developmental empires, society rest on the equilibrium of this constant elite circulation process.<sup>18</sup> At more complex levels, Class I residues lead people to engage in large-scale financial manipulation-to merge, combine and recombine enterprises.<sup>19</sup> The whole situation is discussed in the given below table:

**TABLE: 1, PARETO’S TYPOLOGY OF ELITE:**

**TYPES OF ELITE CIRCULATION**

DIMENSIONS	LIONS	FOXES
i. Predominant residue	Class II: Group persistence	Class I: Instinct for combinations Financiers
ii. Group types	Military, religious	a. Manipulative
iii. Orientations	a. Loyalty, solidarity, patriotism b. Use of force c. Conservative	b. Economic manipulations c. Develop political empires

SOURCE: Compiled by Graham C. Kinloch, (1974), *Sociological Theory: Its Development and Major Paradigms*.

Pareto summarized historical development as a “circulation of elites”, in which the foxes (experts in the use of deceit and “speculative” measures) alternately replace and are replaced by the lions (who emphasize the use of force and extreme conservatism in ideas and techniques).<sup>20</sup> According to him, this incessant cycle of leadership qualities results from the fact that each type possesses immediate advantages that fail to satisfy the enduring problems of leadership; the maintenance of social equilibrium therefore “requires” a continuous process of replacement as recurrent social situations confront the elites.<sup>21</sup> He came to believe that the powerful people manipulate the government to serve their own selfish and then use rhetoric to disguise their own greed under the cloak of national interests and what Pareto found most disconcerting is that deceptiveness of their leaders. They hear only what they want to hear, ignoring the truth unless it happens to be in harmony with their short-term interests.<sup>22</sup> Accordingly elites are seen by Pareto not as the product of economic forces nor as building their dominance on their

organizational ability but as the out come of what Pareto believed to be human attributes (intelligence etc.) constant through out history.<sup>23</sup>

Over the time, the natural inequalities of talent in the population produce a revolutionary leadership among the lower classes of greater capacity, it is replaced by the “new elite”. Pareto refers this kind of social movement, which is important for the equilibrium of society and the emergence and rise to power of new elites.<sup>24</sup> Pareto seems to locate the cardinal problem of stratification in the phenomena of renewal and “succession”--- the circulation of the elite. In summary then, Pareto emphasized the process aspect of stratification, the mechanisms of control by the elite, and the personal characteristics of elites appropriate to these control mechanisms.<sup>25</sup> The theory of the circulation of elites was intended in part to suggest that they were; that the most able individuals in every society succeeded in entering the elite, or in forming a new elite, (through their intelligence), which in due course became pre-eminent.<sup>26</sup> On the whole, the circulation of elites is the relation between elites and classes, and the ways in which new elite and new classes are formed.

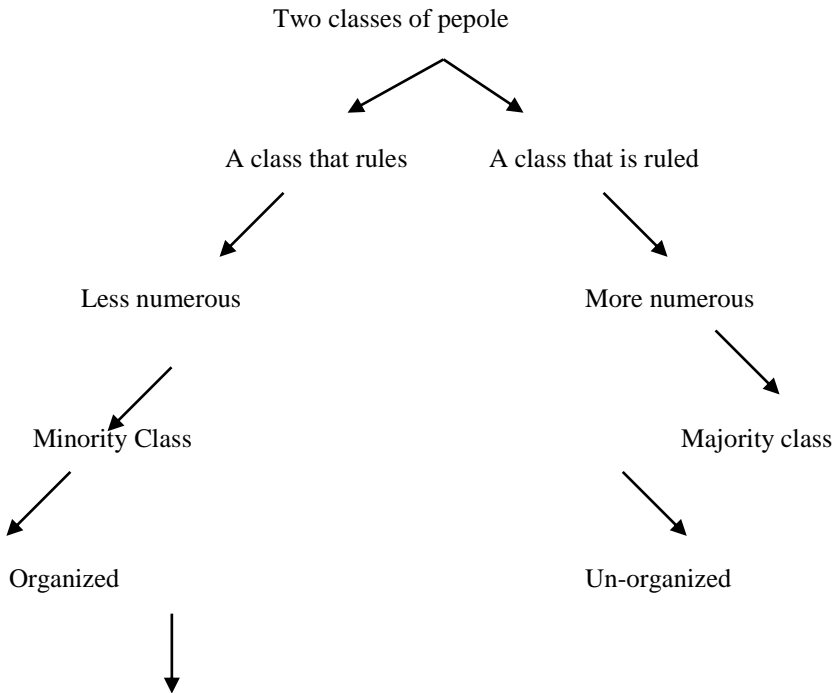
### **Gaetano Mosca**

He was the first to make a systematic distinction between ‘elites and masses’ and examines more thoroughly the composition of the elite itself. According to him, in all societies (developed or developing) two classes of people appear:

- A class that Rules
- A class that is Ruled

The first class always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings. The second class is more numerous, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent.<sup>27</sup> The following figure represents to understand his theory:

**FIGURE: 2. MOSCA'S CLASS STRATIFICATION:**



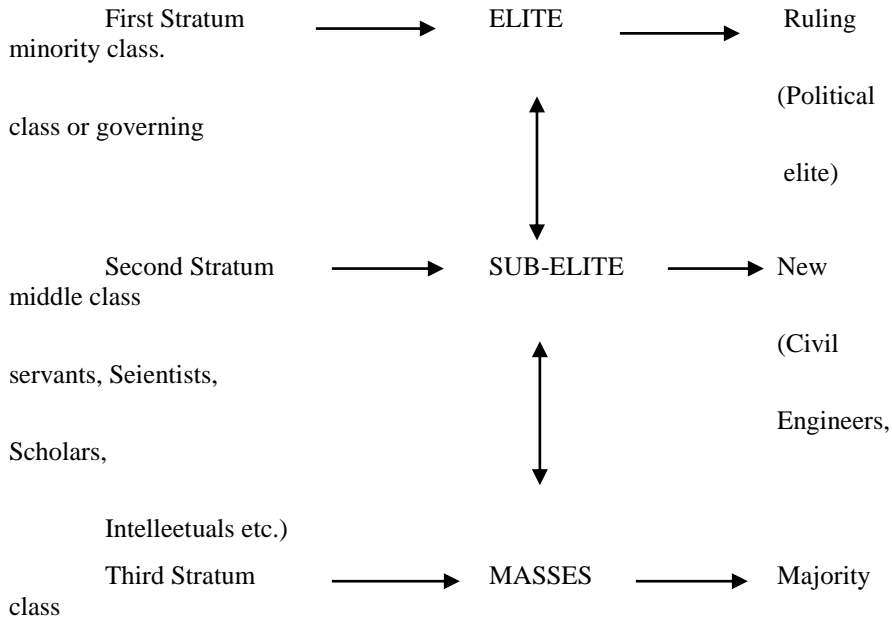
(Performs all political functions, monopolizes (Directed and controlled by power enjoys the advantages that power brings) the first)

In this theory of Mosca, an elite does not simply rule by force and fraud, but 'represents of important and influential groups in the society.'<sup>28</sup> He was primarily concerned with the conflict between holders of political power and those they dominate.<sup>29</sup> He was perhaps the first to emphasize the necessity of analyzing the growth, composition, and organization of ruling classes. As a result of comparative studies, he concluded that the ruling minority is selected in varying ways, but always in terms of creation desired qualities or resources. Indeed, he believed that the power of a ruling elite (the legal or moral principle or the "political formula") was ultimately based on the extent to which the qualities of the elite correspond to the peculiar needs in turn reflect characteristic changes in religion, political thought, scientific, technological and economic developments and new sources of wealth. Consequently, differentials in power and political authority appear to rest on a wide range of socio-cultural conditions (social forces).<sup>30</sup> He also recognizes the circulation which consists in the struggle between elites and replacement of an old elite by a new one, that other form which consists in the renewal of the existing elite by the accession of individuals from the lower classes of society; and he examines in a number of different contexts the relative ease or difficulty of access to the elite.<sup>31</sup>

In modern times, the elite is not simply raised high above the rest of society; it is intimately connected with society through a SUB – ELITE, a much larger group which comprises, to all intents and purposes, the whole, " new middle

class” of civil servants, managers and white collar workers, scientists and engineers, scholars and intellectuals.<sup>32</sup> This group does not only supply recruits to the elite (the ruling class); it is itself a vital element in the government of society.<sup>33</sup> Mosca’s theory, can be explained through following figure:

**FIGURE: 3, CIRCULATION OF ELITE:**



The most prominent feature in Mosca’s treatment of the circulation of elites is to be seen, however, in the kind of explanation, which he seeks. He refers occasionally to the intellectual and moral qualities of the members of the elite, but, unlike Pareto, he does not attach supreme importance to these psychological characteristics. In the first place, he observed that such individual characteristics are frequently produced by social circumstances.<sup>34</sup> Secondly he explained these phenomena by the germination of new interests and ideals in a society. For example, an old religion declines or a new born, new ideas spreads, practical importance of knowledge grows, and a new source of wealth develops in a society.<sup>35</sup> Mosca also talks about the, ‘ Counter-elites’, comprising the leaders of political parties, which are out of office, and representatives of new social interests or classes, (e.g. trade union leaders) as well as groups of businessmen and intellectuals, who are active in politics.<sup>36</sup> On the whole, he said that the stability of any political organism depends on the level of morality, intelligence and activity. His ‘political class’ is nothing but the intellectual section of the Ruling Group.<sup>37</sup>

**Karl Marx**

The term ‘ruling class,’ comes from the Marxist analysis of the state. It claims that a small, unrepresentative group dominates society and imposes its will on it. The base of this class, power is its ownership of the ‘means of production’, that is the basic economic structure of society--- the industry and commerce.<sup>38</sup>

Marx's argument is that, in all modes of production, individuals enter into these relations as a member of one of two possible groups or classes. One class owns the means of production while the other is forced to sell its labor power in order to subsist. But both groups are necessary for production.<sup>39</sup> He means these two classes as Bourgeoisie (capitalists) and Proletariat (workers). He further, explained the nature of human life and its basis in economic activity. For Marx, the political rulers of a society are an important element of the political order. He asked a question, 'to what extent do the political rulers govern in favor of the interests of a particular social class'?<sup>40</sup> Hence, the fit between theory and empirical reality is clearly more comfortable in Marx's analysis of political rulers than in the case of his analysis of social class; consciously or unconsciously the leadership of political rulers favors the interests of those social classes who privately control property.<sup>41</sup> The views of Marxism on the class struggle, has been termed the "circulation of elites", but Marxists deny the universal validity of this "law of elites and masses" and assert man's liberty to imagine and create new forms of society.<sup>42</sup>

### **Max Weber**

According to Weber, class divisions derive or appeared not only from control of the means of production, but from economic differences which directly do with property. He defined classes in terms of differential life-chances and combined economic classes into social classes.<sup>43</sup> He further explained three types of classes, first is the property class which is based on the differential distribution of property, second class is the commercial class which is based on the differential distribution of goods and services in the marketplace and the last class is the social class which represents an emergent combination of the other two forms. Weber distinguishes two other basic aspect of stratification, besides class: status and party<sup>44</sup> while talking about the dimension of status which represented hierarchically in a society some groups stand higher on the status ladder than others. In modern societies, in particular, the most effective governments are those that are administered by single individuals and their counselors.<sup>45</sup> Rather, he was concerned with the development of social groups: classes, status groups and parties are all groups, which enjoy power, but in each case this derives from a different sources. For Weber, talented and responsible political rulers are the most important element for effective democratic government.<sup>46</sup>

### **T. B. Bottomore**

After industrialization, he distinguished there are five ideal types of elites:

- A dynastic elite
- The middle class
- The revolutionary intellectuals.
- The colonial administrators
- The nationalist leaders



According to him three elites; the middle class, the revolutionary intellectuals and the colonial administrators play a significant role in most of the underdeveloped countries.<sup>47</sup> He further explains, three kinds of Twentieth Century ruling elites in a society.

- The intellectuals.
- The manager of industry.
- The high government officials.

The 'intellectuals' contribute directly to the creation, transmission and criticism of ideas; they include writers, artists, scientists, philosophers and religious thinker. The 'managers of industry' are the potential ruling elite. James Burnham distinguishes two principal sections among the managers: the scientists and the technologists and the directors and coordinators of the process of production. 'The high government officials' (bureaucrats) are the powerful elites in modern society. These are the vital agents in the creation of new forms of society.<sup>48</sup> On the whole, Bottomore said, that the elites and leaders must be capable and efficient; but this is not enough. They must also express adequately, and pursue steadfastly, the ideals of those social classes which constitutes the great majority of the population and escape from their age-old confinement to a life of poverty and subservience.<sup>49</sup>

### **C. Wright Mills**

Mills is known for his critical analysis of American society through White Collar and The Power Elite. His work represents the synthesis of Marx and Weber. He defines the 'power elite' in the same way as Pareto defined his 'governing elite'. He explained the ruling class as:

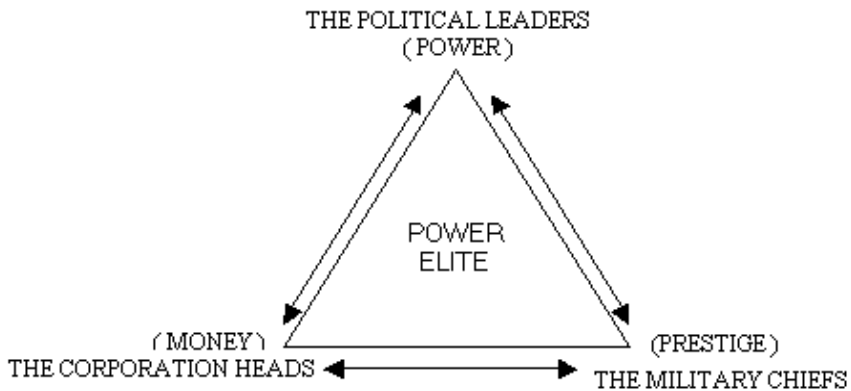
Class---is an economic term.

Rule--- is political one.

It means that the theory contains an economic class rule politically.<sup>50</sup> The elite who occupy the command posts may be seen as the possessors of power, wealth and celebrity. They may be seen as members of the upper stratum of a capitalistic society. They may also be defined in terms of psychological and moral criteria, as certain kinds of selected individuals. The elite, quite simply are people of superior character and energy. According to him that, America is ruled by the "power elite", made up of people who hold the dominant positions in political, military and economic institutions.<sup>51</sup> He argues that throughout the history of the United States, especially, since 1940, there has been a concentration of power in the hands of three distinct, but interconnected elites. They are the military, the economic and the political, who make all-important political decisions between them, while manipulating both the media and the legislature.<sup>52</sup> The unity of the 'power elite' as Mills call the three elites together, is maintained by their common, high, social class backgrounds and the fact that they mix socially, intermarry and send their children to the same schools and universities.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, they share similar beliefs and know each other personally, which gives them a cohesiveness, which alters them from an independent, though interrelated, nature

of the three elites. Members of the several higher circles know one another as personal friends and even as neighbors they mingle with one another on the golf course, in the gentlemen's clubs, at resorts, on transcontinental airplanes, and on ocean liners.<sup>54</sup> They meet at the estates of mutual friends, face each other in front of the TV camera, or serve on the same philanthropic committee; and many are sure to cross one another's path in the columns of newspapers, if not in the exact cafes from which many of these columns originate. They rule the big corporations. They run the machinery of the state and claim its prerogatives. They direct the military establishment. They occupy the strategic command posts of the social structure, in which are now centered the effective means of the power and the wealth and the celebrity, which they enjoy.<sup>55</sup> His power elite is based on three types or core members of society (The corporation heads, the political leaders and the military chiefs), which can be explained in the following figure:

**FIGURE: 4, MILL'S ELITES AND THEIR CIRCULATION:**



He is obliged to go on to inquire whether these three groups together form a single power elite, and if so, what it is that binds them together. They have closely connected concerns. Business and political leaders work together, and both have close relationships with the military through weapons contracting and the supply of goods for the armed forces<sup>56</sup> they are accordingly the core members of this power elite. These men are not necessarily familiar with every major arena of power. One man who moves in and between perhaps two circles—the industrial and the military—and to another man who moves in the military and the political and to a third who moves in the political as well as among opinion-makers. These in-between types most closely display our image of the power elite's structure and operation, even of behind-the-scenes operations.<sup>57</sup> Many of them are, at least in the first part of their careers, 'agents' of the various elites rather than themselves elite, it is they who are the most active in organizing the several top milieux into a structure of power and maintaining it. He concluded that, the first big fact about elite, American politicians as a whole is that they have never been representative of a cross- section of the American people. Almost six out of ten of them came to political eminence from quite prosperous family circumstances.<sup>58</sup>

## **Robert Michel**

Michel, who also spoke of the rule of the minority, formulated his theory as the “law of oligarchy”. Focusing his study on Europe’s socialist parties, he came to the conclusion that any human organization, including a party dedicated to egalitarianism, was bound to develop a smaller inner group which in due course would arrogate political power to itself.<sup>59</sup> He held the same view as Pareto with the reservation that the circulation of elites was a continuous process of interaction. The old elements attracting, persisting and even assimilating and intermixing the new law of interaction, the impulse towards social immobility by which inferiors more towards superiors in a free society, promoting freedom of movement in social space.<sup>60</sup>

## **Harold D. Lasswell**

The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential. The science of politics states conditions; the philosophy of politics justifies preferences.<sup>61</sup> Lasswell defined elite as, “the elite are those with most power in a group; the mid-elite, those with less power; the masses, least power”.<sup>62</sup> ‘The ruling class is the class from which rulers are recruited and in whose interest they exercise power; a dependent class is one indulged by the power process, but not sharing in the rule; a subject class is one sharing least in both power and other values’.<sup>63</sup> The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get. Available values may be classified as deference, income, and safety (those who get the most are elite; the rest are mass).<sup>64</sup> This distribution of ‘deference’ is relatively clear in a formal hierarchy but deference may not go to the rich, and safety may not go to the distinguished, plainly different results may be obtained by different criteria of influence.<sup>65</sup> The distribution of ‘safety’ is usually less inequitable than the distribution of differences and may often shows the negative relationships to it. The value of deference, safety and income, which have just been singled out are representative and not exclusive values. Political analysis could make use of other combinations, and the resulting elite comparisons would differ.<sup>66</sup>

## **Methods of the influential**

The method of an influential is that, the fate of elite is profoundly affected by the ways it manipulates the environment; that is to say, by the use of violence, goods, symbols and practices. Any elite defends and asserts itself in the name of symbols of the common destiny<sup>67</sup> such symbols are the “ideology” of the established order, the “utopia” of counter-elites. By the use of sanctioned words and gestures the elites elicits blood, work, taxes, applause from the masses. When the political order works smoothly, the masses venerate the symbols; the elite, self-righteous and unafraid, suffers from no withering sense of immorality. “God’s in his heaven---all’s right with the world”. “In union there is strength”, not exploitation.<sup>68</sup> Violence, a major means of elite attack and defense, takes many forms. The number of men who have been permanently included in the armed forces of the world gives some indication of the place of violence in politics.<sup>69</sup> Plainly the rational application of violence as an instrument of influence depend upon the clear appraisal of the act of violence as a detail of the total context. It is seldom an instrument of total destruction. (For modern specialists the political

view of war was formulated by Clausewitz, when he enunciated the famous theory that “war is a mere continuation of policy by other means”).<sup>70</sup>

The use of goods in elite attack and defense takes the forms of destroying, withholding and apportioning. There may be sabotage or shutdown; strike, boycott, blacklist, non-cooperation; rationing, pricing or bribing. Destruction of property is so closely connected with the use of violence on persons that it will receive no special treatment in this chapter, which is limited to withholding and apportioning.<sup>71</sup> Plainly an elite is subject to domestic attack when it fails to coincide with prosperity. There are two principal means of directing the flow of goods and services, and elite security is often sought by combing them. We may distinguish systems of rationing from systems of pricing. Rationing is an act of assigning specific goods or services for consumption or for use in production. Pricing is an act of assigning non-specific claims to goods and services.<sup>72</sup> The ascendancy of any elite partially depends upon the success of the practices it adopts. These procedures comprise all the ways by which elites are recruited and trained, all the forms observed in policymaking and administration. The constitution, written or unwritten, embodies the practices which are deemed most fundamental to the governmental and the social order.<sup>73</sup> Constitutionalism is a special attitude toward the efficacy of written words, “a name”, writes Walton H. Hamilton, “given to the trusts which men repose in the power of words engrossed on parchment to keep a government in order”. Since practices are changing partially, an established elite can use them to defend itself by catharsis, or by readjustment.<sup>74</sup>

### **Characteristics of elite**

Political analysis is not only interested in the methods by which the influential are protected or superseded. It is also concerned with the characteristics (skill, class, personality and attitude) of those who obtain such values as deference, safety and income. One aspect of the matter is the partition of values among the exponents of various skills.<sup>75</sup> A skill is a teachable and learnable operation, and skills include the technique of manipulating things or the symbols of things (skill of manual worker or engineers), the techniques of violence, of organization, of bargaining, of propaganda, of analysis. Fighting skill is plainly one of the most direct ways by which men have come to the top, whether the fighting be done in the name of god, nation or class.<sup>76</sup> Elites may be compared in terms of class as well as skill. A class is a major social group of similar function, status, and outlook. The principal class formations in recent world politics have been aristocracy, plutocracy, middle class, and manual toilers.<sup>77</sup> The distribution of values may be considered with reference to personality in addition to skill and class. What is the relative success of all the forms of personality known to clinical and cultural psychologists? What is the varying fortune of the masochists, the sadists, the detached, the hysterical, the obsessive and the compulsive?<sup>78</sup> From this standpoint the march of time ceases to pivot exclusively around the cavalcade of classes and skill; it becomes a succession of personality forms. Special interests attaches to personality forms which are predisposed by nature and by early nurture to find satisfaction in playing particular roles on the stage of politics. The true political personality is a complex achievement.<sup>79</sup> When infants are born, they are

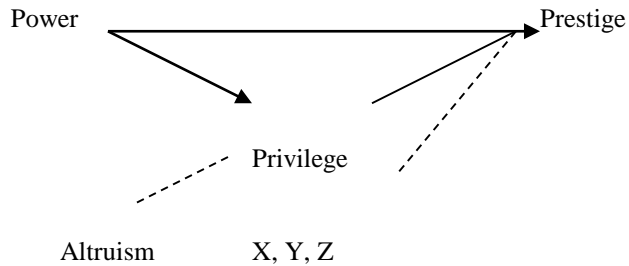
unequipped with language of reference to environment, immediate or remote. Their impulses are first organized towards an immediate intimate circle. The symbols of reference to the world of affairs are endowed with meaning in this primary situation, and the true politician learns to use the world of public objects as a means of alleviating the stresses of intimate environment.<sup>80</sup>

What is the meaning of social life for the political attitudes of successive elite? Plainly very different personality forms may share the same political outlook and belong to the same elite. At one time the predominating attitudes may be local, regional, national, or international. At another time the ruling attitudes may be loyalty to class or skill. Under some conditions the ruling groups are militant; often they are conciliatory.<sup>81</sup> Politics is a changing pattern of loyalties, strategies, tactics; and political analysis may quite properly review the succession of predominant attitudes through the stream of time. Acts of the most acute political interest are the acts, which change the social environment. Political acts are therefore externalized acts, since they implicate the environment as they run to completion. Internalized acts involve only the organism itself.<sup>82</sup> There are no doubt that their acts are based on the four forms of reaction just sketched as, Objective orientation, Adjustive thought, Autistic reverie, and Somatic conversion.

### **Gerhard E. Lenski**

According to Lenski, elites cannot be regarded merely as a special kind of class. On the contrary, sometimes they are less than a class while at other times they are more. In the former case, one may refer to the most powerful (or most privileged or prestige-full) segment of a class as the elite of that class. In the latter case, one may refer to two or more classes as constituting the political elite of a society.<sup>83</sup> As yet another alternatives, one may speak of a single class as constituting the political elite of a society. In short, the term has come to mean merely the highest ranking segment of any given social unit, whether a class or total society, ranked by whatever criterion one chooses. It seems clear that the single concept of "class" can be used to cover all the collective aspects of stratification.<sup>84</sup> This does not mean, however, that all kinds of classes are alike in all respects. Some are based on power, others on privilege, and still others on prestige. Lenski defines a class as an aggregation of persons in a society, who stand in a similar position with respect to some form of power, privilege or prestige.<sup>85</sup> In the following figure, power is the key variable and the solid lines indicate major sources of influence, the dashed lines secondary source:

**FIGURE: 5. LENSKI'S ELITE CIRCULATION:**



SOURCE: Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*.

NOTE: In the following figure, to make this diagram complete, one other dashed line should probably be added, indicating some feedback from prestige to power.

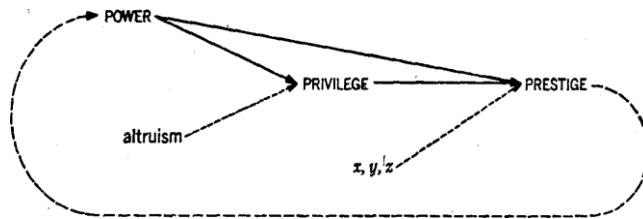


FIGURE: 6

SOURCE: Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*.

**Rulers versus governing classes**

Throughout the history of every agrarian society there has been an almost continuous struggle for power between the ruler and the governing class. Though the outward form of these struggles has been highly variable, their basic character has always been the same: each party has constantly fought to maximize its rights or prerogatives. In such a struggle, the ruler's ultimate objective was to make the enjoyment of power and privilege by members of the governing class directly dependent upon the performance of the crown and the ruler's continuing favor.<sup>86</sup> In every agrarian society the ruler and governing class employed or otherwise maintained a small army of officials, professional soldiers, household servants, and personal retainers, all of whom served them in a variety of more or less specialized capacities. These individuals, together with their families, constituted what might be called "the retainer class or classes". Though this is not a familiar label, it communicates better than of alternatives the most important characteristic of this class, namely its dependence on the political elite.<sup>87</sup>

## **Asaf Hussan**

Elite factionalism is a strong characteristic of Pakistan elite groups. It imposed the greatest strain on the political system when it developed along ethnic lines. Such factionalism, had split the professional elite into the West Pakistan Professional elite and the East Bengal Professional Elite. Similar factionalism in the landowning elite group led to the ethnicization of political forces of the NWFP and Baluchistan on one side, and Sind and Punjab on the other.<sup>88</sup> According to him, in Pakistan there are three different types of elites circulating can be observed: traditional, colonial, and emergent. The titles 'traditional', 'colonial', and 'emergent' used in the study denote time specific relationships in the historical context. Traditional thus refers to the period of Muslim rule, colonial to the period of British rule (since their formal takeover of India in 1857) and emergent elites were those that become politically active in the post 1947 period.<sup>89</sup> The net result of these various self-fulfilling political strategies was that there was considerable political strain on the Pakistani political system. Each elite group was continually engaged in mobilizing its resources to transform the state to safeguard its vested interests. With such transformations in mind, each regime emphasized some ideology to legitimize their systems.<sup>90</sup> The general frame of reference of study rests on two propositions, which apply to all societies.

The first is that every society can be divided into those who govern and those who are governed. The number of men who govern, the political organization and the political ideology may differ from state to state. Secondly, in every society political power is differentially distributed in the political system.<sup>91</sup> 'Political elites', are the power-holders in the body politics. In the general sense, political elites are those persons who possess more power or political influence than the non-elites (the masses). Governing elites, on the other hand, specifically refers the group /class who occupy leading positions in the political arena and exercise power.<sup>92</sup> The political arena, where the governing elites are concentrated and where most of the high level decision-making takes place, is the Central Cabinet of the Pakistan government.<sup>93</sup> Two types of relationship operate within the political system, which are used to mobilize resources for exercising power or influence over others. Temporary relationships are formed through horizontal and vertical alliances. On the other hand, permanent relationships link the political elites to the social structures to which they belong.<sup>94</sup> Horizontal alliances link elite groups with one another and vertical alliances link the elites with the non-elites or masses. The political elites always try to form such alliances, but at no time has any inter-elite or elite-mass consensus been visible in the political system of Pakistan. These alliances are formed through processes such as coalitions, compromises, corruption or coercion.<sup>95</sup>

## **Saeed Shafqat**

In Pakistani political system, he identified five types of elites, i.e., military elites (ME), bureaucratic elites (BE), industrial-merchant classes (IMC), political elites (PE), and religious elites (RE). Of these, military, bureaucracy and merchant-industrial classes dominate and they are the parameters of Pakistani political system.<sup>96</sup> He further explained circulation of elites in different phases of Pakistani politics. In the first phase (elite circulation 1947-1958), there are three

types of elite circulation in the society. Political elites, who led the nationalist movement and had high mobilization capacity, they inherited weak or almost non-existent political institutions. In the absence of political institutions, they fell on bureaucracy. On the other hand, the Muslims-merchant classes who provided the initial finance for the Pakistan movement and also migrated to Pakistan, emerged as an important coalitional component.<sup>97</sup> In 1958, the military acted to resolve the crisis and evolved as a new ruling coalition. This change of regime meant defining new rules e.g., EBDO slashed the role of political elite. New farmers, new Industrial, and commercial-industrial classes appeared between 1958 -1969.<sup>98</sup> Bureaucratic and military elites are dominant in this period and during 1970 elections, the nature and role of Islam was encouraged as an ideological component. It was under such an environment that Z.A.Bhutto (1971-77) had to formulate a ruling coalition and rejuvenate the structural components of Pakistan's political system.

Bhutto headed Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which was an umbrella organization, representing interests of feudals, middle class, intelligentsia, students, and labor. It had sympathizers in the military and bureaucracy. However political elites who dominated the decision making had social origins in the feudal and urban middle class.<sup>99</sup> In 1977 the military rule of General Zia – ul – Haq, chief of the army staff entered in the political arena and again military rule started in the country. Bhutto's trial, MRD movement, Islamization, Presidential Referendum and Non - Party Elections were the significant events during that period. Military, bureaucratic, religious, industrial and professional elites are significant elites in this period.<sup>100</sup> Junejo's government, and its dissolution, General Zia's accidental death, formation of IJI (Islami Jamhuri Ittehad) and finally PPP's government, (Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister) are the main events. Political, religious and middle farmer became prominent and military, bureaucratic, and industrial elites at the moment became less significant. In 1988 industrial, labour, women, newly industrial merchant classes are prominent. Military elites are still at the top with the cooperation of bureaucratic and industrial elite class.<sup>101</sup>

### **Robert LaPorte, JR.**

In this study, elite is defined as an identifiable group of individuals who exercise power, influence, and authority over non-elites. LaPorte analytically divides the population of Pakistan into four broad categories of people. First group is the modern, "ruling elite", identified as top-level military officers, the civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) officers, and leading businessmen and industrialists (including the "twenty families"). This "ruling elite" is Western-oriented and Western-schooled. They tended to favor a "controlled democracy", one with severe limitations on popular participation.<sup>102</sup> Second class is 'educated middle class', who are sophisticated enough to realize the possibilities of societal change or reform but economically restricted in their ability to influence change or reform. Occupational examples of these "transitional-dependents" include lawyers, academics, and journalists. Third group is "transitional-independents" are the thousands of students in Pakistani universities and colleges. They are "transitional-independents" because they lack the economic concerns of their older brothers, uncles, or fathers in the "transitional-independents" category.<sup>103</sup> Fourth group



‘transitional’ are the parochial, provincial rural and urban dwellers. This last category lumps together an especially broad mass of people (perhaps 90 percent of the population of undivided Pakistan—some 108 million), undifferentiated by location (urban or rural), occupation (industrial workers, unskilled urban laborers, village craftsman, peasants, agrarian proletariat, mini-farmers), regional affinities (Punjab, Northwest Frontier, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal), language, religion, caste, tribal identity, or other distinctions.<sup>104</sup> The main criticism of this categorization (and others like it) and the imputed behavior modes, values, and attitudes is that it is too broad and general and does not sufficiently differentiate between groups within each category.<sup>105</sup> According to LaPorte there are three major but overlapping elite groups in Pakistan:

- Political.
- Economic.
- Social.

The political elite groups are based on these following categories:

- The top-level military.
- The central elite civil services.
- Landowning Families.

Top level military are based on Colonel through general ranks, with emphasis on seniority in rank, and principally the army and air force, since the navy has not traditionally attracted the most ambitious sons of the landowning class and, therefore, has exercised a great deal of power relative to the other armed forces.<sup>106</sup> The central civil services are the Civil Services and the Foreign Services in Pakistan. The members of the large landowning families of the Punjab and Sind, who chose other occupations outside the Civil Service and the Military (this category would include, for example, such individuals as Z.A.Bhutto, who comes from a large landowning family in the Sind). This category has been a source of ministerial talent for all regimes in Pakistan since 1947.<sup>107</sup> In Pakistan, political power has been concentrated on the bureaucratic-military elites who were the successors of the British Raj.<sup>108</sup> In the 1950’s they functioned with a parliamentary façade of politicians and ministers, drawn largely from landlord interests, but there was no general election in Pakistan before 1970, and the government had been a military dictatorship since 1958.<sup>109</sup> The main beneficiaries of independence were (a) the bureaucracy and military themselves who have enjoyed lavish perquisites and had grown in number, (b) the new class of industrial capitalists, (c) professional people whose numbers have grown rapidly and (d) landlords in West Pakistan.<sup>110</sup>

## **Conclusion**

After reviewing the Western concept of elite and different author’s views about Pakistani society there are six types of elites in Pakistani politics, who holding power directly and indirectly in the country. These six types are: Military Elite, Bureaucratic Elite, Religious Elite, Industrial Elite, Landowning Elite and

Professional Elite and all become political elite when they take active part in politics. The artists and players are very popular and converting to be elite class also. In the west now players and artists are become elites because they are doing social work and become influential even in their society also.

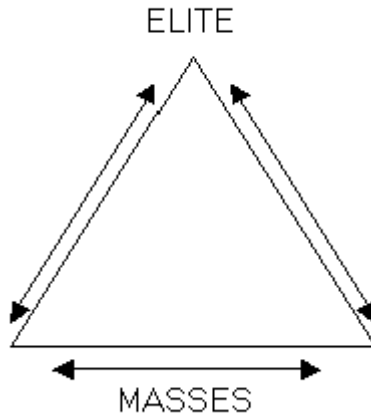
Finally, Elites are any influential figure in a society, who has enough capability to drive certain sections of people according to their own objectives. That person must have some capacity to set the styles, norms and values and change or alter the rules. He must be at the top of any institutions or organizations. Moreover elite is an individual, wealthy, influential, well - known and have intellectual superiority. Elite can be of two types:

- I. Hereditary factors: a person may have wealth (or status), which make him elite due to that wealth.
- II. Acquired: any individual or masses can become elite through proper education, training and intelligence. Through education and intelligence a person got status, and this status gave him power and this power can convert him into a wealthy person; an Elite.

So masses can be converts into elite through knowledge, education or experiences. This quality is necessary for elite also for the maintenance of their status. Otherwise they lose their present designation. So intelligence is the most important factor for masses who want to convert into elite and for elite, if they want to continuous enjoy their status. This can be proved by multinationals, who appointed experts for the betterment for their business. Finally, elite must be an intelligent person. While 'Circulation of Elite' is a process in which masses become elite and elite became masses. This process can be depends on the following types:

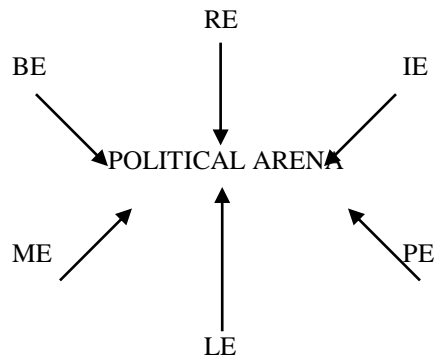
- I. Circulation between the elite and masses, (Elite lost their status and any person from Masses converts into elite class).
- II. Circulation between different categories of ruling elites.
- III. A process in which, one elite is replaced by another.

**FIGURE: 7. CIRCULATION OF ELITES**



In Pakistani politics, there are six types of elites circulation (Landinging, Military, Bureaucratic, Industrial, Religious and Professionals), who play significant role. All can be political elites when they take parts in politics. These elites are well represents in the following figure:

**FIGURE: 8. CIRCULATION OF ELITES IN PAKISTAN**



NOTE: Landowning Elite stands for (LE), Military Elite (ME), Bureaucratic Elite (BE), Industrial Elite (IE), Religious Elite (RE) and Professionals Elite for (PE).

The objective of the study was to understand the concept of elite and the circulation of elites in West and Pakistan. After reviewing the Western concept of elite and different author's view about Pakistani society there can be six types of elite circulation can be observed in Pakistani politics who holding power directly or indirectly. In a society like Pakistan circulation of elite is not much obvious. It is very hard to answer this question that who are the real power holders in Pakistan, and who are the best for governs? It is a big question as scholars are still seeking answers to the question posed by Robert Dahl in his book, *Who Govern?*

**Notes and References**

1. Jessica Kuper, (Ed.), *Political Science and Political Theory*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p.61.
2. Harry K. Girvetz, *Democracy and Elitism: Two Essays with Selected Readings*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).
3. Jessica Kuper, op.cit., p.141.
4. Robert LaPorte, JR., *Power and Privilege: Influence and Decision-Making in Pakistan*, (California: University of California Press, 1975); p.1.
5. Geraint Parry, *Political Elite*, (London: George Allens & Unwin Publishers Ltd., 1977), Fifth Impression; p. 15.
6. T. B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), pp. 7, 49.
7. Lewis A. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas in Historical and Social Context*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 397.
8. Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology*, (New York: Dover Publication, 1935), p. 1423.
9. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 7.
10. Edmund Leach and S. N. Mukherjee, (Ed.), *Elites in South Asia*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. ix.
11. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 8.
12. David Robertson, *A Dictionary of Modern Politics*, (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1993), Second Edition; pp. 160-161.
13. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p.48.
14. Ibid., p. 10, 49.
15. George Lenczowski, *Political Elite in the Middle East*, (Washington, D. C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1979), Third Printing; p. 3.
16. Lewis A. Coser, op.cit., p. 399.
17. Geraint Parry, op.cit., p. 60.
18. Graham C. Kinloch, *Sociological theory: Its Development and Major Paradigms*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), p. 119.
19. Lewis A. Coser, op.cit., p. 396.
20. Howard Becker, Alvin Boskoff, (Ed.), *Modern Sociological Theory: in Continuity and Change*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 274.
21. Ibid.
22. Jonathan H. Turner, Leonard Beeghley, et al., *The Emergence of Sociological Theory*, (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), Second Edition; p. 367.
23. Geraint Parry, op.cit., p. 45.
24. David Robertson, *A Dictionary of Modern Politics*, (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1993), Second Edition; pp. 160-161.
25. Howard Becker, Alvin Boskoff, op cit., p. 373.
26. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p.19.
27. Ibid., p.9.
28. Ibid., p.11.

29. Ruth A. Wallace, Alison Wolf, *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Continuing the Classical Tradition*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1991), Third Edition; p. 83.
30. Howard Becker, op.cit., p. 372.
31. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 55.
32. Ibid., p. 11.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
37. Ibid., p. 11.
38. Stephen Moore, Stephen P. Sinclair, *Sociology*, (London: Hodder Headline Pie, and Chicago: NTC Publishing, 1999), Fifth Impression; p. 213.
39. Richard Breen, David B. Rottman, *Class Stratification: A Comparative Perspective*, (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 19 ); pp. 23-24.
40. Anthony M. Orum, *Introduction to Political Sociology: The Social Anatomy of the Body Politic*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, INC., 1978), p. 21.
41. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 7.
42. Ibid., p. 19.
43. Richard Breen, David B. Rottman, op cit., pp. 23-24. Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), Reprinting; p. 212.
44. Ibid.
45. Anthony Giddens, op.cit., p.212.
46. Anthony M. Orum, op.cit., p. 45.
47. T. B. Bottomore, op.cit., p.7.
48. Ibid., Pp.96-97.
49. Ibid., Pp. 69,70,78.
50. Ibid., P. 33.
51. Ibid., P.13.
52. Ibid.
53. Stephen Moore with Stephen P. Sinclair, *Sociology*, (Chicago: NTC Publishing Group, 1995), p. 217.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Anthony Giddens, op.cit., p. 327.
57. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), Seventeenth Printing; p. 289.
58. Ibid.
59. George Lenczowski, op.cit., P. 2.
60. Huma Naz, *Bureaucratic Elites and Political Developments in Pakistan (1947-1958)*, (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-I-Azam University, 1990), p. 13.

61. Harold D. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1950), Reprinted; p. 3.
62. Heinz Eulau and Moshe M. Czudnowski, (Ed.), *Elite Recruitment in Democratic Politics*, (New York: Sage Publications, 1976), p. 10.
63. Ibid.
64. Harold D. Lasswell, op.cit., p. 3.
65. Ibid., p. 3-6.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., p.25,29.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., pp. 52,54,55.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., p. 103.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., pp. 129,145.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., p. 9.
78. Ibid., pp. 15-17.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., pp. 207-208.
82. Ibid.
83. Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 78.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p. 231.
87. Ibid., p. 243.
88. Asaf Hussain, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan*, (Kent: Wm Dawson & Sons Ltd, Cannon House Folkestone, 1979), p. 153.
89. Ibid., p. 36.
90. Ibid., p. 136.
91. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., p. 35.
94. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
95. Ibid.

96. Saeed Shafqat, *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy: Essays in Interpretation*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989), p. 24.
97. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
98. Ibid., p. 27.
99. Ibid., p. 36.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Robert LaPorte, JR., op.cit., pp.3, 12, 13.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., p. 13.
106. Ibid., p. 4.
107. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
108. Ibid., pp. 91-92.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.