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## Complexity Theory and Political Change: Talcott Parsons Occupies Wall Street [Presentation]

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# Complexity Theory & Political Change: Talcott Parsons Occupies Wall Street

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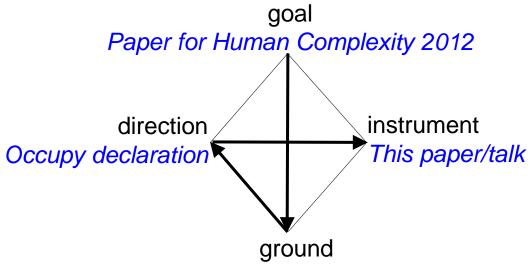
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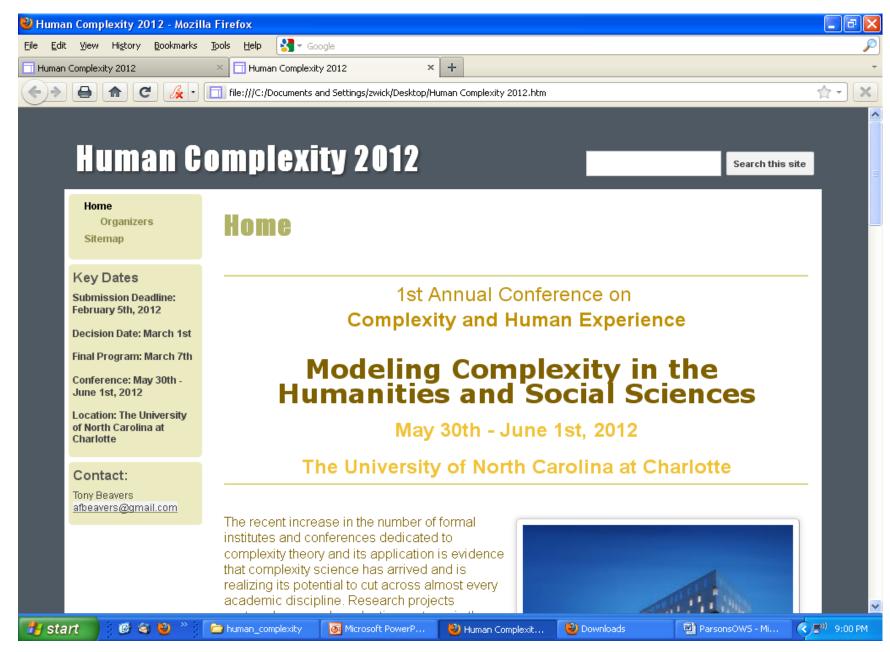
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#### Preface: back-story of this paper/talk



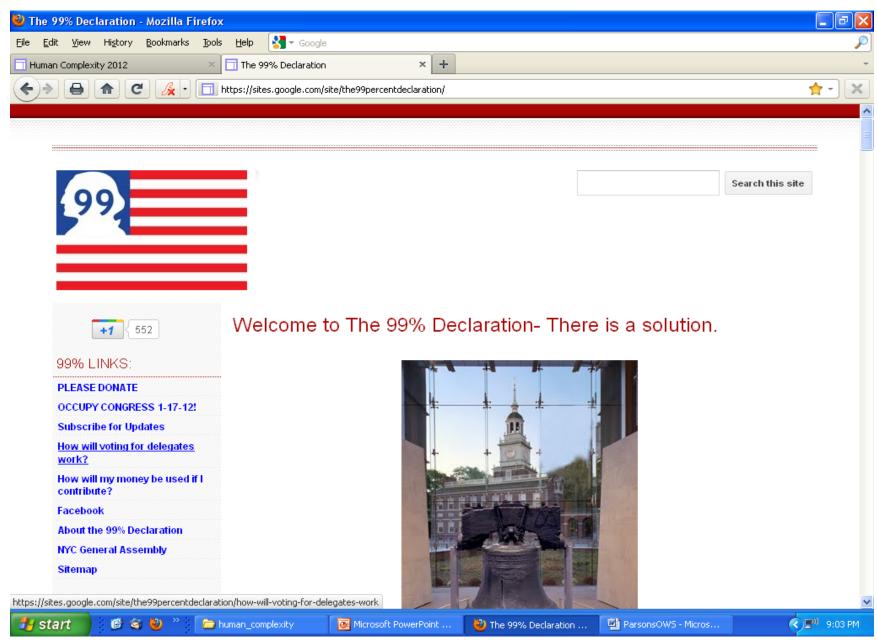
Book manuscript: Elements & Relations



#### Commentary, from Elements & Relations

#### SySc 521/621 Systems Philosophy, Spring 2012

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#### **Abstract**

- 1. What the Parsons' model says (in brief, in this context)
- 2. Parsons' model of societal systems (in more detail)
- 3. Using the model: flaws of societal structure
- 4. Fixing the flaws & OWS declaration
- 5. Summary

#### **Abstract**

Complexity (systems) theories can assist our understanding of social systems and social phenomena. This paper illustrates this assertion by linking Talcott Parsons' model of societal structure to the Occupy Wall Street movement.

Parsons' model is used to organize ideas about the underlying causes of the 2008 recession that to some extent still afflicts the US economy. While being too abstract to depict the immediate factors that precipitated this crisis, the model is employed to articulate the argument that vulnerability to this type of event results from flaws in societal structure.

This implies that such crises can be avoided only if, in Parsons' terms, structural change occurs in the relations between polity, economy, community, & culture. The Occupy movement has called attention to the need for such fundamental change.

## 1. What the model (as applied here) says

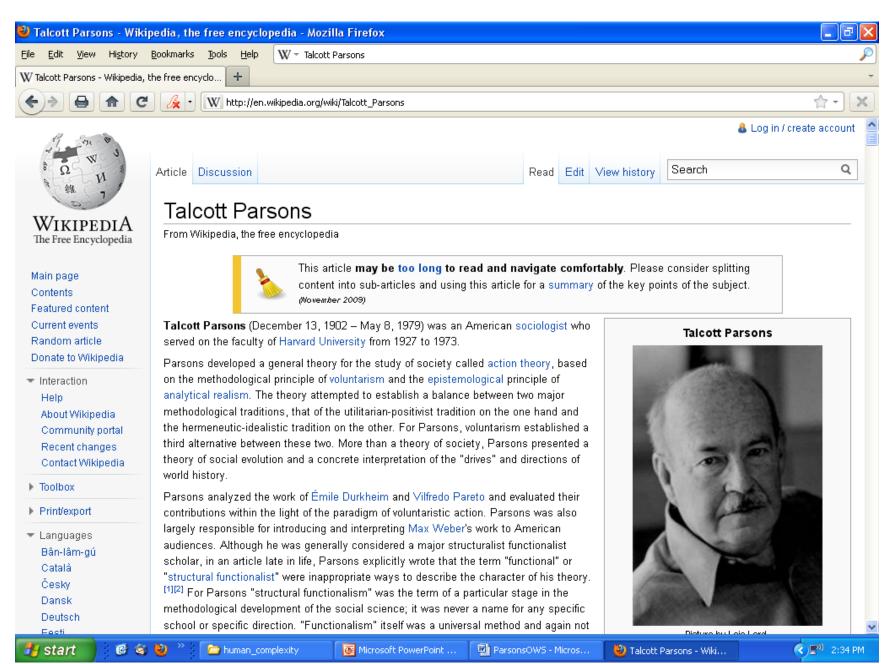
- A modern society, as distinct from a pre-modern society, is differentiated in that economy, polity, community, & culture are distinguishable from (but in interaction with) one another.
- In general, differentiation of a whole can be flawed:
   different aspects of a system can be linked together too
   weakly or too strongly, or one component can unduly
   influence other components.
- The 2008 US political-economic crisis and similar crises in the past are arguably the result of flawed differentiation, i.e., relations between economy, polity, community, & culture are at least partially dysfunctional. This may be the underlying cause of many (but not all) of the crises endemic to Western societies. These crises are systemic, & avoiding them requires structural change.

1. What the model says

#### 2. Parsons' model of societal systems

Parsons' action system (describing harmonies & disharmonies)
Action in societal system; cybernetic hierarchy; Habermas
Dyadic links (examples)
Intra-component structures: polity, economy

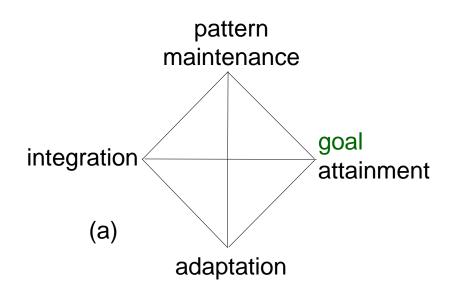
- 3. Flaws of differentiation
- 4. Fixing the flaws
- 5. Summary

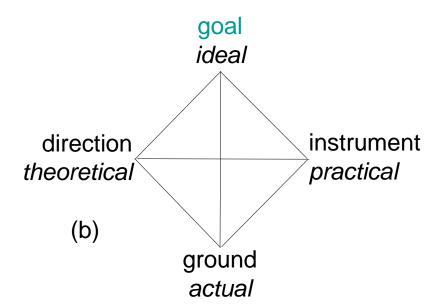


#### Parsons' action system

Parsons' action system

Bennett's similar system (purposeful action)

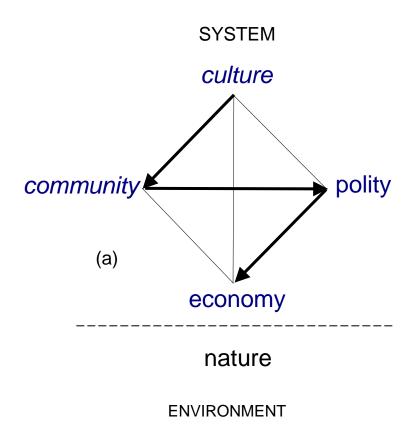


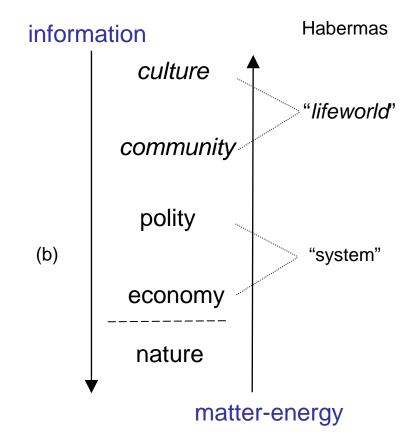


#### Action in societal system

Parsons' tetrad applied to societal systems

Hierarchical information (arrows) & matter-energy flows



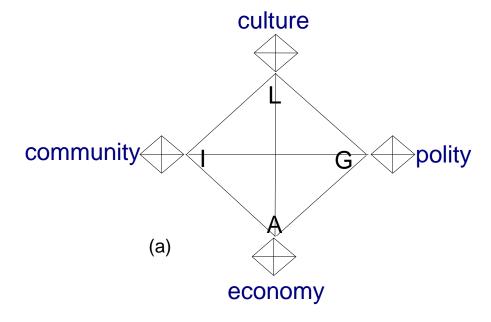


## Dyadic links (examples)

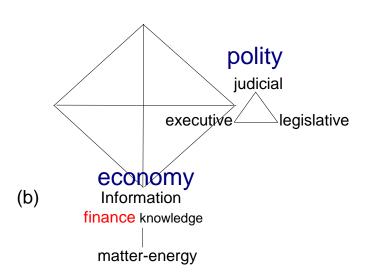
Component dyads	Relations (examples)
Economy-polity	economy is partially autonomous and partially controlled by the polity
Community-polity	civil society determines and participates in the political order
Culture-community	cultural values guide but do not legally constrain private activity
Culture-polity	church is separated from state
Culture-economy	culture is independent of, yet supported by, commercial life
Community-economy	interpersonal relations not dominated by those of economic exchange

## *Intra-component structures*

#### Parsons' fractal scheme



#### Other decompositions



- 1. What the model essentially says
- 2. Parsons' model of societal systems

#### 3. Using the model: flaws of societal structure

#### Inter-component flaws:

Economy → polity reversal of control Loss of polity → economy control

Economy as leading part (structure is non-normative)
Economy→ community negative externalities

Intra-component flaws within polity, economy

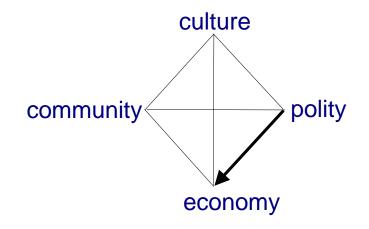
Digression: model relevant to other issues

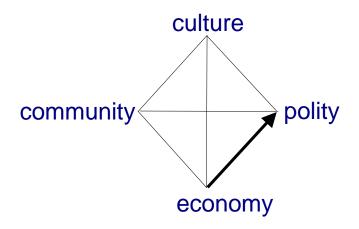
- 4. Fixing the flaws
- 5. Summary

### Economy→ polity reversal of control

According to Parsons' model

As it arguably is in US today

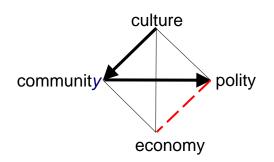




Because of: lobbying, benefits, e.g., campaign contributions revolving door, etc.

#### Loss of polity → economy control

Deregulation, an absent (or ineffective) link



Corporate "personhood," structurally, an error

"one dollar, one vote"

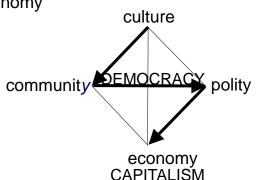
Corporate "personhood"

Real personhood

"one person, one vote"

culture culture community polity polity community. economy economy

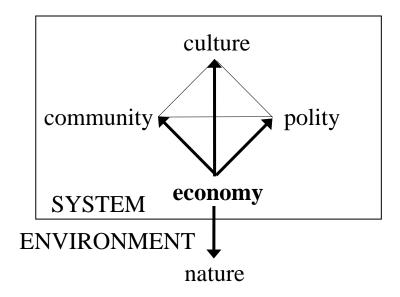
Two organizing principles: (a consequence of *differentiation*) democracy vs. capitalism



#### Economy as "leading part" (this structure is non-normative)

If economy dominates other components, it is a "leading part" (von Bertalanffy), a "hub."

Having a "leading part" reflects a structure that is not normative, given Parsons' model.



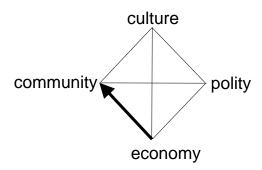
A system with a leading part manifests a "fundamentalism."

#### Economy→ community negative externalities

Immediate effects of 2008 recession:

loss of jobs, homes, savings

Longer term effect of economy as leading part: extreme income inequality



Polity unable to prevent negative externalities of economy or force them to be internalized.

### Intra-component flaws: polity, economy

#### Polity:

Executive vs. legislative deadlock Regulatory agency (intra-executive) ineffectiveness

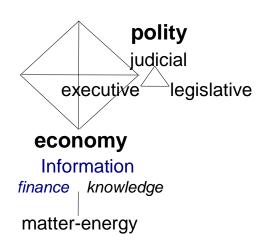
#### Economy:

Hypertrophy of (finance sector of) informational sub-component Profits of this sector disproportionate to its function.

Also hypertrophy of firms within finance sector: "too big to fail".

High connectivity in economy brings vulnerability to collapse.

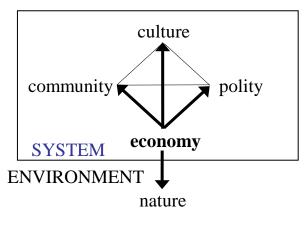
Bubbles show non-optimality, vulnerability to speculation.



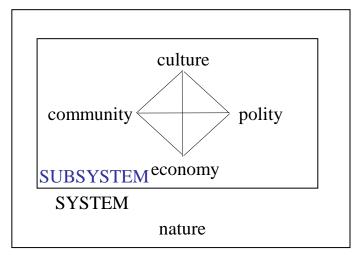
#### Digression: Parsons' model relevant to other issues

#### Existing economy → nature link endangers biosphere

Present structure not sustainable



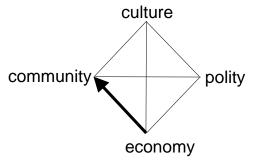
(a) "texture" (imagined relation)



(b) "embeddedness (actual relation)

A smaller issue illustrating a structural flaw:

Employment-based health insurance: an irrational community-economy link



- 1. What the model says
- 2. Parsons' model of societal systems
- 3. Flaws of differentiation

#### 4. Fixing the flaws

Needed changes & some Occupy demands
Weakening economy→ polity link
Strengthening polity→ economy link
Strengthening community→ polity link

5. Summary

## Table 1. Needed structural changes

Parsons' model	Some Occupy demands
	(& other correctives)
Economy→ polity (weaken)	Separate "guardian," commercial functions (Jacobs, Plato)
Polity→ economy	Empower regulation
(strengthen)	keyed to scale
Economy→ community (modify)	Prevent, internalize, neutralize negative externalities
Community→ polity	Election reform,
(strengthen)	regulatory transparency

### Weakening economy → polity link (1/3)

Guardian ethics for the polity, separated from commercial ethics for the economy

Public funding of elections

Abolishing corporate "personhood"



#### Weakening economy → polity link (2/3)

by separating guardian, commercial functions

- "3. Elimination of All Private Benefits and "Perks" to Politicians. The 99% of the American People demand the immediate prohibition of special benefits to all federal public employees, officers, officials or their immediate family members. Public officials, politicians and their immediate families shall be banned from ever being employed by any corporation, individual or business that the public official specifically regulated while in office. No public employee, officer, official or their immediate family members shall own or hold any stock or shares in any corporation or other entity that the public official specifically regulated while in office until a full 5 years after their term is completed.
- There shall be a complete lifetime ban on the acceptance of all gifts, services, money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, by any elected or appointed public official or their immediate family members, from any person, corporation, union or other entity that the public official was charged to specifically regulate while in office. The term "specifically regulate" shall mean service on a committee or sub-committee or service within any agency or department of the federal government responsible for the regulation of the person, union, corporation or entity seeking to directly or indirectly confer a benefit to a public official."

#### Weakening economy → polity link (3/3)

#### by other means

- "1. Elimination of the Corporate State ... Private fundings of campaigns from concentrated sources of wealth have corrupted our political system. Therefore, all private funding of political campaigns shall be replaced by the fair, equal and total public financing of all federal political campaigns...
- It has been estimated that 94% of all federal political campaigns are won by the candidate who spends the most money. Our elected representatives spend far too much of their time fundraising for the next election rather than doing the People's business. This constant need for more and more money, causes our politicians to labor under conflicts of interest that make it impossible for them to act in the best interests of the American People."
- "2. Abrogation of the "Citizens United" Case. The immediate abrogation, even if it requires a Constitutional Amendment, of the outrageous and anti-democratic Supreme Court holding in Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission. This heinous decision proclaimed by the United States Supreme Court in 2010 equates the payment of money to politicians by corporations, wealthy individuals and unions with the exercise of protected free speech. We, the 99% of the American People, demand that institutional bribery never again be deemed protected free speech."

## Strengthening polity -> economy link

Restoration & enhancement of regulatory powers

Regulation scale-dependent & scale-controlling

Principle of scale should be as important as separation of powers

Regulating connectivity, bubble-producing activity

Problem of inadequate economic theory



### Strengthening community→ polity link

#### Campaign finance & other election reforms

(Is it wise to institute term limits and/or abolish Electoral college?)

- 4. <u>Term Limits</u>. Members of the United States House of Representatives shall be limited to...no more than four two-year terms in their lifetime. Members of the United States Senate shall be limited to...no more than two six-year terms... Serving as a member of Congress or as the President of the United States is one of the highest honors and privileges our culture can bestow. These positions of prominence in our society should ... not provide a lifetime career designed to increase personal wealth and... power...
- 19. Abolish the Electoral College, Comprehensive Campaign Finance and Election Reform. ...abolishment of the Electoral College in favor of the Popular Vote in presidential elections... Subject to the ...ban on all private money and gifts in politics, Congress shall immediately enact additional campaign finance reform requiring the Federal Communications Commission to grant free air-time to all federal candidates; total public campaign financing ...; implementation of nationwide uniform election rules applied to all voting districts...; abolition of "gerrymandering"... issuance of free voter registration cards to all citizens...

- 1. What the model essentially says
- 2. Parsons' model of societal systems
- 3. Flaws of differentiation
- 4. Fixing the flaws

#### 5. Summary

Complexity theory can augment social sciences Systemic problems require systemic solutions Parsons' model a framework for discussion

#### Political principles

#### Political principles suggested by use of Parsons' model

Democracy OP must have primacy over Capitalism OP.

Normative path of control (community → polity → economy) needs strengthening

(separation of "guardian," commercial roles)

Regulation must be keyed to scale (≠ socialism).

Polity must protect community & nature from negative externalities of economy.

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