

Introduction to Political Theory

DEPOL110

Edited by
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LOVELY
PROFESSIONAL
UNIVERSITY



Introduction to Political Theory

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Dr. Shiv Kumar**

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Unit 01 :Introduction to Political Theory

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Objectives

- understand the difference between political philosophy, thought and theory
- acquire knowledge of debates over the meanings of political theory
- examine the role of the major traditions in the evolution of political theory
- analyze the role of modern/contemporary approaches in the study of political theory
- acquire knowledge of debates over the relevance of political theory in the contemporary period
- understand the future scope of political theory

Introduction

Political theory is more than just a theory about politics and the debates that surround it. It is also the science of politics, the philosophy of politics at that. To understand the theory in Bluhnen words, political theory “stands for an abstract model of the political order... a guide to the systematic collection and analysis of political data”. Political theory is not based on imaginary thoughts or interpretations but it contains new fundamental idea’s with future vision for society. It is basically to find the political realities through deep investigations of facts and analysis. It is not all scientism, though it seeks to reach the roots of all political activity analytically and systematically. Though it seeks to defend one political system while criticizing another, it is not philosophy. It is theoretical, scientific, philosophical, and complex all at the same time, with the goal of achieving a better social order. It thus contains elements of ‘theory,’ ‘science,’ ‘philosophy,’ and ‘ideology,’ to varying degrees.

What is Political Theory?

To understand the meaning of political theory first we need to discuss the meaning of political philosophy. Philosophy is mother of all social science disciplines or umbrella which other social science disciplines grow within in time span. It was one of the central parts of debates and discussion among the ancient Greek-city scholars. The English word philosophy originated from Two Greek words, Philo (Love) + Sophia (Wisdom) which refers for love of wisdom or Search of Wisdom. Therefore, Philosophy means the search or love for general fundamental questions such as knowledge, values, logic, language and truth etc. Basically, Socrates used this technique in his regular discussion and debates in the ancient Greek city states.



Did You Know?

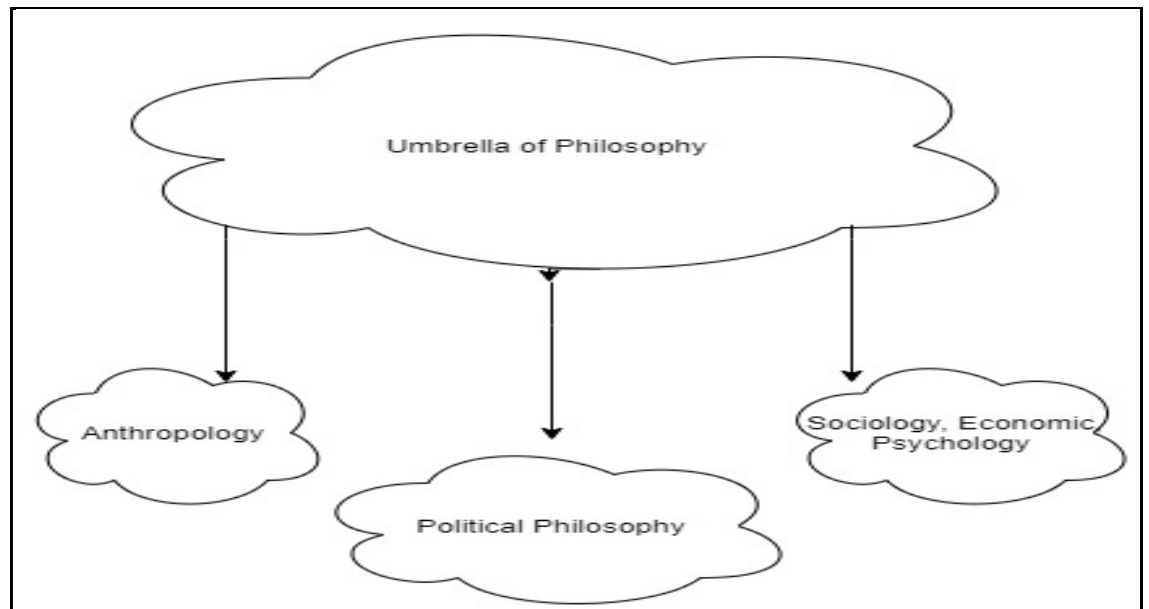


Figure: 1 Umbrella of Philosophy

Further, these techniques used to find the ultimate true values in the political phenomenon debates by ancient Greek scholars such as Plato, Aristotle etc. Therefore, Political philosophy is love or search for true political values, knowledge and reason of mind. These thinkers used a discussion methods, rational argument and critical thinking to find the true political values in the study for political events and political phenomenon's.



Case Study

The term 'theory,' on the other hand, is a Greek word that is connected to two other words:

- I. Theoria, which refers to the task of understanding what is going on around us. This is referred to as theorising.
- II. Theorema, which refers to the conclusion reached as a result of theorising. These are known as 'theorems. 'The first specialty of both of these terms is that they differentiate between the activity of theorizing and outcome of the activity.

This suggests that the term "theorising" refers to the process of comprehending an event. This does not mean that any finding or outcome must be shown to be true. This is just a discovery, study, or investigation method. Theorizing begins with events that occur in our immediate environment and of which we have some knowledge. Theorizing begins when the theorist is frustrated with his incomplete understanding and wishes to grasp it in greater depth and on a rational basis. Theorization is a research-based activity for understanding.



Did You Know?

Theorem will help us better understand an event that we previously couldn't comprehend. This Theorization implies a constant, unhindered effort. This starts with a topic or event about which we are only vaguely familiar but must gain a thorough understanding. This implies that it is a method of comprehending an action or subject and acquiring information. Its basic motto is 'Never Say the end ' i.e., this process to understand will continue till the incident or the subject become totally transparent, till each and every mystery is solved or till the Theorist is left with no questions worth asking. The job of a theorist is to comprehend the facts of an experience or an occurrence using the same assumptions or the same arrangement of assumptions, i.e., using a set of similar assumptions such as objective, purpose, result, justification independence, equality, and satisfaction.

Secondly, if the definition of theorization is the willingness to accept the meaninglessness of any subject, then politics is the condition, limit, or central point where theorization is needed. In political theory, the term "political" refers to the state of affairs. Similar 'Theory', 'Politics' is also a Greek word which has evolved from the word 'Polis' which is called 'City-State' i.e., the community to take decision for all the perspectives of the good life of a community philosophy like Aristotle have tried to define politics in context of understanding the political activities and their working.



Example Aristotle said "Man is a political creature", which Indicates towards the fundamental human need of the society and also towards the fact that man can achieve self-attainment only through the middling of politics. Aristotle valued 'Politics' because it represented a shared political space in which all people could participate. In today's world, the term "political" refers to the state and its associated structures, such as government, legislation, and popular policy. Despite numerous notions, the modern city-state or state has remained a popular topic for political theorists in the past. Say for instance, Will Kimilika has said, "Most of the western political theorists have been working on such an ideal model of city state in which all citizen share an ordinary lineage, language and culture. "Here political aspect of the political theory has been related to form, nature and organization of the state and government and the study of their relation with the individual citizens. On the other hand, the word 'politics' or 'political' was derived from Greek word 'polis' which denoted ancient Greek city-state. Therefore, Political Science is study of state, government and its different organs such as executive, legislative, judiciary, bureaucracy, political parties and different organizations of state.

1.1 Nature and Evolution of Political Theory

As previously mentioned, political theory is the analysis of state phenomena from both a metaphysical and empirical standpoint. Political thought, political theory, and political science are all concepts that are used in this sense. Despite the fact that they are both concerned with explaining political events, political theory is distinct. Political theory differs significantly from political philosophy and ideology. Let's look at the first essence of the nature of political theory in the points below.

Firstly, Political thinking is commonly considered to be the general thought comprising the theories and ideals of all those individuals or a segment of the population who think and write about the state's day-to-day practises, policies, and decisions. Philosophers, authors, journalists, poets, political commentators, and others can fall into this category. Political thought may take many different forms, including treatises, speeches, political commentaries, and so on. What's interesting about political thinking is that it's 'time bound,' because governments' policies and programmes shift over time. As a result, we have ancient Greek and Roman thought, as well as mediaeval political thought.

Secondly, Political theory, on the other hand, is the systematic speculation of a single author who focuses on the phenomena of the state. This speculation is based on a set of hypotheses that may or may not be true and are subject to scrutiny. According to the researcher, theory offers a model for explaining political fact. As a result, different political theories from the same time will exist. Political theory is often focused on a specific discipline, such as politics, history, economics, or sociology. Lastly, the task of theory is not only to explain the political reality but also to change it (or to resist change), political theory can be conservative, critical or revolutionary.

Thirdly, political theory is based on empirical evidences and logical reasoning (2+2=4) based. It is more based on sense experience than a philosophical and theoretical.

Fourthly, political theory is also focused on evaluative and value judgment based study such as "man is born free and equal". It analyzes the human values on the ground of critical and logical reasoning based.

Fifth, political theory explains the individual, society and history. They test the nature of individual and society—how a society is formed and how does it work, what are its main elements, which are the main sources of conflicts and how they can be sorted out.

Sixth, Political theory's goal is to not only comprehend and articulate political fact, but also to gather resources for social change and to accelerate the historical process. Say for instance, Laski has written "The work of political theory is not only to describe the facts but also to finalise what should be."

Seventh, Ideology is used in political philosophy. In everyday language, ideology refers to a set of beliefs, principles, and ideas that rules people. Liberalization, Marxism, socialism, and other philosophies exist in today's world. Since Plato to till date every political theory is a reflection one or the ideology. Political Theory, in the context of political philosophy, explains the political ideals, institutions, and behaviours that society accepts as ideal.

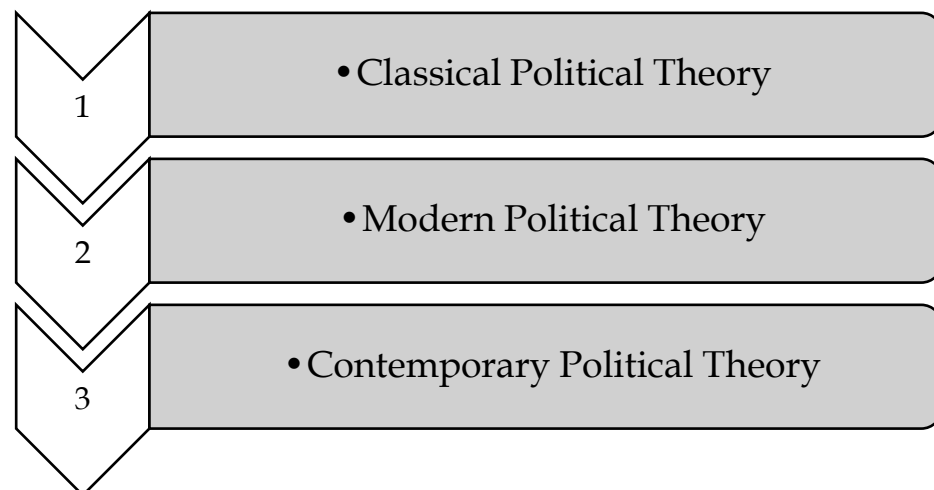


Liberalization policy, for example, has long dominated political theory in Western Europe and the United States. Marxism, on the other hand, was the most powerful ideology in China and the Soviet Union. In this context, one thing is clear: each ideology portrays itself as the absolute and all-encompassing reality, compelling others to embrace it. As a result, ideological disagreement has become an important aspect of political philosophy.

1.2 Evolution Process of Political Theory

However, the readers of political science or political theory also need to understand the evolution process of political theory. Political scientist has divided the evolution process of political theory in the three major periods.

Figure: 2 Evolution of Political Theory



Did You Know?

1) Classical political theory or traditional process of political theory develops in the ancient Greek culture through the writing of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. It focused specially in the interpretation of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Classical political theory had been also largely focused on ethical and moral perspective. It had been focused especially comparative studies.

2) Modern political theory facts based study has become more relevant then values based study. Methodology has been also focused more quantitative then ethical. It this period inter-disciplinary synthesis was popular or in the central approach among the political scientist.

3) Contemporary political theory has been focused mainly conceptual analysis such as Sovereignty, Democracy and Justice. It focused on critique of all forms of foundationalism such as post-modernists or the liberal defenders. It has been largely focused on explanation, investigation and new interpretations.

1.3 Different Traditions in the Study of Political Theory

Liberal Tradition

The long hypnotism of classic culture was broken by revival, religious amendment, and the industrial revolution. Revival ushered in a new intellectual climate that spawned modern science, philosophy, and, most recently, political ideas. This was referred to as "global liberalisation." Writers like Grasham, Adam Smith, Hobbs, Lock, Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Bentham, J.S. Mill, and Herbert Spenser best exemplified this non-ideology. Whereas conventional political philosophies centred on how moral growth and society are connected, liberalism introduced the concept of the autonomous and sovereign person. Extreme individualism is at the heart of liberal ideology.



Task

The first was a total belief in the human being, moral equality for all, and the right to fulfill one's desires.

Secondly, liberal political philosophies promoted individual liberty in all aspects of life, including political, economic, social, intellectual, and religious freedom. Here, freedom was described as the freedom from all forces that are imposed on a person without his permission, as well as the freedom to do work based on his rational intellect.

Thirdly, Individual rights were established through liberalism, which meant that everyone had certain natural rights before the origin states, which mostly included rights to life, liberty, and property. Since those privileges aren't granted by the state, she can't take them away. These are an individual's rights that are earned rather than given.

Fourthly, Instead of being a natural institution, liberalism policy declared that the state is a man-made institution dependent on individual consent. The state-individual relationship is the product of their mutual agreement if the state enters into this arrangement, it is not only his right, but also his responsibility, to reject and amend it. Rather than being natural, the state is a machine that a person has created to serve his or her particular interests, such as law and order, defence, justice, and the protection of rights, among others. State is a means not a product.

Fifthly, Liberal political theories rejected the idea of 'Public Interest' and 'Group Community'. Its idea was the Government which works the least is the best Government and community meant the individual living in community. The aim of liberal political theory was not to search the state but to free the individual from the social, economic binds and from the dictatorship and non-representative form of Government. In this context ideas like State and the relation between state and individual were redefined and ideas like rights, freedom, equality, property, justice, democracy were developed for individual.



Did You Know?

Liberalism believes individual to be independent, egoist and selfish creative and state to be a place where individual struggle for their interests, so it considers politics to such a social activity which resolves the conflicting issues in the society, constructs the law and order, brings unity and fraternity, serves for the social interest and clears the path for peaceful social transformation. The various ways in which it solves the social issues are:

1. Constitutional laws;
2. Political Institutions;
3. Social welfare;
4. Cultural tradition. In the social conflicts, institutional law plays the role of final decision maker.

These are the most powerful means in the society because the fear of punishment is these with them. In this both the laws made by main constitutional paragraph and the laws from time to time by legislative are included which fix the limits of the competitions among the individuals and groups. Apart from these rules, liberalism has established many democratic structures such as democracy, legislative institutions, political participation, political parties, omnipresent voting

rights for adults, citizen and political rights, pressure groups such as independent institutions, business community, trade unions, and so on over the last 300 years. People become active in the political and social processes as a result of their participation in those institutions.

Aside from that, liberal politics has morphed into welfare. Liberalism positively intervenes in the economic and social life in order to resolve disputes. Capitalism seeks to reduce tension sources by regulating society and implementing policies such as free education, health care, and social security. Apart from that, it uses intellectual and cultural means such as education, mass media, propaganda, and religion to achieve broad agreement. It promotes cooperation and peace, emphasising the importance of achieving harmony in the interests of a free and independent society through discussions and talks. It is pro-capitalist and pro-welfare state on the economic level.

Marxist Tradition

Karl Marx, Engels, and their followers confronted liberal individualist political philosophies with scientific socialism in the late nineteenth century. Today, no political philosophy can neglect Marx's description of history, culture, economics, and politics, among other things. Marxism has aided us in gaining a theoretical and sequential understanding of the mechanism of social and economic growth. Marxism introduced a new philosophical concept centred on total individual liberty. The aim of science, according to it, is not only to comprehend the universe, but also to affect physical changes in human existence. According to Marx, exists only in this world and can be achieved only by introducing fundamental reforms to current social structures and creating a socialist society. The main complaint of Marx against the Liberal Capitalist arrangement was that this is a civilization of property, inequality and some luxury of some wealthy families which creates the conditions of exploitation for the common man. On the opposite, socialism aims to establish, if not all, then at least some of the conditions for individual liberty. It seeks to create a society in which one person's abuse by another is no longer accepted and in which everyone has the ability to improve his or her abilities. There will be such a class free and state-free society in which development of each individual will be the necessary for the development of society. Marxists political theory is basically, a theory of social change and revolutionary re-construction of the society.



Task: In this context there are three inter-related elements of Marxism;

- (i) Investigation and criticism of societies of past and present. This is called Dual Materialism or Historical Materialism.
- (ii) In comparison to a class-divided and exploiting society, there is the option of building a new society. This society would be focused on collective control of the means of production. This would be a world without classes or governments.
- (iii) This anti-capitalist revolution will be brought about by the marginalised group's revolution, which will result in the development of a group-free and state-free society after all other groups have been abolished. The structure of development, class division, class conflict, wealth management, the state as a weapon of a specific party, revolution, and so on are the key elements of Marxist political theory. Marxism also looked at rights, independence, equality, prosperity, justice, and democracy, but came to the conclusion that in a class-divided society, these could be turned into special privileges for the rich. In a class-free and state-free society, true equality can be attained.



Task: Individuals are social creatives, according to Marxism, and the nature of an individual lies in the completions of his social relationships. 'Man in culture' is the concept of a man. The structure of production is the foundation of society, which is a living institution. A society founded on the control of the means of production has historically been a class-divided society. This was a society divided between those who owned and did not own means of production, as well as between the rich and the poor. The conflict between have and have not is center of Marxist

philosophy. Even for Marxism, politics in society begins with quarrels and disputes, but this conflict is a class conflict that gives class power the right to exist. Marxism started with the creations of Marx and Engels and was later strengthened by many thinkers, political figures, revolutionaries, educators, and others in the form of social, economic, and political philosophy and action. Many other streams arose from Marxism in the twentieth century. Lenin, Stalin, Bukharin, Mao, Rosa Luxemburg, Gramsci, Lukach, Astro-socialist, Frankfurt School, New Left Front, and Euro-Socialism are some of the most prominent Marxists. Marxism was stubborn before the First World War, and it was a symbol of such a socio-economic transition that peaked during the Russian revolution. After WWII, Marxism began to put less focus on progressive aspects and more emphasis on critique of current, socio-economic, and cultural phenomena. 'Contemporary Marxism, and its philosophy is more based on mindful of superstructure, history, Literature, Aesthetic, ideology, and separatism.

Conservatism Tradition

Essentially, conservatism is a political ideology that seeks to preserve everything about a world that it considers to be the greatest. This is in opposition to any drastic transition. In the period 1750-1850, modern European conservatism emerged as a response to the pace and nature of change. Some of the most significant changes were the ideas of enlightenment, the French Revolution, industrialization (particularly in England), and the right to vote for everybody (specially for males). These violent changes elicited a response from those who realised how far-reaching and fast-moving these changes are. Conservatism is opposed to societal reform. They argue that these shifts are harmful to conventional values, morals, and social structures. The conservatism's main point is that successful traditions would continue to be successful in the future before a strong argument is raised against them, and even if that occurs, any improvements should be made in a gradual and developmental manner so that they appear to be part of the society's normal growth.



Task: Edmund Berk's ideas, which he articulated as a response to the French Revolution, are the first direct example of conservatism; Berk framed his ideas in the context of a reaction against the ideas of society inspired by the reality of formlessness, but he did not use the term "conservatism." Furthermore, Abraham Cooper, a Dutch religious scholar, coined the term at the end of the nineteenth century. Berk was concerned about the coming of the wise age, and he advocated for traditional institutions and traditions to counteract it. Berk's argument was that the academic growth of the same people varied. Similarly, some people can rule better than others if they use their intelligence.

According to Berk, the construction of any Government cannot be done on the basis of the point of formlessness. Its construction is the continuity of the important social institutions like family, church etc. and on the basis of the sequential development based on experience. His logic was that tradition is the root of many traditions' experiences, and it has been tried and tested. Logic, on the other hand, can be nothing more than a cover for a person's past experiences and it is an expression of just one generation's intellect.

Despite, Berk's acceptance of the fact that a state without the ability to improve is robbed of the ability to conserve. He felt that any improvements should be incremental rather than revolutionary. Fundamental changes in the nature of human inter-personal relationships responsible for bringing changes in the name of some hypothesis or vote could have dramatic consequences. Conservatism believe that the working of change should be minimum and periodical. They extol history and, despite their idealistic nature, are pragmatic. They contain elements such as devotion to customs, culture, grouping, obedient lower class, and paternal benevolence in their natural form. However, independent ideology, too much individualism, free market, law and order, and a minimal position of government in which culture, tradition, and benevolence are almost non-existent may be taken in the opposite direction. On a theoretical and functional basis, these low streams of conservatism are incomparable.

Summary

Democratic theory is a theory of what it means to be 'political,' as well as the ideology and science of what it means to be 'political.' Sabine describes political theory as "something about or related to politics" in a broad sense. Bluhm provides a more detailed description of political theory. He said,

“... political theory is an explanation of what politics is all about, general understanding of the political world, a frame of reference. Without one, we should not be able to recognize an event as political, decide anything about why it happened, judge whether it was good or bad, or decide what was likely to happen next....” Political theory is history in the sense that it is founded on facts; philosophy in the sense that it assesses phenomena; and science in the sense that it describes things scientifically. Political philosophy has progressed from a normative to a scientific state. It is envisioned as a synthesis of history, philosophy, and science, as well as normativism and empiricism. Political ideology isn't just a mirage; it's alive and well. Its value stems from the fact that it is a realistic operation. It provides us with not only a theory of man, culture, or history, but also a theory of action, such as change, revolution, or conservation.

Key words/ Glossary

Political Philosophy, Political Thought, Political Theory, Traditional and Modern Approaches.

Self-Assessment/Evaluation

Q1. Word Philosophy means originated from:

- a) Philo + Sophia
- b) Philip + Sophia
- c) Pholo+ Sopiya
- d) None of above

Q2. Word 'politics' or 'political' derived from Greek word:

- a) Polo
- b) Polis
- c) Polish
- d) None of above

Q3. Word 'Theory' originated from the Greek word:

- a) Theresa
- b) Theoria
- c) True
- d) None of above

Q4. Classical political theory largely depends:

- a) Ethical in perspective
- b) Philosophical in perspective
- c) Practical in perspective
- d) Both 1 and 2

Q5. Contemporary political theory depends:

- a) New interpretations and investigations
- b) Philosophical in nature
- c) Based on empirical studies
- d) None of above

Q6. Theory is largely based:

- a) Empirical study
- b) Imagination study
- c) Religious study
- d) None of above

Q7. The term 'Politics' derived from:

- a) Latin word 'polis'
- b) Greek word 'polis'
- c) Spanish word 'polis'
- d) None of above

Q8. Scope of Political Theory is:

- a) Study of Power
- b) To determine political principles
- c) Study of State and government
- d) All of the above

Q9. Mark the correct statement related to the Traditional View of politics.

1. Politics is the study of state and the government
2. Study of analysis of the whole of the political system
3. Class struggle between haves and have not
4. Relationship between an environment and the system

Q10. A man by nature is a social and political animal is the cornerstone of the philosophy of:

1. Plato
2. Socrates
3. Aristotle
4. Montesquieu

Q11. Politics has been divided into two separate parts theoretical politics and applied politics by:

1. Aristotle
2. Machiavelli
3. Polloch
4. None of above

Q12. Who assumed leadership of the Academy after Plato's death?

1. Hermeias
2. Xenocrates
3. Eudemus
4. Speusippus

Q13. In which year was Aristotle invited to tutor Alexander?

1. 345 B.C.
2. 344 B.C.
3. 343 B.C.
4. 342 B.C.

Q14. Which book is often criticized for being disorganized?

1. Politics
2. Ethics
3. Poetics
4. Rhetoric

Q15. What was Aristotle's attitude toward slavery?

1. He disapproved strongly
2. He disapproved reluctantly
3. He considered it to be against nature
4. He considered it to be natural

Answers of Self-Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. B | 3. B | 4. D | 5. A |
| 6. A | 7. B | 8. D | 9. A | 10. C |
| 11. C | 12. D | 13. C | 14. A | 15. D |

Review Questions

1. What is meant by the word 'theory'?
2. What is political theory?
3. What, in your opinion, should be the subject-matter of political theory?
4. Distinguish between political theory, political philosophy and political science.
5. Explain the major features of modern political theory.
6. What, in your opinion, are the major tasks before political theory?



Further Reading

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Unit 02: Approaches to Study Political Theory

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2.2 Modern Approaches in the Study of Political Theory

2.3 Significance of Political Theory

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Self-Assessment/Evaluation

Answers of Self-Assessment

Review Questions

Further/Suggested Readings

Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the traditional and Modern approaches approaches in the study of political theory
- analyze the role of traditional approaches in study of political theory
- examine the role of Models of Modern/ Contemporary approaches in study of political theory
- understand the relevance of political theory in the study of contemporary theory
- understand the future significance of political theory

Introduction

Certain protocols must be observed in the study of political science and in the quest for political reality. Approaches, processes, tactics, and strategies are all terms used to describe these procedures. Approaches are particularly important in the study of social sciences because they assist us in defining the issues for our research and deciding on the best data to use. However, it is important to distinguish between an approach and a method, another term often used by social scientists. It is important to remember that the two terms are not synonymous. A method can be described as a specific way or technique for carrying out a task. It denotes a methodical approach to obtaining a reliable body of information regarding a specific problem or phenomenon and drawing conclusions from it. There are quite a few methods that are applied in the study of social sciences such as deductive method, inductive method, comparative method, scientific method and so on. An approach, on the other hand, is a more generic concept that includes both the process (i.e. how to research or inquire) and the related data (i.e. what to study) for the purpose of comprehending a specific phenomenon. The study of political theory measured around the study of traditional and modern approaches.

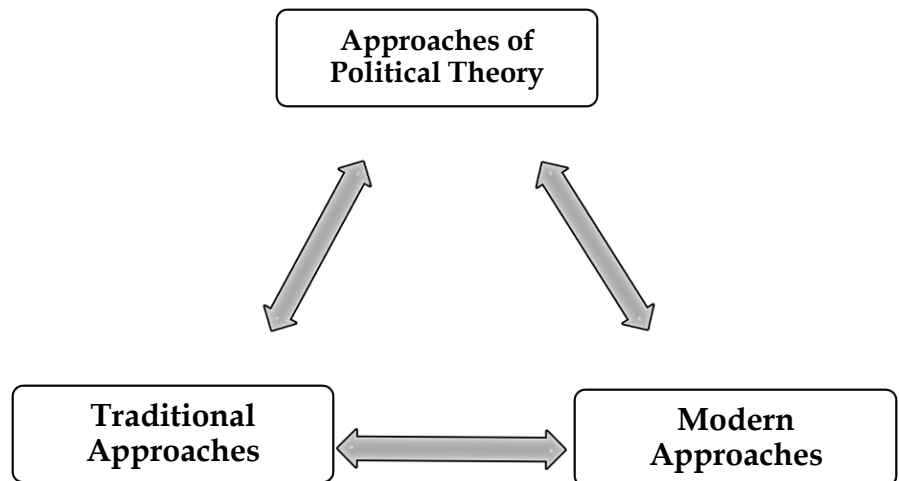


Figure: 1 Approaches of Political Theory

2.1 Traditional Approaches in the Study of Political Theory

The conventional or traditional approach is value-based, emphasising the importance of using principles in the analysis of political phenomena. This school of thought holds that the study of political science should not be focused solely on facts, since facts and values are inextricably linked. "The great problems of politics" have revolved around normative orientations since the days of Plato and Aristotle. As a result, there are various conventional approaches such as legal, philosophical, historical, structural, and other approaches which have describe below.

Philosophical approach

The works of ancient thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle can be traced back to a philosophical approach to the study of political science. "The philosophy is the search for wisdom, and political philosophy is the attempt genuinely to know about the essence of political stuff and the right or good political order," said Leo Strauss, one of the most adamant proponents of this approach. This approach is idealistic in nature and emphasises ethical and moral analysis of politics. It addresses concerns such as the essence and role of the state, citizenship, rights and responsibilities, and so on.

Historical approach

The historical approach holds that historical variables such as age, place, and circumstances can help us better understand political phenomena. Political thinkers such as Machiavelli, Sabine, and Dunning claim that politics and history are inextricably connected, and that studying politics should always be done in the sense of history. Sabine believes that Political Science should include many of the topics that have been debated in the writings of various political thinkers since Plato's period. Since the past is inextricably related to the present, historical research offers a chronological order for all political phenomena. The analysis of democratic institutions and systems such as the executive, legislature, judiciary, political parties, and interest groups is emphasised in the institutional approach. Aristotle is a major contributor to this approach among ancient thinkers, while modern thinkers include James Bryce, Bentley, Walter Bagehot, Harold Laski, and others.

Legal approach

The state is seen as the creator and enforcer of law, and legal institutions and mechanisms are discussed. Cicero, Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Dicey, and Sir Henry

Maine are among its proponents. The following characteristics of conventional approach to political issues can be deduced from the concept of traditional approach.

2.2 Modern Approaches in the Study of Political Theory

The new approach is fact-based, stressing factual examination of political phenomena in order to arrive at scientifically sound conclusions. Sociological approaches, economic approaches, psychological approaches, mathematical approaches, modeling approaches, machine approaches, behavioural approaches, Marxian approaches, and so on are examples of modern approaches.

Behavioural Approach

Political science was mainly concerned with qualitative problems with a metaphysical, legalistic, and descriptive orientation until the middle of the twentieth century. The behavioural movement in the 1950s, which emphasised a theoretical and analytical approach to understanding political phenomena, had a significant impact on the discipline. The founding of the journal *Experimental Study of Politics* in the 1970s sparked the revolution. The study of political action, which refers to actions, behaviours, desires, and aspirations of man in a political setting, is at the heart of behavioralism. In the words of Barrow, "behavioralism's main methodological claim was that uniformities in political behaviour could be discovered and expressed as generalizations but such generalizations must be testable by reference to observable political behaviours such as voting, public opinion or decision making which following these basic features.



1. **Regularities:** It refers to identifiable similarities in political behaviour which help generalisation and explanation of regularities in political theory.
2. **Commitment to Verification:** It necessitates that the soundness of theoretical statements must be subjected to verification tests with reference to relevant political behaviour.
3. **Techniques:** It calls for experimental attitude in matter of electing techniques. In other words political behaviour must be observed, recorded and then analysed.
4. **Quantification:** In order to make a precise expression of conclusions based on collected data it is necessary to quantify the recording of data wherever possible.
5. **Values:** A clear distinction between ethical assessment and empirical explanations is required by the behavioural approach. The behaviouralists rely on this separation in order to make political inquiry as value-free or value-neutral as possible.
6. **Systemisation:** It emphasises the importance of developing relations between theory and analysis because research data without the help of theory is likely to be useless, and theory without verifiable data may be a futile exercise.
7. **Pure Science:** It suggests deferring attempts to transform politics into a pure science in order to turn it into an applied science. It is important because we can use our knowledge of politics to find realistic solutions to a polity's pressing problems if we research political behaviour.
8. **Integration:** It suggests integration of social sciences with their respective values in order to develop an all-inclusive outlook of human affairs.



Issues	Behavioural Approach	Post- Behavioural Approach
Nature of Inquiry	Search for Knowledge and Theory	Search for Applied Knowledge and Practice
Purpose of Inquiry	Knowledge for Knowledge Sake	To satisfy social needs and actions for problem solving
Focus of Study	Micro-level analysis	Macro-level analysis
Attitude towards Values	Value-Neutral	Interested in the choice of values

Table: 1 Different between Behavioural and Post-Behavioural Approaches

The behaviour method rejects political institutions as the basic unit of study and instead focuses on the behaviour of individuals in political circumstances. It distinguishes social sciences from behavioural sciences and stresses the interconnectedness of political science and other social sciences. Additionally, it encourages the use and creation of more accurate techniques for observing, classifying, and measuring data, as well as the use of statistical or quantitative formulations wherever possible. It also states that the aim of political science is to develop systematic, analytical theory.

Post- Behavioural Approach

David Easton In his Presidential Address at the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in 1969, He coined the word Post-Behaviouralism. Easton was, in truth, a pivotal figure in the behavioural revolution.



Further, He coined the term Post-Behaviouralism in his Presidential Address at the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in 1969. Easton was, in truth, a pivotal figure in the behavioural revolution. Despite the fact that behavioralism claimed to be value-free, post-behavioralism claimed that it appeared to support social preservation and status quo over social change. As a result, the new movement emphasised intervention and relevance. Three key tenets of the post behavioural movement were:

- a) It questioned behaviouralists' conviction that research must be value-neutral and emphasised that values should not be overlooked completely. In contrast to natural

sciences, generalisations in the social sciences are impossible to make since studying men in their social sense is a difficult task.

- b) Behaviourism's focus on observable and measurable phenomena, according to Post Behaviourism, suggested that so much emphasis was being put on easily examined trivial problems at the cost of more significant subjects.

Easton shared his disappointment with the study performed under the influence of the behaviourist movement, arguing that it resembled mathematics rather than political science, and that it had lost contact with reality and the modern world.

- c) Post-behavioralists emphasised the importance of science to society and the importance of intellectuals in society. The new movement argued that using scientific tools in political science could only be useful if it could solve the different problems that society faces. It criticised behaviouralism for ignoring the realities of society while laying too much emphasis on techniques.

Structural-Functional Approach

The structural-functional theory postulates that political systems are comprised of various structures that are relatively uniform in the sense that they are found in most political systems throughout the world. The theory asserts that each of these structures has a particular function that supports the establishment of an orderly, stable system of governance within which individuals and other societal structures fulfil roles of their own. Legislative bodies, courts, bureaucratic agencies, executive bodies, and political parties are all examples of traditional political systems. Around 1960, structural functionalism gained popularity when it became clear that traditional approaches to studying US and European politics were insufficient for studying newly independent countries, and that a new approach was needed. Structural functionalists try to do find out the function a given structure does within a political system.

Certain political roles, according to Almond, exist in all political structures. Political socialisation, political interest articulation, political interest aggregation, and political communication are among the functions he described on the input side. Rulemaking, rule execution, and rule adjudication were among the production functions. The conversion method, basic pattern maintenance, and various capabilities were all basic functions of all political structures (distributive, symbolic, etc.). Structural functionalists argued that all political systems, including those in the Third World, could be analysed and compared more effectively by looking at how different structures performed these functions in each system.

Decision making approach

This political method identifies the characteristics of decision-makers as well as the types of impact that individuals have over them. This method was established by a number of scholars, including Richard Synder and Charles Lindblom. A political decision reached by a few people in a wider society, and such a decision is normally influenced by a particular circumstance. As a consequence, it also recognises the psychological and social aspects of decision-makers. Several approaches to political science have been advocated at various times, and they can be narrowly categorised into two categories: empirical-analytical or scientific behavioural approaches, and legal-historical or normative-philosophical approaches.

2.3 Significance of Political Theory

The significance of political theory has been under a cloud by scholars, mostly of the behaviouralist school. According to John Plamenatz, in his theme entitled "The Ease of Political Theory" does not agree. As he puts it: "Political philosophy (meaning here political theory) is dead, I have heard man say, killed by the logical positivists and their successors who have shown that many of the problems which exercises the great political thinkers of the past were spurious, resting in

confusions of the sight and the misuse of the language." According to him, political theory has its uses which may be stated as under:



- (i) Political theory is a serious and challenging intellectual pursuit, and the need for it has never been greater than it is now.
- (ii) It is a study of principles, norms, and objectives, but it does not yield the same level of understanding as empirical political theory.
- (iii) It is an analysis of theories that have traditionally had a significant impact on men's perceptions of themselves and society, as well as their social and political behaviour.
- (iv) It has a socially conditioned ideology aspect to it. This philosophy may be a delusion, but without delusions, man's social evolution would not have progressed as far as it has.
- (v) It produces a coherent system of political principles which can guide us to an appropriate political action. Its political theorists, as Plamentaz says, "do not, like honest shopkeepers, display a large variety of goods, describing them all accurately and leaving it to the customer to choose what pleases him most. They produce a hierarchy of principles, and try to explain how men should use them to make their choices... They are not mere purveyors of ideas; they are the preachers and the propagandists." C. Wright Mills. Said that "Political theories are philosophical and spiritual creations," which is based on full of lofty values, simplistic slogans, shaky facts, crude propaganda, and nuanced theories." He explains the importance of political theory as follows:



Firstly, it is a philosophy in which some institutions and activities are justified while others are attacked; it offers the words in which demands are made, criticisms are made, exhortations are delivered, proclamations are made, and policies are made at times.

Second, it is an ethic, a declaration of principles, that is used to assess individuals, events, and movements, as well as serve as objectives and guidelines for expectations and policies, at various levels of generality and complexity.

Third, it denotes intervention organisations, as well as transformation, revolution, and conservation tools. It includes both ends and means in the form of methods and programmes. It designates, in a nutshell, the historical levels at which ideals are to be won or retained once won.

Fourth, It includes theories about man, culture, and history, or at the very least beliefs about what makes up society and how it operates. It explains how to figure out where we are and where we could be headed." The aim of political philosophy is to comprehend the world in which it emerges. It seeks to find out what makes it special, to comprehend its crisis, and to determine its ability to cope with it.

As a result, political philosophy helps man's ability to comprehend himself, then his polity, and finally his past. It encourages man to take charge of his own affairs. In a nutshell, it clarifies, illuminates, comprehends, analyses, enlightens, and transforms. To sum up, political theory establishes a model of the highest political order, functions as a guide for systematic data collection, and offers an overview of political data. Political theory, as a science, explains political fact without passing judgement on what is being portrayed. Therefore, in the political science there are two types of approaches such as traditional and modern approaches which dominated entire sphere of political science study.

Summary

Approaches are particularly important in the study of social sciences because they assist us in defining the issues that need to be solved and deciding on the best data to use. An approach is a general concept that encompasses both the process (i.e. how to research or inquire) and the related data (i.e. what to study) for the purpose of comprehending a specific phenomenon. In the study of political science, there are a number of methods that are used. In the study of social sciences, normative or conventional methods answer questions based on "norms" or "standards" with the aim of assessing values. In contrast to the empirical approach, which focuses on "what happened and why," the normative approach focuses on "what should have happened." The institutional method, as the name implies, is a systematic analysis of political institutions in order to research the field of political science. The method is nearly as old as the discipline of politics, and most political scientists have defined and confined the discipline's scope to the study of state and government since Aristotle's time. In this regard, a distinguishing characteristic of the methodology is that it seldom employs other social sciences to analyse political phenomena, such as philosophy, history, or law. As a consequence, the structured investigation of political science is granted an autonomous individuality. Behaviouralism is a political science approach that aims to provide a quantitative, analytical approach to understanding and predicting political behaviour. Its growth in politics correlates to the advent of behavioural social sciences, which evolved after the natural sciences. Individuals' behaviour, attitudes, and acts are the focus of behaviouralists, not the features of institutions like governments, executive branches, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism emphasises the systematic investigation of all forms of political behaviour. Some researchers claim that behavioralism necessitates the use of meticulous experimental methods. Other structural-functional and communicational approaches are often explored and addressed in broader discussions and debates regarding contemporary phenomenon discourse.

Key words/ Glossary

Traditional and Modern Approaches, Philosophical, Legal, Behavioural, Post-Behavioural, Structural-Functional and Communicational approaches.

Self-Assessment/Evaluation

- 1). Traditional approach gives stress on:
 - A. Values.
 - B. Facts.
 - C. Objectivity.
 - D. Precision.
- 2). 'The Intellectual God Father' of Behaviouralism is:
 - A. Charles .E.Merriam
 - B. David Easton.
 - C. Laswell.
 - D. None of the above.
- 3). Hobbes Theory of Social Contract is explained in his book.
 - A. Republic.
 - B. B. Prince.
 - C. Social Contract.
 - D. Leviathan.
- 4). Which one of the following is not relevant to Traditional Approach.
 - A. Philosophical.
 - B. Historical.

- C. Institutional.
 - D. Behavioural.
- 5). Integration of Political Science with other Social Sciences is a basic principle of:
- A. Traditionalism.
 - B. B. Behaviouralism.
 - C. Liberalism.
 - D. Post – Behaviouralism.
- 6). Which one of the following is regarded as the most important contribution of behaviouralism to political science:
- A. It greatly helped in theory building
 - B. It developed several new concepts
 - C. It developed several new tools of research
 - D. It emphasized the important role which history can't play in research
- 7). The behaviorist approach differs from the traditional approach for the study of political science in so far as:
- A. It is an analytical
 - B. It is general rather than particular
 - C. It is explanatory rather than ethical
 - D. It has all the above features
- 8). Behavioral approach in political science is “an attempt to make the empirical content of political science more scientific” who said this?
- A. Charles. E. Merriam
 - B. David Easton
 - C. Powell
 - D. Robert A Dahl
- 9). Eight principles of Behavioural Approach of political science is generally known as:
- A. Regularities
 - B. Pure Science
 - C. Verifications
 - D. Intellectual Foundations
- 10). During the enlightenment of the 18th century:
- A. Scholars emphasized the supernatural.
 - B. Scholars denied the possibility of a scientific study of humans.
 - C. A number of scholars believed human social life could be studied scientifically.
 - D. None of these.
- 11). The social science that deals with human use of the natural environment is:
- A. Genetics
 - B. Geography
 - C. Political science
 - D. Sociology
- 12). The social sciences where initially concerned with the consequences of:
- A. American Revolution

- B. The French Revolution
 C. The Russian Revolution
 D. The Industrial Revolution
- 13). The credit for developing behavioural approach for the study of political science goes to:
- A. The American political scientists.
 B. The British political scientists.
 C. The German political scientists.
 D. The Political scientist of the third world.
- 14). Though the Behaviorist Approach for the study of political science was developed after the first world war it gained popularity only:
- A. In the thirties of the twentieth century.
 B. After the Second World War.
 C. In the sixties of the twentieth century.
 D. In the eighties of the twentieth century.
- 15). The behaviorist approach to the study of political science was developed as a protest against:
- A. The historical approach.
 B. The philosophical approach.
 C. Descriptive-institutional approach.
 D. All of the above.

Answers of Self-Assessment

1. A 2. A 3. D 4. D 5. B
 6. C 7. D 8. A 9. D 10. C
 11. B 12. D 13. A 14. B 15. D

Review Questions

- Q.1. Discuss the importance of 'normative approach' in the study of politics.
 Q.2. Explain the impact of 'institutional approach' in the study of political theory.
 Q.3. Elucidate the features of behavioural approach and underscore its significance in the study of politics.



Further Readings

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Unit 03: Concept of State

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Objectives:

Introduction

3.1 Meaning of State

3.2 Different Elements of State

3.3 Characteristics of State

3.4 Theories of State

Self-Assessment.

Answers for Self-Assessment

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Objectives:

- acquire knowledge over debates on the concept of state in the study of political theory
- understand the meaning, definitions and different elements of state
- understand the organic theory, divine theory, social contract and marxist theory in the study of political theory
- examine the critique over the different theories of state in the study of political theory
- analyze the role of modern concept of nation-states in the study of political theory

Introduction

The concept of state occupies a central place in Political Science. No discussion on political theory is complete without reference to the word 'state'. The state does, after all, affect every aspect of human life, which is why it has captivated the attention of all political philosophers since Plato's time. To comprehend the state as an administrative machine that governs public life is to comprehend only one facet of it. This is an important factor, but it is not the only one that explains what it is. Its operating environment is the state. When it is viewed in relation to the domain of its sphere of activity, which is culture, its true meaning and other similar consequences become more apparent. What is state? What is society or civil society? What is the relationship between the two or how do the two stand in relation to each other? What is so particular about civil society that gives the state a different connotation? These questions have been, and continue to be, central to the themes of political theory, and several political theorists have attempted to answer them. A discussion of the definitions, implications, and relative perspectives of these two concepts, the state and civil society, will aid us in understanding their meanings, implications, and relative perspectives. However, the state is a product of certain historical factors. It is not only a political institution but a social system. To understand the system one has to study the historical origins of that institution.

3.1 Meaning of State

The word 'stato' first appeared in Italian writings in the early sixteenth century, in the writings of Machiavelli (1469-1527). In the latter half of the sixteenth century, England and France began to use the term "government" to refer to a political entity. The word *staatskunst* became the German equivalent of *ragione di stato* during the seventeenth century and a little later, the word *staatrecht* got the meaning of *jus publican* (see Sabine, "State", *TheEncyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* Vol. XIV). Thus, came the use of the term 'State'. The state has always included a reference to a land and a

people, but this does not make it a state in and of itself. It also refers to a unified legal and political authority that regulates man's outstanding external relationships in society, as well as the internal relationships that occur within society. It is what it does, i.e., it establishes a system of order and regulation, and it has the legal authority to use compulsion and violence to do so. As a result, a condition can be found in its complex system. It is found in the institutions that establish and enact rules, such as the legislative, executive, and judiciary. It can be found in the bureaucratic institutions that are connected to each executive branch of government. It can be seen in the military and police, who are called into action when the government's will is questioned. The state is made up of all of these entities together. Ralph Miliband (*The State in Capitalist Society*) writes, "These are the institutions – the government, the administration, the military and the police, the judicial branch, sub-central government and parliamentary assemblies – which make up the state...". In these institutions lies the state power; through these institutions come the laws of the state, and from them spring the legal right of using physical force.

The state as a government structure is a component of what is known as the democratic system or political society. Institutions such as political parties, pressure organisations, the opposition, and large-scale industrial houses, religious and caste institutions, trade unions, and so on are included on the one hand, and large-scale industrial houses, religious and caste institutions, trade unions, and so on are included on the other. These institutions, existing outside of the state system, attempt to influence the functioning of the state, somewhere even dominating it, and somewhere in collaboration with it. Skocpol (*States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*) sums up what Neera Chandhoke (*State and Civil Society*) calls the statist perspective of the state, "the state properly conceived is rather a set of administrative, policing and military organizations headed, and more or less well coordinated by, an executive authority. Any state first and fundamentally extracts resources from society and deploys these to create and support coercive and administrative organizations.... Moreover, coercive and administrative organizations are only parts of overall political systems. These systems also may contain institutions through which social interests are represented in state policy-making as well as institutions through which non-state actors are mobilised to participate in policy implementation. Nevertheless, the administrative and coercive organisations are the basis of state power." The other strand giving the state a meaning comes from Michael Foucault ("Truth and Power" in P. Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*, 1987) who regards the state as built on power relations already existing in society. Chandhoke writes about Foucault, "The state, he (Foucault) concluded, can only operate on the basis of existing relations of domination and oppression in society." Rejecting both the perspectives of the state, Chandhoke says, "The statist (Skocpol and others) concentrate on the state at the expense of society, and the theorists in the Foucauldian mode concentrate on social interaction at the expense of the state." She concludes that the state, with a view to understanding it in relation to society, and vice-versa, "is a social relation because it is the codified power of the social formation.

3.2 Different Elements of State

In order to understand the form of the state clearly, we need to highlight the four elements of the state – Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty.

Population

This is the most important aspect of the administration. The term "state" refers to a distinct group of people. It is impossible to imagine a state without people. Similarly to how a pot without mud and a cloth without cotton is impossible, a state without population is impossible. If a state's population is dedicated to hard work, sacrifice, and a deep love for the motherland, the state will continue to thrive. In the other hand, if the state's population is lazy, greedy, and has no feelings for the motherland, the state would deteriorate. This is why efforts should be made to train, harden, humble, and regulate the population. Whereas it is critical for the state to have an able, good, and skilled workforce, it is also essential to have a large number of them. In the countries like Russia and America there are people living in millions.

But in small states like Belgium and Afghanistan, the population is comparatively very less. So this is obvious that Russia and America will be more powerful in comparison to Belgium and

Afghanistan. One of the reasons for the power of the countries like China and India is their population. Large population is helpful not only in military power but also the development of agriculture; trade etc. also depends upon the large no. of population. Many political scientists have pondered the question of how large a state's population should be. The population of an ideal state, according to famous Greek scholar Plato, should be 5040. According to Greek philosophers, a state should not be so small that it can be easily defeated by another state.

Furthermore, it should not be so broad that it cannot be properly governed. The ideal size of a state would be one that allows it to remain self-sufficient, protect itself against enemies, and be properly governed. After taking into account all of these factors, the optimal population was determined to be 5040. In this respect, Aristotle was also a Plato follower. He believed that even ten thousand citizens was enough. There were several small city states in ancient Greece. They were not more than a few hundred square metres in size. They had a population of just a few thousand people. These countries were frequently ruled by democratic governments. Choosing a delegate was not a common practice at the time. People used to congregate in the 'Lok Sabha' to make decisions about the state's affairs. In this situation, it was fitting for philosophers such as Aristotle and Plato to limit the number of people in an ideal state to only 5,000. When a state's population grows, people may find it more difficult to gather in the legislature and handle the state's work, posing a problem in the rule of law. From the city of Rome, the Roman state spread first to Italy, then to distant lands. All independent inhabitants of the Great Roman Empire were considered citizens of Rome, but those living hundreds of thousands of miles away could not come to Rome and participate in Parliament. As a result, all of the Roman Empire's state forces fell into the hands of Rome's people, and the Republic's law, rather than being democratic, fell into the hands of a small elite. Due to the current method of electing members, it is no longer necessary for all people to gather in person at the parliament. Furthermore, thanks to the advancement of science and the advent of modern technologies, humans have dominated the country and time. As a result, even in large states, millions of citizens will now vote for their representatives, ensuring the success of democracy. But considering the circumstances in which Aristotle and Plato have limited the population of the ideal state to some thousands, it seems that their views were correct. According to the famous political scholar Rousseau, the limit of the population of a state cannot be fixed, but there has to be a proportion in the population and land of a state. A state should have enough land for the survival of its citizens. The population of a state should be enough that the land can nurture them properly. Rousseau, thought on the question that how much land can nourish how many people. He could not make any definite law in this context because the fertility of the soil differs. Wide desert-like areas cannot feed even a few people, despite the fact that any land can feed more people if the conditions for agriculture and trade are favourable. Currently, states are classified as either large or small in terms of population. India, China, America, Russia, and other countries have huge populations. On the other hand, Monaco, Luxemburg etc. have very less population. In spite of this difference, it can be said that there has to be such a relationship between the land of the state and its population the land is enough to nourish the population of the state.

All people who live in a country are its subjects, but not all of them are its inhabitants. Slaves made up the bulk of the people in ancient Greece's states, and they had no right to vote or be elected. It is mandatory for all people living in a state, whether they are citizens or not, to obey the state's rules. It is for this reason that they are its subjects. Citizens, on the other hand, are the only ones that have the constitutional right to elect representatives and the right to run for office. The distinction between subject and person is no longer as important as it once was.

Territory

A state's territory is just as significant as its people. Tell a group of people who are permanently enslaved to a piece of land; this should never take the form of a government, for example, a nomadic tribe. There is a population and a population union in such a tribe, as well as its own law, traditions, and customs. We can't call it a territory, though, because it isn't based on a specific piece of land. The tribe when inhabit on a definite piece of land we call it a state. In the ancient history of the world various states like Sparta, Athens, Malava, Youdhey, Kshudruk etc. were initially in the form of a tribe. When they settled on a fixed piece of land, they were called states. In the modern age, Jews are such example. Jews were settled in different European countries until a few years ago.

Introduction to Political Theory

They had their own traditions, religions, and laws, but they lacked a permanent home in which they could call their motherland. Jews now have their own state, where they have begun to settle permanently, thanks to the establishment of Israel. Even though Jews are found in large numbers in other nations, they now have a state to call their motherland and birthplace. In fact, just as the soul requires a body, a group of people requires property. If people are the spirit, then land is the body. In the same way that we have a sense of belonging, a group has a sense of belonging to its territory. In order to originate the feeling of unity and integrity, it is very essential to have this sense of belongingness for the land. This belongingness is very useful for the stability and power of the state.

The state is unlike every other human community. Other peoples have no links to the land in question. Consider religious groups as an example. Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims, for example, are all types of cultures that aren't tied to any particular region. They work in any area of the earth to propagate their views and to conserve people in their religion. Same is the condition of various, literary, scientific and economic communities. Apart from state, all other communities can live in one or more number in an area. In India, these are various communities like Arya Samaj, Brahmsamaj, Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Hindi Sahitya Sammellan etc. But state is such a community, which cannot remain more than one in one area, neither there could be any state which has no connection with a specific area. If in an area, there are more than one state, then these should be conflict, because sovereignty is an essential element of state. The merits and defects of the people have an impact on the state, and the merits and defects of the land have an impact on the state as well. Many of the rivers, wetlands, lakes, mountains, and other natural features became part of the country. If the state is joined by a water, the sea is included in the state until it reaches a distance of 12 miles from the shore. The environment that exists above the land also falls under the jurisdiction of the state. The state's shape is heavily influenced by the soil. Since the United Kingdom is surrounded by water, it functions similarly to an island. Japan is in a similar situation. This situation aids the development of these states in sea areas. The reason for a strong many force of Great Britain is this speciality of her land. In the history of Europe, we have seen that Great Britain has always been safe from the external invasions. During the twentieth century's two world wars, the United Kingdom was secured from enemy invasions. The explanation for this was that the state is surrounded by water and is not connected to any other state by land. Germany and France, on the other hand, have no physical borders. There had been a continuous conflict in these states due to this specific condition of their states and they were not able to develop like Britain. The special circumstances of ancient Greece's land, according to many thinkers, were the reason for the city states' development. Mountains dominate the landscape of Greece. Greece is split into several valleys due to mountain ranges. Since man has not made any technological advancement in ancient times, these mountain valleys have always been separated from one another. That is why they formed so many small city states that have remained separate for centuries. The state is influenced by the physical conditions of the land. Similarly, the state is influenced by the climate, fertility, and wealth of the land. Some areas of the land are more fertile than others.

Minerals can be present in abundance in some areas and are scarce in others. The atmosphere is extreme hot in some places and very cold in others. Rousseau, a French theorist, preached that liberal rule develops in hot climates, while man cannot progress on the road of growth in severe cold. Valid democracy develops in an environment with a moderate atmosphere. Many European countries now have democratic governments, but in the mediaeval period, they were governed by uncontrollable kings. In the past, there was democracy in the hot countries, and there might be in the future. India is a good example of this. There had been so many republics in this country earlier like Vajji, Malava, Kshudrak, Shivi etc. and now again the large Republic has been established in this country. Though the concept of Rousseau is not completely true but even then this has to be accepted that the climate has enough effect on the state. Those states that are in good shape from a climate standpoint will undoubtedly receive assistance in their growth. Minerals, as well as valuable wood and other resources, contribute to the state's production. The existence of large quantities of coal and iron is the primary explanation for England's industrial growth.

Germany's extraordinary success in trade in the early nineteenth century was attributed in part to her mineral wealth. Similarly, Bihar's coal and iron are credited with driving India's trade

development. These states claim credit for India's trade growth in this year of nuclear power. All states with specific metals and elements to generate this power will, without a doubt, have a unique opportunity for growth in this nuclear age. Land Expansion – Political scientists have pondered the issue of how much land expansion is acceptable. Plato and Aristotle, among other ancient Greek philosophers, believed that a state's land should be neither too big nor too small. Until the 18th century, thinkers did not consider a large state to be desirable. As nature has fixed a particular size for human beings, and any bigger or smaller than that size do not look fine, so nature has fixed the size of a well-organized and well-ruled state, according to French scholar Rousseau. Furthermore, a state should not be too small so it will be unable to protect itself in that situation. If the state is very big, it would be difficult to govern the far-flung areas, and people should have no emotional connection to the state. Rousseau also stated that the size of the state influences the form of rule and government. Democratic rule is only possible in small states; hierarchical rule is necessary in medium-sized states; and in large states, any rule but kingship is possible, as in Monteaun. Many other French academics have expressed similar views. This was correct under the circumstances of the eighteenth century. Neither the growth of trade nor man's triumph over country and time had been sufficient until then. At that time, no train, engine, or radio had been discovered. Horse was the fastest mode of transportation known to man. It's no surprise, then, that political theorists like Rousseau and Monteaun believe democracy is difficult in large states. It also in large nations, democratic rule is now possible due to the current state of scientific growth. The United States of America is one such example. Its size is twice that of India. This is only possible because of man's triumph over time and country as a result of scientific progress. The British empire spans almost the entire globe, with many areas and islands under its control. Her law, however, is no less powerful than that of any small state. The explanation for this is the advancement in transportation technology. In today's world, the state's small size is a source of concern. Two World Wars of the twentieth century have proved that it is very difficult for the small states to defend them. In the World War of 1914-18, Germany defeated a small state like Belgium so easily. In 1939-45 War, even for the countries like Czechoslovakia, France and Poland could not defend themselves from Germany. The power of Germany could be countered only with the combined power of British Empire, Russia and America. This is why numerous Western European countries are attempting to form a union for self-defense. The Atelic Pact was formed for the same purpose that even medium-sized states lack adequate self-defense capabilities. There are numerous other drawbacks to living in a small state. They will never be financially self-sufficient and independent. They don't have enough money to collect a large range of modern technological tools and firearms. The cost of developing and using nuclear power is prohibitive. It is beyond their comprehension that they will be able to recover this cost. Furthermore, in this period, a small state cannot take a broad view of society, culture, and knowledge growth. The large states' communities are diverse in terms of creed, caste, faith, and community.

As a result, they have a wide range of features and a wide range of perspectives. There is no denying that the history of small states is fascinating. The great work performed in history by small states like Athens could not be duplicated by the great Roman Empire. Aristotle and Plato, as well as Socrates and Herodotus, were great thinkers and historians from the small Greek state. Great thinkers in India include Shri Krishna, Vardhman Mahavir, and Gautam. Budha came from a number of small states. From the view point of the human civilization small states like Andhak Vrashni Sangh, Shakya Gan and Vajjisangh have more importance in comparison to the large states like Magadh and Vatsa. Large state had internal rebellions and civil wars. Mughal Empire and China are such example. Germany and France are not considered big countries. In contrast to India, China, and Russia, they are tiny nations. Even so, in terms of army, commercial production, and culture, they are ahead of the other large states.

Small states were the strongest in ancient times because they could have strong governance and internal organisation.

Residents may also be more structured as members of a nationality, but due to advancements in transportation, this is now possible in large states such as America and Russia, which are on par with Belgium and France in terms of law and structure. The essence of this period requires that state sizes increase, small states unite to form a union, and various human groups unite to create a culture and nationality that preserves the specialties of small human communities while also

establishing a unified authority. State's natural limit – What should the state's natural limit be? In history, the issue had always been so crucial. Physically defined borders are extremely advantageous to countries. The borders between the United Kingdom and Japan are normal. However, many European countries lack physical borders. As a result, they continue to fight for the expansion of land and the establishment of boundaries that are beneficial to growth and prosperity. This nature became very strong in European countries after the 1914-18 war. According to the post-World War II reconstruction of Poland, Germany created a gallery through which Poland could link directly to the sea. Poland lacked a sea boundary, which hampered her international trade. As a result, the harbour of Dantzig was transformed into a separate independent city under the national union, and Poland was granted a gallery to travel there through Germany. It was a terrible situation for Germany, but it was necessary in order for Poland to achieve its goals. Staying with these states for all those states that were included in the borders of these states due to this goal was unnatural. Their borders were established by adopting the principle that each state should be able to conduct foreign trade, which necessitates the presence of a sea coast. Afghanistan is a country in Asia that is far from the sea. She recognised this shortcoming and has always been able to stretch the land to the sea by including areas of Pakistan where Pathans are the majority. The state's shape is similar to that of a living organism. The state, like human beings, makes efforts to evolve and prosper. As a result, if political theorists spread the idea that each state should have boundaries that aid in its growth and prosperity. Physical borders of a state are also beneficial to the state's defence. Many states' borders are defined by mountains, rivers, and oceans. Previously, India was separated from the rest of the world by a physical barrier. Due to the Himalaya in the north, other mountain ranges in the east and west, and the vast ocean in the south, India has clear borders that can provide her with easy security from foreign invaders. Chanakya wrote that the vast land between the Himalaya and the Ocean is a natural region for a Great Empire after looking at these natural borders of India. But due to the making of Pakistan Eastern and Western India has no natural boundary now. It is unsurprising that this situation will not last long, and India will once again be able to obtain a natural boundary that is beneficial to her welfare. Typically, a state's border is drawn such that the whole land is united, such as France, Poland, and Italy. That's how states are. However, some states have land that is not concentrated in one location, but rather is dispersed throughout the country. Pakistan, our next-door neighbour, is an excellent example. Its land is divided into two parts: Eastern Pakistan and Western Pakistan, with a difference of thousands of miles between them. After the First World War (1914-18), the Polish gallery split Germany into two sections. Great Britain is a single country with many islands and colonies scattered across the globe. There is no question that having the state's land together is beneficial to its influence. Scattered land is not incorrect from the standpoint of imperialism, but it is not correct from the standpoint of state rule and development.

State and land ownership – In mediaeval times, the king was thought to be the owner of the state, and he was also the owner of the state's land. It was not unnatural during the feudatory prince phase since numerous feudatory princes were the rulers of their areas at the time, as well as the land owners of that region. The king was not only the emperor, but also the owner of the land at the time. This was the reason why kings could sell their ruled territory, offer it as a dowry, or move it in some other manner. An individual may give his or her home, animals, or other belongings to another person. Similarly, the king could trade the land and the people who lived there if he so desired. Many of the vast and well-extended areas ruled by Charles V in mediaeval Europe were acquired by marriage. Bombay was offered to the British King as a dowry in India. Scholars in Europe recognised the King's possession of the state's land until the eighteenth century. Thanks to the French Revolution, this mediaeval period hypothesis suffered a setback. The authority of the state is included in the citizens of the state, according to French revolutionaries. Since the state's power is derived from the people, it is impossible to own a being on the state's property. The citizens own the various resources that are found on the state's territory.

The state as well as these citizens have power, and they grant an agency called the government the right to use it. Many areas of the country, including farmland and woods, have been deemed state property due to the king's ownership theory. Farmers pay the state for the use of their land. Traders and businesspeople, on the other hand, pay taxes on their earnings. They may not have to pay tax if their income is less than a certain amount. However, even if he receives four quintals of grains after

ploughing, the farmer must pay tax to the landlord, and the landlord must also pay tax on that piece of property. Since the state owns the farms and land, it is only fair for the state to have a "share" for its use. The question of who owns property, the state or the people, has been debated for centuries. There is no question that people in India are considered to be landowners. Landlords were the people who had control of the land. However, many people believe that these landlords were merely collectors of revenue, not owners. As a result, the landowner is the state, which receives income for the use of its land property, and landlords are justified in collecting taxes from farmers because they have the tender to do so. We don't need to get into a debate over who owns the land: the state or the people. It is the nature of the state in the modern era to define its special ownership of land and related issues. This nature has become more intense as socialism has progressed. Not only on the ground, but also in factories and other places, the state has begun to assert power. Person property has been replaced by collective property or state property as a result of this principle. However, due to the current era's existence, the state that has formed its ownership on the land and its related things is not a person or a class, but rather a collection of the state's people. Land not under state control – As previously stated, the state has full control over all land under its jurisdiction. However, there are several issues with this law. It is believed that the state has no claim to the location designated for the international ambassador's residence. The state laws do not apply to their residents. Similarly, any foreign ship that arrives in the state's harbour or in the state's sea (within 12 miles) is exempt from the state's rules and laws. States have reached such agreements by mutual agreement. International law has finalised all of the laws pertaining to it. There are a number of other issues on the state's land that are determined through foreign relations. According to the union, the same state has granted other states rights to the seashore, rivers, and Pradesh. In China, states like the United Kingdom, France, and others had similar privileges. In the Manchuria, Japan had acquired the right of way to prepare trains. Countries which are situated at a long distance to communicate with them wire is set on the surface of ocean, for this rights are taken from different states. Minerals and oil wells of poor state are taken custody by developed state then they fix condition in which poor state will not interfere. This type of condition is fixed by state relation theory that state own her land is respectable.

Government

The government is the third crucial component. Only a state can be considered unified with political science if a group of citizens of that state live on a certain piece of land permanently. There should be a state government to help her achieve her goals and improve the state. The government is the resource that allows the state to meet its needs. The government is the only one that can ensure that citizens' needs are met and that each move is completed successfully. Citizens cannot be united if there is no government, and government cannot rule without citizens who are united.

There can be many faces of democracy, but whether it is a single-ruling government, a class-based government, or a democratic government, the state's ruling is crucial. It was assigned the name 'Punishment' by an older Indian minister. Citizens are ruled by punishment, and punishment protects them as well. There was a state of anarchy when punishment was ineffective. There was no emperor who did not govern. "Fish-law" was adopted all over the place. In the same way that larger fish consume smaller fish, a strong individual catches and destroys weaker people. The economic situation as well as the happiness of all was in jeopardy and citizens were available at the time not in the absence of punishment and government everywhere, everything was in disarray, not in peace and state and moved towards personal and unified development in a political sense. "The state of government can be built to the point that all aspects of human life are under control and functioning properly. The government's side face may be like this, focusing solely on the development of stability, law, and order. There may be any face of government but it is important for the government that it has as much power so that citizen may follow its rule and regulation, also it may protect from inner and outer enemies in proper way.

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the fourth essential aspect of a state. It is unimportant that a resident permanently settles on a specific piece of land in the United States. Only when it is independent will it be

considered a territory. It would be declared a state if it is not governed by foreign forces. India was not a state on August 5, 1947, since it was under British jurisdiction. There was a fixed land in India with its own citizens and government, but it was not considered a state due to the lack of sovereignty. It was a part of the British Empire; the state, not India, was the British empire. There are several states, such as Hong Kong, that are under the jurisdiction of the British Empire but cannot be called states because they lack sovereignty. States structured according to the Federal theory may have doubts about whether their sovereign power is in their organisation or in their bits. The United States of America and India, for example, are organised in such a way that New York, California, and other states have different governments at the same time. However, political authority in India is vested in the Union Government rather than the state governments. The same can be said of the United States of America. There could only be one sovereign in a single state. The governments of the various Union States cannot be defined as "sovereign." Yes, there are examples in the history, when so called 'Sovereign' states have made 'Union' partially for some specific purpose. One such union, prior to the 1914-18 war, was Austria-Hungary, in which the governments of both states were independent. Despite the fact that the kings were the same, both states were completely sovereign. They had a reciprocal agreement to support each other in matters such as dissolution of part, relations with other nations, and so on. Similarly, after 1814, the Union formed by combining numerous German states and Austria's sovereignty was largely whole. Such unions were small, and the states that made up the union held the real control. Even if the state's sovereignty is partially restricted, the state's authority is possible. There are many colonial states under British Commonwealth like Canada, Australia, New Zealand etc. which have a complete freedom in their internal rule. Though sovereignty is limited in some ways, such as termination of pacts and ties with other countries. They send separate delegations to the United Nations, engage in international conferences as sovereign states, and have separate foreign and pact relations with their neighbours. Despite this, it is hoped that, as members of the British Commonwealth, they will work in foreign affairs with Britain's discussion and support. They have an external authority, the British Crown, to which they are obedient and dedicated. From all of these perspectives, their authority is severely limited; but, since they have the right to secede from the British Commonwealth, they can be referred to as a "state." A state should not only be free from external influence, but it should also have absolute jurisdiction over its own internal affairs. If this does not occur, chaos will ensue, and the state will cease to exist. Religious, economic, cultural, and literary organisations are all possible for man to create. However, it is critical that all of these be under the control of the state, that they obey its orders, and that they recognise its authority. There may be a group that competes with or opposes the state. There can only be one state power in an area. In a 'State,' there can be no other state. It is probable and correct that the use of state power is separated in several places for the ease of state function. In a large country like India, it makes sense to establish regional district and city governments in addition to the central government. However, they all derive their strength from the same source. Only one source includes actual sovereignty. This source is the Indian State, which is a political entity made up of permanent residents of Indian land that is fully self-governing. The Indian constitution expresses the country's sovereignty and authority, dividing state power between the central and state governments for ease of administration. The four major elements are people, land, government, and sovereignty. Apart from that, the state has two more characteristics: peace and equality. In fact, these both elements are such specialties of the state which differentiates it from other communities. These also need to be highlighted briefly.

3.3 Characteristics of State

Within culture, there is a state. This distinguishes the state from society in terms of analysis. The two are not interchangeable. Society is a system of social interactions that encompasses the entirety of social activities that are fundamentally plural but relational at the same time. The state enters to provide continuity to these power ties, and thus to society. The state legitimises social relationships as they manifest themselves in social activities by recognising and codifying them by legal actions. In this sense, the state can be described as the codified power of a given time's social creation. Insofar as it has the capacity to pick, categorise, crystallise, and organise power in formal codes and

institutions, the state is a distinct and discrete organisation of power. And it is because of this ability that the state has power – power to make decisions, power to execute decisions, and power to coerce those who defy them. However, the state as a whole derives its influence from society. It is a codified force in this sense, but only within the context of the society in which it works. The state, as a social relation and also as a codified power in a given society, would have certain characteristics of its own. These characteristics can be stated as:

- a) The state is a power, organised in it. It has the power to legitimise social relations and gives them recognition through formal codes and institutions. This gives the state a distinct and irreducible status in society while making it autonomous from classes and contending factions existing in it.
- b) The state emerges as a set of specifically political practices which defines binding decisions and enforces them, to the extent of intervening in every aspect of social life.
- c) The state monopolises all means of coercion. No other organisation in the society has this power.
- d) The state gives fixity to social relations, and social stability to society. The social order, according to Chandhoke, “is constituted through the state and exists within the parameters laid down by the state.”
- e) The state exists within the framework of a given society. As society responds to the changing conditions compelled by numerous social forces, the state responds to the changing society. The state always reflects the changing relations of society. As society constantly re-enacts itself, so does the state.

3.4 Theories of State

The sources, existence, and subject matter of the state have been a source of contention since antiquity. In this time series, various points of view about the existence and subject have been established as the distance from city-state to nation-state has been protected. The ultimate institution, according to Greek philosophers Aristotle and Plato, is the state. Liberals, on the other hand, support the state, but they oppose some of its activities and want to expand some of its activities to any area of human activity. Liberalism is divided into two types based on this premise: pessimistic liberalism and positive liberalism. Similarly, anarchists regard the state as a necessary evil, while Marxists regard it as a tool in the hands of capitalists to control the state. It is essential to finish it by Blood Revolution. The early liberals argued that men should be left alone and that the state should stay out of their affairs. Not only was a man's personal life limited in this period, but so was his ability to conduct business. Producers requested their rights in order to sell these products in new markets and teach the benefit. So it's no surprise that this back group state was regarded as a bad thing. It was important for the preservation of human life and property, even though it was bad. As a result of seeing the state as bad, theorists of the time propagated the idea that the state's function is negative on different grounds. It has no right to mess with a man's job. Adam Smith, Lock, Germe Benthem, and Her best Spencer were among those who promoted a negative form of individualism and advocated for limiting the state's work area for a variety of reasons.

Divine Theory of State:

With a small understanding of natural surroundings in the early days of human civilization, the human mind attributed all that happened around it to the will of a Super Natural Force. Floods, famines, earthquakes, and other natural disasters were blamed on God's wrath. It's no surprise that the root of a well-established power system – the state – was attributed to God's will. God is higher than any of us. He understands what is good for people. He established an organised power system in order to save humanity from self-destruction. This would create law and order, safeguard the poor against the powerful, and pave the way for human development and happiness. Human beings can attain salvation through living in state and only by state. It is a religious obligation to die for one's country. Treason is synonymous with sin. Religious texts proclaim that "Motherland is superior even to heaven and all its pleasures." There are numerous theological texts that justify the idea that God created the state. The Mahabharata Shantiparva explains how the state came to be. Human beings were constantly at war with one another in the early days of human society. There was no such thing as law and order. There was no security for the weak people's lives or property. As a result, the people turned to God, who established a state and named a king to rule them. As a

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result, the king is God's representative. This reference can be found in a variety of religious texts. It is stressed that the king possesses a Vishnu-like quality.

Obedience to the king is obedience to God since God created the state and named the king as His representative. It would be welcoming God's wrath. If we do not obey His commands, we will perish. Since a king is God in human form, the same logic applies to his orders. There isn't something King can't do. Everything the king did was for the people's benefit. Perhaps God wanted to punish the people for their sins and wrongdoings, so he sent a bad king to rule over them. Human lives are inextricably linked to the whims and fancies of the earth's king, who is also God. This divine origin theory of state, transformed itself into Divine Right Theory of kingship. Kings were claiming that they got power through God. In Britain, a writer Filmer wrote a thesis on The Power of King. It was published around 1680. In several ways, the work defended Charles II's reign. According to Filmer's theory, after creating Adam, God granted him authority over his family, the world, and its products. Adam was the first monarch, and all subsequent kings inherited his control by hereditary rights. Similarly James I, who ruled Britain declared the Laws of free Monarchies which has following points. (1) King derived, power straight from God (2) Kings have no obligation to people. (3) Laws being the product of king's mind, they are not above the king. (4) King had complete power over the life and death of their subjects. The power of kingship is hereditary. King is the source of intelligence and only a few 'selected and chosen' people, with a lineage of royal blood would be kings. Disobedience to king is tantamount to sin and punishable with death. The Divine Right Theory is completely unscientific and untrustworthy. It arose at a time when religion and religious ideas dominated human thought. Only a few affluent groups had access to information. The general public was uninformed. Religious philosophers had led them astray. All new ideas were squashed. The growth of the human mind was stifled. It spawned a cult of blind followers who refuse to challenge authority or the origins of that authority. In the name of God, it helped greedy rulers in maintaining their misrule. Their heinous actions were unquestionably acknowledged. In the name of God, the theory allowed kings to plunder the people. They tried to offer a reasonably logical theory to explain the origin of the state. Social contract theory made consent as the basis of state.

Social Contract Theory of State

Individuals play a crucial role in the development of states. People formed a political association and invested power in it as a result of a common desire for a better life. The principle of equality was emphasised in the theory. Before the formation of the state, each person was sovereign. The state represented the people's collective sovereignty back then. The end of the state, according to this theory, would provide people with a better life. While a hazy reference to the idea that people without a state found one through contract can be found in Shantiparva of the Mahabharata or in the writings of Greek writer Glaucon, it was developed more thoroughly by three modern thinkers. They are England's Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), England's John Locke (1632-1704), and France's Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). These three authors devised a systematic theory of state formation. In their theoretical study of the social contract theory of state, these authors have a few things in common. They still have several distinctions. The presence of a natural state prior to the creation of the state and the reasons that caused the formation of a contract to establish the state are common features. The writers, on the other hand, disagree about the conditions of life in the wild, the terms of the contract, and the state's powers once it is created.

Thomas Hobbes

Despite this, the idea had a major influence on subsequent political thought. One of the greatest thinkers to emerge from the English-speaking world was Thomas Hobbes (1581-1769). He was born into an Anglican clergyman's family and lived a long life. He was a multi-linguist who was well-versed in subjects such as philosophy, history, and mathematics. As a tutor in the Royal family, he had the ability to travel extensively across Europe. He lived through the British Civil War during his lifetime. The parliamentary and monarchical powers were constantly at odds. He was a monarchist supporter.

The monarchy in England was abolished after Charles I was beheaded. This occurrence had a major influence on his subsequent thoughts and writings. He argued that anarchy or the lawlessness

situation is the most dangerous and the worst situation a human society could face. For the sake of humanity, human acts must be systematically and sometimes ruthlessly curtailed. In his well-known work *Leviathan*, he discusses the origins of state. This term refers to a sovereign state that is sovereign both internally and externally. The question to consider is how and why such a strong political organisation came to be. Hobbes was a pessimist when it came to human nature. He believes that humans are indeed selfish, greedy, and aggressive. With such a bleak view of human nature, Hobbes constructs his theory of state origin. Hobbes claimed unequivocally that there was a period in human civilization's past when people existed without a government or state. Each and every person was sovereign in this "state of nature." There was no one in charge of them. The natural world was bleak and desolate. There was no social life. There were no shared ideals such as fairness or moral principles. Strength, or physical force, was the only law, and it was the foundation of all action. If you have control, you can take something and hold it for as long as you have stamina. Humans have been fighting for a long time. This warfare was caused by these factors. Human acts were motivated by competition, diffidence, and glory. Because of the struggle for scarce natural resources, the primitive man was compelled to invade. He was forced to fight for his life because there was no trust between humans. Glory was the third aspect that drove him to fight for his credibility. So, in essence, aggression was at work in the wild. The state of nature is a state of war. In such a situation where would be scope for industry, innovation, culture, and art. In short, according to Hobbes, "the life of human beings in state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, selfish and short." This state of nature was governed by certain natural Laws. Life and property were inalienable rights. They should not be denied to anyone. However, in order for laws to be successful, we need a centralised authority that is above all. Since each person was the master of himself in nature, a way had to be found for the individuals to pool their sovereign rights and establish a new power system. Thus the state is formed. The point to be noted is all individuals in the state of nature decide to surrender their sovereign rights to a third party. In a hypothetical way each person says to other, "I authorise and give up my right of governing myself to this man or this assembly of men, on this condition that thou give up the rights to him and authorise all this action in like manner." (Hobbes). So a state was formed or a centralized power structure came into existence. Individual would lose his sovereignty. Following are the features of this contract.

- 1) The parties to the contract are individuals and not groups.
- 2) The ruler is not a party to the contract. He is an outsider.
- 3) The contract once signed is final. There is no way one can back out from the contract.

As a result, the sovereign state has emerged as the ultimate arbiter of all conflicts. The law is the ruler's order. The sacred obligation is strict adherence to the ruler's command. Since the alternative is chaos, lawlessness, and a return to the dark days of state of nature, even bad laws must be followed. However, although individual surrenders all his rights to a sovereign master- an outside agency- he still has right to life and property with him. No state can ask an individual to kill himself or confiscate his property. Yet, the state has right to regulate the property and punish the criminals. The state once established would be a final entity. Individuals have no right to appeal against the orders of the sovereign. The subjects have no right to change the government. The powers of the sovereign are too vast. Hobbes opposes the division of sovereignty. The state thus formed with the consent of individuals becomes the supreme governing body. It covers all aspects of human life. Freedom is what is permitted by state and to do what is not prohibited by state. As the sovereign is above law, there is no power to control him. Political obligation is based on reason. Since any disruption in the power structure of state might bring back state of nature individual would obey the state, out of his own interest. Thus, Hobbes' theory explains the origin and formation of an absolute state.

John Locke

John Locke is called as the father of Liberal Theory of Democracy. His writings had a profound influence on the concept of liberalism. The modern ideas of constitutionalism, right of citizens, welfare activities of the state, and the democratic power of people to effect and change the government could be discovered in his writings. Locke's call for religious freedom is perhaps his greatest contribution to the collection of human values. Religious tolerance is the foundation of modern secular democratic states. Religious tolerance is too obvious to require a clarification in

multi-religious, multicultural societies. In 1632, John Locke was born into a puritan Somerset lawyer's family. He became an Oxford tutor after completing his education there. However, he did not stay long and expressed an interest in medicine. He became Lord Ashley's physician and personal assistant after meeting him. Lord Ashley was involved in British politics, and Locke had firsthand knowledge of the political scene at the time. During his exile, he encountered a number of notable thinkers who influenced his thought. He had just finished "Essays Concerning Human Understanding" at the time. In 1681, he returned to England after the Glorious Revolution. Following King James II's vacation, William of Orange was invited to take the throne. Commissioner of Appeals Locke was named. Locke's thought and writings were greatly influenced by current affairs. That was the time when people preferred to change rulers peacefully and without bloodshed. There was a fresh air of democracy and liberty blowing. Locke's Two Treatises on Government, gives a clear picture of this assessment of the theory of state. Like all the earlier thinkers who visualized the emergence of state from an analysis of human nature, Locke also begins his analysis. Unlike Hobbes who could see only negative side of human nature, Locke views human nature from a positive angle. Human beings are basically good natured, decent and cooperative. They are not always selfish, many times altruistic.. They are essentially peace loving. With such a rosy picture of human nature it is not surprising that Locke should view State of Nature as one of paradise. Though individual free from authority of ruler in state of nature, his conduct is governed by Laws of Nature. From natural law an individual gets Natural Rights. Individuals realise these laws of Nature by reason. All individuals in a State of nature get certain rights- i.e. life, liberty and property. As they have natural right, the human beings in state of nature also have certain natural duties. Nobody has the right to dominate others. All are entitled for equal sharing of natural endowment. But there are always some corrupt elements in human society. Their selfish deed might disrupt the otherwise peaceful nature of the state of nature. Though the state of nature was well founded on twin principles of liberty and equality peace was not secure. Because there were always some men who are by nature 'vicious and degenerated character.' So an institutional framework was needed to make the life of society more secure and peaceful. An established law, impartial Judiciary, the willingness of the executive to effectively implement the accepted laws., were required to make the conditions in state of nature more meaningful and secure. So the individuals decide to organize a state. From society to state is a natural and logical transformation. There is view that Locke's theory explains two contracts. At first free individuals living in a state of nature, decide to form a society. This is "original contract." After society came into existence, a sense of mutual co-operation developed among the members of that society. Their actions were regulated by natural Law. They respected natural rights of others. They were industrious but not greedy. They were "social beings," not Hobbesian type of warmongering animal type. This 'civil society' creates a "state" through a contract. But the nature of this "state" is totally different from that of Hobbes. Firstly the members who constitute the government to administer the society are the members of society only. They are not outsiders. The state thus constituted does not get absolute powers. This is second difference. The individuals in the society would still keep; certain natural rights with them and surrender their sovereignty partly to the state. Most important thing is the society has the ultimate power to repudiate the contract entered into. Either a new government is installed by peaceful methods or the government is thrown out in violent form and society may slip back into state of nature for some time till some alternative arrangements are made to install a new govt. In a way Locke's theory of state pictures modern constitutional democracies. In a well-established liberal democracy, the constitution and the election machinery process could be a contract. People are supreme. They can either renew the contract with the existing ruler or install a new one. In extreme cases of constitutional break down, there could be peoples' revolt, a situation where no government exists- till such a time a new ruler is installed by society. Ultimately it is the society which is supreme. State is only a representative body with specific powers and responsibilities. There would be periodically reviewed by the people. The purpose of the State is to guarantee Natural rights and make their implementation effective. There are large areas of human life in society which are outside the control of state. Locke gives the individuals the sovereign rights to revoke the social contract and enter into a new contract. He specifies the following circumstances where such an eventuality may emerge.

- I) there might be a ruler or set of rulers who establish their own arbitrary will in place of the established laws.
- II) When the rulers prevent the legislature from assembling and acting freely for the purpose for which it was established.
- III) When by the arbitrary power of the ruler the elections and the method of elections are altered without the consent of the society.
- iv) The prince or ruler sometimes may fail to protect his countrymen from foreign aggression. In such cases he had delivered his subjects into foreign power domination so naturally the people have a right to disown the ruler.
- v) A situation where the person who had the supreme executive power neglected the laws already enacted and could not be executed. Locke's state is a state based on pluralism. He emphasized a higher law which is above state law. While he grants the right of the people to revolt against an unjust ruler, he specifically emphasizes that people should resort to this only when they realize that revolution would result in a better social order. This should not be used for tiny mismanagement of public affairs. But the very fact that people have this right is significant. It is a defense against arbitrary rule. Government based on consent coupled with right of people to rebel was the "best fence against rebellion".

Jean Jacques Rousseau

Rousseau is a champion of "Popular sovereignty." It is often said that without Rousseau there would have been no French Revolution. Because the very foundation of the French Revolution--popular sovereignty found a theoretical explanation in Rousseau's writing. While appreciating the advantages of a Democratic form of government, Rousseau found serious lapses in the Representative model. Here the citizen exercises his sovereign right only for a few seconds - during voting. He has complete freedom to transfer his sovereignty to whomever he wants at that time. But, before the next elections, he is just a passive observer of his representative's misdeeds, to whom he has gladly transferred his power of sovereignty in order to resolve this shortcoming. Rousseau imagined a structure in which government affairs are decided by referendum on a regular basis. The essence of this philosophy is the capacity of human beings to manage their affairs. The common will, not law or power, is the foundation of the society. Rousseau decided to give the foundation of the state system an ethical foundation. In Hobbes' philosophy, there is a strong dominance of the state over society, and in Locke's literature, there is a clear demarcation of forces and roles between state and society. State will be an extended political hand of society. State will implement what society wills and society wills what is good for entire community. There would not be any conflicts between society and state. In fact they are one and same, what binds them together is the spirit of 'General Will.'" Rousseau conducts a historical study of human development through the ages while debating the notion of "General Will." His analysis of human nature, especially the reasons for its degeneration from compassion to greediness, makes for fascinating reading. Following that, issues such as why society required a state and what the essence of such a political structure would be addressed. In fact Rousseau's treatment of these issues are highly radical to the point of controversies and contradictions.

Rousseau's life and times, like those of other social thinkers, inspired his writings. The greatest thinker France ever produced was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Rousseau's father was a watchmaker, and his mother died only a month after he was born. His life and thought were influenced by his disintegrated family history. Rousseau was born a protestant who was converted to Catholicism by de-walans, whom he befriended. Rousseau went to Paris at the age of 30 and befriended Diderot. Rousseau's wandering life, affairs with numerous women, unorthodox approach to the institution of marriage, and views on sex and family life all had an impact on his writings.

He pictured the human being as a pure person became corrupt because of the institutions created by society. He would want to dismantle the 'artificial institutions' like 'family' 'property' and would like to go back to "original state of nature." That would be an utopian dream, since that would not be possible, what would be desirable is creating a society of common interests, where general consensus would strive to achieve "common good". It would not be "We vs them" but 'we with them'. There is a need to create a society, based on good will, concern for other's interests,

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where individual would rise from his narrow selfish interest and willingly participate in general social welfare. For that a total transformation of the thinking of the individual in society is important. Rousseau's writings include 'Discourses on Inequality, The Social Contract, Emile. He faced the wrath of the rulers of his time. He was to be prosecuted for religious blasphemy. He went to hiding to avoid imprisonment. In 1778 he died leaving a rich heritage of literature on politics, history and human civilization. Thinkers like Plato and Locke influenced Rousseau. Plato's concept of the ethical basis of the state and supremacy of the community in guiding individuals' actions, together with Locke's theory of natural rights had an impact on his writings. Rousseau proceeded with his analysis of human nature. In a sense, Rousseau depicts two phases of human life. The first period of isolated existence and the second stage of communal existence. In contrast to Hobbes' account, the early stages of solitary life were calm. In a situation of isolation, there could be no "War." According to Rousseau, in a world of "natural men" men roamed alone and had at most only 'the most occasional and fortuitous meetings and connections. Men in this primitive condition had hardly anything to quarrel about. Primitive, non-social man would be neither egoist nor an altruist, in any moral sense, he would pre-moral. With the advent of civilization, group life started and with that many complications arose.

Rousseau's famous quotation "man is born free but found himself in chains, everywhere," explains the fall of man from an ideal position of natural free individual to a selfish person pursuing narrow selfish desires. The first result of joining the group life is to carve out a separate identity for himself. The day an individual started to fix fences around a piece of land and claimed that piece of land belonged to him he drew a distinction between himself and the rest So all the inequalities that society inherited started from this selfish desire of an individual to carve out a separate identity for himself. Money, trade and commerce, only widened this cleavage, so the social divisions of rich and poor, high and low, clever and dumb appeared on the scene. They are all artificial inequalities created by society. These created a false prestige and status. Men forgot their 'original nature'. Earlier they were healthy, good, dumb and roughly equal to one another. Now they became sickly evil, intelligent and highly unequal. This is the result of "social; life." The "Progress is nothing but adding more misery to human beings. Civilization had only multiplied the desires and inability to fulfill them made human beings unhappy. Material progress ushered by modern technology, reflected artificial inequalities, was corrupting and wrong. In order to overcome these shortcomings of group life, men decide to create an institution which would lessen the selfish character of the individual, kindle a light of social co-operation and establish a social order based on justice. So the emphasis is creating a "Right Social order." It is possible to achieve this. Because beneath the artificial civilized human being lies the natural human being. He has a distinct quality- going back to primitive stage. The quality of compassion, in him makes it painful for him to witness the suffering of any fellow- being he could recognize as resembling himself. That feeling has not yet dried up. In fact it is a stimulating force that drives him to do something for the members of his Community. Thus a background is formed to create a social contract. In this new social order- state-equality would be the basic foundation stone. Despite the artificial inequalities created by the modern civilization, all human beings possess equal power in creating a new social order. So all the members of the society surrender their individual sovereignty to themselves. The contract is among themselves. A society in a way transforms itself to a state. That means an individual gives up his power to the community. Since he is also a member of that community, what he loses as an 'individual' he would gain a "member of the society." So nobody has lost anything. What has happened is the "social goodness" priority outwitted individual preference. Here Rousseau introduces his famous terms "General will" and "Common good". Common good is the end for which the new social order is created and the "General Will" is the motivational force to achieve it. In Rousseau's thought every individual is a split personality. There is a 'particular will' which makes him to pursue his selfish desires, even at the cost of the social good, and the 'General will' which views the community well being as a desired objective. The formation of a new state through the contract should help to evolve the General Will. General Will will represents the will of the community as a whole. It reflects "Popular Sovereignty." Rousseau Proclaims "General will is always right. It can never be wrong." The General will will be the source of all laws. It cannot be represented by anybody. Rousseau had the concept of "participatory Democracy" when he talked

of General Will. Freedom means not following the arbitrary orders of others, but following one's own will. If the community passes the law which reflects the will of entire community, that cannot be called arbitrary. Because the individual is also a party to the formation of General will. So what is required is the spirit of reconciliation between individual actions and community welfare. It is possible only when direct

democracy takes roots. Since General Will represents the common good, any opposition to it would be disservice to the community welfare. In those conditions, we should presume that an individual under the impulses of "Particular will" had behaved that way. So he needs to be free from his selfish desires and made to see the advantages the Community is getting through that particular Public Policy. In these circumstances the use of coercion is justified 'Sometimes men are forced to be free' Rousseau proclaims. One can easily discern the dangerous implications from such thesis. If you proclaim, that after the community will has arrived at a public policy and opposition to it is based on selfishness and its suppression is 'Justified, then naturally it turns out to be a handmade device for dictators. Every ruler would proclaim the opposition to his policies are not reflection of "Vox populi" (voice of people) but of a greedy selfish voice, which need to be curbed in the interest of "People." The problem of discovering General Will is complicated and Rousseau did not provide any institutional mechanisms to it. Is General will the majority will of the community? Is it unanimous will? Or is it wisdom of certain members of the Community who have risen above particular will and give guidance to the community?- an idea Plato developed in Republic (the Guardians). Many thinkers argue that Rousseau started as a great champion of 'Democratic Will' but eventually paved the way for elite dictatorship. It is not uncommon for the dictators to proclaim that they "represent General Will", and opponents are enemies of people,". Yet despite these shortcomings Rousseau sounded a warning that the real democracy cannot be substituted by Representative system. Because "General will cannot be alienated nor represented." People should be constantly watching the legislative will. General will could be treated as vocal public opinion, it is such a strong force, that no government can afford to ignore it. Rousseau's ideal of direct democracy though not feasible in modern complex industrial Societies, it could still be tried as an experiment in small rural settings. Rousseau's social contract is a contract by the entire society to give a better state for them.

Marxist Theory of Social Contract

The Marxian theory of the state emerged, as a reaction against liberalism. For the Marxists, state and society are two distinct entities, though the state is not independent of society. The society type explains the type of state, society providing the base on which stood the superstructure. The Marxists, regarding the state as a product of a class society, believe the state to be a class institution, protecting and promoting the possessing class, and oppressing and coercing the non-possessing class. For them, the state is an engine of class rule. But it is also an instrument of social and political change, its negative function is to destroy the remains of the earlier society, while it, through its constructive functions, builds the structure and culture of the class it is manned with. Chandhoke discerns three theoretical moments of the Marxist theory of state. The first such moment has been when Marx and Engels, in the Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848) regard "the executive of the modern state " as "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". Marx also writes in the preface to *Towards a Critique of Political Economy* (1859), "the totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness." This base-superstructure model of the state was a reaction to the liberal concept of the disembodied state standing apart from society as also a reaction against the Hegelian model of the all-powerful state while subordinating civil society to it. The second moment, appearing around the 1960s and with Ralph Miliband and Hans Alvi, questions the nature of the state and its relationship with society. In it, the state emerges as a distinct theoretical object in its own right and state-centric theory emerged as the dominant stream of political theory. The third theoretical moment was made possible through the contributions of Nicos Poulantzas and Claus Off. This moment saw political theorists preoccupied with concepts and theories. Following Gramsci, who had conceptualized the state as the political consideration of civil society, the Marxist political

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theorists of the third theoretical moment began a spiralling interest in civil society as the sphere where meaningful practices, both hegemonic and subversive, are generalized.

Summery

The analysis of politics has relied heavily on state theories. In general, there are two types of theories: classical traditional theories and modern theories. Traditional theories such as the Divine Origin Theory, though unscientific, clarified the origin of state from the standpoint of Law and Order. The state's function is to preserve order, and the use of force is justified. As a core feature of state, they only have the aspect of "stability." In comparison to them, the social contract theory viewed the state as an artificial construct by culture rather than a natural one. Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, all three philosophers, emphasised the principle of "equality" in the formation of contracts. The state's responsibilities have been greatly expanded. The state is obligated to follow through with the deal. Its power comes from culture, not from God. However, the three philosophers varied in their assessments of the state's roles and powers. Hobbes emphasised legal supremacy, Locke argued for limited government, and Rousseau advocated for democratic participation. Furthermore, Marx interpreted state in the essence of capitalist class and class struggle and its impacts in the society. The theories were modified by later thinkers within different time period.

Key words/ Glossary

Elements of State, Divine Theory of State, Social Contract Theory, Hobbes, Locke Rousseau and Marx

Self-Assessment.

1. Exponents of theory of Divine Origin of State believe that:
 - A. State grew with the passage of time
 - B. God give state
 - C. State is expansion of families
 - D. State was result of an understanding between God and people

2. Aristotle believed that state originated as result of:
 - A. Social contract
 - B. Force
 - C. Expansion of families
 - D. Handiwork of God

3. 'Essays Concerning Human Understanding' was written by:
 - A. Milton
 - B. Spinoza
 - C. Locke
 - D. Rousseau

4. 'Social Contract' was written by:
 - A. Hobbes
 - B. Locke
 - C. Rousseau
 - D. None of above

-
5. According to exponents of theory of Divine Origin of State people have:
 - A. Right to revolt against their rulers
 - B. Right to revolt only against tyrants
 - C. Right to revolt against-unjustified laws
 - D. No right to revolt against their rule

 6. Main supporters of theory of Divine origin were:
 - A. Feudal lords
 - B. Church fathers
 - C. Common men
 - D. The rich traders

 7. Aristotle believed that state originated as result of:
 - A. Social contract
 - B. Force
 - C. Expansion of families
 - D. Handiwork of God

 8. Essays Concerning Human Understanding' was written by:
 - A. Milton
 - B. Spinoza
 - C. Locke
 - D. Rousseau

 9. Social Contract' was written by:
 - A. Hobbes
 - B. Locke
 - C. Rousseau
 - D. David Hum

 10. The Confessions' was written by:
 - A. Locke
 - B. Rousseau
 - C. Burke
 - D. G.B. Vico

 11. Hobbes's name is associated with origin of state about the theory of:
 - A. Divine Origin
 - B. Patriarchal
 - C. Matriarchal
 - D. Social Contract

 12. According to Hobbes in the state of nature man was:
 - A. Very law abiding
 - B. Nasty and brutish
 - C. Cultured and mannered
 - D. Selfless and had fellow feelings

 13. In Hobbes contract sovereign was:
 - A. Party to the contract
 - B. Above the contract
 - C. Below the people
 - D. To be elected in a democratic manner

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14. In the middle ages it was believed that:
- Church gave state
 - State is the march of God on earth
 - State was the result of human efforts
 - State grew with the passage of time
15. Exponents of theory of Divine Origin of State believe that:
- State grew with the passage of time
 - God give state
 - State is expansion of families
 - State was result of an understanding between God and people

Answers for Self-Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. B | 3. C | 4. C | 5. D |
| 6. B | 7. B | 8. B | 9. C | 10. B |
| 11. D | 12. B | 13. B | 14. B | 15. B |

Review Questions

- Q. 1. How did the term 'state' come to be used in the West?
- Q. 2. Explain briefly the characteristic features of the State.
- Q. 3. State briefly the ancient Greek view of the State.
- Q. 4. Bring out the salient features of the social contract theory as developed by Thomas Hobbes.
- Q. 5. 'Locke is the fore runner of Liberalism' - comment.
- Q.6. What are the limitations of Rousseau's theory of General Will?
- Q. 7. Write critical note on Marx's theory of state.

Further Readings

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Unit 04: Concepts of Power and Authority

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Summary

Key words

Self Assessment

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the concept of power in the political theory
- understand the meaning, definitions and types of power
- understand the meaning, definitions and nature of authority in the study of political theory
- examine the types and role of authority in the study of political theory
- analyse the role of Michel Foucault's concept of power in study of political theory

Introduction

The most important field of fundamental research in political science is the idea of power in relation to national and international politics. In the field of political philosophy, the concept of control has recently taken on a new significance. The meaning of politics has changed from one of being 'study of state and government' to that of being a 'study of power'. Curtis rightly says, 'the study of politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised and controlled, the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which decisions are made, the factors which influence the making of those decisions, and the context in which those decisions take place. 'Power transcends the sphere of formal institutions to concentrate on the true motivations and objectives of human beings that lie behind all political action and institution building,' as O. P. Gauba puts it. H.D. Lass well and A. Kaplan declared, "The concept of power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science: the political process is the shaping, dissolution and exercise of power." It is the concept of power that political science is primarily concerned with. Thinkers like Machiavelli and Hobbes advocated the study of power as the central theme of politics. Hobbes wrote: "There is a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceased only in death." A few decades ago, Frederick

Watkins suggested, "The proper scope of political science is not the study of the state or of any other specific institutional complex, but the investigations of all associations insofar as they can be shown to exemplify the problem of power." Perhaps this view was further strengthened by William A. "Political science is primarily concerned with power in society – its existence, basis, mechanisms, scope, and results," Robson said. The struggle to obtain or maintain control, to exert power or influence over others, or to avoid the exercise, is a strong and unmistakable object of interest for political scientists." One is reminded of Joan Woodward's seminal work, *Industrial Organization: Theory and Practice*, while researching the principle of power and its various forms in systemic processes. He said, "It seems that the sociologist cannot win in his attempts to establish a rigorous experimental framework for his research." In general, analysing the operational structures of power, both as a central theme of social order and as a factor motivating ambitious men, has been a complex multi-dimensional task, whether one looks at Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia. Before we discuss about the various conceptual dimensions of power, it is desirable that students of politics ought to have some basic understanding of the concept of power. Let us see what Andrew Heywood in his work on *Political Theory: An Introduction* (Palgrave, 1997, P. 122) had to say in his introductory remarks on the concept of power: All politics is about power. Politics is often depicted as nothing more than the exercise of power, and the academic discipline is essentially the study of power. Students of politics, without a doubt, are power students: they want to know who has it, how it is used, and on what basis it is exercised. Such concerns are particularly apparent in deep and recurrent disagreements about the distribution of power within modern society. Is power distributed widely and evenly dispersed, or is it concentrated in the hands of the few, a 'power elite' or 'ruling class'? Are powers essentially benign, enabling people to achieve their collective goals, or is it a form of oppression or domination? Such questions are, however, bedeviled by the difficult task of defining power; because power is so central to the understanding of politics, fierce controversy has surrounded its meaning. Some have gone as far as to suggest that there is no single, agreed concept of power but rather a number of competing concepts or theories. Furthermore, the notion that power is a means of dominance or control that requires one individual to obey another runs into the problem that power is often exercised in political life by the public's acceptance and willing obedience. Those 'in power' do not merely possess the ability to enforce compliance, but are usually thought to have the right to do so as well. This highlights the distinction between power and authority. What is it, however, that transforms power into authority, and on what basis can authority be rightfully exercised? Finally, there is the issue of authority, or the belief that power is exercised in a way that is legitimate, justified, or reasonable. Legitimacy is commonly thought to be the foundation of stable governance, since it is connected to a regime's ability to command the loyalty and support of its people. All governments seek legitimacy, but on what basis do they gain it, and what happens when their legitimacy is called into question? The study of power struggles is recorded in the annals of international history. Since the time of Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, numerous social and political scientists have clarified and analysed power as a model of study. Perhaps one should agree that the Federalists, Pareto, and Mosca are all control theorists. George Catlin, Charles Merriam, Bertrand Russell, Harold Lass well, and others have all contributed to this line of thinking. With the advent of liberalisation and economic globalisation, the entire field of empirical study of power has evolved into a distinct type of social theory.

4.1 Meaning and Nature of Power

Defining the term power is not an easy task. Different writers have taken different view in specific context. Its real meaning, as a result, seems to hover from Friedrich's description of it as 'certain kind of human relationship' to Tawny's emphasis on the identification of power with the capacity of the individual, or a group of individuals, to modify the conduct of others in the manner which one desires'. He, on the other hand, associates power with 'some potential obvious nice,' and Harold Lass well with 'influence.' Control, according to Bertrand Russell, is "the output of intended results." In other words, power refers to a person's capacity to satisfy his or her wishes or accomplish his or her goals. In addition, H. V. Wiseman describes control as "the right to have one's desires carried out in the face of opposition." According to Stephen L. Was by, "control is usually thought to involve someone bringing about an action against the will or desire of another" Simultaneously, a Marxist like Mao Tse-tung argues that "control comes from the barrel of the gun." Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, prefers to replace the influence of gun and bomb with the strength of love and honesty emanating from the people's will. The word power is used in different senses and context. We often speak of power of ideas, economic power, executive power, military power, etc. Thus, the term 'power' seems to behave in almost the same way as the word 'ability' or 'capacity'. The English word 'power' in fact, is derived from certain Latin and French words which mean 'to be able'. In this sense, power refers to the entire range of external forces that, when

brought to bear on a person, may cause him to move in a desired direction. 'The observation of Bertrand Russell, who defines power as the ability to influence the behaviour of others, is also important. Control, influence, authority, intimidation, persuasion, manipulation, conquest, and other similar themes are often used interchangeably with the word "strength" by various writers in different circumstances. As a consequence, defining exactly what the term 'control' means becomes challenging. According to Max Weber, power and authority are distinct since the latter carries the sense of legitimacy within its fold. Force and power are not the same, since the former entails certain violent forms that may or may not be an integral part of the concept of power. As a result, while stressing the important points of differentiation between power and other similar themes, one might argue that 'power' is a faculty or capacity to conquer in a contest, while force is an adjunct to power and not an essence of power. The ability to control other people's wills and activities in order to make them adhere to the power seeker's will is the most important aspect of power. Power can also be derived from established constitutional and legal procedures. In the ultimate analysis, international politics is therefore, the manifestation of power. Ideology may only be in a sense, the mask for covering the uglier image of power. Similarly, 'force' is different from 'power'. The most barbaric expression of dominance is force. Restraint, bullying, physical threats, intimidation, extortion, terrorization, and military dominance are some of its tactics. As a result, 'power' is a latent force, while 'force' is manifest power.' On the other hand, influence denotes the sublimation of force. It's a word that refers to the indefinite exercise of authority. It may be for a variety of reasons, including social status, intellectual eminence, spiritual value, and so on. It's an amorphous entity, to be sure. The most significant difference between the two is that authority is persuasive, while force is coercive. We willingly submit to influence, while force necessitates submission. Similarly, 'authority' denotes the moralization of force. It could require the formal sanctioning of power as a means of legitimising it. Control is thought to be more thorough than power, despite the fact that it is less concentrated. Control may be classified as legislative, executive, judicial, financial, administrative, or popular. In other words, it is more or less equal to force, with the exception that the strength of its expression is less concentrated than power's.



Did you Know?

4.2 Different Sources of Power

In order to understand the meaning of power; we need to study the sources of power. In reality, power comes from a variety of places and manifests itself in a variety of ways. While Napoleon, Hitler, Lenin, and Gandhi were all influential figures, their sources of power differed. It is not possible to give a complete list of the sources of power because there are a lot of differences in the thinkers about it. But even, then some of major sources of power are given below:

Knowledge: Knowledge is the first source of power. In its most basic form, knowledge allows a person to re-establish and achieve his goals. Information monitors other specialties of the person in such a way that they become means of control, Leadership quality, willpower, tolerance, and the ability to articulate himself are all important aspects of strength. Out of all these elements, lack of any one of them can make the entire form of power as unsuccessful and can destroy it completely.

Possession: Internal influence comes from information. Although, apart from that, there are external sources of influence, the most important of which is possessions, this is referred to as economic strength in layman's terms. Physical material, ownership power, and social material level and status of a person in society are all examples of possessions. Though property or possession is a source of power, it is neither the only source nor the most powerful. A individual can influence the work of others even if he does not own property, and it is not mandatory that he will be able to influence others until he owns property.

Organisation: Organization is a significant source of influence in and of itself. "Unity is power," it is said. When various competitive units join forces, their strength multiplies several times. The modern examples are the labour union and the trader's union. From the viewpoint of power, undoubtedly, state is the biggest union and its major reason is the most organized form of the state.

Shape: Shape is also thought to be the gateway to power, and it is thought that the shape of a union provides an introduction to its power. It occurs if the form and union are unanimous, but this is not always the case. Many times, a larger form makes it more fluid and unbalanced, and it prevents it from remaining in accordance with the circumstances. As a result, some political parties resort to purges in order to slim down their ranks. As a source of strength, trust is also crucial. The sword's strength is essentially determined by confidence. Authority is another type of influence. The capacity of a force to influence the human mind determines its greatness. Prof. Maciber, after

describing the various elements of power, has said that "The working ability of power increases or decreases by those various circumstances under which it has to work."

4.3 Types of Power

Political Power

The analysts of power cannot restrict themselves to the realm of 'political power.' Economic and ideological forms of power also play a significant role as the support bases of political power. According to Alan Ball, "the principle of political power" is a "central concept in the study of politics," since "if politics is the resolution of conflict, the distribution of power within a political society determines how the conflict will be resolved and if the resolution will be successfully observed by all parties. "It is important to differentiate between the formal and informal organs of political power in order to identify the essence and essential features of political power." The formal institutions are the legislature, executive, and judiciary, which are historically known as the state's organs of authority. Together, the Executive and Legislature make rules, policies, and decisions that govern the distribution of values in a society. As a result, formal political power organs play an important role in a society. Informal political power structures are also significant. They take the form of ruling and opposition political parties. They often serve a wide range of pressure groups, public opinion, and social movements, among other things. Political authority should not rest solely in the hands of the state's formal institutions. Public sentiment, social movements, and organised interests all have direct impact on decision-making processes in autonomous democratic states. Even in the international sphere, organized groups of nations exercise their influence on the super powers and make them change their economic and foreign policies.

Economic Power

Economic power derives from the possession of tangible assets, especially the primary means of production and distribution. It is a major influencing factor in politics. In a liberal democracy, those with economic leverage exert control on politics in a number of ways. They are represented by pressure groups that are more strong, coordinated, and vocal. Furthermore, major corporations provide substantial financial support to political parties and even election candidates. The recipients of such assistance give lip service to the needs of the people while secretly safeguarding the interests of their financiers.

Ideological Power

Ideological influence contributes to a more subtle political power base. Political ideology is a collection of concepts advocated by the capitalist class in relation to the political system. The ruling classes' political philosophy gives them legitimacy and helps them retain their political influence. It promotes a cause for which people are not only willing to fight, but also willing to give their lives. Ideology, on the other hand, is often empty of justifications. It selects a few easy formulae and elevates them to the status of "absolute reality" by preying on people's emotions. Thus, ideological power represents more often the manipulative power of the dominant class which holds sway on the thinking and emotions of the people.

4.4 Meaning and Nature of Authority

A central concept closely associated with politics is authority, which is also known as power. The English word "authority" comes from the Latin word "auctor," which meant "advice." The definition of authority is based on "reason" and "ability for rational elaboration." As a result, the man who wields power has the ability to reasonably elaborate. In other words, a person in a position of authority must be able to provide simple, rational, and compelling explanations for his or her decisions or judgments. The principle of authority connotes a sense of responsibility on the part of the person who wields it. The numerous norms, values, and procedures that grant him recognition necessitate adherence to them. In this light, there can never be utter authority. Authority is self-regulatory since it is often constrained by such rules and values. If the authority's holders, or the ruler himself, disregard the norms and values on which the authority is established, disorder, lawlessness, and anarchy will ensue. Time-honored customs, universally shared ideals of life, or publicly acknowledged practices that recognise authority are all examples of norms and principles. In this way, command and obedience become second nature. The use of speech and written words, rather than brute force, is often used to regulate the external actions of individuals or groups of individuals. A parent's authority, for example, is based on their ability to provide "reasoned elaboration" as to why their child should or should not do such things. In the absence of this

capacity on the part of the parents, they can use intimidation or force on their children, but not authority. Power and legitimacy are two essential components of authority. The legitimacy of a law or judgment indicates that society's members regard it as beneficial to both society and themselves. As a result, they appear to follow it willingly. As a result, in the realm of politics, authority is the most powerful tool for exercising power.



Did you Know?

4.5 Types of Authority

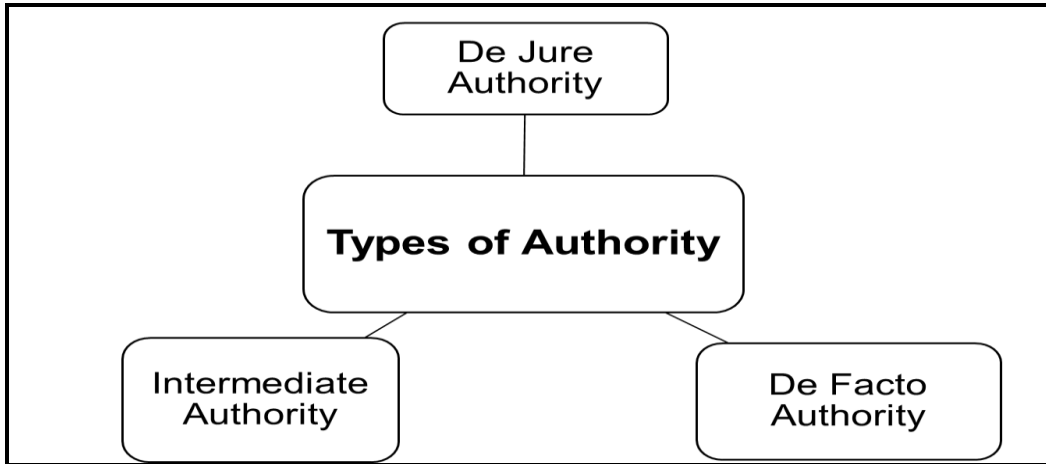


Table:1 Prominent types of authority are as follows

I. De Jure Authority (legally constituted authority):

De Jure authority presupposes a definite system of law, rules and regulations. It determines as to who shall be competent to take decisions, make pronouncements, issue commands and command obedience and perform certain acts in accordance with law. De Jure authority is exercised by means of speech and written words and enjoys the right to receive obedience. The Constitution of a state, e.g. gives authority to Parliament and/or to the President of the state.

2. De Facto Authority (Person/s who in fact exercises authority):

De Facto authority is essentially concerned with a person whose words in fact is treated as law and is therefore obeyed. Generally, de jure and de facto authorities go hand in hand. The parliament or the President e.g. has de jure as well as de facto authority. In some special situation the de facto authority may be other than the de jure authority.

3. Intermediate Authority (Extra-Constitutional Authority):

This is an intermediate authority between the de jure and de facto authorities. This kind of authority is also referred to as 'extra constitutional authority. It is held by a person not because of legality of position or rules as in case of de jure authority but because 'he or she is special sort of person.' This type of authority is solely base on the people's devotion and dedication to the personal characteristics of the man, his acts, heroism and his unusual unique or special abilities.

4.6 Max Weber's forms of authority

i. Traditional Form of Authority (Hereditary in origin; in monarchy):

The traditional form of authority has existed right from the very beginning of the state. This form of authority has been, to a great extent, hereditary in origin. The royal person, after his death, is generally succeeded by his eldest son as the king who then exercises traditional authority.

ii. Rational-legal Form of Authority (in democracies):

The rational -legal form of authority emanates from the political office held by an individual, where he is appointed through the prescribed procedure. In other words, legal-rational authority is attached to an office which automatically extends to the individual holding that office. This form of

authority is generally found in democratic system of government. It is established by and through the constitution of the state.

Characteristics:

- a. It springs into existence as a result of the constitutional provision for it.
- b. It is founded on some method of popular approval.
- c. It makes provision for some system of accountability to the people.
- d. It sets up due procedure for the beginning and termination of the terms of office.
- e. It finally, makes such other structural arrangements which would serve the purposes for which it is established.

iii. Charismatic Form of Authority:

The charismatic form of authority is generally found in developing countries where (a) there is low level of institutionalization; (b) traditional structures are not democratic in form as well as in spirit; (c) paternal authority is always highly respected; (d) traditional thinking is challenged by modern political institutions, & (e) the dichotomy is, to some extent, mitigated by a charismatic leader.

iv. Spiritual Form of Authority:

Spiritual form of authority is based on spiritual or religious grounds, e.g. the Pope in medieval period.'

4.7 Limitations of Authority

We can't imagine having an organised society without authority. However, in a culturally and civilised society, authority has certain limits that must be adhered to. Limitation of authority refers to the regulation of the authority's usage and execution such that it can't be used according to whims and fancies. Authority must operate within the confines of constitutional laws and political circumstances, and it cannot impose its will on society, beliefs, or conventional and moral principles. These limits of authority may be attributed to actions that are physical, moral, for goals, internal, or external. The following is a brief overview of the authority's limitations:

- 1. Natural Limitation:** Whether or not there is a mention of basic rights in the constitution, no state organization can have a right that it prohibits the citizens from their life, common freedom and limited property. This is the first and compulsory limitation of the authority and any authority which crosses this limit is deemed to fall.
- 2. Moral Religious Faith:** Morality and religious faith is also a compulsory limitation of the authority. Whenever any authority orders against the moral and religious faith; then it becomes very difficult to make it to be followed.
- 3. Culture:** Culture is the way of living of the people which expresses itself as art, literature, religion, fashion, music and ideas. Authority can have no right to interfere in the culture or cultural life of the society and it can do nothing in the field of culture.
- 4. Constitution, Rules and Sub-rule:** Constitution is the ultimate source of state authority. So even for supreme authority, constitutional acts have to be followed. Apart from it, every organization makes some sub-rules for the effective management. These rules and sub-rules also determine the limitations of authority.
- 5. Economic Limitations:** Every state organization has limited economic means and economic capacity. So these economic means and capacity also limit the authority.
- 6. Capacities of Subordinates and the unions made by the subordinates:** Any authority works through the subordinates. So, the limits of the capacity of subordinates, determine the limits of authority. Apart from that is most of the organizations, the subordinates form unions for their personal benefits and growth and in this way try to bargain collectively this condition also obstructs the condition of authority.
- 7. International Organization and Laws:** The presence of the United Nations and other international organisations, as well as partial recognition of international rules, has limited the authority at this time. While international organisations and international law may not have the authority to block, it is also true that state authorities cannot disregard them at their leisure. Apart from all these also there are some limitations of authority. Every state organization has some fixed

and decreased objectives and authority cannot over rule these objectives and norms. Authority has some technical as well as some psychological limitations.

4.8 Distinction between Authority and Power:

Authority and power are both ways of regulating social behavior of an individual in the society. However, authority may be distinguished from power in the following senses.

Authority is an embodiment of reason:

According to Carl J. Friedrich, "authority is the embodiment of reason, and its capacity for rational elaboration is dependent." The man who wields power is capable of reasoned elaboration.' To put it another way, the man in charge has the ability to have compelling explanations for what he does or what he wants others to do. Americans, for example, support the President's authority because they believe he has access to knowledge that others do not or do not have. This enables him to have compelling justifications for his decisions.

Power refers to compliance by force, threat, bribe, propaganda and fear: Mainly, Control, in contrast to authority, is a way of controlling an individual's social actions and conducts by means other than rational elaboration. A man secures obedience by exercising control by threats, bribes, propaganda, and fear of injury or placing obstacles in the way, and so on.

4.9 Relation Between Power and Authority

The concepts of authority and control are inextricably linked. The exercise of authority is relevant and sufficient as long as people obey the law or structure. Since most Indians embrace being governed by laws and regulations, the government of India has power. A small number of anti-social elements, criminals, radicals, terrorists, and secessionists, on the other hand, refuse to recognise and obey India's laws and Constitution. In such situations, the government exercises both authority and control. In a unique way, the police, paramilitary, and armed forces reflect the government's strength. As a result, every government must have sufficient power to preserve its authority in the face of those who refuse to obey it. A government based on legitimacy but lacking in power could be deposed by a small group of armed rebels. In the absence of power, state authority can dwindle or even vanish. If a government lacks sufficient military or security forces, it will be unable to quell or suppress internal rebellions or revolts, if any, or deal with threats from an armed and determined group in any form. Such a government may forfeit the right to receive obedience from the majority of the people. In contrast, the loss of power within the state may take place as a result of weakening or loss of military strength or armed forces or national wealth.

Summary

We started with an explanation of the meaning and essence of the principle of force. It was attempted to define force. It was accompanied by a detailed description of various theories of power, emphasising various points of view on power. The liberal democratic, sociological view points and Marxian philosophy of power were all highlighted in this section. The basic definition of the term authority, as well as various concepts associated with it, was explained in this section. An effort was made to emphasise the importance of authority in all organised life. We also discussed how an individual with authority acts as an agent for the company he serves. The idea of authority is often related to numerous myths, hypotheses, and procedures. The origins or types of authority were discussed in this section. The features of authority were also attempted to be explained. This subject also necessitates a definition of different forms of authority. The discussion came to a close with a clarification of the difference between authority and power.

Key words

Power, Political Power, Economic Power, Ideological Power, Legitimacy, Authority, Types of Authority etc.

Self Assessment

1. Who said "International Politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim."
 - A. Hans J. Morgenthau
 - B. Plato
 - C. Aristotle
 - D. None of above

2. Who wrote a book "Politics among Nations":
 - A. Koutilya
 - B. Hans J. Morgenthau
 - C. Aristotle
 - D. None of above

3. Who coined the word 'political power'.
 - A. Alan Ball
 - B. Lasswell
 - C. John Rowels
 - D. None of above

4. Which is not a Max Weber concept of Authority?
 - A. Legal
 - B. Political
 - C. Charismatic
 - D. Traditional

5. The 'power theory' finds an appropriate manifestation in writing of :
 - A. Machiavelli
 - B. Aristotle
 - C. Plato
 - D. None of above

6. Hobbes supported:
 - A. Absolute sovereignty
 - B. Legal sovereignty
 - C. Divided sovereignty
 - D. None of above

7. Bureaucracy is based on:
 - A. Traditional authority
 - B. Bounded authority
 - C. Personal authority
 - D. None of these

8. Max Weber concepts of authority not consider:
 - A. Traditional authority
 - B. Legal authority
 - C. Personal authority
 - D. None of above

9. Who wrote book 'Economy and Society':

- A. Max weber
- B. Marx
- C. John Rawls
- D. None of above

10. Which is not a source of power:

- A. Organization
- B. Possession
- C. Knowledge
- D. Grouping

11. Who associates power with 'influence':

- A. Harold Lasswell
- B. Marx
- C. Aristotle
- D. None of above

12. Who said 'power comes from the barrel of the gun':

- A. Mao Tse-Tung
- B. Marx
- C. Lenin
- D. None of above

13. Who said 'power is Knowledge and Knowledge is power':

- A. Karl Popper
- B. Marx
- C. Mao-Tse-Tung
- D. Robert Dahl

14. Who write a book 'The open society and its Enemies':

- A. Marx
- B. Robert Dahl
- C. John Rawls
- D. Karl Popper

15. Who Wrote 'The Logic of Scientific Discovery'?

- A. John Rawls
- B. Karl popper
- C. Lenin
- D. None of above

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. B | 3. A | 4. B | 5. A |
| 6. A | 7. A | 8. C | 9. A | 10. D |
| 11. A | 12. A | 13. A | 14. D | 15. B |

Review Question

1. Discuss the meaning and nature of power. Explain its various theories.
2. Why do you think power is the most significant area of basic research in Political Science?
3. Analyze the concept of power in relation to national and international politics.
4. 'The concept of authority involves 'reason' and depends upon 'the capacity of reasoned elaboration.' Discuss in detail.
5. Define authority. Explain various sources or forms of authority.
6. Discuss Max Weber's views on the forms of authority.
7. Explain the characteristics of Rational-legal form of authority.

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Unit 05: Liberty

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the meaning and definition of liberty in the political theory.
- understand the different types of liberty
- examine the different aspects of liberty in the political theory
- understand the concept of negative and positive aspects of liberty
- analyse Laski's views on positive and negative liberty

Introduction

The word "liberty" is derived from the Latin word "liber," which means "free." J. At least in the self-regarding realm of human behaviour, S. Mill regards liberty as completely unaffected by constraints. Laski, on the other hand, defines it as "the willing preservation of the environment in which men can be their best selves." As a result, it's critical to balance the concept of liberty with the need for constraints. Furthermore, if liberty is to be distinguished from licence, or man's right to do as he pleases, the question of limitations becomes critical. At the same time, it is important to note that while limitations can help to protect liberty, they can also be used to kill it. In this light two points need to be noted; (i) the real meaning of liberty changes from age to age; and (ii) liberty lives within restraints and liberty of each individual is necessarily relative to that of others. As a result, liberty refers to the absence of limits and restrictions rather than the absence of constraints. It embraces man's choice of area while also requiring proper explanation of any limitations or restrictions imposed on such an area. T.H. Green defines it as the ability to do or appreciate something worthwhile in the company of others. As a result, the concept of liberty encompasses both the human and social aspects of man's life. Furthermore, just as social life necessitates a web of laws, the concept of liberty necessitates appropriate restrictions. Restraint is, in the words of Leo Strauss, "as normal as independence." Freedoms are resources that experience has proven to be critical to the growth of a person's personality. The meaning of liberty also necessitates the enumeration of certain provisions for its achievement.

5.1 Meaning of Liberty

Let us first make some broad observations about the idea of liberty before delving deeper into the two basic concepts of liberty. Several years ago, there was widespread dissatisfaction with liberty's

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failure to deliver on its promise, especially among critical theorists. Many caveats and alerts were included in discussions about the importance of freedom. Some writers expanded Marx's criticism that capitalist freedom is founded on the lack of freedom of the working class to argue that freedom for some has always necessitated the dominance of the many: The lack of freedom of slaves was the source of male Greek and American citizens' freedom; men's freedom is dependent on women's dominance; and the freedoms enjoyed by populations of rich Northern countries are a function of their hegemony over poorer Southern nations. This historical evidence yields the general principle that "the freedom of some makes the dependence of others both necessary and profitable; while the freedom of one part makes the freedom of another possible". (Bauman, Z, 1988, p.19. If equality means the ability to subjugate others, it has no normative significance. Present emancipatory rituals have often been criticised as covers for the reality of contemporary society as a structure of increasing controls. Not only has modernity seen a large-scale expansion of authoritarian state apparatuses, but it has also seen a proliferation of regulatory institutions, such as schools and bureaucracies, that require people to behave in ways that expand their subjection rather than their independence. Intellectuals of the modern era were chastised for obfuscating this secret dominance with notions of equality. Finally, some feminists criticised common freedom theories as having a masculine bias and thus being counterproductive for expanding women's freedom. They argued that freedom has been conceptualised exclusively through the lens of male experience and circumstances. Accepting this conception of freedom means ignoring a large part of the activities of women, and so applying this conception to women cannot be in their interests. It has even been said that concentration on the value of freedom can have anti-women implications: to see freedom, defined as absence of restraints, as "the hallmark of humanity provides another means of asserting women's non-human status". (N.J. Hirschmann, 1989, p. 1236) Of course, these reservations about liberty did not lead to its rejection. It is clear that resistance groups across the world are still fighting for democracy, and it continues to be the inspiration for many anti-oppression movements. The task for theorists is to use their critical approach to freedom to develop a concept of freedom that can address each of the previous objections: that the freedom of some always necessitates the lack of freedom of others; that modernity, in subtle ways, makes everyone less free; and that current conceptions of freedom simply cannot apply to both sexes. It's worth noting that the quest for an acceptable definition of freedom is no longer undertaken by choosing between the two camps of negative and positive freedom, which have historically separated supporters of liberty. After embracing the central principle of self-determination, discussions of freedom used to commonly describe and contrast negative and positive concepts of freedom before taking a stance defending one, or a trained version of one theory of freedom. Recent debates, on the other hand, have sought to challenge both concepts of liberty's internal mechanisms and problems, and to replace both with a new conception of liberty.

The theory of negative freedom, for instance, has been criticized on the basis of its starting point, an individual with given desires and preferences. Defining freedom as non-interference in the fulfillment of a person's possible preferences, this theory fails to consider that the notion of freedom as self-determination requires an examination of whether the formation of these preferences is autonomous or not, given the existing social circumstances. A theory of freedom must consider such conditions not only in terms of the absence of physical and legal interference, but also in terms of the possibility of autonomously shaped desires and interests. It is acknowledged that the optimistic definition of freedom does not presume individuals with predetermined interests and goes beyond seeing freedom as simply non-interference. It analyses the process of an individual's development of selfhood, which becomes the foundation of that person's freedom as self-determination, since it defines freedom as the following of self-given reasonable rules. In addition, it also recognises the necessity of the availability of external resources, over and beyond the lack of physical and legal obstacles, for self-determination. This conception has been faulted, however, for formulating the formation of autonomous selfhood, or autonomous preferences and purposes as an act of individual reason with no link with social conditions, as "an act largely independent of any social context". (P. Patton, 1989, p. 263). This can definitely be said of some constructive freedom theorists, such as Kant. Dissatisfied with the two historically prevalent concepts of liberty, today's freedom theorists are attempting to define key social conditions of liberty. The publicly guaranteed security in certain areas of life from physical and legal impediments, as well as the social provision of services such as wages, education, and health to individuals, do not exhaust these social conditions of freedom. In addition, they are said to include two other provisions on which there is less consensus than on the first two. The third social condition of freedom consists of one's cultural context being valued in the society in which one lives. This cultural context is part of the process by which an individual forms autonomous preference and its importance lies behind the demand for cultural rights; that is, it underlies the claim that individuals are not equally free in any society in which different cultures are unequally valued. The fourth social condition of liberty is some notion of collective liberty, which is different from political liberty, which is described as everyone having

the right to vote, or the right to freedom of speech. To counter the argument that freedom often means the freedom of some to rule others, we must examine and establish arguments that make some people's freedom contingent on the freedom of others.

5.2 Negative and Positive Concept of Liberty

Negative Liberty

Isaiah Berlin's 'Two Concepts of Liberty,' first published in 1958, remains the classic defense of negative liberty. "Not being interfered with by others," Berlin described "being free." The larger the non-interference zone, the greater my freedom." (Berlin, 1969, p. 123) This description harkens back to Hobbes' presentation of liberty in *Leviathan*, in which he described liberty as the absence of "external impediments." "A free man, in those things, which he by his strength and wit is capable of doing, is not hindered to do what he has a will to," Hobbes writes. (Hobbes, 1968, p.262) In Hobbes' view, these hindrances included the laws of the sovereign, framed after civil society had been created by the social contract, since liberty depended on the 'silence of the law'. The lack of civil laws in nature should have meant more freedom for its inhabitants, but in its absence, each person acted as an external impediment to another's freedom of action. The sovereign guaranteed that his people were free from one another's intervention by his rules. It is good to keep in mind here how Hobbes, one of the earliest advocates of negative liberty, saw no contradiction between the 'needful' laws of an absolute sovereign and his subjects' liberty.

It was irrelevant to determine whether or not a person was free because she had no say in the rules that governed her life. The rules were enacted solely by the absolute monarchy. What mattered was whether the sovereign left as much of her life unrestricted by his rules as possible. Berlin makes the same point: liberty in its negative sense "is principally concerned with the area of control, not with its source...there is no necessary connection between individual liberty and democratic rule. The answer to the question 'Who governs me?' is logically distinct from the question 'How far does government interfere with me?'" (Berlin, 1968, pp. 129-130) In explaining the concept of liberty, Hobbes distinguished between freedom and ability: "But when the impediment of motion, is in the constitution of the thing itself, we cannot say, it wants the Liberty, but the Power to move; as when a stone lies still, or a man is fastened to his bed by sickness." (Hobbes, 1968, p. 262) This distinction between power or capacity and liberty is echoed by most proponents of negative liberty. They disagree on when a condition should be classified as a lack of capacity and when it should be classified as a lack of liberty. In the case of humans, not being able to fly due to a lack of wings is a simple case of lack of strength, not of being unfree. But what about a man who is unable to afford "something on which there is no legal prohibition - a loaf of bread, a round-the-world trip"? Berlin argues that given a social theory in which this poverty is the result of "other human beings having made arrangements" whereby some men lack material resources while others enjoy an abundance of them, the poor man should be described not as being unable to buy bread, but as being unfree to do so: "The criterion of oppression is the part that I believe to be played by other human beings, directly or indirectly, with or without the intention of doing so, in frustrating my wishes." (See Berlin, 1968, pp. 123-4) This is a far cry from Hillel Steiner's work, according to which only physical barriers imposed on a person's conduct will enable that person to say that she is not free. Even among the proponents of negative liberty, there is a broad spectrum of interpretation of what constitutes impediments/obstacles to intervention. Another classical defense of negative liberty was John Stuart Mill's 1859 essay, *On Liberty*. Here is Mill's position in brief: "...the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection...the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, whether physical or moral, is insufficient justification...The only aspect of a person's behaviour that is subject to societal scrutiny is that which affects others. His freedom is absolute in the portion of his life that is solely concerned with himself." Despite the fact that there is a fine line between self-regarding and other-regarding behaviour, Mill argued that the doctrine of liberty forbade any interference with one's self-regarding actions. Discussing three separate areas - thinking and its oral and written speech, taste and pursuits, and combination or connection with other individuals - Mill believed that society had no other reason for interfering with the individual's liberty in these areas unless it was to avoid "direct material damage" to others. "No society in which these liberties are not, on the whole, respected, is free, whatever may be its form of government, and none is completely free in which they do not exist absolute and unqualified." The aim of social theory, according to Mill, was to advance mankind's progress. Mill saw his contribution as demonstrating to the world that individual liberty is a necessary component of this change: "... liberty is the only unfailling and lasting source of improvement, for it allows for as many

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separate centers of improvement as there are individuals. " The human faculties of vision, judgment, discriminative emotion, mental behaviour, and even moral preference are exercised only in making a choice," Mill explained. But, if the value of liberty is to better mankind, what is one to do with the probability that individuals will still want to behave wrongly in their field of self-interested action? This brings us to the conception of positive liberty.

Positive Liberty

Positive liberty advocates aim to expand this sphere of self-determined action as far as possible, while negative liberty advocates aim to protect at least certain areas in which a person is free to do as she pleases. They do this in two ways. The first is by including internal restraints in the principle of action constraints. Being a slave to one's impulses or passions, for example, was seen by Rousseau as the polar opposite of freedom. Our impulses are heterogamous; they arise as a result of our upbringing or the world in which we live. We must choose to fulfill our desires actively and rationally, that is, those desires that we see as truly our own and representative of our selves. "The instinct of mere appetite is slavery, whereas adherence to a self-prescribed rule is liberty," he writes in 'The Social Contract.' Kant had a similar argument - how can one's freedom be evinced in actions that are the product of brute nature working through one by prompting desires which one blindly follows? Instead, to count as free, one must choose or select amongst one's desires according to some rational principle that one has oneself endorsed. The second way of widening the domain of self-determined action in the conception of positive liberty is through democratic mechanisms of taking collective decisions. The emphasis is on ensuring that one has a voice in framing all of the laws one lives under, rather than on leaving as much of one's life as possible unencumbered by laws. Since freedom is distinct from licence and described as living under self-made laws, the emphasis is on ensuring that one has a voice in framing all of one's laws. Returning to Rousseau, the concept of liberty implies that we not only decide our own desires, but also that we form the rules that govern our lives. Rousseau's pro-democracy stance is well-known: "There is no other form of government consistent with liberty." How can we be said to be self-determined if we don't have a say in how the laws that govern our acts are framed? This is Rousseau's conception of civil freedom, in contrast to the moral freedom which prevents us from being a slave to our appetites.

Rousseau related his moral and civil liberties in the following way: he saw collective legislation framed by the people as they keep the public interest in mind (by the general will) as a way for each person to be in charge of his or her desires. Instead of a person's weak will, these rules, in the making of which everyone takes part, ensure that one lives a life that one chooses. Whereas the compulsion of laws enhanced one's freedom by prohibiting others from interfering with one's actions in Hobbes' case, in Rousseau's case, the intervention of collectively created laws becomes a means of freedom. "We shall possibly all accept that democracy, properly understood, is the greatest of blessings; that its achievement is the true end of all our effort as citizens," Green wrote in an 1881 essay. But, before we talk about rights in this way, we should think about what we mean by it. We're not all talking about liberation from constraint or compulsion here. We don't just mean the right to do whatever we want, regardless of what we want. We don't mean a freedom that can only be enjoyed by one man or a group of men at the expense of others' freedom. When we talk about freedom, we're talking about a constructive power or capacity to do or enjoy something worthwhile, and to do or enjoy it with others...the concept of true freedom is the maximum amount of power available to all members of human society to make the best of them selves..." (Green, 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract', 1881, pp. 199-200) Both J.S. Mill and T.H. Green concurred in seeing the value of liberty in allowing individuals 'to make the best of them'; yet they disagreed about the definition of liberty.

5.3 Types of Liberty

In simple terms liberty implies, "a state of freedom especially opposed to political subjection, imprisonment or slavery". In a wider sense, however, it is a multiple concept having specific varieties or kinds as mentioned below.

Natural Liberty:

It implies complete freedom for a man to do what he desires. This kind of liberty existed in the state of nature as suggested by Hobbes. It was terminated when civil society came into existence.

Social Liberty:

It relates to man's freedom in his life as a member of the social organization. It refers to a man's right to do what he desires, in compliance with the restraints imposed on him in the general interest. Thus, civil or social liberty consists in the rights and privileges that the society recognizes,

and the state protects in the spheres of private and the public life of an individual. The social liberty includes the following sub-categories:

Personal Liberty:

It is a significant subset of social liberty. It refers to a man's freedom of choice in those areas of his life where the outcomes of his efforts have the greatest impact on him. Personal liberty, according to Blackstone, is described as the protection of one's health and existence, as well as one's reputation. Personal liberty, especially freedom of movement and the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all possessions, Sir Earnest Barker who identifies personal liberty with civil liberty says that such liberty consists in (a) physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health and movement of the body (b) intellectual freedom for expression of thought and belief; and (c) practical freedom for the play of will and exercise of choice in the general field of contractual action and relations with other persons.

Political Liberty:

It refers to the people's ability to participate in the affairs of the state. It necessitates two things: political education and unrestricted access to news. Thus, guarantees for universal adult franchise, free and fair elections, and independence for the avenues that produce a healthy public opinion constitute political liberty.

Economic Liberty:

It belongs to the individual in the capacity of a producer or a worker, whether manual or mental, engaged in some gainful occupation or service. The individual should be free from the constant fear of unemployment and insufficiency which sap the whole strength of personality.

Domestic Liberty:

It's a sociological term that refers to a man's relationship with his kin. It means that within the state, the family is the most universal of all associations. For a while, the oppressive family mirrored the authoritarian government. Liberty entered the world of family life as a result of the birth of democracy. The domestic liberty therefore, consists in: Rendering the wife a fully responsible individual, capable of holding property, suing and being sued, conducting business on her own account and enjoying full personal protection against her husband; In establishing marriage on a purely contractual basis; and; In securing the physical, mental and moral care of the children, partly by imposing definite responsibilities on the parents and punishing them for neglect, partly by elaborating a public system of education and hygiene.

National Liberty:

It mostly applies to national sovereignty. It essentially means that no nation should be forced to submit to another. For example, the Americans won national independence in 1776, while the Indians did so in 1947. As a result, national revolutions or liberation wars may be described as struggles for national liberty. For this reason, love for national liberty is identified with patriotism. Love for one's country is deep-rooted in human heart as a result of which millions of people lay down their lives for the sake of the honors and security of their motherland.

International Liberty:

This ideal of liberty encompasses the entire globe. In the international sphere, it entails the abolition of war, the restriction of armament manufacturing, the avoidance of the use of force, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. It also wants appropriate restrictions on military force so that the local people's liberties are not trampled.

Moral Liberty:

In the sense of moral liberty, it is proposed that even if an individual has all kinds of rights, if he does not have moral freedom, he lacks the fundamental quality of a human being. This form of liberty is based on a person's ability to behave in accordance with his rational self. Every individual has his or her own personality, and unless he strives for the best possible creation of his or her own personality while also desiring the same for others, and above all, he pays sincere respect for the true worth and integrity of his or her fellow beings, he is not morally free. As a result, moral liberty is inextricably linked to man's self-realization.

5.4 Contemporary Debates on Liberty

Now that we've addressed the typical freedom debate between proponents of negative and positive liberty, let's look at some ideological positions that aren't directly related to this debate. Now we'll look at how feminism has dealt with the importance of liberty. "Justice started its long journey in the Western consciousness as a woman's value," according to one theory, Women were the first slaves in Greece during the rudimentary state creation era in the late ninth and early eighth centuries B.C. Male prisoners of war were killed, while women were enslaved, during the constant warfare between the aristocratic clans of the time. As the first slaves in early Greek society, women, both those who were actually slaves, and those who lived in dread of capture and enslavement, thought of, and valued the condition antithetical to that of slavery - that of freedom. Patterson calls this ideal of freedom that emerged in the consciousness of the women of ancient Greece a conception of personal freedom; he points out however, that it is different from the idea of negative freedom now familiar in the West: "Antiquity's women were never content with a solely negative perception of personal liberty, not just because they recognised its potential nihilism and moral vacuity, but also because they saw how an emasculated negative liberty easily sublated into liberty as control over others." (Patterson. p. 398) As slaves, ancient Greek women imagined being able to assert their own will once they were free, but as women-slaves, they visualised the state of freedom not as the domination of the will of others, but as a state to be shared with others. For them, freedom was love, a condition of being restored to their kin's folk and families. This concern with an alternative women's conception of freedom has become dominant in the writings of the post 1960s women's movement in the west, especially in the work of some women psychoanalytic thinkers on the differential impact of mother dominated parenting on little boys and girls. The mother who is the primary caretaker, represents the entire world outside the self, that is, the object world, to all infants, and the relationship with his or her mother determines a child's response to others in the world: the infant's stance toward itself and the world-all derive in the first instance from this earliest relationship. In their first few years of life human infants go through different phases - symbiosis, separation and individuation - in their relationship with their mother. In a patriarchal society, male and female infants experience these phases differently because their mothers respond to them differently for psychological and sociological reasons. For example, mothers can more easily support their sons' separation and individuation while being less willing to give up the symbiotic process with their daughters. Furthermore, young boys quickly learn to fear their primary affiliation with their mothers when they realise that their male identity is determined by not looking like a woman. These psychological processes have an effect on their interpersonal relationships in general: achieving masculine gender identity necessitates rejection of attachment or relationship. Adult male responses, such as the obvious male view of all relationships as threatening, and their sense of independence as the absence of the (m) other, have been explained using this childhood psychological development mechanism. It also raises questions about the prevailing standards of selfhood and autonomy, which are supposed to be founded on men's experiences. It is erroneous to believe that achieving autonomy or independence necessitates the absence of others.

Since the creation of autonomy occurs in interaction with other selves, independence must be described in terms other than non-interference. Carole Pateman, a leading feminist author, is now working to tell a new tale of equality. While she is critical of American sociologized psychoanalytic theory, she shares its concern with creating an alternative conception of freedom, a possibility she claims is contingent on our abandoning the allure of social contract theory and its myth of the individual as possessing property in his person. Many feminists failed to see that modern society is founded not just on a civil, but also on a sexual contract, which is why efforts to build women's liberation have remained unsatisfactory, she explains. Since the original contract was between men to, among other things, "enjoy equal sexual access to women," it established not only a civil society, but a patriarchal civil society. This resulted in "[m]en's freedom and women's subjection"; civil freedom remains a "masculine attribute" (C. Pateman, 1988, p.2). The original contract was a social-sexual-slave contract all at once, and if one just considers the social component, it is difficult to see how women will be free in a society based on it. Pateman is therefore a contract critic, claiming that women's liberation can only be built by abandoning contract language. This language promotes the idea that people own their bodies, and that freedom is synonymous with independence, especially the freedom to work. In a later article, Pateman expands on this point, arguing that "freedom as independence" should be transformed into "freedom as autonomy," a freedom protected by acknowledging all citizens' interdependence. The preceding debate focused on one ideological tradition's approach to freedom.

If we, however, look at another ideological position, for instance, the liberal-communitarian debate, we can see similar controversies about the meaning of individual liberty.

Summery

The concept of liberty as a birthright for all is unquestionably a blessing of modernity, no matter how far from realisation it may be. The relationship between individual liberty and our social interdependence has been a hot topic in recent liberty debates. We may create an acceptable definition of individual liberty by recognising, rather than denying, this social interdependence. People should not only be able to find work; they should also be paid appropriately for their efforts. For example, if a worker becomes paralysed or blind while at work, the government can provide financial assistance. People of most western states have a right to land. This right implies that citizens have the ability to purchase, sell, or give their property to anyone. The right to life is the most significant of the social rights. Every state ensures that all people have the right to live. As a result, the essence of personal liberty is that no one can be imprisoned, or house arrested for no cause. If a person is incarcerated for no apparent cause, he or she has the right to defend himself in court. The right to religious freedom means that every person is completely free to have faith in any religion worship any God or Goddess or worship in whatever manner he wants.

Keywords

Liberty, Negative Liberty, Positive Liberty, Types of Liberty, Contemporary Debates

Self Assessment

1. Who said that from liberty is meant, "Every man is free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the freedom of other man?"

- A. Laski
- B. G.D.H. Cole
- C. Herbert Spencer
- D. Liber

2. Who said, "Liberty is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which the men have the opportunity to be at their best selves?"

- A. Laski
- B. Bentham
- C. Mosca
- D. Liber

3. Type of liberty, which a man enjoys as a member of civil society, is called:

- A. Natural liberty
- B. Civil liberty
- C. Political liberty
- D. Economic liberty

4. The liberty, which people enjoy for earning their bread, is called:

- A. Economic liberty
- B. Political liberty
- C. Civil liberty
- D. Natural liberty

5. When national enjoy both interns as well as external liberty it is called:

- A. Economic liberty
- B. Political liberty
- C. National liberty
- D. Natural liberty

6. Who said that liberty is primarily absence of restraints?
- A. Seeley
 - B. Laski
 - C. Benjamin
 - D. G.D.H.Cole
7. According to Idealists liberty lies in:
- A. State's performing no functions
 - B. Complete obedience to laws
 - C. Disappearance of state
 - D. The absence of force
8. Which of the following is not an essential condition for safeguarding liberty? A). Written constitution
- A. Democracy
 - B. Federal system
 - C. Right to resist
 - D. None of above
9. Liberty means:
- A. Freedom to do whatever one likes
 - B. Absence of restraints
 - C. Presence of opportunity to achieve the fullest development of personality
 - D. Power to do anything
10. Who of the following said 'Political liberty in the absence of economic liberty is a myth'?
- A. G.D.H. Cole
 - B. Dicey
 - C. Lenin
 - D. Stalin
11. Liberty and equality are not contradictory but complimentary to each other.' This was said by:
- A. A). Mahatma Gandhi
 - B. B). Maulana Azad
 - C. C). H.J. Laski
 - D. D). Machiavelli
12. Which of the following is not an essential condition for maintaining liberty?
- A. A). Economic equality
 - B. B). Discretionary powers with the executive
 - C. C). Rule of law
 - D. D). Independence of judiciary
13. Which one of the following statements is not correct?
- A. Economic liberty means freedom from fear and starvation
 - B. Self-government in industry is important feature of economic liberty
 - C. Economic liberty aims at establishing a self-sufficient society
 - D. Economic liberty means common ownership of the means of production and distribution
14. Which of the following does not fall within the purview of the political liberty?
- A. Right to vote
 - B. Right to contest elections
 - C. Right to criticise the government

D. Right to move the court for the endorsement of rights

15. Who said that from liberty is meant, "Every man is free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the freedom of other man?"

- A. Laski
- B. G.D.H. Cole
- C. Herbert Spencer
- D. Liber

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. C | 2. A | 3. B | 4. A | 5. C |
| 6. A | 7. B | 8. C | 9. C | 10. A |
| 11. C | 12. B | 13. D | 14. D | 15. C |

Review Question

1. What is the difference between the concept of liberty and various conceptions of liberty?
2. Do you see any difference between theorists of freedom who focus on its social conditions, and advocates of negative and positive liberty? What are some of these differences?
3. How do advocates of negative liberty differ in defining external impediments to action? How does this affect their distinction between power/ability and liberty?
4. What does Berlin mean when he argues that what is pertinent to the issue of liberty is the area of control over one's actions, and not the source of this control?
5. How is Mill's distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding action pertinent to his conception of liberty?



Further Reading

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Unit 06: Equality

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the equality in the political theory
- understand the meaning and definitions in the study of political theory
- examine the types of equality
- understand the Features and significance of equality in the political theory
- analyse the debates on reverse discrimination in the study of political theory

Introduction

None of the fundamental concepts of social, economic, moral, and political theory is more perplexing and perplexing than the principle of equality, which is central to all other concepts such as justice, liberty, freedom, and property. Many aspects of equality have been elaborated over the last two thousand years by Greeks, Stoics, and Christian fathers who have individually and collectively emphasised one or the other aspect. Under the influence of liberalism and Marxism, equality took on a whole new meaning. Contemporary social movements such as feminism and environmentalism are attempting to redefine this idea. Essentially, equality is a new and egalitarian value and philosophy. While the debate about equality has raged for decades, the unique characteristic of contemporary societies is that we no longer accept inequality as a given or a normal occurrence. In the context of political egalitarianism, equality is often used as a measure of what is new and the whole phase of modernisation. Modern politics and political institutions are under relentless social pressure to broaden opportunities for all people, regardless of race, sexual orientation, or age. Universalistic citizenship has become a defining characteristic of all political philosophies in new capitalist democracies, making equality a modern value. It is related to the development of democratic politics. Modern societies are committed to the principle of equality and they no longer require inequality as automatically justifiable.

Equality is a major concept of normative political philosophy in general. It's a subject that can't be researched on its own. In reality, the concept of equality is a corollary of both the principles of liberty and justice. It is due to this that great thinkers as well as revolutionaries have treated it as an integral part of their movement for liberty and social transformation. The Founding Fathers of the American Revolution adopted a declaration of independence in 1776 that inter alia, said, "... all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights." Similarly, the National Assembly of France adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and

Citizen in 1789 which inter alia, reiterated that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." "Equality is essentially a mechanism of equalisation," wrote Laski, sharing the same sentiment. First and foremost, equality means a lack of special rights. Second, it means that everyone should have more growth opportunities." As a result, the equality theory promulgated by the American and French revolutions has become the cornerstone of all contemporary modes of social reform and social movements for societal reorganisation.

6.1 Meaning of Equality

Equality is a multifaceted term with several different aspects. It can be interpreted in a variety of ways. In general, it means that "whatever conditions are guaranteed to me in the form of rights shall also be guaranteed to others in the same amount, and whatever rights are granted to others shall also be granted to me." According to Oxford English Dictionary, the term equality dignity implies the following; (i). the condition of having equal dignity, rank or privileges with others; (ii). the condition of being equal in power, ability, achievement or excellence; (iii). Fairness, impartiality due proportion, proportionateness; Further, equality does not mean identical treatment as people differ in want, capacity and need. A mathematician, for example, cannot be treated in the same way that a bricklayer is treated. Similarly, equity does not imply equal compensation. It undoubtedly implies a fundamental leveling mechanism. The concept of equality has both positive and negative aspects. In a positive context, equality implies that everyone has equal access to resources. However, the word "adequate opportunities" is not synonymous with "equal opportunities," since men have different desires, capabilities, and efforts. For their individual self-development, they need various opportunities. In a negative context, equality refers to the lack of undue advantages and arbitrary discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, or gender. According to some writers, "equal opportunities for all" actually refers to "acceptable opportunities for all." The concept of equality of opportunity states that one's opportunities should not be determined or limited by factors such as wealth, birth, or social status. It means that each person should have equal access to his or her own abilities, as well as opportunities to live a happy life and grow his or her personality. J. Rees, on the other hand, believes that although inherent differences in physical power, appearance, and other factors must be acknowledged, social inequalities can be changed. The idea of reverse discrimination or compensatory justice, which favours certain disadvantaged groups in order to erase centuries of inequality or lift them to the level of others, has also been justified in this context. However, there are differing views, which state that granting privileges to individuals because of their race or sex is as discriminatory and unjust as denying them opportunity and jobs for the same reasons. Finally, it must be accepted that the concept of equality means that all humans should be treated equally in terms of certain basic human characteristics such as human nature, human value and dignity, human personality, and so on. Immanuel Kant, the father of modern idealism rightly says, "treat humanity in every case as an end, never solely as a means."

6.2 Kinds of Equality

Natural Equality:

Natural equality means that nature has created an equal playing field for all men. The stoics of Greece, as well as Roman thinkers such as Cicero and Polybius, contradicted Plato and Aristotle's theory of natural inequality, maintaining that all men were equal under the rule of nature. In the modern age Rousseau stated that the moral innocence of man perverted by the civilizing process. Marx also desired that every man should be treated equally.

Social Equality:

The word "social equality" refers to how important it is in man's social life. In this case, equality means that everyone's rights should be equal. It also implies that in the eyes of the law, everybody should be treated fairly. As a result, reverence for one man should be based on these values rather than on any conventional or ancestral rights. As a result, there should be no discrimination based on a fictitious basis. "There is an element in which the objects without which life is meaningless must be accessible to all without distinction in degree or kind," as Laski correctly points out. I have no right to eat cake if my neighbour is forced to go without bread because of that right."

Political Equality:

The concept of political equality applies to all having equal access to authority. In the administration of public affairs or the holding of public offices, all people, regardless of their artificial distinctions, should have an equal voice.

Economic Equality:

It denotes parity in terms of economic strength. Economic power should not be concentrated in the hands of a few people. The distribution of national wealth should be such that no segment of the population becomes excessively wealthy, allowing it to abuse its economic power, or that no segment of the population goes hungry due to a lack of access to even the bare necessities.

Legal Equality:

Legal equality means that everyone is equal in the eyes of the law and is entitled to the same level of protection. As a result, the concept of legal equality entails equal security of life and limb for anyone who is subject to the law, as well as equal punishment for those who break it. To put it another way, "equals in law should be handled fairly by law."

International Equality:

The idea of international equality implies that all nations of the world should be treated equally irrespective of their demographic, geographical, economic or military compositions. As a result, the philosophy of internationalism demands that all nations of the world be treated equally, regardless of their size, location, natural resources, income, military, ability, or other factors. It also implies that international conflicts should be resolved by peaceful means, with each nation having the right to address issues in a free and open manner, and that the use of force should be avoided. In terms of economics, international equity requires that the benefits of scientific and technical advancements be shared equally by all. In terms of humanism, it implies that traditional evils like those of slavery, forced labor; primitive backwardness etc. should be eradicated.



Did you Know?

6.3 Equality Vs. Inequality Debates

Before we get into the definition of equality, it's important to remember that equality is a relative term. The argument for equality has always been in opposition to the time's inequalities. The presence of social inequality is likely as old as human society, and political science has long debated the nature and causes of inequalities. In his book *Politics*, Aristotle distinguished three social classes and noted the major differences in rational and democratic capacities between people and slaves, men and women in classical Greece. Citizens were the only ones allowed to participate in the Polis. Similarly, our Hindu society was divided into four (varnas) divisions, according to the classical text: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudras. This designation served as the foundation for all rights and responsibilities. Legal rights were granted based on rank and birth during mediaeval feudalism. In short, various forms of disparities have existed for a long time, leading to the belief that disparity is unavoidable in social relations. Indeed, pre-eighteenth-century teachings claimed that men were born unequal and that a normal human hierarchy existed. Different ideologies justified disparity by claiming superiority in ethnicity, heritage, age, sex, faith, military power, community, income, and intelligence, among other things. According to Turner, injustice is multi-dimensional, and addressing one aspect of it frequently leads to exaggeration of other dimensions of fiscal, political, and cultural inequity. In reality, social inequality in terms of class, status, power, and gender are present in all human societies. The inconsistency between equality as a general value of modern society and inequality on a practical level, as a truth in all human cultures, must be held in mind when researching the definition of equality. Even though injustice is a common norm, protests against inequalities based on advantages and birth have been voiced since their inception. As a result, the doctrine of equality is almost as old as its polar opposite in the tradition of western political ideas. Zeno, for example, was the most well-known figure in Greek philosophy, having founded the Stoic School and advocated for male equality. The Stoics argued that all humans have reason, which distinguishes them from other species and brings them together. There is no such thing as a degree of humanity. As a result, all men are treated equally. Stoic thinkers promoted the concept of universal brotherhood and rejected slavery. The Roman Empire's promulgation of the rule of the people was another manner in which the Romans sought to put the concept of equality of all men into practice, and as a result, they bestowed citizenship on both individuals and whole nations.

The climax came in 212 AD, when Emperor Caracalla issued a famous edict conferring citizenship of Rome on all free inhabitants of the empire. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for all are one in Jesus Christ,' St. Paul said to the Galatians. From the fifth to the fourteenth centuries, the call for equality was a protest against

serfdom, mediaeval gradations of rank, and hereditary nobility, as well as equality in church career opportunities. Puritans, Levellers, the philosophy of natural rights, and John Lock raised the cry for equality against the landowners' status and religious bigotry from the 15th to the 17th centuries. Simultaneously, the Renaissance and Reformation movements raised a strong voice against the clergy and nobility's legal privileges based on birth and demanded equality by birth. The assertion that all men are born equal will appear in manifestos around the world. The right to freedom by birth was a core plank of the revolutions in Britain in 1649 and 1688, the United States in 1778, and France in 1789. 'Men are born free and equal, and their rights are therefore free and equal.' The demand for equality coincided with the abolition of nobility's special privileges and the attainment of political and legal equality with the nobility during this period. It meant only juristic equality i.e. all men are born equal and they are equal before law.' Whether it was Britain, France or America, the issue at stake was equality in the form of uniformity of legal rights. As previously noted, the demand for legal equality served the intention well because it was mainly raised by the growing bourgeois class, which had accumulated wealth but lacked legal status and was eager to gain political and legal equality with the aristocracy. The economic and social aspects of equality arose in the nineteenth century as a result of tensions and struggles between the capitalist/industrial classes and workers and peasants on the one side, and workers and peasants on the other. The state's laissez faire economic strategy has resulted in significant economic inequalities in society. As a result, along with legal equality, liberal socialists and Marxist writers such as JS Mill, TH Green, Babeuf, Karl Marx, and others demanded economic and social equality. At the same time, the call for political equality became louder. The movement to expand the franchise grew out of the industrial revolution, which gave the urban middle class more social influence and turned a significant portion of the population into factory workers. In the United Kingdom, the reforms acts of 1832, 1876, and 1884 were steps toward political equality. The desire for equality became stronger in the twentieth century. It has now become a requirement for the socio-economic mobility that is characteristic of a highly industrialised society. Global liberation movements against imperialism and colonialism, anti-apartheid movements, and proletarian revolutions in Russia, China, and Eastern Europe brought equality to the fore. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights expanded the acceptance of equality that had previously been recognised as the goal of all strata of industrialised countries to citizens in third-world countries who had been discriminated, paving the way for the eventual creation of an international community founded on socioeconomic equality.



Caution

6.4 Various Dimensions of Equality

Equality is a multi-dimensional concept. The need for equality is felt in different fields of social life. Historically also, the demand for different dimensions of equality was neither raised simultaneously nor with the same intensity. While liberalism laid more emphasis on legal-political dimensions of equality, the socialists preferred socio-economic equality. The different dimensions of equality are:

- (1) Legal Dimension
- (2) Political Dimension
- (3) Economic Dimension
- (4) Social Dimension

(1) Legal Dimension:

When battling feudal and religious privileges, classical liberalism held that equal distribution of opportunities required only an equal distribution of fundamental rights to life, liberty, and property. No barriers would stand in the way of one's pursuit of happiness if legal privileges are removed and legal rights are secured. It refers to two concepts: the rule of law and equality before the law. The rule of law means that the law is supreme, and that no one, no matter how powerful he is or believes he is, should declare himself above the law, since that would be arbitrary rule. Equality before the law means that each person has the same level of rights under the law. This is popularly explained as i) Equality before Law and ii) Equal Protection of Law. a) Equality before Law consists in 'equal subject of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts'. It means that amongst equals, the law should be equal and should be equally administered and that the 'like should be treated alike'. In other words, the law is not to make any distinction between rich and poor, feudal lord or peasant, capitalist or workers. In the eyes of the

law, everybody is equal. It also means equality of rights and obligations in law, i.e., equal security of life and limb for everyone under the law, as well as equal punishments for all who break them. However, since the legislation establishes distinct groups with distinct rights and responsibilities, such as landlords vs. tenants, police vs. citizens, members of parliament vs. judges, and so on. Differences of privileges are unavoidable in such situations. Last but not least, equality before the law entails equality in the implementation of laws. Despite the fact that all people are equal in front of the courts, judges may be unethical or biased. Equality before the law requires judges to be free of political pressures, corruption, and bigotry, among other things. Then inequality in the application of law may also arise if poor men are kept from the cost of a legal action i.e. if a rich man can force a settlement on less favorable terms than a poor opponent would get in court by threatening to carry the cause of appeal. b) Equal Protection of Law: Equality before law does not mean absolute equality. While the law will not make any distinction between the people, equal protection means that on grounds of reasonable circumstances, certain discriminations can be made. The law, in certain special circumstances, can make rational discriminations. It means 'equal laws for equals and unequal laws for unequals'. This is well known in the sense of the Indian constitution, which, while not recognising any distinction based on birth, caste, creed, or religion, does recognise certain fair discriminations such as reserved seats or special lines for women, and concessions for students on railway journeys, among other things. Discrimination based on backwardness, ethnicity, capacity, and other factors is referred to as fair discrimination. In such cases, the statute protects the citizens by applying the law in an inequitable manner rather than equally. When it comes to legal equality, J.R. Lucas writes that equality before the law does not imply that the law will treat all equally, but rather that the law will be accessible to all. In other words, no one will be small enough to escape the reach of the law, and no one will be large enough to escape the reach of the law. It means that everyone may seek the assistance of the courts, that everyone must follow their orders, and that the courts can make decisions fairly. Fair subjection to the law and equal justice under the law is what equality before the law entails. Legal equality, on the other hand, becomes meaningless in the absence of equitable access to justice. In liberal societies, citizens need both time and resources to ensure that their equality is protected. All may have equal rights, but not all have equal power to enforce those rights, as long as the enforcement requires expenditure and some are better able to meet the expenditure than others. Thus, in actual practice and operation of the courts, as distinct from the rule of law of the land, inequality still prevails though it is being steadily diminished by reforms in their operations.

(2). Political Dimension:

As Lipson writes, normally and customarily, many had always been governed by few for the benefits of the few. Humanity as a general rule has lived under the regimen of inequalities and privileges. The basis of inequality in political matters has been knowledge (Plato), religion and God (monarchy), birth (aristocracy), money (plutocracy), colour (South Africa), race (Hitler), elite (Pareto, Mosca) etc. Against all these, political equality is associated with democratic institutions and the right to participate in the political process. The demand for political equality is summarised in 'one-man-one-vote'. This is the fundamental concept of democratic equality, which now has unqualified support in nearly every country on the planet. The concept is embodied in the right to vote, the right to run for office, and the right to hold public office without regard to race, colour, sex, faith, or language. According to Laski, political equality means that the government wields that power must adhere to democratic governance principles. However, in recent years, it has become clear that the concept of political equality is more complicated than the liberal interpretation suggests. . If we define politics as an individual's ability and abilities to manipulate others in order to govern, manage, and arrange things according to his will or the will of the political party to which he can belong, we cannot assume that people are politically equal. The government's functioning has become extremely complicated in modern times, and real political power is concentrated in the bureaucracy, the police, and the army, over which the people have no influence. Political power and political equality are two different things. There are many restrictions placed on the average person, including a variety of skills, the ability to assert oneself, and, above all, the distinction imposed by the maladjusted property system.

(3). Economic Equality:

The twentieth century has witnessed a sharpening of concern for the economic aspect of equality and the means of securing it, either within the framework of the liberal system or by establishing a socialist society. Rapid industrialisation raised consciousness that equality of opportunity cannot be accomplished solely by equality of rule, which prohibits both rich and poor people from stealing bread or sleeping under bridges. Equality of opportunity necessitates not only the fair allocation of certain rights, but also the enforcement of another distribution rule: the equal fulfillment of certain

basic needs. It entails benefits for those who are economically disadvantaged. 'Equality of opportunity is not merely a matter of legal equality,' wrote Tawney. Its proof is based on the inclusion of skill rather than the absence of disabilities. It holds true insofar as, and only insofar as, each member of the population, regardless of birth, occupation, or social status, has equal opportunities to fully utilise his natural endowments of physique, character, and intellect'.

Economic equality, according to early liberals, meant the freedom to choose one's trade or occupation regardless of caste, creed, or economic status. It was often referred to as contract equality, or the idea that everyone is on the same footing when it comes to contractual obligations. It was sometimes misunderstood as an equalisation of wealth and wages. Many of these interventions, however, were deemed inadequate. 'By equality, we should recognise that not everyone's degree of power and riches be exactly the same, but that no citizen be wealthy enough to buy another and no citizen be poor enough to be compelled to sell himself,' wrote Rousseau. The distribution of goods is central to economic equality. In order to get the poor up to par with the rest of society, the government must compensate them for their initial disadvantages through social legislation and social programmes such as minimum wages, tax exemptions, unemployment insurance, free public schools, and scholarships, among other things. Economic equality, according to Laski, is primarily a proportional problem. It means that the things without which life will be meaningless must be available to all, regardless of degree or kind. All men must eat and drink in order to survive. Equality entails the same response to primary needs up to the point of sufficiency. As a precondition for equality of opportunity, equitable fulfillment of basic needs necessitates economic equality, i.e. reduction of extreme inequalities in the distribution of commodities. Economic equality is twofold: i) it is a matter of status and ii) it is a matter of property and income. The matter of status raises the issue whether the state should seek to turn industrial production into something like a 'partnership of equals' and should introduce a system under which the directing and managing elements stand on an equal footing. With regard to property and income the issue is what methods the state should seek to correct inequality in their distribution. The liberal state has been correcting broad wealth inequalities through its mixed economy approach, methods of differential taxation, regulation, and raising salaries through social spending and other welfare services. The state levies taxes on the wealthy in order to provide assistance to the needy. Though liberal sociologists such as Dahrendorf, Raymond Aron, and Lipset believe that the state has been able to reduce economic inequality and ensure fulfillment of basic needs through extending social programmes to all strata of society and redistribution of income and wealth by progressive taxation. Liberal socialists, on the other hand, believe that, despite the fact that government intervention has resulted in greater property diffusion, permanent ownership of capital wealth and the inequality between rich and poor continues to grow. State policy 'only scratches the surface of the issue of devising a more equitable distribution structure in general.'

(4). Social Equality:

Social equality is concerned with equality of opportunity for every individual for the development of his personality. It means abolition of all kinds of discrimination based upon caste, creed, religion, language, race, sex, education, etc. The cardinal question which confronts us today is how the state and its law should go to promote equality of different castes, classes and races, emancipation of women so far as equality in property and voting rights is concerned, and equality of rights in the admission to educational institutions. Equality of races and colour denies that the class whose cause it champions is not inferior to any. Inferiority implies two considerations:

i) the refusal to extend the principle of equal considerations to the class in question such as the Negroes, Blacks in South Africa, Jews etc., and ii) to prove the inferiority by means of dubious biological evidence that some races are superior to others. The case of equality of sexes can be understood as i) that in spite of physical and psychological difference between men and women, there is no evidence that women are in general inferior to men in intelligence, business capacity, soundness of judgments etc., and that discrimination resting on such assumed inferiorities is misplaced, and ii) the admitted differences will not support discrimination between the sexes in respect of voting rights, entry to profession, educational opportunities, level of remuneration etc. Thus 'equal pay for equal work' means that men and women should be paid equally if they do the same type of work; and there are admitted biological and psychological differences in the functions within the family. A mother is expected to occupy herself with house and children, a father with earning the family living. But this does not justify elevating the husband to the position of a lord and a master, nor the complete sacrifice of women's personality to the demands of the family. Women's liberation must be manifested not only in law and economics, but also in improvements to traditional marital relationships. For example, many husbands now recognise that the domestic burden borne by mothers in previous generations was vastly out of proportion to the functional

disparity indicated by sex. Their willingness to share household tasks and babysitting is an example of how the concept of equal treatment can be put into practice. In order to promote social mobility, educational institutions must be available to all students on an equitable basis. Extreme disparities predominate in this sector. In almost all liberal countries, schooling is mostly organised along social class lines, and educational opportunities are strongly linked to wealth and status. There are various types of schools that cater to various social strata of society, including the wealthy, middle classes, lower middle classes, and the poor masses. Boys are taught to consider themselves as members of the dominant classes in elite schools where children from the wealthy class receive their education, whether in the fields of politics, administration, or industry. On the other hand, a government-run elementary school education has always been and continues to be a low-cost education. Even if the elementary school boy is not informed that the world is divided by God into the rich who are to rule and the poor who are to be governed under today's changed circumstances, the circumstances in which he is placed provide enough evidence. He is taught in an atmosphere of unhealthy buildings, deficiency of playing fields, lack of school libraries and laboratory facilities for practical work, shortage of books, non-availability of teachers, lack of funds etc. The opportunities for the children of the poor masses are rationed like bread. Moreover, public opinion is so much convinced by the influence of the long standing traditions of educational equality that they have accepted it as a social fact. Equality of educational opportunity is still largely only a paper realisation. The inequality in educational opportunity could only be eliminated if the society becomes unstratified or the school system is totally differentiated. Neither outcome appears likely in liberal countries. The present inequality in education and occupations will persist.

Summary

From the above discussion, we can sum up the concept of equality as follows:

- (1). Equality is a concept and a value that is fundamentally modern and democratic. It is linked to the entire modernisation process in the context of political equality. It's also used as a criterion for social revolution. It has much to do with the evolution of democratic politics.
- (2). Equality can be understood only in the context of prevailing inequalities. All human societies are characterised by some form of social inequalities of class, status, power and gender. Talking about equality, while Laski associated it with the absence of hereditary privileges, availability of opportunities and universal access to socio-economic benefits, Bryan S. Turner has gone a step forward and talks of equality in terms of availability of opportunities, equality of conditions and equality of outcome or results.
- (3). The rise of liberalism was associated with fighting against feudal and religious privileges. It talked of only legal equality which meant two things: Rule of law and Equality before law. The advent of democracy called for equality in the political sphere i.e. the right of every citizen to participate in the political process. This principle was expressed in the right to vote, the right to stand for elections, to hold public offices and no distinction on the basis of caste, colour, sex religion, language etc. Marxist authors drew attention to the disparities in socioeconomic status. Although Marxists argued that equality could only be achieved by abolishing classes and establishing a classless society, liberal writers suggested that it could be accomplished by social legislation and social programmes such as minimum wages, tax exemptions, unemployment insurance, and free education. Discrimination based on caste, creed, faith, language, ethnicity, sex, education, and other factors is discussed in the context of social equality. Egalitarianism is a term used to describe the modern liberal idea of equality. The relationship of freedom to liberty and justice has been a source of debate within liberalism. While early negative liberalism saw freedom and liberty as incompatible and saw the former as a challenge to the latter, positive liberalism maintains that the two can be reconciled by a controlled capitalist economy. Similarly, while philosophers such as Rawls have made equality the foundation of their philosophy of justice, they have no qualms about justifying inequalities on the condition that these inequalities benefit the society's least advantaged. In liberal countries, there has been a constant discussion on whether enough equality has been achieved. The dynamic relationship between politics and economics is to a large degree at the root of the issue of equality in liberal countries. Despite the fact that people are more economically equal now than they were before the welfare state, fundamental inequality in terms of influence, status, and wealth persists. There are massive disparities in wealth distribution, both through inheritance and through personal accomplishments in the workplace. Despite becoming a welfare state, the government cannot neglect welfare and wealth allocation while still paying attention to the conditions of a free capitalist economy. Inequality is a necessary condition in

all social organisations, according to American sociologists like Talcott Parsons and Kingsley David. However, because the history of the concept of equality has been sporadic and often aggressive, it is preferable that the discussion about equality be an ongoing one, with each new agreement marking the start of a new one.

Keywords

Meaning of Equality, Social equality, Legal equality, political equality, types of equality, contemporary debates on equality and inequality.

Self Assessment

1. Where is written that men are born equal and always continue to be free and equal in respect of their rights?
 - A. Charter of League Nations
 - B. Charter of U.N.O.
 - C. Slogan of Glorious Revolution
 - D. Slogan of French Revolution

2. Who said that all men are created equal?
 - A. U.S. Constitution
 - B. French Constitution (5th Republic)
 - C. Swiss Constitution
 - D. Constitution of People's Republic of China

3. The theory, which believes that all are equal in the eyes of nature, is called:
 - A. Economic equality
 - B. Cultural equality
 - C. Natural equality
 - D. Political equality

4. Liberty and equality are:
 - A. Complementary
 - B. Contradictory
 - C. Neither complementary nor contradictory
 - D. None of above

5. Who said that political equality can never be real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality?
 - A. Laski
 - B. D. G. H. Cole
 - C. Lord Action
 - D. De Tocqueville

6. Who of the following is associated with the concept of positive equality?
 - A. Laski
 - B. Bakunin
 - C. Prodhoun
 - D. De-Tacqueville

7. The concept of sovereign equality is associated with:
 - A. National equality
 - B. Religious equality

-
- C. Economic equality
 - D. Natural equality
8. Which one of the following is not true about equality?
- A. It means equal right in political system
 - B. It means rule of law
 - C. It means economic disparity
 - D. It means equal right to hold political office
9. Which one of the following is not covered under political equality?
- A. Right to vote
 - B. Right to have political office
 - C. Right to contest elections
 - D. Right to live in family
10. "The passion for equality made vain the hope for liberty". Who of the following has said this?
- A. J.S.Mill
 - B. Bentham
 - C. Green
 - D. Marx
11. Which of the following is covered under national equality?
- A. Right to conclude treaties
 - B. Right to declare war
 - C. Right to declare peace
 - D. Right to have equal status in international forums
12. Equality in the positive sense means:
- A. Following the same religion
 - B. Following the same political ideology
 - C. Equal opportunity to get higher education
 - D. Equal health facilities
13. Which one of the following statements is correct?
- A. Equality means identity of treatment and identity of rewards
 - B. Equality means equality of income
 - C. Equality means nature has made all men equal
 - D. Provision of adequate opportunities to all persons for the development of their personalities
14. Which one of the following events was a protest against the prevailing inequalities?
- A. Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England
 - B. The French Revolution of 1789
 - C. The American War of Independence
 - D. All the three
15. Which is not a Max Weber concept of Authority?
- A. Legal
 - B. Political
 - C. Charismatic
 - D. Traditional

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. C | 2. A | 3. C | 4. C | 5. A |
| 6. A | 7. A | 8. D | 9. D | 10. A |
| 11. D | 12. C | 13. B | 14. B | 15. B |

Review Question

1. Explain the meaning and nature of equality and its relation with inequality.
2. Discuss different dimensions of equality.
3. Explain the relation of equality with liberty and justice.
4. Discuss the role of equality in contemporary societies.
5. Write a note on inequality in the contemporary world.
6. Explain the Marxist conception of equality.

**Further Reading**

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Unit 07: Gender

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the meaning and definitions of gender in political theory
- understand the Meaning of feminism
- examine the different between gender and sex
- analyses the different types of feminism in the study of political theory
- understand the contemporary debates over gender

Introduction

Gender equality has long been synonymous with the philosophy of social justice. Without discrimination based on colour, ethnicity, or gender, all people should be treated equally and given equal opportunities to reach their full potential. This is the definition of social equality, and that is something that democracy upholds. No society can be called democratic if its people are discriminated against because of their gender. While gender equality is now widely accepted, it took decades for it to become a universally recognised value. However, in many Afro-Asian countries, women still do not receive their fair share of the pie. This is due to a variety of fiscal, religious, and cultural influences. Likewise, the roots of the word feminism are unknown. There are many theories, but the most widely known one is that it was coined in the nineteenth century by Utopian Socialist Charles Fourier to refer to women's equal rights. Women were excluded from the Bourgeois democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, partially due to the Industrial Revolution's increased visibility of women in public jobs. Nonetheless, all feminist positions acknowledge that women are treated as second-class citizens in society, and that this literacy is focused on gender. Hence, socio-cultural and economic power structures which have little to do with the biological difference between the sexes.

7.1 Meaning of Gender

When it comes to the study of women's issues, there is a major contrast between these two concepts. The biological distinction between male and female members is referred to as sex. Many conservatives use it in this way to keep women in their subordinate role. Nature had made women "poor" and "dependent," they claim. They are incapable of doing manual labour. It is the responsibility of the man to earn money and the responsibility of the woman to look after the home.

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Women are compelled to play a secondary role in society due to their biological proclivity. Some thinkers went so far as to challenge women's ability to think. For them, information is a man-made monopoly. As a result, there was long-standing resistance to female education. Today, this biological component of division is being questioned. When discussing prejudice, modern thinkers use the criterion of "Gender." The distinction between the words "Sex" and "Gender" is that the former is based on biological definition, implying that it is irreversible and that one must accept it. The word Gender, on the other hand, refers to sexism as a manifestation of a male-dominated culture. Discrimination is unnatural, based on cultural perspectives, and it can and should be reversed. J. S. Mill, a long time ago, dismissed biological vulnerability as normal, arguing that conditions decide and form a person's attitude and character. It is due to their upbringing and circumstances that women are vulnerable and dependent. In his popular novel, *On the Subjugation of Women*, he argued that by changing the circumstances by providing proper education and a share in the land, the pattern of "poor woman" could be reversed. This is the viewpoint of the vast majority of Liberals.

7.2 Feminism Origin and Development

Feminism is a theory that centers on around women's issues. It is strong in its belief that gender distinctions are arbitrary and should be abolished. Though the terms feminism and the women's liberation movement became prominent in the 1960s, feminist ideals can be traced back to Greek and Chinese civilizations. Christine de Pisan wrote the *Book of Ladies* in 1405, which chronicled the accomplishments of noble women in Italy. It also called for women's educational rights and a larger presence in politics. The first text of modern Feminism is Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of Rights of Women*, published in 1792. The plot of the book was set against the backdrop of the French Revolution. Feminism had become a key focus by the mid-nineteenth century. This period is known as Feminism's first phase. Fair legal and political rights were stressed. That was the time when the franchise system was being expanded to include people from all walks of life. It provided an inspiration for women to demand Franchise Rights. In a way in those countries where democracy has taken roots an advanced political movement for women's rights emerged first. In U.S.A. in 1840 women's movement emerged getting inspiration from the campaign to abolish slavery. In 1848, Seneca falls convention adopted declaration of sentiments. The declaration of independence served as inspiration for the convention. The proposal for female suffrage was one of the convention's key demands. The National Women's Suffrage Association was established in 1869. The growth of the women's suffrage movement in the United Kingdom occurred between 1850 and 1869. In 1867, when the House of commons was debating the Reform Act, J. S. Mill moved an amendment to the bill seeking for Female suffrage. Despite the fact that the amendment was defeated, it paved the way for the development of the feminist movement in the United Kingdom. After Emmeline Pankhurst (1856-1928) and her daughter Christabel (1880-1950) founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903, the British suffrage movement adopted militant methods. They were involved in illegal acts. Suffragettes were women who carried out assaults on public property and held public protests. With the achievement of women's suffrage in Europe, the first period of Feminism came to an end. In 1893, New Zealand became the first country to grant women franchises. The 19th amendment to the United States Constitution granted women the right to vote in 1920. Despite the fact that the United Kingdom granted voting rights to some parts of the population in 1918, it took almost a decade for women to gain equal voting rights to men. With the achievement of the right to vote, the women's movement lost some momentum. Since the campaign had a straightforward ideology up to the achievement of voting rights. The movement was well-coordinated and cohesive. Any movement would lose its motivating power until the desired objective had been achieved. As a result, there was a lull in the action. This is not to say that political rights have solved all of women's problems. Not at all, Women were able to concentrate on other issues of sexism as a result of equal rights. Around the 1960s, the women's movement resurfaced with a new agenda. The second step may be referred to as such. Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* served as a catalyst for the feminine movement during this period. She expressed the dissatisfaction and discontent felt by women who are relegated to the positions of mothers and housewives. She refers to this as a "problem without a name." Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* (1970) and Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970) both shared radical views on Feminism. Women's repression was examined from a personal, psychological, and sexual perspective in these works. Radical feminists were dissatisfied with political rights such as the right to vote. They demanded that the social system be overhauled. Women's empowerment, not emancipation, was the focus of the second phase. The idea of 'Gender' became a focal point in academic circles. Around the 1990s, we see a proliferation of groups fighting for women's liberation. Feminist organisations have made a wide presence in both developed and developing countries. However, we've noticed that several divisions are forming within these organisations. To

begin with, the Feminist movement in Western Europe became de-radicalized. The campaign has reached a lull since achieving suffrage rights and receiving state subsidies for welfare programmes such as financial support for child bearing provision in nursery schools, crèches at places of employment, and health insurances. Because of this minor distinctions emerged in the movement, we have Black feminism post-modern feminism, Afro-Asian feminist movement and so on. The divisions are often focused on topics such as homosexuality, abortion, motherhood, adultery, and so on. Radical Feminism's core tenet is that female inequality begins in the home, and as a result, they are harsh critics of the family institution. When it comes to women's issues, the liberal argument of "non-interference" with one's private life does not hold water. Perhaps the allowance for quick divorce, economic opportunities for independent living and the tradition of single women have protected women from family oppression in advanced European countries. However, the situation in Afro-Asian countries is appalling. Radicals want European culture to be recognised as a common phenomenon for the emancipation of women. However, this offends the customs of third-world cultures. This is a divisive subject. Others argue that the stereotypical view of women's social status needs to shift. Women, for example, may be mothers without being burdened with the duties of child rearing and domestic responsibilities. The cultural, rather than biological, connection between childbearing and child rearing exists. Even the husband is capable of child rearing. The government can also intervene. It is necessary to alter one's mindset. "Women are not made. Radicals argue that they are in mode. They genuinely feel that people are "androgynous." A person's features are a mix of female and male. Character and skills, not sex, should be used to assess an individual. It has been documented that even in industrialised countries such as the United States of America, there is a propensity to blame "working mothers" for the rise in youth violence and substance abuse. Certain Pro family New Right Parties feel that women have given up their role as "models" for children, and these is no one to guide them in right path.

7.3 Types of Feminism

Feminists are those who advocate for equality between men and women. The word "gender" had a medical connotation in the past, around the 19th century. It was a term that was used to explain the feminization of men and the masculinization of women. Today, the term is used to emphasise social justice, equity, and women's rights to a rightful place in the power system. There are different views in political philosophy about Gender Justice and equality. Depending on their commitment to a particular ideology, the thinkers have reacted in different ways to this core concept of Gender

ELiberalism:

Liberalism is a political philosophy that opposes all forms of discrimination. Human integrity, equality, and freedom of choice are values it upholds. Liberals were among the first theorists to advocate for gender equality. They were social reformers who challenged conservative religious views that sanctified female subordination and demanded legal redress for long-standing discriminatory policies. Classical liberals like Lock, J. S. Mill and others made a strong plea for the uplift of women. Mill in his book *On Subjugation of Women* effectively argued for Gender Justice. "The current ties between the sexes, the legal subordination of one sex to another is false in itself and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement," he says, adding that it should be replaced by the principle of perfect equality, which "admits no power of privilege to one side nor responsibility on the other." Their abilities were spent finding pleasure in other sex's favour and love, rather than in their own lives. The opposition to equal rights for women is not founded on logic. In their subordination, women often become consenting partners. They were taught to work for the betterment of others. J.S. Mill spelled out just how he would interpret the perfect male-female relationship. Men would debase themselves if they used their physical strength and dominance over women. A compassionate union between a strong-minded man and a strong-minded woman was the ideal. With men's help, women should win their freedom. Mutual friendship and respect between the sexes should be the foundation of every relationship. While the liberal viewpoint emphasises nondiscrimination in public life, it is hesitant to allow outside intervention in private life. It is, for the most part, reformative in nature. Because liberals came from a middle-class social system, they have a deep belief in the sanctity of marriage and the importance of a good family life, and they are unlikely to take the radical position of challenging the relevance of marriage. This was the radical feminist viewpoint of the early twentieth century. In a nutshell, liberals distinguish between the public and private spheres. In the public domain, gender is as insignificant as ethnicity or race when it comes to voting, contesting elections, and appointment to public offices and admission to educational institutions. In 'private sphere' – family marriage, freedom of choice is the principle and non-interference from outside authority is a desired goal.

Conservatism:

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Conservatives are people who try to keep it the same in all facets of life. They stress the importance of gender distinctions in social and political terms. The central theme of their case is that the sexual division of labour between men and women is universal and unavoidable. Gender division keeps the society's organic and hierarchical character. Conservatives reject any reforms aimed at empowering women. The strong opposition to social reforms in India, such as widow remarriage and raising the marriage age for women, reflected a strong conservative mindset. Even as late as 1980, there were supporters in Rajasthan for committing 'Sati.' It was hailed as a symbol of purity though by a microscopic minority. However, the section is extremely efficient. It stymied a bill in parliament that would have given women a 33 percent quota. The recent spate of "honour killings" of couples who dared to challenge caste barriers, dowry deaths, and opposition to reforming Muslim personnel law are just a few examples of conservatives' influence in Indian society. While such conservative and reactionary sections in Europe were defeated with the growth of liberal democratic values the picture in the third world countries of Asia and Africa is very dark.

Radical Feminists:

Another rethinking about gender has come from radical feminism, which claims that feminists do not downplay biological differences between men and women and instead relate all differences to "culture." Accepting this means accepting the male civilization's devaluation of women's reproductive roles. This is a rebuttal to the liberal feminist belief that in a perfect world, men and women must be more or less the same. Radical feminists argue that patriarchal social ideals have denigrated "feminine" attributes, and that feminism's mission is to reclaim these qualities, as well as the distinction between men and women, as important. The radical feminist stance on the sex gender divide is that there are many distinctions between men and women that stem from their different biological reproductive roles and that as a result, women are more sensitive, instinctive, and connected to nature. Radical feminists including Susan Griffill and Andrea Dworkin agree that a woman's reproductive biology, the process of pregnancy, and the experience of motherhood, for example, have a profound impact on her interaction with the outside world. Women are also closer to nature in this view, and share in the virtues of fecundity, nurturing, and instinct. While patriarchal culture has dismissed these qualities, feminists should embrace and revalue them. Ecofeminists such as Vandana Shiva use this interpretation to argue that the feminine worldview is more respectful of nature and that women are more attuned to environmentally sustainable development practices. In a *Different Poice*, by Carol Gilligan, is a good example of this point of view. She suggests, using a psychoanalytical perspective, that since the primary care-giver in childhood is invariably a woman (the mother) due to the sexual division of labour, the mechanism by which men and women reach adulthood is different. Boys tend to distinguish themselves from their mothers as they grow older, while girls learn to identify with their mothers.

That is, while all infants identify with their mother in a sex-differentiated culture, boys gradually learn that they are "different," while girls gradually learn that they are "the same." According to Gilligan, this leads to women engaging in a more subjective, emotional mode of engagement with the world, while men engage in a more analytical mode. Women relate to others, while men learn to separate themselves. This helps to understand the differences between male and female friendships, for example. Gilligan's research focuses on the differences between men and women when making moral choices, and she concludes that nonnative notions of right and wrong are less influential on women than other variables such as empathy, concern, and sensitivity to another's plight. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to make moral decisions based on commonly held societal values about what is right and wrong. As a result, Gilligan comes to the conclusion that the basic categories of Western philosophy - reason, liberty, and justice - are derived from and represent male world experience. The limit of knowledge is obliterated here. Denying distinction, then, is to agree with patriarchy's dismissal of femininity as useless. In this sense, it's worth noting that some academics believe that the purely bipolar paradigm of masculinity and femininity, as well as the devaluing of the feminine, are unique to modern Western culture. Pre-modern Indian societies, for example, had more space for a variety of sexual identities, which had a socially recognised status in Indian society that has since vanished in modern times. The Sufi and Bhakti cultures, too, drew on androgyny and often opposed the two-sex model.

Socialists:

Socialists, like liberals, do not consider gender to be politically important. Gender distinctions, for them, are merely the expression of deeper economic and social inequality. Marxists interpret the word "Patriarchy," which is a key component of gender justice, in terms of socioeconomic factors. The term patriarchy literally means "Rule by Father" (The Latin Term *Patri-Father*). Under Marxist ideology it takes a new angle. Engels in his work, *Origin of Family Private Property and the State*, analyzed the Gender Justice from economic perspective. He said that the rise of capitalism and the idea of private property had altered women's position in society. There was a period in history

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when family life was considered "communistic." Women had the right to be called "mothers." This ensured the right to inherit. Because of female-centered family life, women had a strong social status. The globalisation of capitalism had upended this simple family life. Capitalism is based on the concept of men owning private property. This had obliterated "Mother's Right" and resulted in "the world's first historical defeat of female sex." The oppression of women is focused on the institution of family. Men in the "bourgeoisie family is patriarchal" will make sure that their property was only passed on to their sons. Men prescribe morals in marriage that are always to their benefit. Women are supposed to be faithful and innocent, with only "husband as their concept," while men are expected to live a morally skewed existence. The oppression of women is sought to be compensated by "glory." Devotion to children and husband that is selfless It's nothing more than organised hypocrisy and a nefarious plot to preserve male dominance and the right to own land. Orthodox socialists such as Charles Fourier (1772-1827) and Robert Owen (1771-1858) proposed an alternative social structure to overcome the persecution of women based on male dominance and the institution of family.

They were revolutionaries who believed in utopia. Instead of a patriarchal family, they desired a culture of "group living" and "free love." According to Marxists, the current family structure is intended to confine women to a domestic sphere of home and motherhood. The agreement benefits the capitalist system's economic interests. In reality, women are generating the next generation of workers for the capitalist economy. According to Marxists, true female liberation can only be achieved in a socialist economy. With the abolition of private property, a new cooperative community will emerge. It paves the way for a new community founded on social harmony and peace. The evils of injustice will not rise in such a society. That is why many leftists are uninterested in the Liberals' core theme of equal political rights. Legal and democratic rights are of utmost importance to liberals. Women would be able to compete with men in all aspects of public life if they had these. However, socialists believe that equality should apply in terms of economic power, making the question of wealth ownership significant. On Gender Justice, there are some differences among socialists. "Class Politics" takes precedence over "Sexual Politics" for orthodox Marxists. In today's culture, class exploitation is more pervasive and extreme than sexual discrimination. The real emancipation of women is possible only with the overthrow of capitalist – system through a revolution – and replacement with socialistic structure. So it is argued that – the Feminists should concentrate their energies on labour problems, movement rather than chalk out – a separate programme for women liberation. Because any divisive movement would weaken the workers movement and help the capitalist class, however this view is not shared by other modern Feminist Socialists. For them women problem certainly needs a separate agenda. Women's slow development in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries only adds to their contention that sexual abuse is just as unfair as economic exploitation. Women's issues are not easily explained in economic terms. The issues need a more in-depth psychological, cultural, social, and political study.

Fascist views:

Fascists as a policy do not believe in equality. They support the elite oriented state system. Brutal suppression of any opposition use of force and wars to settle any disputes are the hallmarks of fascism-with such an anti-equalitarian ideology, it is not surprising that the idea of sexual equality never appealed to them. Their golden rule is "a place for everything and everything in its place". The place of man is in war and politics while women are meant for household work. The Gender division is fundamental in the mankind. It is "natural" that men should monopolies leadership and decision making roles and women be confined to a secondary role. Most of the fascist dictators did not have any consideration for women and their problems.

Religious Fundamentalism:

The biggest challenge to Gender Justice comes from Religious Fundamentalists Historically speaking all religions have adopted an anti – feminist stand. Women have been described as an obstacle to man's spiritual progress. A person who conquered the desire for sex is an ideal person. The institution of marriage which is very sacred according to religious scriptures enslaved women. The concept a divorce was unthinkable for a long time. The concept of Gender equality was never an accepted value for any religion. It is not surprising that movement for women equality started with a revolt against organized religions. Historically the social reformers faced the ire of religious leaders in their struggle; with the growth of democracy and secular ideas the hold of organized religion on social issues has somewhat loosened. Yet around 80's we see the growth of religious revivalism and drastically affecting the human rights of female members. This is more particular in Afro – Asian counties. We have established cases of opposition to family planning methods, treating abortion as sin and a demand for male child even at the cost of mother's health. The triple divorce in Islam make women as easy target social oppression, even today more than 80 millions of women in Africa are subjected to inhuman practice of circumcision – a religious practice.

7.4 Criticism

Feminist scholarship emerging both liberal and Marxist traditions has contested this distinction as being conceptually flawed and politically oppressive. In addition to sharing this view, socialist-feminist critique the public/private distinction in Marxist theory produced by the model of political economical based on "production", defined as economic production for the capitalist market. This model, they argue, ignores the "private" sphere of "reproduction", where women are responsible for reproducing both humans (through child-bearing) and labour power. Traditional Marxists, this work is seen to be part of the non-economic defined as "work". Socialist feminists therefore, contest the public/private distinction by showing that sexuality, procreation, and housework, understood to be "private", in fact hold up the "public" sphere of production. Their arguments came in discussion two senses - a) when male labour comes home, it is the housework done by women tilt ensures that they can go back to work the next day b) the bearing official produces who actual people who will work in factories etc. However, this work is not paid for, and this unpaid labour in the "private" sphere underlies and ensures capitalist production in the "public" sphere. Thus, feminists across the political spectrum are agreed that the public and the private are not two distinct and separate splicers and that the assumption that they are, is uniformly detrimental to women's interests.

Summary

The word "modernity" has a lot of different connotations. It refers to the development of the nation-state, liberalism, and individualism in politics. Modernity will not be complete without science and technology. It refers to a mental state. That is why there is a distinction between the terms "historic" and "modernity." Traditional ideals can be jeopardised by excessive modernity .Individuals must remember their origins in the culture. Postmodernism makes this claim. On rights concerning women's issues, there are several points of view. Feminism's basic tenet is that the gender problem be elevated to the forefront of political debate. The central object of all theories relating to Gender Justice is that women should be treated equally and that social justice be provided. The term's origins have been traced, as well as the three broad strands of feminism - mainstream, socialist, and radical feminism. Since patriarchy and feminism are inextricably related, the latter has been thoroughly examined. You've also learned that "making a distinction between "sex" and "gender" is "one of the main contributions of feminist theory." The unit also goes into the evolution of feminist theory's sex role distinction in great detail. It is important to understand that the sex and gender distinction is not as straightforward as it might seem. We've seen how feminist theory has evolved over the course of a century of political practice, sparking new discussions within the field and posing new challenges to core ideas of conventional political theory.

Keywords

Gender, Sex, Feminism, Types of Feminism, Radical Feminism, Liberal Feminism, Marxist Feminism etc

Self Assessment

1. Which school of feminist thought emerged as a result of gender blind character of Marxist thought?

- A. Radical Feminist thought
- B. Liberal Feminist thought
- C. Psychoanalytic thought
- D. Socialist Feminist thought

2. Marry Wollstonecraft was a

- A. Liberal Feminist
- B. b) Radical Feminist
- C. Marxist Feminist
- D. Psycho Analyst

3. Which of the following is NOT a characteristic of Feminist Theory?
- Feminist Theory treats women as the central subject of investigation
 - (b). Feminist Theory promotes activism on behalf of women
 - (c). Feminist Theory is multicultural in orientation
 - (d). Feminist Theory advocates a linear understanding of the historical experiences of women.
4. "The property status of the households to which the women belong and women's participation in wage labor is deciding the status." Who does among the following believe in this?
- Karl Marx
 - Alexandra Mikhailovna Kollontai
 - Friedrich Engels
 - Mary Wollstonecraft
5. What is central in the different approaches of feminism?
- Women and their existential situation as central to social progress.
 - In all historically recorded societies, men appear to have absolute power over women.
 - Existential state of women can be changed.
 - None of these
6. _____ feminists seek to expand the rights of women through legislation.
- Radical
 - Liberal
 - Socialist
 - Capitalist

Answers for Self Assessment

1. B 2. A 3. D 4. C 5. D
6. B

Review Questions

- Trace the origin of the term feminism.
- Enumerate the different types of feminism. What is common to different feminist positions?
- Explain the meaning of patriarchy with reference to the views of some feminist scholars.
- Describe some forms of patriarchy.
- What distinction do feminists make between sex and gender?
- What do you understand by sexual division of labour? What are the ideological assumptions behind it?



Further Reading

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Unit 08: Rights

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the Meaning, definitions of rights in the study of political theory
- understand the human rights concept
- examine different theories of rights in political theory
- understand the knowledge of debates over the evolution of the concept of human rights in the study of political theory
- analyse different types of rights in the study of political theory

Introduction

Individual liberty, on the one side, and the extent of state intervention, on the other, are both manifestations of the principle of freedom. A right, in simple terms, is a claim made by a person that is accepted by society and the state. However, once the state protects them, rights are much like moral declarations. As a result, the state converts commonly accepted claims or moral rights into legal terms, granting them legal status. The fact of political legitimacy that links the claims of individuals with the sovereign authority of the state is included in a description of the term rights. According to Gilchrist, 'rights arise from individuals as members of society, and from the recognition that, for society, there is ultimate good which may be reached by the development of the powers inherent in every individuals.' In the words of Laski, "rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek to be himself at his best." Rights are rightly called social claims which help individuals attain their best selves and help them develop their personalities. If democracy is to be government of the people, it has to exist for them. Such a democratic government can best serve the people if it maintains a system of rights for its people. Governments never grant rights, only preserve them; states never grant rights, only recognise them. Rights emerge from society, from unique social circumstances, and are therefore often social. Individual rights are rights that belong to individuals, exist for individuals, and are exercised by them in order for them to achieve full development of their personalities.

8.1 Meaning and Definitions of Rights

The relationship between individuals and states has long been a vexing issue in political philosophy, one that has perplexed, if not perplexed, political philosophers. Political philosophers have argued about who is more significant, the state or the citizen, and who owes what to whom. Some thinkers, such as Plato, claim that the state alone can provide justice and that the individual's duty is to perform his or her duties to the best of his or her abilities and capacities. These thinkers are known as idealists. Others, such as John Locke, believe that the state acts as a means to an end, and that the end is the individual, implying that individual rights are sacred and untouchable. Individual rights are a new phenomenon that started in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries. The fact that these rights are safeguards against state absolutism and, as a result, have their origins in society are something that only the modern era has recognised. Individual rights do not belong to the state, and as a result, they do not belong to the state. Rights are the rights of people, and as such, they are prerequisites for their growth. Rights are the byproducts of our social nature, and as such, they are the result of our social membership. While rights are claims, not every claim is a right. A claim isn't a right unless it's recognised, and it's not a right unless it's implemented. Claims that aren't recognised are meaningless, and claims that aren't followed are powerless. When a claim is accepted by society, it becomes a right; it becomes a right when the state maintains and enforces it. Rights are more than just assertions; they are collective assertions. They aren't promises, but they are claims of fact. This implies that only statements that are social in nature are considered rights. The life of the state is predicated on the existence of rights as social statements. Where there is no state, there are no rights (i.e. social claims). It's a misnomer to speak about natural rights in the wild, as proponents of the social contract theory said. Rights as social claims exist because they are social; they exist in society, because society exists, and because society alone gives them to those who are members of society. Individuals' rights are social statements that are granted to them as members of society in the form of compensation in exchange for services rendered. Rights are social because they seek to improve society, and as a result, rights are never in opposition to society. There are no such things as anti-social rights. Another condition must be met for rights to be considered social statements. They are to be maintained, enforced and protected. It is here that the institution of the state has a definite role to play. Individuals are rewarded with their privileges by society, not the state, after they have fulfilled their duties. The state safeguards individuals' rights in their interests and for them against encroachments by executive authorities, other individuals, and/or groups of individuals; the state preserves the framework of rights in society by providing them to all; the state protects individuals' rights in their interests and for them against encroachments by executive authorities, other individuals, and/or groups of individuals. Rights are not powers; they are collective statements. It is necessary to differentiate between rights and powers. Nature has given each individual a certain amount of power to meet his or her needs. Power is a physical force; it is energy in its purest form. No scheme of rights can be defined solely on the basis of power. A person's power does not always imply that he has a right. He/she has a right as a member of the society – as a social being. An isolated person has no rights; what he/she has is energy, physical force, and process. As individuals, we have powers; as social beings, i.e. as members of society, we have rights. As people, we have no rights, and as social beings, we have no powers – no right to speak, do, or behave as we please. Our privileges are guaranteed solely because we are members of society. When others consider them as such, they become privileges. They are the forces that have been identified as being socially important for individuals. To quote Hobbes: "Rights are what we may expect from others and others from us, and all genuine rights are conditions of social welfare. Thus, the rights anyone may claim are partly those which are necessary for the fulfillment of the function that society expects from him. They are conditioned by, correlative to, his social responsibilities." Individuals' rights are derived from their status as members of society. They spring from the realisation that there is an ultimate good that can be attained by the creation of the forces that each person possesses. Individual rights are social statements that are eventually recognised and legally protected. There are no arguments that individuals can make outside of society. Apart from the state, there are no individuals' rights whose protection can ever be expected. Society gives us rights and the state protects them.

Rights are social statements that are important for human personality formation. They are not rights that an individual is endowed with. Some citizens were entitled to such rights in ancient and mediaeval times. However, no one may call these advantages "rights." Rights are not rights and they are not entitlements. There is a distinction between rights and privileges: rights are our claims on others as well as others' claims on us, while entitlements are privileges given to some and denied to others. Rights are universal in the sense that they are guaranteed to everyone; rights are not universal in the sense that only a few people have them. Without prejudice, all people have rights; advantages are granted to a select few. The acquisition of rights is a matter of right; the acquisition of privileges is a matter of patronage. Privileges are a characteristic of undemocratic

systems; rights are a feature of democratic societies. Different meanings of rights only touch on a small portion of what rights entail. Jefferson's declaration that the men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights was one which indicated the naturalness of rights, i.e., men have rights because they are, by nature, human beings. That man (including women) have rights or that they should have rights is a fact no one would like to dispute. But this fact does not state anything more or less than that. There is no definition stated in this fact. Holland defines rights as "one man's capacity of influencing the act of others, not by his own strength but by the strength of the society." His definition describes rights, as a man's activities blessed by the society which means that Holland is describing rights only as a social claim. That there are other aspects of rights in a definition of rights has not been given due place. Wilde, in his definition of rights gives a casual treatment to the social claim aspect when he says: "A right is a reasonable claim to freedom in the exercise of certain activities." Bosanquet and Laski, in their definitions of rights, include the positions of society, and state and man's personality, but they too ignore the important aspect of 'duty' as a part of 'rights'. Bosanquet says: "A right is a claim recognized by society and enforced by the state". According to Laski, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best." Certain elements should be included in a working description of rights. Among these is the social argument, which states that rights originate in society and that, as a result, there are no rights prior to, beyond, or against society. Another aspect of rights is 'personal growth,' which means that rights belong to the individual and are an important ingredient in promoting one's personality. This aspect involves the individual's right to challenge the government if the latter's actions are incompatible with the individual's personality. Furthermore, the role of the state in the system of rights must be included in the concept of rights. This feature emphasises the fact that the state does not grant rights; rather, it protects them. According to Laski, a state is defined by the rights it protects. Since they are politically recognised, rights are rights. Insofar as they are followed by duties that a person has as a member of society, rights are socially sanctioned claims. Duties came first, not last, in the hierarchy of privileges. It is in this sense that duties come before rights, and it is this that limits the existence and scope of rights. Absolute rights do not exist: absolute rights are a paradox in words. The distinction between rights as 'liberties' and rights as 'claims' has become a matter of importance to social and political theory, as Raphael rightly asserts.

8.2 Nature of Rights

On the basis of what has been addressed so far, it is relatively straightforward to describe what lies at the root of freedom. The very definition of rights conceals the existence of rights. Rights are not only claims; they are claims in and of themselves. All claims are claims, but not all claims are rights. The arguments that are recognised as such by society are referred to as rights. Without such recognition, rights are empty claims. Society is organised in character and an individual obviously cannot have any right apart from what the society concedes. Rights are social in the sense that they arise from society at any given time; they are social in the sense that they are never, and indeed cannot be, anti-social; they are social in the sense that they did not exist prior to the advent of society; and they are social in the sense that they cannot be exercised against the society's presumed common good. Rights, as social claims, provide the conditions for human personality formation. These circumstances are established; they are created and given. These requirements are created, provided, and made by the state, which is separate from society. The state facilitates the exercise of rights by establishing conditions. As a result, it establishes a foundation on which rights can be exercised. It is not the creator of rights; rather, it is their guardian and defender. It is not under the state's power to "rip away" an individual's rights. The state loses its claim to individuals' allegiance if it fails to protect rights in the context of conditions required for their production. The content of rights is heavily influenced by the customs and ethos of a given society at a given time and place. The contents of rights change as culture and its circumstances change. We may argue that rights are dynamic in this context. There will never be a list of rights that are uniformly available for all future periods. Rights are reactions to our actions. They're in the nature of 'rewards' or 'returns'. They are offered to us only after we have contributed to society and others. We just 'own' after we've 'owed'. Rights are not only the results of our obligations, but they also contribute to the work we do. Individuals' wellbeing as members of society is based on a balance between their individual rights and the interests of the society to which they belong. A list of rights must recognise that there can be no absolute right that is unregulated, since that would lead to anarchy and disorder in society.

8.3 Different Theories of Rights

There are numerous theories of rights which explain the nature, origin and meaning of rights. The theory of natural rights describes rights as nature; the theory of legal rights recognizes rights as legal; the historical theory of rights pronounces rights as products of traditions and customs; the idealistic theory, like the theory of legal rights, relates rights only with the state; the social welfare theory of rights regards rights as social to be exercised in the interest of both the individual and the society. The development of rights as have come to us had a modest beginning: civil rights with the contractualists; rights as the outcome of traditions, with the historicists, rights as ordained by law, with the jurists; political rights, with the democrats; social rights, with the sociologists and the pluralists; socio-economic rights, with the socialists and the Marxists; human rights, with the advocates of the United Nations. This explanation oversimplifies what our rights are and how they came to us.

Natural Theory of Rights:

Various hypotheses for the origin and existence of rights have been proposed from time to time, resulting in the creation of a variety of theories. The 'natural theory of rights' was the first to propose an interpretation in this regard. Nature is the author of such rights that are universal, logical, everlasting, and irreversible, according to this theory. Furthermore, it asserts that man is endowed with rights by law. They are ingrained in him. They are as much a part of man's makeup as his skin colour. The natural principle of rights can be traced back to ancient Greece. Later, the Romans believed that civil law should be in accordance with natural law. The rule of nature became the law of God during the middle Ages. This version was adopted by social contractualists in the seventeenth century to create a proper relationship between individual liberty and state authority. Natural rights were described by John Locke as the right to life, liberty, and property. According to Locke, the state's primary duty is to safeguard individuals' natural rights. Individuals have the right to resist, including the right to overthrow the regime, if the rulers abuse the natural rights' sanctity. No government has the authority to take away these privileges. As a result, rights are an essential component of human personality. People have the right to rebel against any government that attempts to infringe on their natural rights. The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, for example, stated that "all men are born by their creator with certain inalienable rights." Men are born free, live free, and are equal in their freedom, according to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1791. Even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 says, 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.'

Legal Theory of Rights:

Rights, according to this, are neither absolute nor natural. They are the product of the state's legal system. As a result, the state is the sole provider of rights. It provides the machinery to ensure that rights are exercised. Rights are fluid, changing as the law of the land does. The positive theory of rights, also known as the legal theory of rights, is exemplified in the works of Jeremy Bentham, who dismisses natural rights as "rhetorical nonsense" and argues that rights are the result of law and organised society. As a result, the legal theory is partially accurate in asserting that rights aren't rights unless they're guaranteed by the state. There has to be a coercive authority to give protection to the moral rights. Law, therefore, serves the desired purpose.

Idealist Theory of Rights:

A right, according to the idealistic or personality theory, is "really important to the preservation of material conditions central to the life and perfection of human personality." In layman's terms, it means that "without freedom, no man can become the best version of himself that he is capable of." As a result, every human being has the right and responsibility to realise his or her full potential. As a result, a right is an argument founded on man's rational will, which is first accepted by society before being translated into law by the state. "Human consciousness presupposes liberty; liberty entails right; rights necessitate the state," writes Barker. As a result, the idealistic theory examines freedom from a spiritual standpoint. Human rights are embedded in the human mind. A right must determine two things: the person claiming it must be able to persuade society that by doing so, he is not interfering with the rights of his fellow beings, and that his argument is absolutely necessary for his self-development. Thus, a right 'is a freedom of action possessed by a man virtue of his occupying a certain place and fulfilling a certain function in a social order.' Critics however, regard this theory too abstract to be easily understood by an average person.

Historical theory:

Rights, according to this theory, are the product of the passage of time. They're focused on long-standing traditions and usages. A tradition or custom known for its long observance is the basic

sanction behind a right. According to sociologists like MacIver, traditions play an important role in establishing people's rights. According to them, today's law is nothing more than the crystallisation of centuries-old rituals into legal sanctions that the state enacts with arbitrary power. Critics, on the other hand, believe that this hypothesis is only partially valid. They say that all privileges are not the product of long-standing traditions. Had this been so, slavery would have been in existence as a matter of right by virtue of being based on a long established tradition.

Marxist Theory of Rights:

The Marxist theory of rights is described in terms of the economic system of a specific historical era. A specific socioeconomic formation will have its own set of rights. Since it is a tool in the hands of the economically ruling class, the state is a class institution, and the laws it creates are also class laws. As a result, the feudal state preserves the feudal system's system of rights (privileges, for example) by feudal rules. Similarly, the capitalist state preserves the capitalist system's system of rights by capitalistic rules. The aim of the class state, according to Marxists, is not to secure rights for everyone in a class society; rather, it is to defend and promote the interests of the economic power class. According to Marx, the class that dominates society's economic system often controls political influence, which it uses to defend and advance its own interests over the interests of all. As the Marxian framework suggests, in a democratic society that resembles a capitalist society, the socialist state must protect and promote the interests/rights of the working class by proletarian laws. As the socialist society, unlike the capitalist society, is a classless society, its state and laws protect the rights not of any particular class but of all the people living in the classless society. The Marxists say that the socialist state, as an instrument of social and political and economic change, would seek to establish socialism which will be based on the principle of 'from each to his ability to each according to his work', the system of rights for all would follow this pattern: economic rights (work, social security) first, followed by social rights (education) and political rights (franchise rights). While its focus on a non-exploitative socialist structure is its distinguishing feature, the Marxist theory of rights, like Marxism itself, suffers from its deterministic philosophy. Non-economic forces also play a role in deciding the superstructure, which is why neither the economic factor nor the superstructure is solely a reflection of the economic base.

Social welfare theory:

The social welfare or social expediency theory of rights suggests that rights are a product of society in the sense that they are founded on the consideration of the common good. According to this principle, rights are beneficial to the largest number of people. As a result, rights are the requirements of social good. As a result, arguments that are not in line with the general interest will not be accepted by society, and therefore will not be classified as rights. Rights, according to Bentham, are beneficial to both the individual and society. Laski, a proponent of this theory, interprets the concept of utility to mean that the only criterion for rights is social welfare. The critics of this theory regard it as highly ambiguous. They further say that it seeks to sacrifice individual good at the altar of social welfare.

8.4 Types of Rights:

There are various types of rights. Barker splits the last one into two categories: political and economic, and groups those under three key headings: fraternity, freedom, and liberty. He continues to classify rights to public aid, schooling, and jobs as 'fraternity'. Under the second definition of 'equality,' he covers the right to be treated fairly in the eyes of the law, as well as matters relating to justice, taxes, and admissibility to honors and public office. Finally, under the heading of 'liberty,' he mentions well-known political and economic liberties. Laski, on the other hand, divides them into two categories: general and specific. A description could be viewed in the following manner to discuss particular types of rights in a clear form.

Moral Rights:

Moral rights are assertions that the community's conscience recognises. A instructor, for example, has a fundamental right to be respected by his or her students. Furthermore, moral rights are supported by society's common sense. They cannot be enforced because there is no coercive power. As a result, one cannot go to court to pursue the protection of a moral right. Moral rights are pious values whose compliance is contingent on the community's good judgment. When the state recognises moral rights and converts them into legal terms, they become legal rights that can be enforced by the state's coercive power. Any breach of the law would result in a penalty.

Civil Rights:

Individuals' person and property are covered by these rights. They are referred to as "civil" rights because they pertain to the basic requirements of a civilised life. This encompasses a wide range of rights, including those relating to life, personal liberty, freedom of thought and speech, property, religion, and so on. Of all the civil rights, the right to life is the most important because it underpins the enjoyment of all others. It means that no one has the authority to take another's life. Not only that, but in the event that his adversary intends to kill him, an individual has the right to save his own life by killing another. The right to life is so important that suicide is a felony, and anyone who attempts to commit it faces imprisonment. As a result, a person convicted of murder receives the death penalty. However, this right is not absolute, and the state can limit it in the 'national interest.' The second most significant constitutional right is the right to personal liberty. Abolition of slavery, freedom of movement, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment are all part of it. The right to think and express oneself is the second most fundamental civil right. An person should be able to think and express himself in any way he sees fit, whether on the tongue, in print, or in any other suitable medium. It refers to a person's right to own, sell, or dispose of land. Equality before the law, as well as fair protection under the law, is a crucial civil right. The right to religious liberty is an essential civil right. A individual should be free to profess and practice any religion in accordance with his or her conscience, according to this right.

Political Rights:

These privileges pertain to a man's involvement in state affairs. This involves the right to vote, since in a democratic state, all people over the age of 18 (in India's case) must be able to elect their rulers. This category includes the right to vote in elections, which occur on a regular basis and enable citizens to elect their representatives. The right to hold public office is also included in this group. All capable and competent people, regardless of differences in faith, ethnicity, caste, creed, or other factors, should be eligible to hold public office. It also provides the right to file petitions with the government, either individually or collectively, to express their grievances. Finally, people's right to appreciate or condemn the conduct of their government is included in this group, so that they can renew their confidence in their rulers or reform them if they lose it.

Economic Rights:

This category of rights is concerned with a person's vocation, or his participation in a gainful occupation of his choosing in order to address issues such as food, clothes, and shelter. All should have the freedom and ability to work in order to support themselves, Aside from that, he should be able to relax and unwind. It also requires the freedom to join a trade union to defend and advance their particular interests. Workers should be able to openly negotiate for remunerative jobs. Workers' right to a say in the overall management and operation of the industry is included in this group of rights.

Human Rights:

Since the Human Rights Commission's formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its ratification by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, human rights have taken on a life of their own. Human rights are more like a declaration of a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," which is very broad. Human rights are a combination of what were once known as "natural rights" and some civil rights. It encompasses a slew of other rights that are inextricably linked to moral, natural, and civil rights.

8.5 Safeguards of Rights

The mere grant of rights to people is insufficient. There should be adequate protections in place to ensure that they are realised. They could be classified in the order given below. People should have important rights enshrined in the basic law of the country, often referred to as "Fundamental Rights." The state gives basic rights constitutional protection and empowers courts to issue writs for their compliance by placing them in the category of fundamental rights. Another essential protection is the rule of law. The characteristics of the rule of law are much too significant. For starters, it guarantees equality before the law and equal justice under the law. It refers to the fact that all citizens are subject to the same legal obligations, regardless of religious, caste, creed, wealth, race, or sex differences. Second, it protects personal liberties by ensuring that no one can be prosecuted without reason and that no one can be imprisoned unless a competent court rules against them. Another protection is a free and truthful press, which ensures that people receive news in a consistent and transparent manner. People's judgments are likely to be mistaken if facts

are not viewed in their true context or are intentionally skewed. People's interests are therefore supposed to be protected by a free press. People can write in newspaper columns about their rulers' failures. The state should adopt the principle of decentralisation of powers to avoid misuse of authority. Local governments should have the authority to address local concerns. Similarly, state or provincial governments can deal with issues of regional significance. Before making any decision, government officials should consult with various agencies that serve the diverse and unique interests of various sections of society. It would not only aid in understanding the issues from the perspective of those who would be affected, but it would also encourage them to participate fully. As a result, the individuals involved are more satisfied and confident in the security of their rights. A state should also avoid interfering in the legal realms of voluntary organisations. Similarly, since religion is a private matter, the government should stay out of religious organisations' affairs. It should also avoid interfering inappropriately in the realm of voluntary organisations, since this might jeopardise people's rights. The most critical protection, however, remains constant vigilance. It means that people must be always vigilant to fight for their liberty. They must understand the threat to the security of their rights and fight for the defense of their rights.

Summary

Rights are social statements that are important for human personality formation. These are personal to the persons and include the conditions under which they can be themselves. They are social in nature, as they are provided by society and protected by the state. Individuals cannot be taken away from them by the state. They represent a specific stage in the evolution of society. The nature and content of rights change as culture evolves. Theories about rights represent only a partial understanding of their definitions, origins, and existence. Natural rights theory is valid as long as it emphasises the idea that rights are natural because they are inherent in social statements. Similarly, the legal theory of rights is correct in making the state the guarantor of our rights. There are several different types of rights. Human beings have the right to life, equality, protection of person and property, democracy, education, employment, freedom of religion, the right to vote, and the right to hold public office. Personal and political rights are prioritised in liberal democratic societies over economic and social rights. The socialist societies call for the freedom to be arranged in the opposite way. As a left-leaning liberal, Laski believes that rights are important for individual growth, but that economic rights come first, followed by social and political rights. The UN Declaration of Human Rights provides for a list of basic rights available to human beings as human beings.

Human rights have been publicly acknowledged, and many nations have made them a part of their national constitutions. A individual is said to be born with certain fundamental and well-known human rights. However, the second tragedy of this century is that these human rights are being violated on a massive scale. People are becoming victims of bloodshed, terror, tears, and abuse as the number of people without rights grows by the day. This inhumanity manifests itself in a variety of ways. Social disparity, political instability, dictator political structure and lack of economic sources are making it almost impossible to materialize the Memorandum of UNO. The reasoning is that either the rights claimed by the United Nations are not consistent in showing that any right is being overruled in reality, or the concept behind this declaration was that each country should be granted the freedom to define these rights according to their wealth, culture, and values. Most of the human rights have been defined in the context of citizen and political freedoms given in the western democratic states. Citizens of these countries are mostly using these rights. Whereas socialist countries have opposed these rights from the start, it has been difficult to pursue these rights in developing countries due to mis arrangements and problems caused by the nation-building process. Liberal democracy evolved in societies with higher levels of industrialization, urbanisation, per capita income, and telecom arrangements. In other words, a minimum degree of social and economic growth is needed for liberal democracy and institutional power. From this viewpoint, the social and political institutions of developed countries are still fragile and temporary, and we cannot trust them to protect human rights. As a result, despite the memorandum of UNO, millions of people are still devoid of minimal human rights.

Keywords

Rights, Types of Rights, Laski's Views on Rights, Different theories of rights, human rights etc.

Self Assessment

1. Exponents of historical theory of rights believe that the rights:
 - A. Have been given by the society
 - B. Are the product of evolution
 - C. Are given by the sovereign
 - D. Are of divine origin

2. Edmund Burke's name is associated with:
 - A. Legal theory of rights
 - B. Natural theory of rights
 - C. Idealist theory of rights
 - D. Historical theory of rights

3. One of the oldest theories about rights is theory of:
 - A. Natural rights
 - B. Legal rights
 - C. Idealist theory of rights
 - D. Historical theory of rights

4. Theory of natural rights was supported by:
 - A. Hobbes
 - B. Locke
 - C. Rousseau
 - D. None of the above

5. Which theory believes that law is the only source, which gives us rights?
 - A. Theory of natural rights
 - B. Idealist theory of rights
 - C. Legal theory of rights
 - D. Natural theory of rights

Answers of Self Assessment

1. B 2. D 3. A 4. C 5. C

Review Questions

1. What do you mean by 'rights'? Distinguish between rights, power, claims and entitlements.
2. Briefly describe the various theories of rights.
3. Mention the rights available to modern citizens.
4. Discuss Harold Laski's theory of rights.
5. Write a detailed essay on the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

**Further Reading**

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Unit 09: Justice

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- acquire knowledge of debates over meaning, definitions of the concept of Justice in the study of political theory
- understand the different theories of Justice in the study of political theory
- Examine the various dimensions of Justice
- Understand the types of justice

Introduction

The term 'justice' is assigned different meanings by different people at different times and different places, Its ramifications differ from person to person due to differing interpretations. Furthermore, the principle of justice is fluid. As a result, as time passes, the meanings change. As a result, what was once considered right could now be considered injustice, and vice versa. In both political practice and philosophy, justice is crucial. Appeals to conceptions of justice are made in defending or criticising legislation, public policy, and administrative decisions made by governments. In social and political movements, civil disobedience, and Satyagraha campaigns, justice is also invoked. As a result, civil rights and civil liberties movements are fundamentally just movements. The dalit, feminist, and environmental movements are all on the rise. While a decent or healthy society or polity must possess a number of virtues, many people believe that justice is the most important. "Justice is the first virtue in social institutions," says Harvard University's John Rawls, a leading contemporary moral and political philosopher. He made that statement in his book, *A Theory of Justice*, which was published in 1971. Some two decades earlier, it was proclaimed in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution that the Democratic Republic of India stood committed to securing to all its citizens "Justice, social, economic and political." It is noteworthy that the Preamble lists justice above the other moral political values of liberty, equality and fraternity. Rawls's book inaugurated what has been rightly called "a golden age in **theorizing** about justice." Consequently, justice, as noted by Tom Campbell, is today "the central and commanding concept of current mainstream normative political philosophy." B.N. Ray writes in his edited volume, *John Rawls and the Agenda of Social Justice*, that Rawls' book has reignited not only academic but also public interest in justice. Although common citizens, politicians, and philosophers all agree on the importance of justice as a moral-political value, they disagree on what it means and how it should be applied. On these, there are very major differences in the views of the **liberal utilitarian**, liberal-egalitarian (i.e., Rawlsian), libertarian, communitarian, Marxist and feminist theorists. Rawls' liberal-egalitarian philosophy of social justice has come to hold a deservingly central place among

them. Many who have advanced alternative or conflicting theories of justice feel obligated to compare and contrast their worth to Rawls' theory.

Meaning and Definitions of Justice

The Latin terms *jungere* (to bind, to tie together) and *jus* (justice) are combined to form the term justice (a bond or tie). Justice, as a uniting or linking concept, serves to bring people together in a right or equal order of relationships by allocating each person's fair share of rights and responsibilities, rewards and punishments. The Roman Emperor, Justinian, stated some of the precepts of justice (in Latin) as *alterum non laedere* (not to harm or injure others); and *suum cuique tribuere* (to allocate to each what is due to him or her). The Greek philosopher Aristotle described justice as treating equals fairly and **unequal's** unequally in proportion to their differences, and Justinian's precepts of justice were derived from him. He also differentiated between three forms of justice: distributive justice, punitive justice, and commutative justice. Justice is intertwined with other moral-political ideals such as liberty, freedom, and fraternity as a moral-political value. In a fundamental sense, what makes a society or state just is its right or equal ordering of human relations, which includes granting each individual their proper rights and duties, as well as appropriate rewards and punishments. Justice does this by bringing about adjustments between the principles of liberty, equality, co-operation, etc. Traditionally, then, the principle of justice was taken to be a principle which balances or reconciles the principles of liberty, equality, etc. This balancing or reconciling is done in light of some ultimate ideal, such as the value of the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people or the value of all members of a society's freedom and equality. In this context, it may be noted in passing that it is the balancing or reconciling nature of justice, which is represented in the figure of personified justice, who holds a balance in her hands.

9.1 Different Theories of Justice

Philosophical Theory:

In different contexts, the word justice has different connotations. As a result, various theories have been proposed to highlight the nature and importance of justice in various spheres. In India, justice is associated with the concept of Dharma, which has an English counterpart in the concept of righteousness. Plato's theory of justice, as mentioned in his popular book Republic, provides a philosophical understanding of the term justice in western political thought. In this context, justice refers to a way of life in which people follow the law of functional specialization. The original theory underlying this philosophy is that a person should only practice one thing, and that thing should be the one to which his nature is best suited. As a result, justice in this context means "doing your own job and not interfering with what belongs to others." As a result, Plato's conception of justice includes both human and social elements. While it is expected and necessary of the person to pursue only those occupations to which his nature is ideally suited, it is also expected and required of society to assign him work that is in line with his natural aptitude. Plato continues, "Justice of the person means that reason, spirit, and appetite all maintain their proper limits, just as justice of the state means that each of the three elements retains its position." The philosophical interpretation of justice takes an empirical direction at the hands of Aristotle who says, 'injustice arises when equals are treated unequally, and also when unequal are treated equally.' The idea of Aristotle came to lay down the foundation of what is now, called the doctrine of distributive justice.

Natural Theory of Justice:

The Stoics first articulated the natural philosophy of justice, which was then borrowed by the Roman lawyers. This theory viewed justice as an absolute value ideal that could be used to create the proper order. Existence, according to the Stoics, refers to the universe's governing theory of reason. Their concept of living in harmony with nature was thus a canon of living in accordance with the standard that man should know. Later, the Roman lawyers, who saw justice as the ultimate goal, borrowed this notion. The Roman lawyers made a unique contribution by combining the concept of 'natural justice' with the positive law of the state. As a result, they demanded that civil law and the law of nations, as they referred to it, be in accordance with the natural law. With the rise of Christianity, the concept of natural justice became entangled with the myth of divine sanction. To the church fathers, what the Stoics and Romans meant by "nature" became "God." As a result, religious canons were useful tools for determining who was right and who was wrong. St. Augustine linked the concept of justice to the Christian religion's precepts. St. Thomas ruled that if the civil law contradicted natural law, it was not binding on the rule's conscience.' In the eighteenth century great revolutions of America (1776) and France (1789) show that the natural rights based on

the principles of 'natural justice' were regarded fundamental as endowed by the 'creator' of the human race.

Legal Theory of Justice:

Justice, according to legal philosophy, is found in the application of positive law. It also refers to what the courts have decided in the form of statute interpretations or verdicts. In this way, the concept of justice is somewhat similar to the legal system. On the one hand, law must act as an instrument of justice, and on the other hand, it must function as an instrument to prevent mischief, according to John Austin. In this context, the immediate object of law becomes justice, and law without justice becomes an instrument of oppression. The concept of justice necessitates a harmonious union of natural justice concepts and positive law premises. In this sense, justice requires that, (i) the accused should know the nature of the charges leveled against him; (ii) he should be given reasonable opportunity to state his case either himself or through his lawyer; (iii) the tribunal or the court trying the case should be fair and impartial; (iv) the proceedings of trial should be conducted in a free and fair manner.

Marxist Theory:

From the standpoint of ideology, the concept of justice can be split into two groups: liberal and Marxist. The above-mentioned legal theories of justice fall into the first group. It believes in the rule of law as enacted by the state through its recognized government. Dean Roscoe Pound stresses that justice must always be administered in accordance with state law. According to US Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, justice must represent not only the proclaimed law, but also the unspoken tradition and conscience of the society in which it is administered. As a result, in reality, morality, faith, and tradition are important aids to the liberal theory of justice. Furthermore, the liberal viewpoint aims to achieve a harmonious fusion of natural justice's abstract precepts and positive law's concrete premises. In case of conflict, the matter should be decided in such a way that the interest of the community is sub-served. Thus, the meaning of justice should be revised to meet the changing requirements of a civilized social life. Lord Hailsham of the United Kingdom rightly observes, "The principles of justice do not change, but their application in terms of law must alter with changes in circumstances... Law remains an instrument, not an end in itself. The law is a tool for doing justice." The Marxist view of justice, in contrast to the liberal view, combines the concept of justice with the ideology of class warfare. The bourgeoisie, according to this viewpoint, requires the laws in order to maintain its influence. Obviously, the whole structure is modified after a popular revolution. Laws are required during the proletariat's dictatorship to effect the transformation of bourgeois society into a socialist order. Since the Communist Party has all of the authority, the courts must follow the party's lead. As a result, the judiciary in a communist country is "committed" to implementing Marx's and Lenin's scientific socialism ideology. While a liberal interpretation of justice is very versatile and positions the judiciary in a "free" position, a Marxist interpretation requires it to be committed. As a result, while the former is too flexible, the latter is inherent with very rigid postures. While the former is necessarily connected with the premises of the 'rule of law', the latter constitutes a negation of the same.

9.2 Rawl's Theory of Justice

Contractarian Theory of Justice:

Utilitarian theory of justice has been replaced by an optional theory which has been clarified by famous philosopher John Rawl's famous book, "A theory of Justice". This book has been compared to Plato's, Mill's, and Kant's works. The main goal of this book was to provide a theoretical foundation for a philosophy of justice that can replace the utilitarian concept and is in line with the needs of the current liberalist democratic welfare state. Rawls considers justice to be the first and most fundamental feature of all social institutions, and he examines which theories of justice are the most effective. In doing so, he developed a philosophy of justice based on the social contract, similar to that of Hobbs, Lock, and Rousseau. Since justice is the basis of every social system, according to Rawls all political and legislative decisions should be made in accordance with these laws. Justice, according to Rawls, is a property of distribution that has to do with the distribution of goods and services in society. Rawls has called these things primary goods. These are of two types:

(1) **Social Goods:** All those goods which are distributed by the social institutions directly like wages, wealth, opportunity, material goods, rights, freedom etc.

(2) **Natural Goods:** Like health, intelligence, imaginative power and capacity which are not distributed directly by the social institutions but they are affected by these. How these goods are distributed in a justified society – this depends upon the fact that which theory of justice is included in their arrangement of rights, legal process and designation etc. Before outlining the basic

theory of justice, Rawls explains certain fundamental assumptions that must be taken into account. To begin, Rawls introduces the idea of justice by assuming that everyone in society is free and equal. This freedom is joined with the ownership of their two moral rules – (i) Capacity for a sense of justice, (ii) Concept of good. Till the limit, these rules are available to live in the form of a complete cooperative member of the society, that society is equal. While describing it more, Rawls has written that “Understanding of justice’ means “Understanding implementing and capacity of working according to the universal concept of justice which demands right cooperation.” This understanding expresses a desire that in the context of the relation with the others such kind of behavior should be done which can be supported publically and in the ‘concept of welfare’ all that is valuable for the human life is included. In general, all of the overarching goals that we want to accomplish for ourselves are included, as well as our attachment to others and allegiance to other groups or cultures. Second, Rawls ensures the impartiality of political theory as a political principle. This type of concept has three specialties – First, This is a moral concept which is related to the basic structure of the society which means that all the social, economic and political institutions should collectively fit in such an arrangement of mutual cooperation and should pass on from generation to generation. Secondly, such a network of concepts is present in the “public political culture” through which political concept can be explained and its validity can be presented. Thirdly, its subject matter is expressed in the context of some fundamental idea which can be seen included in the public political culture of any democratic society. This public culture is made with the combination of political institutions of a legislative rule and the public traditions of its explanations. Thirdly, political concept of justice indicates towards the concept of reasonable citizen. Citizen can be considered reasonable in the condition when considering each other free and equal in an arrangement of cooperation they remain eager to present appropriate conditions of social cooperation to each other. This means giving recognitions to the decisions taken and to be prepared to bear the burden of its results. We must be ready to accept that a reasonable person without any presumption or without unnecessarily caring for the group welfare, can keep the difference of opinion with each other. Even if these ideas do not align with his own, a rational individual would consider it unreasonable to use political power to suppress such vast ideas that are not unreasonable. This means that a fair person would never suppress or deem unconstitutional a religion that is different from his own. He will not do so even in the condition when his religion is in majority and there is no fear for them to be suppressed. Fourth, Rawls ideas of justice are based on the traditions of theory of social contract of Hobbs and Lock. According to this theory, in order to understand the political obedience, we should imagine the condition that before the organized society under Government or law, how was the man and then should ask the questions: (i) What must have inspired the man to make an organized society. (ii) Which theories must have been chosen in this pre-political condition to direct the social relations? Social contract has three specialties which make it specific; (i) Pre-political condition. (ii) Political condition which people made after causing out of pre-political conditions. (iii) That Actual condition which is unjust and in which we all are living now. In this sequence Rawls has talked about three conditions in his theory: (i) Original position. (ii) A just social arrangement whose structure has been classified in context of the two theories of justice. (iii) Actual Society. Because Rawls theory; like Hobbs and Lock, is based on the social contract so Rawls also talks about the pre-social state of nature in which people will fix the form of that society on the basis of mutual consent in which they would like to live and which will be just under conditions of impartial choice. Rawls has made a lot of assumptions in this sense. To begin with, everybody is uninterested in one another. They do not intervene with each other's work or feel jealous of each other until their own personal needs are met. Second, when deciding on a new society, everyone would like to have provisions in place to ensure their full security, such as freedom, equality, opportunity, and wealth. Third, they all will be under the veil of ignorance which will keep them devoid of the knowledge about other's capabilities. Rawls refers to this contract situation as the "Original Position," in which everyone is in a state of individual wisdom and general ignorance. Fourth, even though they are blinded by ignorance, they are aware that man remembers his history and can foresee his future, and that in the present situation, man can exchange with things and other people. They are conscious that everyone has different advantages and merits. They are also aware of the common situations in which people find themselves (e.g. people can be either sick or healthy, rich or poor, educated or uneducated, expert or raw, a natural environment or a polluted environment, free or slave etc.). The question that can be answered here is why Rawls only embraced the principle of political contract. The main purpose was to demonstrate that the rule of law, which forms the foundation of society, should be founded on the consent of ordinary people.

In the fundamental circumstances, a free and fair individual would follow these rules with the aim of continuing to profit from them. Rawls' theory of social contract, according to Kelley is based on the premise that political and social contracts can be legitimate only if society is founded on a self-willed plan of unbiased social partnership in which individuals are taken into account. For Rawls,

the concept of contract is very resides because this provides such a reason which is inclusive with the concept of being free and equal. In short in spite of being imaginative social contract fulfills two objectives – (i) It helps in selecting two theories of justice. (ii) It tries to show that why people should accept the conditions given under these two theories.

Two Principles of Justice:

Everyone would like to improve his benefits based on the above creativity and if given the opportunity. However, since he is unable to distinguish between his own and others' benefits due to the veil of ignorance, he would like to endorse certain rules that will allow each individual to maximise the creation of his or her own benefits. . To put it another way, everybody wants to build a community that will minimise their losses while also ensuring that the weakest of the poor will not go hungry (because may be tomorrow he himself becomes poor). Since the aim is to obtain the least welfare at the highest limit, Rawls calls this the Maximization principle. For example, none would like to live in society where there is slavery because nobody wants to be slave. (It's a different thing that he becomes the owner tomorrow). So, increasing their benefits to the maximum limit and from the view point of the distribution of the primary goods, according to Rawls, people will select two rules:

(1) Each person to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberties compatible with similar liberties of others and; (2) Social and economic inequalities are to be so arranged that both are (A) attached to position and offices open to all under condition of fair equality of opportunity and (B) to the greatest benefit to the last advantaged. These theories of justice are based on the sequence of lexical priority. This means that the theory of equal freedom is on the first place in the sequence of priority. On the second no. comes 'Principle of same opportunities' (2A) and on third no. it will be differentiation based Principle based on the social and economic inequalities. According to Rawls, here it is to be noticed that first theory from logical view point first principle is higher than the second principle. This means that in order to achieve justice, it is compulsory to implement theory 1 before reaching Principle 2A and 2B. In other words, the meaning of the logical priority of the first principle on the second principle implies that prohibition of any kind of fundamental rights can be called right by giving the logic that there should be social or economic benefit out of it. Similarly, the logical rule of the second principle that first the equality of opportunity is to be implemented and after this to reach the differentiation based principle. This means, in the direction of satisfying the differentiation based principle, it is compulsory to safety the principle, appropriate equality of opportunity. Let's discuss these principles in detail.

First Principle

According to Rawls, first principle of justice i.e. the principle of equal freedom is of the first category among the two principles and it needs to be satisfied before the second principle. This means that any limitation on freedom can be put only in the context of freedom and not from the view point of increase in the money or income. As Rawls has written, it is common concept to put legal or other limitations against the behavior of man without enough reasons but this concept does not create any specific priority for any special freedom on the contrary priority of freedom means that the first principle of justice gives special place to the fundamental freedoms. Universal welfare and completeness values cannot be devoid just because they are most important. In this any of the social community cannot be devoid of the equal freedoms because this freedom obstructs the policies related to economic expertise and development. Priority of the freedom implies that fundamental freedom can be devoid only in the context of increase in any other freedom. In short, these fundamental freedoms;

- (i) Freedom of ideas;
- (ii) Freedom of conscious (it includes our moral ideas towards this world, religious and philosophical freedom).
- (iii) Political freedoms. These freedoms demand representative democratic institutions, speech, expression and freedom of press and freedom to collect.
- (iv) Freedom to make organization.
- (v) Freedom and integrity of personality. This means freedom from slavery and bonded labour, freedom to travel and freedom to select the business.
- (vi) Rights and freedoms which come under the legal rule. Apart from this, among the basic freedoms which Rawls includes are – right to keep personal property and right to use it. Even then, among these basic freedoms two vast concepts have not been included – save rights related to requisition and will, right of ownership of means of production and natural sources and right of partnership in the control of natural sources which according to Rawls should be social wealth. These basic freedoms

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- make us capable to; (i) Understand implement and follow the principles of justice and (ii) Create, make amendments and to achieve the concept of goodness.

Second Principle

Second Principle related to the arrangement of social and economic inequalities means that society can start some such programmes in which some people are given comparatively more power, income and respect. For example, high management's specialists and accountants should be given more wages and facilities in comparison to the common labourers and clerk etc. provided they fulfill both of these conditions – (i) Such programmes should bring reforms in the life of those people whose life is worse at this time which means that this should improve the living standards of every person and should strengthen the people of lower group of the society according to their welfare and; (ii) these special positing of the society should be open for everyone on the basis of the appropriate equality of the opportunity. This means that they should not be prohibited on the discrimination based on useless criteria. This second principle of justice gives us a glimpse of socialist ideas, according to which allotment of responsibilities and burden should be according to capability and distribution of benefits according to necessity. We can easily estimate that the necessities of the lowest group are maximum and those who are given special powers (which can bring social inequality) and their responsibilities and burden is also more. Even then this principle of capability; that specific expertise should be awarded, is a part of Rawls principle of discrimination based principle. However, the unique feature of this ideology is that it forbids any reform in social and economic structures that improve the lives of those who already have a better life; rather, it should focus on those whose lives are worse or who belong to the lower social classes. As the distribution of social primary good has to respect the equality, freedom and welfare of all the members of society, so this cannot be the uncontrollable equal distribution. According to Rawls, once the primary necessities of the people are fulfilled, then the second rule of their primary freedom i.e. equality of opportunity and discrimination based principle can be taken care of where Rawls is not in favour of the unequal distribution of primary freedom, where he believes that some inequalities in money and income are possible and are not unwanted so, the main aim of the second principle is to keep these inequalities under the circumference of "Justice in the form of Impartiality. According to Rawls, there is a significant distinction between acceptable and just inequalities and unacceptable inequalities. From an optimistic perspective, equality of right opportunity means that the government should have sufficient equality of opportunity in the fields of education, culture, and economics, as well as sickness and unemployment benefits. There is a need for an intervening state to oversee educational institutions and regulate the economy in order to achieve these goals. Excessive equality in money and wages, according to Rawls, will suffocate better creative power and economic comfort, both of which are important for development. This will be harmful for both rich and poor. From the view point of the poor's, justice does not want to finish economic inequalities completely. Rawls argues that certain inequalities that promote better creative power and development should be incorporated into social structures and constitutional frameworks so that they help everyone in society; especially the poor. Its rationale is that helping the poorest members of society would help everyone. Society should design and renovate its primary institutions in such a way that income and wealth disparities favour the poorest members of society the most. The aim of the discrimination-based principle is not to turn societal inequalities into equalities, but to transform the incorrect and partial aspects of economic inequalities into acceptable and unbiased aspects such that the society's poorest members can profit. According to this, inequalities that benefit only the wealthy and not the poor are unsuitable. Rawls supports redistributive justice on an economic and social basis. According to it, state work entails not only the maintenance of social order, but also the provision of primary goods by ensuring that the needs of the poor are met to the highest possible standard. Even so, Rawls does not fully accept the equality-based distribution. He supports inequalities also not from the utilitarian view point of maximum welfare but from the view point of the reformation in the living condition of the lower class of the society. Rawls gives a logic that natural capabilities and circumstances of birth give birth to the special rights and inequalities. Since these disparities cannot be eliminated, it is the responsibility of a fair society to use its resources, which include the efforts and skills of capable people, to enhance the lives of the poorest members of society and to compensate for inequalities. Rewarding only capable people will not a true justice. Real meaning of justice is not to reward the capable people but to compensate the lowest class people. As Rawls writes, "Justice is not an ethics of reward but an ethics of redress." Following the completion of the theory and priority of justice, Rawls believes that the next step in the agreement should be the development of a constitution that can fulfill these theories of justice and serve as the foundation for a just and efficient judiciary. For this constitution to be valid it must guarantee the freedom of thought, speech, and personal liberty, as well as equal political rights. In other words, on constitutional level also Rawls gives priority to the rule of the freedom only. After the creation of constitution, people will have to think about

making policy and law for the society. The establishment of the judiciary is linked to the achievement of long-term social and economic goals on the one hand, and the application of the 'second law' of justice on the other, according to which the aim of social and economic policies would be to provide maximum and value to the long-term aspirations of the lower class of society in the context of justified equality in the opportunity. So, all the laws supporting the special rights will be declared unjust upto the extent where they do not make the maximum benefit available to the lowest class of society.

Collectively, Rawls propagated such a theory of justice which is in accordance to the necessities of contemporary liberal democratic welfare state and is above both the theories i.e. theory of traditional liberalism which strongly believes in the freedom of individual and was in the favour of leaving him alone and socialism's theory of maximum control which sacrifices the freedom of individual in the name of social equality. Rawls principle believes in such a constitutional democracy which is limited, prestigious and responsible. It wants to control free capitalism in many ways. As Rawls writes, "If law and Government keep the market economy competitive in an effective way; materialistic and human resources are best utilized, wealth and money is distributed, all the minimal demands of everyone in society fulfilled, there is equality of opportunities in society on the basis of universal education; then this type of distribution will be justified.

9.3 Evaluation Over Rawl's Theory of Justice

There is no doubt that Rawls book 'A Theory of Justice' has given an important contribution in reestablishing interest in political philosophy but even then it is not free from criticism. Some of its criticisms can be underlined as:-

1. Like other theories of justice, Rawls has also been criticized. Bryan Berry has expressed many objections on the theory of Rawls e.g., it is difficult to find out the people or groups of minimum facilities, concept of self-respect is not clear, this theory is not clear in the concept of making of constitution etc.
2. Similarly, Norman Berry to also says that Rawls theory is just a re-description of Liberal-capitalist theory and in its legal arrangement, comforts of rich cannot compensate the poverty of poor.
3. According to Macpherson, Rawls theory assumes that Inequality of income in society is still important as a motivator to put skills in production in a capitalist society, which is a class divided society. As a result, in a welfare state, resources and capital should only be transferred from the wealthy to the poor to the degree that it does not jeopardize the rich's prosperity. Rawls forgets the fact that this inequality of wealth gives rise to the inequality of power and income and so gives opportunity to one class to establish ownership of the other.
4. Writes like Nozik completely reject this logic of Rawls that personal capabilities and capacities are the property of the state and they should be re-distributed on the basis of social justice. Nozik has criticized Rawls theory, claiming that if it is implemented, the rich class will refuse to cooperate with the poor class in the same way that Rawls suggests that the rich class would cooperate with the poor class in the name of social cooperation. Nozik wonders whether the wealthy will be compelled to negotiate with the poor in order to sell their inequality and social cooperation; it's also likely that they will be able to get the rich's inequality and expenses accepted by the poor. Apart from that, Nozik argues that natural advantages enjoyed by the wealthy should not deprive anyone of their right to self-ownership. Nozik believes that this idea of Rawls that the inequalities should be managed according to the help of the poor; in itself is illogical from moral view point.
5. Another criticism of Rawls theory has been done by the communitarian like Maciber Walzer and Sandal who believe that Rawls asks us to think about the justice by separating us from our values, traditions and aspirations.
6. Feminist writer like Susan Awkin, focuses on the fact that how much does the Rawls theory of justices focuses on the injustice and hierarchical patterns imbibe in the family relation. Rawls logic is that justice should be related to the "basic structure of society," whereas feminist writers while working around the idea of "personal is political criticized Rawls on the basis that he has never given attention towards the injustice in the social relation in the society based on patriarchy and the division of labour based on gender specially the family.
7. Some critics have shown concern on Rawls giving excess emphasis on the 'primary social goods'. For example, Amritya Sen gives logic that our aim should not be only the distribution of primary goods but also to see that how effectively the people can use these goods to fulfill their objectives.

Summary

You've learned about the philosophy and idea of justice. It is a key term in Political Science and other social sciences. There are two forms of justice: procedural and substantive justice. John Rawls has done some of the most groundbreaking work in the field of justice. His liberal – the egalitarian view of justice is essentially a criticism of the utilitarian view. Of course, Rawls was not without his detractors. Thus, the Marxists, libertarians and the communitarians have criticized the Rawlsian framework on different grounds. Be that as it may, Rawls's theory has its non-standing contemporary political discourse. According to Aristotle, political rights, special rights, money, wealth, materialistic things, prestige etc., should be allotted on the basis of distributive justice. After finalizing the theory of justice and priorities, according to Rawls, the next step of an agreement is to create such a constitution which can satisfy these principles of justice and can become the basis of justified and effective policy making. The right to riches is central to Nozick's theory of justice. People have a right to full answer ship on different issues, he says, or they can deserve it. Capable people can reap the full benefits of their talents as they use them to help the poor. The only difference between the Marxist concept of justice and the equalitarian theory of liberalism is not only on the fact that upto what limit the equalization of the sources should be but on the fact that how much equalization should how much equalization should be done of the personal property. According to Marxism, the root cause of injustice in society is exploitation and in the modern industrialist societies this is the exploitation of the labour class by the capitalists.

Key words

Justice, Different Types of Justice, Rawl's Theory of Justice, Types of Justice, etc.

Self Assessment

1. In his philosophy Plato has associated justice with:
 - A. Functions
 - B. Religion
 - C. Morality
 - D. Wealth

2. Which one of the following is not an attribute of justice?
 - A. It deals with human beings
 - B. It means impartiality
 - C. It means rule of law
 - D. It means maintenance of unavoidable discrimination

3. Which one of the following is not an attribute of justice?
 - A. It means regard for personal dignity
 - B. It means equality before law
 - C. It means equality before law
 - D. It means development of personality

4. It the primitive society's justice was based on:
 - A. Perfect equality
 - B. Rule of law
 - C. Impartiality of judiciary
 - D. Tit for tat

5. Plato's concept of justice was based on:
 - A. Economic considerations
 - B. Political considerations
 - C. Social considerations
 - D. Ethical and philosophical considerations

Answers of Self Assessment

1. A 2. D 3. C 4. D 5. D

Review Questions

1. Critically examine Rawls's egalitarian conception of social justice.
2. Write a note on the Rawlsian conception of justice.
3. Critically examine the Marxist views on justice.
4. Write a note on the communitarian critique of the Rawlsian notion of justice.



Further Reading

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Unit10: Democracy

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the meaning, definitions of democracy in study of political theory
- understand the new debates and traditions of democracy in the study of political theory
- examine different types of democracy
- understand the different features of democracy
- analyses the contemporary relevance of democracy

Introduction

Of all the concepts none is more enigmatic and controversial than democracy in Political Philosophy. It means different things to different people. It is a broad canvas where various issues are presented. It is a form of government, a way of life, or method of adjusting differences in the society and so on. We also have the concept of economic democracy where the concept of economic equality is highlighted as against the ideas of sacredness of the concept of private property and the inherent right of an individual to create and possess wealth with least hindrances either from state or from Society. Both these concepts can be termed as economic democracy. Though the Marxists term the economic equality as Peoples Democracy and the Right of private property as 'Capitalist Democracy'. This dichotomy between the right of an individual to amass wealth and the idea of equitable distribution of social wealth is just one of the many apparent contradictions that feature democracy. For instance the consideration of majority rule – which is the central theme of a democratic system – clashes with the views of minorities and their rights. Should not the views of minorities be given a serious consideration while determining the social and public policies? But by adhering to the views of minorities a democratic government might face a majority back lash.. In India we have the term "minority appeasement" "vote bank politics" being constantly used by certain political sections who feel majority is being ignored. The central issue is can a minority differ from a majoritarian opinion and live freely and fearlessly. That is the real test of a democratic political set up. It is often said it is very easy to proclaim democracy but difficult to sustain it over longer time. This problem is more pertinent in the ex-colonial countries and the third world of Asia and Africa. Here we find authoritarian totalitarian regimes being propped up where once democracy was proclaimed. Because democracy requires certain discipline both from the rulers and the ruled. It takes long time to develop democratic temperament more so if the society is authoritarian. The essence of democracy is individual dignity and freedom. But this value may

come into conflict with another core principle of democracy rule by majority. - What is the most significant character by which we judge a system, a system where an individual's sovereignty is respected? J.S. Mill would like to have or where collective wisdom of people is given a primary rule as Rousseau argues. J.S. Mill would like to have or where collective wisdom of people is given a primary rule as Rousseau argues. The concept of popular sovereignty, voice of people, is as much democratic as the notion of individual's freedom. It is obvious that excessive emphasis on individualism will create selfishness sometimes leading to anarchy and over emphasis on peoples power would lead to collectivisation and poses a threat to freedom. It is not uncommon that the communist regimes and the authoritarian rulers always use the term. It is not uncommon that the communist regimes and the authoritarian rulers always use the term. "People" to defend their anti-democratic policies, In modern days, we have a debate ranging between "individual rights" vs 'Group rights" more or less emphasizing the same dilemma. The right of a group to have its own way of life, culture, religion is certainly democratic. Similarly the right of an individual to dissent from group morals, Both are democratic. The question is how to guard the encroachment of group's power over individual's choice. This is a challenge to modern democracies. In view of these overlapping issues, we need to clearly spell out certain broad features which could be called the essence of a democratic system.

10.1 Meaning and Definitions of Democracy

Democracy has been described as one of the "characteristic institution of modernity", and as such it was the result of a complex and intertwined processes of ideological, social and economic change. Democracy has been described as one of the "characteristic institution of modernity", and as such it was the result of a complex and intertwined processes of ideological, social and economic change. In Britain, this change was signaled by the Industrial Revolution that began in the middle of the eighteenth century, while in France and America it was launched by the political revolutions in the last quarter of the same century. Like many political terms democracy is also of Greek origin. The root "cracy" is derived from the ancient Greek word "KRATOS", which means power or rule. Democracy would mean rule by Demos people at large. In this context it may be mentioned that term was used in a negative sense in ancient Greece. It was an undesirable rule - rule of ignorant and uneducated masses, which would bring untold miseries to all. After all ruling state is a specialized skill. Only very few possess it. Rich people, aristocrats with wealth and good education would always be better rulers than the ignorant masses. Plato in fact, condemned democracy. He had a reason to do so. It was the democratic Athens which put Socrates to death. Other thinkers like Aristotle found unrestricted democracy will result in "mob rule". However as the various popular movements unfolded in history with the spread of liberalism coupled with French and American Revolutions the idea of democracy got much reverence and came to be treated as a desired goal. The much quoted definition of Lincoln on democracy - has three types of democracies explained in it. The phrase government of the people refers to the concept of direct democracy. In this system, people will actively involve themselves in public affairs and rule themselves. There are no differences between rulers and ruled. They are one and same. The phrase "by the people" is reflection of Representative government. In modern industrial urban set up, an ordinary citizen neither has time nor capacity to directly participate in government affairs. He therefore delegates his 'sovereignty' to a representative. The representative acts on behalf of the citizens who elect him. However the citizen still has the ultimate power. He can recall his representative, if he is not happy with his performance. In a way the representative governmental system gives a legal recognition to the transformation of 'popular sovereignty to "legal sovereignty". There are of course certain limitations in this system. Long time back Rousseau decried the practice of elections employed in England arguing that "the people of England are free only when they elect their members of parliament as soon as they are elected the people are slaves, they are nothing". Such views pointing out the limitations of elections, representative system are seen in the writings of Indian political thinkers like Jayaprakash, Vinobha and Gandhi, who would prefer a direct democracy in each village - called panchayat system. There are different views on the practicability of such a system. The third phrase in Lincoln's definition of democracy as "a government for the people, emphasizes the welfare state. All political thinkers always emphasized this purpose of the state. State is not an institution of coercion but an agent of social welfare. It has a moral responsibility to bring a remarkable change in the lives of people. Law's coercive instruments, such as punishment, are only tools for achieving the goal of "maximum happiness to the greatest number of people." What is the difference between democracy and other types of government if all states do it? A benign tyrant or a noble nobleman may be pursuing welfare measures for his people. What is absent in these "non democratic welfare states", is the freedom to differ from the policies of rulers, the right to criticize the short comings' and the ultimate power of changing the rulers. This central point in the democratic set up of the power of an ordinary citizen to remove the mighty rulers is all that matters

most. It makes democracy an unique system where the real sovereignty always exists in the hands of the ruled. In democracy the state or government is not the master but a servant of the people. It is the people who decide what they want. A noble dictator with all good intentions may formulate certain policies, and the citizens would be forced to accept them as good, even if they don't feel so. Because under these regimes any dissent or difference of opinion is treated as treason, the simple rule that guides these regimes is, rulers know what is good for people. The ruled should obey it in their own interest.

10.2 Growth and Development of Democracy

This philosophy is inhuman and very anti-thesis of individual's dignity and self-respect. A citizen has a separate individuality and the duty of the state is to provide a proper environment - through certain pro-active measures-to develop that individuality into a full-fledged personality. Since democracy is based on the principle that "the wearer of the shoe knows where it pinches" it guarantees the citizen the right to say 'no' to whichever policies state may introduce and whatever may be the noble intention. In India we are witnessing farmers refusing to give up their land for big corporate or expressing opposition to nuclear plants. . The intentions of the govt. may be genuine, the need to find alternative sources of energy, we need to industrialize the nation to create employment and such related things-but it is the farmers whose land has been taken and people staying near nuclear plant who had to face the hazards. So they should have a right to say no or alternatively demand a fair amount of compensation. Whatever might be the final outcome the voice of the affected must be heard. Since it is the ordinary man who has to bear the brunt of the consequences policies, he should have a right to say yes or no. In this way we can argue that democracy is a natural form of govt. Of course the need to gain consent for the policies is felt by all governments. They resort to emotional blackmailing-like appealing to sentiments of people-our nation is in danger so we must produce nuclear weapons and get approval. Sometimes brutal force is applied. Consent is secured at the point of gun. Stalin's collectivization and Mao's policies are examples. The intention may be genuine but consent is not freely given. The fear of punishment or being misinformed through false propaganda may give a temporary approval to the policies of ruling elite of a nondemocratic system. But in the long run it would have a serious consequence on the regime itself. The revolt of masses against authoritarian regimes currently underway in Middle East is a classic example of power of the people. It is rightly said, "You can fool some people some time, most people most times but not all the people all times". Democracy never allows this fooling of people as transparency of government policies is its essential feature. Also, there is an institutional mechanism in a democratic system to get peoples consent. Periodic elections, referendum, an atmosphere of free discussion prevent any policy being imposed from above. It always evolves within. The welfare oriented public policy being a feature of democracy is of recent origin. In the earlier stages capitalism and democracy were coupled together. At that stage of history democracy meant more freedom for individual it was basically a revolt against all forms of controls and orders. The full development of an individual is possible only when controls either from society or state cease. The government represented biggest obstacle to the freedom of individual. The best safeguard for individual's freedom is limiting the powers of state. "That government is best which governs least", was the motto of earlier thinkers like John Locke. J.S. Mill would want freedom not only from government but also from all social organisations. State was an individual centre democracy. State was described as a "Night watchman", a necessary evil. State has to maintain law and order internally and protect the people from foreign aggression. The rest of the functions be left to individuals. But a situation where state would be a mute spectator to the economic and social forces operating would be a fertile ground for social injustice and economic exploitation. There was social Darwinism at work. The poor, the marginalized sections and unorganized masses were at be mercy of the wealthy sections. Democracy meant luxury for rich and a curse for pool. State had implications externally. The capitalist greed for new markets resulted in colonialism and imperialism. The rivalry between colonial powers led to wars. Then there was growth of rival ideologies of communism, fascism. These ideologies promised quicker results. Marxism especially promised economic Justice to the exploited and blamed "capitalistic Democracy for all the evils." A famous Russians Revolutionary Trotsky declared. "Democracy to be irretrievably bourgeois and counter revolutionary" A communist party secretary declared in Hamburg in 1926 that "he would rather burn in the fire of revolution than perish in the dung heap of Democracy." The fight against colonialism also took a radical turn where equality became forefront in place of individual freedom. The countries which were ruled by colonial powers wanted a new set up where state would take more pro-active role in mitigating poverty rather than remain a night watchman. Communism, socialism became attractive. State was under these challengers that democracy exhibited its characters of self correction. There are two aspects that

govern the operation of democratic political system. One the regular political action of bargaining, wherein different groups, put forward their demands in an atmosphere of competition and get their demands satisfied, This is a normal political activity, about which Lass well described politics is about "who gets what and how." But there is a larger aspect of democracy. That is visionary politics. This we call it self-correcting aspect. New challenger requires a visionary approach. It is this visionary approach that made the European nations to retrospectively look at the drawbacks of free economic policies and capitalistic mode of production. The evils of free enterprise were clear. Economic disparity, exploitation of labour and concentration of wealth in a few hands, It also led to unemployment. So a policy was formulated. State became a central player in economic activity. The purpose of state is "to make lives better." Progressive taxation and state sponsored welfare activities became order of the day. Effective legislation was introduced, limiting the hours of work, providing minimum wages and safeguarding worker's interest. State took the responsibility of providing basic requirements like food, cloth and shelter to the citizens. Pensions for the elderly and unemployment benefits have been implemented. Although the state's operations increased, it did not become a totalitarian regime. The notion of choice remained intact. The new democratic system did this by providing basic infrastructure to meet social demands while allowing members to make their own decisions. For instance state may provide liberal grants to educational sector, but it would not interfere in the content of education. The fact that in U.S. Universities, there are courses on communism or critical study or U.S. economic policies - despite these institutions receive grants from the govt -clearly show that controlling the mind is not what a democratic state would attempt to do. The fact that there are classes on communism, critical research, and US economic policy in US universities - despite the fact that these institutions get government funding - clearly demonstrates that a democratic state would not attempt to restrict the mind. Society will be aided by the state, but it will not be dominated by it. It provides sufficient freedom for society and its associations to develop freely. This is the essence of choosing freedom. It was perpetuated by the new democratic system. Pluralism is a core value of democracy. It enables for a variety of often opposing viewpoints to coexist and thrive in a society. Where entire autonomy is granted, in such a churning of different viewpoints, it may be possible to develop a method to meet new obstacles. Wherever Democracy has failed, it has been due to a lack of a visionary approach. As a result, the modern Democratic government is not a bad one. It is proactive, but it operates within its own constraints. Joseph Schumpeter in his work, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, clearly gave this new meaning where he said, "Democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote"

10.3 Types of Democracy

We frequently use the term 'liberal democracy' to refer to both liberalism and democracy. Historically, however, this was not the case. There were a few "Liberals" who despised the "masses," who are the true rulers in a democracy. Liberalism and democracy appear to be comparable because of the values they represent. Both liberalism and democracy share the values of individual liberty, variety, and equality, as well as a nonviolent approach to resolving social and political issues. This mindset, on the other hand, is quite new. Previously, liberalism and democracy were at odds. Traditionally, 'liberals' have been anti-democratic. Liberals only reluctantly consented to some of the major demands of democracy, such as political equality, near the close of the nineteenth century. Liberals disliked the universal adult franchise and the right to contest electors, both of which are vital to democracy. Their main concern was the "natural right to property," which they asserted. They wished for it to be safe from monarchs. In reality, following WWII, many liberals advocated for an elite government rather than a democratic one. Because the topics were too hard for regular people to understand, they wanted a technocratic government. The participation of the general population in public affairs was discouraged. All states, on the other hand, would like to call themselves democratic. This was a trend in post-world war II. Because there is a virtue in that name John Dunn argues, "all states today profess to be democratic because a democracy is what is a virtuous for a state to be." In view of the divergent meanings associated with the terms Robert Dahl uses the term "polyarchies" instead of democracy. According to him, "Democracy liberalism and capitalism are all alternative names for the same thing." This view is challenged by others. Historically speaking the Liberals were not democrats. The conservative critics of Liberals accused them as 'being Democratic' it was a slur. If we analyze certain basic elements which constituted classical liberalism and contrast with today's conceptions of democracy we find how contradictory these two ideologies are! John Locke the father classical Liberalism never thought it fit to plead for universal Franchise. In his classic volume *Two treatise of government*, we find him pleading passionately for voting rights to white men, landowners and merchants. The ordinary man and his rights were never mentioned. If we study the British

constitutional history, we notice how the term "Democracy" was conceived as a dangerous trend that could destroy the well established conventions. King Charles (1600 - 49) accused the British parliament of his time - which has taken him as a prisoner - "harboring to bring Democracy." It did not, however, imply that anti-monarchical forces were sympathetic to the 'ordinary man.' It is well documented that neither Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the anti-monarchy campaign, nor his puritan gentry believed in democracy. There was a socialist social movement in England at the time known as the "Levelers." But their programs clearly stated to exclude "servants" and "Paupers" from Franchise. The 'Cromwellers', were alarmed that the egalitarian ethos of Liberalism might challenge the privileges of aristocrats with the demand for a share in political power through extended franchise. De Tocqueville (1805-59), an American theorist, classified the American government of his time as "Democratic." However, the ideas of checks and balances were the only democratic aspects that could be detected as late as 1860. As previously stated, classic liberals were concerned about the necessity to "protect private property." Since the kings used to loot the property of rich for their selfish desires it was but natural that the wealthy sections - who were termed as liberals - wanted to build a protective ring in the name of natural Rights to protect their wealth from Royal encroachment. So, all their opposition to absolute power of government and the demand for liberty and freedom boils down to a single point of "Right to property." They believe that property rights are critical to democracy's existence. Traditional liberal theories of democracy did not include modern democratic principles such as economic equality, justice, or protection against economic exploitation. In the Federalist Papers, one of the founding fathers of the United States constitution, James Madison, writes that democracy is incomplete without the right to property. Because it gives security and protection, Thomas Jefferson opined that "voters should be male farmers who owned property." Nobody could claim United States to be democratic during that period, with existence of slavery and expropriation of property and wealth of Native Americans or Red Indians as they were called. For the philosophers of the day, the concept of equality was anathema. In fact, a publication of the United States government, attacked democracy in 1920. "Democracy is a government of the people with a communistic attitude toward property. Negating property rights leads to demagoguism, agitation, discontent, and anarchy," it said. "Extending the power base to allow marginalised sectors to have a say in public affairs" is one of the modern democratic principles. Traditionalists will find it too radical. Their objective is for a few wealthy and educated people to be free of any encroachments, whether from a sovereign government or from society. In fact, J.S. Mill favored individual liberty over "community benefit." That is their conception of freedom and democracy. Basically they were conservative. Tension, writes "Liberals did not intend innovation of universal rights to all adults." Despite its short sighted approach on social issues, traditional liberalism stressed the need for individual dignity freedom and warned against the autocratic powers of absolute government. These points were developed by later writers to provide a modern democratic theory.

Classical - Liberal Theory of Democracy

From the beginning, liberalism has been a supporter of democratic ideas. In fact, the path to democracy in England and Europe opened only after liberalism and democracy were viewed through the lens of a respected rule. In fact, democratic thought was a natural demand of a community that wanted to be free of rulers and religious oppression. Liberalism has given birth to concepts like freedom, equality, right, secularism, and justice, and democracy has become the vehicle through which they can be accomplished. We all know that liberal democracy first produced liberalism and then democracy. According to Macfarson, before democracy arrived in modern western states, they built a culture and politics based on selection, competitiveness, and the market economy. It was a liberal state that grew democratically, and liberation of democracy occurred as a result of this process. Thomas Moore, Winstanley, English parents, and Laivras are examples of classical liberal philosophy. Although it was social contract theory which played an important role in establishment of democracy, because any contract can be done only then according to equal ranks. Likewise John Lock also public concernment based government and principles of common good clarified on following basis.

1. The final source of political power is public
2. The power of any justifiable government is limit, government should not avoid the rights of people, otherwise the contract between people and government can be disserve.
3. Men is the honour of natural rights; finally government is for the fulfillment of people not vice versa. Lock's these ideas applied by Adam Smith in economy also. He opposes government intervention in the economy and commerce, arguing that it should be more laissez-faire. Freedom of production, sale, and purchase in society, open competition, and free economic trade, among other things, will allow entrepreneurs in society to advance and enhance their wealth.

To check the dictatorship of government, French philosopher Montesquieu propagated theory "separation of power" in this context which affected the much of formation of constitution of America. In America Jaffarson, Madison, Hamilton etc had tried to give established form of views of Lock, Adam Smith and Montesquieu.

Views of Jermy Bentham and J.S. Mill

Bentham was the first modern thinker who followed positive approach towards democracy with James Mill and J.S. Mill he supported democracy on the basis of utility. His view was that people needed security both from other people and government. People should have confidence in the government that its policies will not be detrimental to the general good. Prior to Bentham, the issue was how the government kept the community's interests and ambitions in mind when making policy. In other words, the difficulty of choosing a government and entrusting power to those who create and enforce the laws that the society requires, Bentham's accordingly, its solution representative and constitutional government, regular and confidential election, competition among political parties and leaders and in majority rule. Bentham assumed election maximum people's maximum increase in happiness tools. His views was that to save o government from corrupt only one method is that people should gave right to change him time to time by majority. Although Bentham's views on right to vote for democracy was not similar, He advocated for limited voting rights until 1802; in 1809, he advocated for voting rights confined to the wealthy; and in 1817, he advocated for adult franchise for men. Despite many shortcomings, public voting and constitutional government-based democracy are thought to be the best defenders of people's rights and an arbitrary capitalism system on a wide scale. J.S. Mill's creations provided tremendous support for democratic theories in the nineteenth century. In his writings, Mill advocates for a political system that values a person's personality, representative government, efficient administration, and a non-interventionist economy. The beliefs of Bentham and Mill are similar in that democracy is a great weapon for liberating people from the oppression of rulers. Pay attention to another facet of democracy: its moral ability for human progress and reform. Mill highlighted the importance of democracy in a person's moral development. Macfarson has given name the Mill's theory of democracy Developmental democracy. According to Mill each person has the capacity to develop his inherited paternities and a real society is that provides opportunity to develop it. Liberal democracy or representative democracy is important from this approach that it is forceful tools of personality development. Giving the right of vote to people democracy attracts public and subjected government from crown, make accountable to people. Besides this, participation in political life, as a giving vote, take part in local administration, judiciary, etc. make citizen aware towards his duty.

Elite Theory of Democracy

Classical-liberal theory of democracy gave the central importance of personal participation and political equality in government affairs' in 20th century many writers its sharply criticized. These thinker was mould democracy on actual experience. For them problems were these: How practical for a common people to take part in day-to-day politics? Can a common people bear the tension of public life? Will common people's different desire without any discipline inter fare in politics then it will adverse effect on freedom? In other words, is self rule possible? The answers of these questions gave birth new model of democracy under liberalism that was complete different to classical liberal theory. There models are known as elite and pluralist theory of democracy. Why need experienced writer have to change in classical-liberal theory? From historical point of view, during two world wars such a conditions prevails which was responsible for this change. Among these main were war at large level, international competition for economic growth, economic depression, rise of fascism in Italy and Germany, which gave more emphasis on leadership, remove political decision from democratic accountability and the rise of this thought that only experts can preserves democratic process. As a result of all their historical events on thing will be cleared that the management industrial society demands more specialty, categorization, and controlling of bureaucracy and in the process of policy formation common people's participation is impractical and impossible. Aggregately, in modern liberal society on government control by democratic equality, against this thought will be more expectation from common people modern writers Defined democracy only as maintenance of system. His argument was that common people should respect such a values at political level on a organized and constitutional government, political stability, and such a election system which made special class' responsible to people's powerful section.

Pluralist Theory of Democracy

Aside from the elite theory of democracy, American political scientists focus on a different component of democracy known as the pluralist theory. Although there are some differences

between elitist and pluralist theories of democracy, there are many commonalities, and some writers have blended both. Both theories claim that in society, the masses and the strength of organisations attract each other, and as a result, they diverge from classical liberal philosophy. Though elite theory emphasises the importance of the elite who rule or attempt to govern, pluralist theory focuses on the groups that attempt to influence the elite. Whereas the primary feature of elite is the election process, through which the ruler is elected and democracy is sustained, pluralist theory places greater emphasis on the mutual power relations of diverse social communities. Pluralist ideology was mostly a reaction to the elite's non-democratic characteristics. It triumphs against elites' political analysis. As a result of the elite's claim that people are unable to make decisions on many political matters, pluralist writers, believing in the inadequacy of the electoral process in determining people's will, defining their interests, and enforcing government law and policy, looked for other means as well. Although the concept of pluralism is very old, however part of liberal tradition it became in 20th century.

The essence of pluralism is the fundamental idea that power should be spread among various interest groups in society. Pluralism is mostly associated with the popular in America group theory of politics promoted by Bentley and True men. Pluralism had become associated with group theory for two reasons: To begin with, there existed the premise that society is made up of several groups. These organisations are founded based on people's interests and serve as a conduit between the elite and the general public. Various economic, behavioral, cultural, and educational groups, for example, attempt to influence state laws. Second, these organisations function as pressure groups in contemporary politics, bringing unique demands of the masses to the attention of the government on a regular basis and attempting to represent the people in two elections. People might join an aggregated group to participate in politics and to fulfill their demands and interests. The primary idea behind the current concept of pluralism is that in the industrial and technical worlds, pluralism is a good thing. This is so disorganised, transitory, and variable that only a few people may utilise it at any given moment. This authority is primarily used by public and private parties who are mutually involved in competition. It appears that those who have greater positions are more powerful. But, in fact they are arbitrator doing agreement among various contradictory interest groups of society by their support they are reached at higher post. As Durkheim writes "Public political activities are so complicated that it cannot be expressed by one person or state's best desire. A nation can only be preserved if there are certain associated groupings between people and states, such as a group that is so near to men that it can entice them to his activities and participate in the typical struggles of social life." These groups, through the channel of his leader, mediate between the ruler and the public, attempting to put numerous interests before the government. As a result, the people have a chance to speak up to the government. Pluralist writer's thought is that thought as a result of political and industrial organization, power has been limited to only few hands, although competition in small and big interest group goes in favour of common people. Industrialists, labours and government employees' competition among various groups try to stop the misuse of power to each interest group. In society wealth, education, power etc approach, in spite of a number of inequalities, presentation of various groups, doing representative of private interests try to make democracy forceful.

10.4 Features of Modern Democracy

During the Second World War, a term known as "Guided Democracy" was coined by various fascist countries. That system was a blatant violation of democracy. It was all a ruse to protect autocratic governments. It thinks that leaders have the ability to better people by guiding them. For their own good, the governed are obligated to obey the rulers. Some totalitarian regimes in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries promote such incorrect notions. Similarly, in communist regimes, talk of people's democracy, these terms are deceiving. These governments lack certain key characteristics that characterise true democracy. The following are the requirements for a regime to be labeled democratic.

1) The existence of more than one political party. We've seen how the existence of a single centralised party stifles opposition and can never contribute to the development of a democratic culture. While the existence of several political parties would result in political instability and frequent elections, Democratic politics requires the existence of two or three well-established political parties with distinct ideology. The system gives a choice to the citizens to try different political parties. They can change the rulers if dissatisfied with the present regime and the method would work as a warning to the ruling elite to be careful and not to take the public support for granted.

2) Regular elections under an independent supervisory body is the second feature. Elections should be held on a regular basis and should be peaceful. Elections shall be held at regular periods, according to the constitution. Other rights that go along with this clause include the right to vote, the right to run for office, the freedom to form political parties, and the ability to spread one's political beliefs. In some countries there is a provision for government financing election expenses to prevent the money power from corrupting the system.

3) Since Democracy believes in freedom of thought, it is necessary that a democratic state should be a secular state. Any theological indoctrination supported by ruling regimes goes against the very spirit of free thought. A citizen in a democracy has a right to practice any religion or remain as an atheist. Nobody should compel him. Normally secularism means govt. will be neutral in religious matters and gives religious freedom to its citizens.

4) The free play of different social and political ideas, results in fostering the Democratic temperament in a society. A citizen should develop the habit of accepting a variety of viewpoints, even if he does not always agree with them. Truth does not belong to any one group in society. It must be discovered in an environment that allows for the free interchange of ideas. The Democratic Party's core message is this. As a result, it is the responsibility of a democratic government to ensure that such a free environment exists. So the institutional arrangement like free press, academic freedom, freedom of information, Right to get access to government policies are some of the measures that can generate free thought. Any type of censorship on books, political bodies and films and such offer media would be anti- democratic in nature.

5) Since modern states are multi cultural multiracial and multireligious in their composition a Democratic govt. is duty bound to protect this diversified, pluralistic society. This is being achieved through a policy of reservation for minorities to prevent majoritarian hegemony. Also a policy of affirmative action will be initiated for the uplift of disorganized groups. So, the clear declaration of minority rights, a welfare oriented government policy with a touch of positive discrimination is the salient feature of a modern Democracy.

6) There should be the institutional safe guards for the freedoms enjoyed by the citizens. These freedoms are their natural rights. They are not provided by the state. People get these rights by birth. Government will provide proper institutional backup for their sterilization. These institutional arrangements are the independent Judiciary, constitutional provision for Fundamental Rights and a provision for separation of powers in govt to avoid concentration of power.

7) Liberty and equality are two cornerstones on which the edifice of Democracy is built. The concepts like rule of law, equality before law, absence of special privileges, non-discrimination on basis of birth, caste, race or gender is essential for Democracy.

8) Democracy believes in the capacity of an individual to manage his affairs and in his capacity to play an effective role in public affairs. For that an individual should be allowed to have his own way of life. Nobody should impose a code of conduct or set of attitudes on him. His personality can be fully developed only in a free atmosphere of freedom. As a matter of policy democracy is against collectivism. If strivers for individualism. In a clash between group rights and individual rights, democracy would plead for individual rights.

9) Financial independence is required for an individual to be free and this is possible when he is allowed to have some property. It is the economic security that makes an individual to develop his personality in the way he likes. So right to private property is another feature of a Democracy, This right is what differentiates Democracy from other forms of governments.

Summary

Democracy is a manner of life as well as a type of governance. Earlier theorists stressed democracy's personal aspect. The goal was to keep the government's powers under check. Individual liberty would lead to greater democracy. However, the ideal of equality, as well as the concerns of stronger groups abusing their freedom and exploiting weaker groups, were not prioritised. The post-World War II era altered the concept of democracy. The focus now is on achieving social and economic equality. New issues emerge, such as gender justice, minority rights, and human rights. Multicultural societies necessitate a fresh proactive strategy. This is currently being done. Democracy, like other systems, has advantages and disadvantages. The values of democracy are freedom, equality, social fairness, and individual dignity. However, democracy is too slow to act, and no decisions are made quickly. The longer the consultation process, the more difficult it is to execute a policy effectively. Again it is very difficult to achieve national unity in a democracy as contrast with a fascist state. Balkanization and fragmentation are more of an issue in a weak democracy. Money is used to influence elections. The wealthy have direct or indirect sway

over the government. Many cynics believe that democracy is all about power for the wealthy while yelling rights for the poor. Nonetheless, democracy is superior to all other forms. It has the ability to self-correct. It provides individuals with the opportunity to succeed. It is up to citizens to take advantage of this chance. The United Nations Organization (UNO) is an illustration of how crisis resolution is achieved through debate and discussion. Of course, it's possible that it won't be particularly effective. The alternative, on the other hand, is war and destruction. Democracy is unavoidable for human progress and peace.

Key words

Democracy, Types of Democracy, Elite form of Democracy, Liberal Democracy, pluralist form of democracy.

Self Assessment

1. Demos' and 'Cratio' are the words of language:
 - A. Roman
 - B. Greek
 - C. Latin
 - D. German
2. The word 'Cratio' stands for:
 - A. Power
 - B. People
 - C. State
 - D. Government
3. Who said that 'democracy is a form of government in which everyone has a share'?
 - A. Dicey
 - B. Seeley
 - C. Herodotus
 - D. Gettell
4. Who defined democracy saying that 'democracy is a form of Government in which will of the majority of the qualified persons rules'?
 - A. Dicey
 - B. Bryce
 - C. Leacock
 - D. Woodrow Wilson
5. Who said that democracy is the Government of the people for the people and by the people?
 - A. Lincoln
 - B. Bryce
 - C. Dicey
 - D. Herodotus

Answers for Self Assessment

1. B 2. B 3. D 4. B 5. A

Review Questions

1. Define democracy Bring out the historical growth of democratic philosophy?
2. What are the essential features of modern democracy? Are they sufficient to meet modern challenges?
3. What are the relative's merits and draw backs of democratic system. Make a study of third world countries in this context



Further Reading

Hoffman John and Paul G. *Introduction to Political Theory*, Pearson, New Delhi, 2006

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Unit11: Citizenship

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Objectives

- acquire knowledge of debates over the meaning, definitions and concept of citizenship in the study of political theory
- understand the nature of citizenship in the study of political theory
- analyses the types of citizenship in the study of political theory
- characteristics of citizenship in the study of political theory
- examine the concept of citizenship in the globalize world

Introduction

In the past, numerous cultures have noticed and expressed a distinct relation that people hold in common among relative equals in public life, as well as the rights and advantages it imparts and the duties and obligations that emerge there from. Citizenship refers to being a member of a political community that expresses this relationship. Other social ties in general, and public life in particular, are often profoundly influenced by such a relationship. Some societies, such as the Greeks, Romans, and Medieval European city-states, gave this relationship explicit legal and political form. Citizenship, which had previously been limited to a small percentage of a polity's permanent residents, was demanded and gradually extended to bigger and bigger parts of the populace inside such nations with the advent of contemporary liberal states. Equal citizenship became a popular way to express the call for equality. Further, citizenship became the normative weapon for socio-political inclusion of groups fighting inequity, discrimination, and exclusion. Today, everyone is a citizen of one or more countries, and even where citizenship is disputed, various international and domestic regulations guarantee a minimum set of basic rights and responsibilities. While citizenship entitlement has become universal, there are unresolved contestations regarding the criteria that should inform inclusion and exclusion of claimants to citizenship; the rights and resources that should accompany it and duties and obligations expected of the citizen; the relation of the citizen to the state on one hand and to the community on the other; the relationship of citizenship to other cherished values such as freedom and equality and the civic and civilizational values and practices that should inform citizenship. Furthermore, many people believe that active citizenship can help solve a variety of societal problems. Given these

complicated demands, pulls, and pressures, the current literature on the issue is highly divided on how to comprehend this concept.

11.1 Meaning and Definitions of Citizenship

Because the state is organised and the government is founded for the welfare of the citizen, we must understand what the term "citizen" means. The term "citizen" can be interpreted in two ways: narrowly or broadly. In a strict sense, it refers to a city inhabitant or someone who has the advantage of living in a city. In a broad sense, a citizen is someone who lives inside the state's geographic boundaries. In political science, a citizen is a person who is a member of the state and has access to social and political rights. In our country, an adult of twenty-one years of age has equal access to education, property, and habitation, regardless of caste, colour, or creed.

Slaves, on the other hand, had no such rights and were subjected to a variety of political and economic hardships. The term "citizen" was employed in this restrictive sense in ancient Greece. Citizenship was granted only to individuals who exercised their civil and political rights and engaged in the functions of civil and political life. Because every member of the populace was granted these privileges, the number of slaves vastly outnumbered the citizens. Citizens made up 20,000 of the entire population, while the rest were treated as slaves with no rights. In a nutshell, this right to citizenship was exclusively available to a select few people in ancient Greek nations. In ancient Rome, a technique very similar to this was followed. Only those from the upper class, known as Patricians, were allowed to exercise civil and political rights. Only Patricians were allowed to participate in the civil and political life of the state. None of these privileges were available to the rest of the population. Much similar process was adopted in the medieval age. But in modern times, the dawn of democracy has turned the tables in most of the states. In such states every adult enjoys the right to vote. This process is being adopted in India. Canada, Sri Lanka, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, Lanka, or judicial administration of any state is said by us to be a citizen of that state". Vattel has defined citizens as, "the members of a civil society bound to this society by certain duties, subject to its authority and equal participants in it sad vantages". "Citizenship", according to Laski, "is the contribution of one's instructed judgment to the public good".

11.2 Nature of Citizenship

There are numerous definitions of citizenship. It has also been approached from many angles. To put it another way, citizenship can be seen of as participation in a political society with specific rights and obligations that are widely recognised and accepted. Citizens have both passive and active membership options. Citizens, when seen passively, are entitled to certain rights and obligations notwithstanding their lack of active participation in developing them. However, citizenship also entails active participation in civic and political life, as evidenced by the rights and obligations that come with it. While states grant more certain rights to all human beings in normal times, citizens have unique rights that non-citizens do not have. Aliens do not have the ability to vote or run for public office in most states. The same may be said of responsibilities. What we now consider to be citizen rights were once the exclusive domain of the wealthy. However, enormous masses of inhabitants – the marginalised, ethnic groups, minorities, women, and disabled people – were eventually exposed to the rewards and burdens of citizenship as a result of the major democratising processes. The very fact of being a citizen grants access to a slew of benefits that are unavailable to non-citizens. Aliens are naturalised as citizens, with all the privileges and responsibilities it entails. Passive membership is frequently linked to limited legal rights and broad social rights that indicate redistributive arrangements. The government has a significant role in their creation and maintenance. Active citizenship emphasises citizen action and is linked to democracy and citizen involvement. Most political communities of which citizens are members today are nation-states. Therefore, when we talk about membership of political communities, we primarily refer to membership of nation states.

Citizenship rights are universal in the sense that they apply to all citizens in all circumstances. It is hoped that they would be executed in a timely manner. The enjoyment of group-related rights is increasingly granted to persons who belong to relevant groups, despite the fact that universality of rights does not prevent them. Minorities and disadvantaged groups in many societies do enjoy certain special rights. However, often equal rights of citizens are seen as running into conflict with group-rights and cultural belonging of subgroups. Citizenship invokes a specific equality. It may accept a wide range of quantitative or economic disparities as well as cultural distinctions, but it does not accept qualitative inequality in which one man or woman is distinguished from another in

terms of their fundamental rights and obligations. If they are singled out for special attention, it is because of the disadvantages they face in comparison to others or because of their unique collective identity. Citizenship entitles individuals to a share in the social inheritance, which entails a claim to be recognised as full members of the community to which they are entitled. As a result, it ensures that all people have equal access to and involvement in public forums and organisations that deal with social history. Citizenship is intended to be free of issues of social class and rank. However, to the extent that citizens have equal access and participation in public life, they collectively decide to a great extent the framework and criteria that determines public life. Therefore, undoubtedly it has a leveling impact. In this context, one of the most important questions that come to the fore is whether basic equality can be created and preserved without invading the freedom of the competitive market. Regardless of the market's involvement, there has been an evident sociological trend in recent years where citizens have been inexorably seeking for social equality, and this has been a significant social trend for over 300 years. Citizenship has a significant subjective component. It entails a reflective and deliberative conscious agency that qualifies his or her pursuits with public interests. It is a way of life that develops within a person rather than being imposed from without. As a result, legal viewpoints on citizenship must be limited in some way. Citizenship entails both responsibilities and privileges. It has been linked to a variety of rights through the years. The same cannot be said about the duties associated with citizenship. It has had long term consequences in terms of increasing the role of the state and shrinking citizen initiative. Citizenship can be divided into three dimensions:

(i) Civil

(ii) Political and

(iii) Social

i) The civic component includes rights such as personal liberty, freedom of expression, thought, and religion, the right to own personal property and enter into legally binding contracts, and the right to strive for a just society. The rights to defend and press all of one's claims on an equal footing with others under the rule of law are the last. Civil rights are primarily related with courts of justice. The right to work, or the right to pursue one's preferred employment in one's preferred location, is the most basic civil right in the economic realm, subject to the limitations imposed by other rights.

ii) The political dimension consists of the rights to participate in the exercise of political power as a member of the body that embodies political authority; to vote; to seek and support political leadership; to marshal support to political authority upholding justice and equality and to struggle against an unfair political authority.

iii) The social component encompasses a wide variety of rights encompassing a degree of economic well-being and security; the right to fully participate in one's social history; and the right to live one's life according to societal standards. The right to culture, which entitles one to live a life that is unique to oneself, is also part of the social dimension. Prior to the advent of modernity rank was a signifier of class and was rooted in inequality in feudal societies that existed in significant areas of the world. There were no consistent norms of rights and responsibilities that men and women were bestowed with as a result of their social status. Citizenship equality did not imply class disparity. The caste system in India, like that of feudal society, classified castes unequally in terms of rights and obligations. However, the nature of inequality in India differed significantly from that of feudal society. These in equalitarian arrangements were gradually supplanted by a system based on individual civil rights, not on local custom, but on the common law of the land, the evolution of different institutions representing and embodying different dimensions of rights was uneven. In Europe, the trajectory of the evolution of these rights can be marked as civil rights in the eighteenth century, political rights in the 19th century and social rights in the 20th century. However, in the colonies, particularly in India, we find the national movement and the independent regime that followed it invoked all these threefold dimensions together.

11.3 Different Types of Aliens

(1) Resident aliens

(2) Temporary aliens

(3) Ambassadors

The people who have left their native land and have settled in the foreign countries are known as resident aliens. For example, a number of Indians have permanently settled in Sri Lanka, Burma, Canada, South Africa, Australia, U.S.A., and England. They are no more the citizens of India. But it

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depends on the government of these respective states to grant these residents the citizenship of their country or not. Temporary aliens are those people who visit foreign countries in order to serve their purposes and when their purposes are served, they go back to their native land. For example every year a number of students go to foreign countries in order to receive higher education. Traders visit foreign countries for the purpose of trade. When their purposes are served, they come back to their home. Ambassadors are those aliens who settle in foreign countries as the representatives of their governments. For example, the representatives of foreign countries live in India and the representatives of Indian government live in foreign countries.

11.4 How Citizenship can be Acquired?

Natural born citizens and naturalised citizens are the two sorts of citizens. Natural born citizens are those who are citizens of a country due to their birth or blood ties. Naturalized citizens are foreigners who have been granted citizenship of a country after meeting certain requirements set forth by that country. A person who wishes to become a citizen of a foreign country must relinquish his native citizenship. At no point can a person be a citizen of more than one country. Anyone can become a citizen of a foreign country after meeting the requirements set forth by that country. Furthermore, a person's citizenship might be revoked for a variety of reasons.

- (1) If a person willingly gives up the citizenship of his country and becomes a foreign citizen;
- (2) A woman loses her citizenship if she marries a foreigner;
- (3) A person loses his citizenship if he remains absent from his country for a longer period of time. But if he gets his citizenship renewed every year through the embassy of his country, he does not lose his citizenship;
- (4) A person can be deprived of his citizenship if he proves a traitor to the country or if he runs away from the army;
- (5) A person loses his citizenship if he joins a foreign service or receives a foreign honour without the permission of his own government.

11.5 Citizenship and Liberal Tradition

Public authority in a liberal democracy is wielded in the name of free and equal citizens. The ruled are free and equal citizens who rule in their own name, or to put it another way, they rule themselves. Simultaneously, the state is supposed to play a role in the development of free and equal citizens in whose name it governs. Public schooling and other state-sponsored cultural venues aid in the formation and maintenance of such an identity. The liberal democratic society's educational and cultural institutions identify its inhabitants as free and equal individuals who happen to be members of specific ethnic, class, and religious communities. Ethnic class and religious ties can result in hierarchical relationships. According to liberal democracy, the state's treatment of citizens is unaffected by the hierarchies created by such communities. Such an interpretation of citizenship, according to Marxists and communitarians in recent years, is idealistic and restricted, and does not take seriously the embedded nature of citizens. However, public education in a liberal democracy till recently had the effect of relativising the hierarchies and ranking systems generated by particularistic cultural communities. It was suggested that citizens' identities should not be dictated entirely or solely by the concepts and values that underpin those hierarchies. Civic education, which was an important part of the process of forming citizens, aimed to instill specific normative standards, such as desirable attitudes, dispositions, and ideals. Citizens were considered as benefiting from such a civic culture. However, it has to be noted that public education, in turn, created hierarchies distinctive of its own where institutions and disciplines came to be ranked according to the valorisation they enjoyed in the market. As a result, liberal democracy produced a deeply ambiguous civic culture. Civic culture presents worldviews, ways of life, natural notions, and standards of excellence that impact human behaviour and self-understanding as a special sort of culture relevant to public life. Persuasion procedures are used to develop, change, and recreate it. Citizens are supposed to internalise civic norms as they interact with civic culture. A civic culture, on the other hand, allows considerable spaces for contestation and alternative ways of existence while providing a normative order, ranking, and directing citizen engagement. As a result, it may result in a wildly diverse understanding of citizenship. As a result, the rule of law must be infused into civic culture. Civic culture, on the other hand, possesses some resources that ensure that the pluralism it produces is kept within reasonable bounds. Civic culture establishes a civic moral ideal for its members based on the principle of individual freedom and equality.

Further, given the fact that the self-understanding of members of a society are shaped by the moral standards of the particularistic cultural communities to which they belong, civic culture has a strong 'countervailing edge'. The impact of the former begins to tell strongly from birth itself, through the rituals and practices of the community while civic educational processes have their impact relatively late.

11.6 Citizenship and Marxist Tradition

The Marxist tradition has not consistently addressed the subject of citizenship, but when it does, it does so with a great deal of ambiguity. Marxism believes that the capitalist state's ideology, on the whole, recasts social ties as citizen-to-citizen connections and then glosses them over as class interactions. At the same time, the human agency that citizenship promotes is valued, despite the fact that it accentuates the conflicts within capitalism. Marxism has not sufficiently considered how an older concept like citizenship has been repurposed under capitalism and pushed to serve a fundamental role in capitalist ideology. Such a perspective, therefore, makes certain notions closely bound with citizenship such as rights, justice and freedom ambivalent. Class relations are the fundamental social relations in all class-divided society, according to Marxism. Under feudalism, the relationship between the farmers and landowners, and under capitalism, the relationship between the working class and the bourgeoisie shapes social interactions dramatically. If class relations are projected as fundamental, social relations will be embroiled in class conflict, jeopardising social unity. It is important relying on, and bringing to the fore, the state's coercive character to keep classes and class conflict at bay. The state's ideology plays a key role in controlling class conflict and re-establishing social ties on a basis other than class. Marxists claim that under capitalism, social interactions are constituted as citizen-to-citizen relationships. Citizens are stated to be free and equal, as well as based in a cultural ethos and a civilisational relationship in some cases. Citizens' freedom and equality have a counterpart in market exchange relations, where equals are exchanged for equals from a one-sided perspective, and the agents of such a system of exchange are free to swap the items they have. When comprehension and analysis are not limited to the surface, however, such a state-formulated ideology can be recognised as superficial and partial. Social ties are marked as class-relations in such an activity, which are locked in an irreversible conflict between basic classes. State ideology, on the other hand, has a real basis in all societies, including capitalism, according to Marxists, even if that real base is an exclusive and one-sided reflection of social reality. It isn't a figment of the imagination. In and through this philosophy, social agents of all classes grow to understand their own function and place in society. Due to the massive institutional and ideological complexes of the state through which it is disseminated in capitalist society, such as public education, the media, civic associations, political parties, trade unions, legal and juridical organisations, and sometimes religious organisations, this ideology remains persuasive and pervasive. They were dubbed the ideological apparatuses of the state by French philosopher Louis Althusser. Under the conditions of this ideology, the consciousness of social agents habitually and prominently remains the consciousness of citizens; unless and until it is challenged by the contradictions of capitalism and the class fight to overcome them. As a result, Marxism asks for a double critique of liberal democracy's claim to free and equal citizenship, without rejecting the value of the concept itself. First, it simply displays the surface face of bourgeois society's market-related freedoms, obfuscating the deep conflicts that characterise social relations under capitalism. An entire array of public institutions rest on this notion and in their turn reinforce it. Secondly, rights and duties associated with citizenship are important and necessary to lay bare the contradictions of capitalist relations and mount struggles to overcome them. Social classes cannot organise themselves, if the basic freedoms associated with citizenship are denied to social agents.

11.7 Significance of Citizenship

The expanding importance of citizenship hasn't resolved the theoretical ambiguity around the concept. The significance of the concept of citizenship in terms of engaging with a variety of political processes and beliefs, and hence as a primary normative and explanatory variable, has shifted dramatically throughout time. T.H. Marshall employed it initially to explain the striving for legal, political and social rights among the excluded social groups with particular reference to the working class. He traced the development of citizen rights and connected this development to the situation of the bourgeois on one hand, and the working classes on the other. Citizenship concerns, however, are much larger and ethnic groups and minorities of all sorts have resorted to it as a sheet-anchor. Bryan Turner explores the link between social movements and conflicts and citizenship identity. There are some writers who argue that citizenship rights in their origin are closely linked to elite structures. Antony Giddens and Ramesh Misra draw our attention to the

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deep ambiguity surrounding citizenship rights. Janoski regrets the missing link between citizenship rights and obligations and the absence of micro studies relating the two. In recent years, there have been major attempts to link citizenship with group identity and to defend a group differentiated conception of citizenship against a conception of citizenship based on individual rights. Sociologically, there are few studies to demonstrate how marginalised people are brought within the vortex of citizenship rights and how nations integrate strangers from other countries and cultures. Further, we know little about the causes that drive people towards the ideals of citizenship. There are wide differences in this regard from Marshall's attribution of the same to class to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Further ideological predilections deeply qualify understanding and significance of citizenship. These are just a few highlights and concerns of the growing literature on citizenship in our times. There was no significant discussion on citizenship in social science literature in the recent past. However, in the last decade and a half, citizenship has suddenly emerged as a central theme in social science literature, both as a normative consideration and social phenomenon. Certain recent trends in the world and in India have increasingly suggested citizenship as a nodal concern. Increasing voter apathy and long-term welfare dependency in the Western World; the nationalist and mass movements which brought down bureaucratic socialist regions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; the backlash against welfare regimes in the West and centralized, often, one-party regimes in the Third World and the demographic shift in the Western World towards multicultural and multiracial social composition have increasingly drawn attention to the significance of citizenship. While the decline of authoritarian regimes which curbed citizen agency greatly highlighted the importance of the latter, governmental attack on welfare state brought to the fore threats to social rights so central to the inclusionary practices of citizenship. Critics of the welfare, socialist and authoritarian regimes have brought to the fore the importance of the non-state arena constituted of citizenship-agency. Philosophically the decline of positivism, which provided little scope for the free-play of citizenship-agency, has greatly heightened the significance of the choices that citizens make discretely and collectively. In India, an active citizenship is suggested as the need of the hour for the prevalent authoritarianism, lack of accountability of public offices, widespread corruption, intolerance of dissent, violation of fundamental rights, lack of citizens' grievance ventilation and redressal, lack of public spiritedness and work culture, transparency in administration and intolerance towards other citizens. Overall, there is greater appreciation today of the qualities and attitudes of citizens for the health and stability of modern democracy. Their sense of identity and their relationship to regional, ethnic, religious and national identities is very important to ensure political stability in complex and plural democracies. Certain qualities like the ability to tolerate and work together with others who are different are important ingredients of successful democracy. Galston suggests that together with these qualities, the desire of the citizens to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good and hold political authorities accountable; their willingness to show self restraint and exercise personal responsibility in their economic demands and in personal choices which affect their health and their environment and their sense of justice and commitment to a fair distribution of resources are called for in any healthy democracy. He says that in their absence "the ability of liberal societies to function successfully progressively diminishes". Today, there is a greater consensus than ever before that mere institutional and procedural device such as separation of powers, a bicameral legislature and federalism will not ensure the health and probity of a polity. Civic virtue and public spiritedness which are integral to citizenship are required for the purpose.

11.8 Group-Differentiated and Citizenship

Until recently, many liberals believed that citizenship meant recognising people as individuals with equal legal rights. This, they believed, set democratic citizenship apart from feudal and other pre-modern notions that established people's political position based on their religious, ethnic, or social class affiliation. However, it is becoming widely accepted that just declaring equal rights may not assure equal access and opportunities for certain culturally diverse populations. In reality, granting equal rights to cultural minorities without particular safeguards may serve to reinforce majoritarian dominance over minorities. Group differentiated citizenship qualifies citizenship by cultural belonging. It sees citizenship as constituted of both equal rights and differences. A society avowing group differentiated citizenship appreciates the cultural differences in which equal and free citizens are anchored. While understanding of cultures are widely varied, Will Kymlicka has suggested that the pertinent notion of culture in terms of group-differentiated rights is societal culture; that is, "a culture which provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres". It's not only about shared memories or values; it's about shared institutions and values as well. According to him, societal culture is represented in ordinary social

lexicon and embodied in activities that span most aspects of human activity, including schools, the media, the economics, and government. He claims that the only way for culture to survive in modern times is for it to become a societal culture. Citizenship is deeply bound with such societal culture, and citizens through their activity shape and reshape this culture. Societal cultures play a major role in enabling and promoting contexts of freedoms. Kymlicka has suggested that "freedom involves making choices amongst various options and our societal culture not only provides these options, but also makes them meaningful to us". The importance of practices is best understood in the context of culture. Certain authoritative lines of suitable conduct are established for us in the background of cultural narratives, conduct that can, of course, be updated later through the exercise of our freedoms. This requires according to the famous philosopher of law, Ronald Dworkin, protection of our culture from "structural debasement or decay". The availability of meaningful options to people largely depends upon access to societal culture. Cultures are modes of life which are much more enduring. While there are examples of people successfully transitioning from one culture to another, for the vast majority of individuals, this is not a viable option. Cultures, of course, are not sterile fluids. They do alter significantly through time, yet they are still the same cultures. There has been a stronger interface between cultures as a result of liberalisation and globalisation, but this does not mean that people are less aware of their own culture. In fact, it's been just the opposite. Margalit and Raz have proposed two fundamental causes for cultural survival. The first, cultural membership, gives you a lot of choices. They claim that familiarity with a culture dictates the borders of the imaginable, and that when a culture deteriorates, the alternatives and opportunities available to its people diminish, become less appealing, and their pursuit becomes less likely to be successful. The second reason is that, at a fundamental level, self-identity and recognition by others are based on "belonging criteria" rather than personal "accomplishment." People value social identification and the sense of belonging that comes with it. It is inextricably linked to dignity and self-respect. Cultural membership also binds one's successes to and reproduces a whole tradition, rather than treating them as isolated examples. People's participation in institutions becomes spontaneous and energetic when they are leavened by culture. It fosters bonds of friendship and trust. People who exercise their freedoms, on the other hand, revise their attachments and belonging, and for the vast majority of people, the nation-state informed by societal culture remains the matrix of such a zone of belonging and exercise of their freedoms. A societal culture is not one-size-fits-all. The distinct identities embedded in these streams are shaped by such a culture as they in turn shape it as a whole.

Summery

Citizenship is a highly valorised theme in recent political writings and concerns. A number of political developments of our times have contributed to this heightened interest in citizenship. While the notion of citizenship may go along with a great deal of economic and social inequalities, the level playing field it suggests on the basis of equal rights may make such inequalities an issue of target of concerned citizens. Many modern social movements have aimed not only for the admission of marginalised social groups into the citizenry, but also for the extension and expansion of the zone of equal rights. Despite these efforts, the concept of citizenship remains highly ambiguous. Liberals are known for emphasising citizens' equality and freedom. Citizenship, on the other hand, does not excite Marxists, who believe it is a mechanism used by the capitalist state to recast social ties of classes as relations of citizens. They believe, on the other hand, that citizenship as a political tool can be extremely useful in mobilising social agents to bring public institutions to scrutiny. Despite the difficulties that surround this idea, there is universal consensus that the citizenship zone should be expanded. Cultural communities and political minorities have sought a range of rights relevant to their situation as a result of this concern for the expansion of the zone of rights. They have maintained that, in addition to equal rights, their distinctive differences should be considered when organising political communities and institutions. Citizen concerns are intertwined with some of today's most pressing issues, such as civil society, participatory democracy, and civic responsibility. The altered role of the state under conditions of globalisation and liberalisation invokes citizenship for the health of polity. Further, the horizon of citizenship is no longer limited to membership of nation-states any longer. Cultural and doctrinal attachments are increasingly brought in to mark a level playing field to citizens otherwise deeply divided in terms of their cultural attachments.

Key words

Citizenship, types of Citizenship, Aliens, Nature and Significance of Citizenship etc.

Self Assessment

1. Single citizenship in India has been taken from which country?
 - A. Britain
 - B. Canada
 - C. Both Britain and Canada
 - D. USA

2. Dual citizenship is accepted by _____ country?
 - A. India
 - B. Russia
 - C. USA
 - D. China

3. Concept of citizenship first arose in towns and city-states of :
 - A. Ancient Greece
 - B. Roman
 - C. French
 - D. None of above

4. Citizenship refers to:
 - A. Moral status of peoples
 - B. Legal status of peoples
 - C. Personal status of peoples
 - D. None of above

5. Who said "Citizenship is the status of an individual due to which he enjoys civil and political rights in the state and is ready to fulfill his obligations."
 - A. Gettell
 - B. Aristotle
 - C. Plato
 - D. None of above

6. Who said "Citizenship is the contribution of one's instructed judgment to public good."
 - A. Laski
 - B. Gettell
 - C. Robert Kaplan
 - D. None of above

Answers of Self Assessment

1. C 2. C 3. A 4. B 5. A

6. A

Review Questions

1. Explain the natural significance of citizenship in democratic societies.
2. Discuss liberal democracy and its relation with citizenship.
3. Discuss the Marxist conception of citizenship.
4. Explain the distinction between persons and citizens.
5. Discuss the relationship between citizenship and cultural identity.
6. Explain the various perspectives of citizenship in contemporary societies.



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Unit 12 : Civil Society

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Learning Outcomes

- acquire knowledge of debates over the meaning, definitions of the civil society in the study of political theory
- understand the theories of civil society in the study of political theory
- examine the characteristics of civil society
- explain the different types of civil society in the study of political theory

Introduction

The phrase "civil society" refers to a group of organisations that are neither the government nor the extended family. Voluntary organisations, companies, and other corporate organisations are all considered part of civil society. Though the phrase has been used by numerous writers with diverse connotations since the eighteenth century, it became popular in the 1980s as a way to foster civility in society. It was viewed as the polar opposite of autocracy, as a "space" in which groups may coexist and as a means of ensuring better and more pleasant living conditions. As a result, the concept of civil society is recognised as both a "social value" and a "collection of social structures." Civil society is used as both a normative concept and a descriptive term. It prescribes the criteria for efficient governance as a normative concept. It defines certain viable social activities, civic dispositions, and non-state organisations that are tied to development as a descriptive notion. The concept of civil society has been discussed by political philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, Hegel, and Marx for a long time. But it was Gramsci who did the most research on the subject. As a result, there have been numerous variations on the concept of civil society. However, because there is no such thing as "civil society," the most important institutional component of civil society is voluntary groups such as community groups, cooperatives, unions, organisations, self-help groups (SHGs), foundations, and social service organisations. There are hence, Hobbesian and Hegelian, Marxian and Gramscian conceptions of civil society. However, they share one thing in common- they all refer to the sphere of social life, which falls outside the state. There are three dominant theories of civil society; (a) neo - conservative (b) pluralistic (c) neo-Marxist. These theories provide important perspectives in the interpretation of civil society. Civil society, according to the neoconservatives, is autonomous and superior to the state. It is the epicenter of liberty, efficiency, and adaptability. The goal, according to them, is to build civil society in order to diminish the state's hold on the economy and society. Pluralists prefer to follow Alexis de Tocqueville, who saw civil society as a place where

people come together for reasons other than blood ties. They believe that civil society may function alongside the state, acting as a defensive counterweight to the state as well as a critical constructive partner. Neo-Marxists, drawing on Gramsci's theory, see civil society as a battleground between classes, the state, intellectuals, and non-state organisations. Civil society, according to neo-Marxists, is a place of oppression and possibility, a place that needs to be democratised while also serving as a platform for democratising the state. As a result, engagement in civil society represents both a backlash against government and a desire to rebuild an active government on more solid footing. Furthermore, civil society is viewed as a collection of groups and persons who serve as a link between the state and the rest of society. As a result, civil society is not an alternative to government, but rather a free environment in which democratic attitudes and conduct are nurtured. It's also a place where a society's social and political aspects collide. As a result, civil society has been the venue of most interactions between the state and society. This is the site at which, according to Neera Chandhoke, 'society enters into a relationship with the state.' The word civil society is often used to indicate the important initiatives undertaken by the 'actors/organizations' in civil society for making a positive difference to the lives of certain sections in society. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based groups have been the most influential civil society organisations (CBOs). Some of these non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play an essential role as players or partners in the development paradigm. Initially, the phrase "non-governmental organisation" (NGO) had a negative connotation. Today, however, broad definition of the term holds that every organization in society that is not part of the government and which operates in civil society, is an NGO. Thus, this includes such organizations as political groups, labor and trade unions, religious bodies and institutions, cultural societies, chamber of commerce, etc. Conventionally, although, the word NGO referred to any organization operating outside the government and political sector, it has now become acceptable to think of an NGO as the more formalized, registered, non-profit organization created primarily for development purposes.

12.1 Meaning and Definitions of Civil Society

The concept of civil society, to give it a meaning, embraces an entire range of assumptions, values and institutions, such as political, social and civil rights, the rule of law, representative institutions, a public sphere, and above all a plurality of associations. Commenting on it, David Held (Models of Democracy) stated that it retains "a distinctive character to the extent that it is made up of areas of social life the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction ... which are organised by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals, and groups outside the direct control of the state." Adding to political interaction, civil society constitutes what Jurgen Habermas called 'the public sphere'. Enlarging the view of civil society, one may include in it the structure of modern national state, economic modernization, great interconnectedness with other societies, free enterprise and what John Dunn (Western Political Theory) refers to as "the modern representative democratic republic." Chandhoke sums up the meaning of civil society "as the public sphere where individuals come together for various purposes both for their self-interest and for the reproduction of an entity called society." "It is a", she continues, "sphere which is public because it is formally accessible to all, and in principle all are allowed entry into this sphere as the bearers of rights." The concept of civil society came up as and when a social community sought to organise itself independently of the specific direction of state power. Historically, the concept, Chandhoke says, "came into existence when the classical political economists sought to control the power of the Mercantilist State". With the passage of time, the concept of civil society moved on progressively: becoming a central plank of democratic movements in eighteenth century.

12.2 Characteristics of Civil Society

Civil society's liberal and Marxist ideas are vastly different. Civil society, according to liberals, presupposes democratic states, as well as state responsibility, state power constraints, and civil society's responsiveness to spontaneous life and relationships. For the Marxists, civil society is the arena of class conflicts, selfish competition and exploitation, the state acting to protect the interests of the owning classes. A definition of civil society comprising the insights of both the liberals and the Marxists must take into account the following:

- a) The state power must be controlled and it has to become responsive through democratic practices of an independent civil society.

b) Political accountability has to reside not only in constitutions, laws, and regulations, but also in the social fabric or what Habermas calls the competence of the 'political public' which, in turn, has the following implications: (i) it implies that the people come together in an arena of common concerns, in debates and discussion and discourse free from state interference (ii) it implies that the discourse is accessible to all (iii) it implies a space where public discussion and debate can take place.

c) Democratic norms and processes have to be imbibed in the social order.

d) Civil society is the public sphere of society. It is the location of these processes by which the experiences of individuals and communities, and the expression of experiences in debates and discussions, affirmation and constitution are mediated. It is also a theatre where "the dialectic between the private and the public are negotiated. It is the process by which society seeks to "breach" and counteract the simultaneous "totalisation" unleashed by the state" (Bayart, "Civil Society in Africa", in Chabal, P., ed., *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*). It is a site where the state is forbidden to shape public opinion and perceptions.

12.3 Civil Society and Different Traditions

Civil society is a concept linked with Western intellectual tradition. The concept of civil society has gradually expanded in the West as epochal developments have occurred. Many causes have contributed to the development of the state notion as we know it today. The formation of secular authority, the development of the property institution, the downfall of the absolutist state, the growth of urban culture, the rise of nationalist and democratic movements till the end of the nineteenth century, and the rule of law are only a few of these elements. The concept of civil society has evolved in tandem with the capitalist economy's democratising aspects.

The Pre-Modern Tradition

If the concept of civil society includes the concept of what is public, pre-modern eras could be considered antithetical to the concept of civil society. The administrators were only the Platonic rulers, and the vast majority of those who made up the so-called "productive class" had no say in public affairs. The Aristotelian notion of 'zoon politikon' (man as a political animal) was elitistic in the sense that (i) the political animal was a male, (ii) he alone was a citizen and (iii) he alone was a property holder. The rest of the population, the women, the slaves etc., constituted Oikes, i.e., the private world and that could hardly be termed as constituting the civil society. As the 'private' was not 'public', it was not political and none belonging to it had any citizenship rights. The Greek society, Chandhoke points out, did not 'possess any notion of inalienable rights of man to individual freedom which became so prominent a feature of early version of civil society.' By developing the concept of rights, legally ordained, and especially relating to property of the individual, there did emerge the notion of 'civil society' in ancient Roman thinking. Indeed the notion of 'civil society' did need such an atmosphere to shape itself, but the ancient Roman thought could hardly rise above that, notwithstanding the attempts at making distinction between 'private' and 'public' which the ancient Romans really did. During the whole mediaeval period in the West when politics took the back seat, the idea of civil society got eclipsed. What related to 'public' as 'political' was limited to a very few people called the feudal lords, barons, dukes and counts. The idea of civil society was almost unknown.

The Liberal-Individualist Tradition

The early modern period saw the rise of politics with Machiavelli and Bodin, but the period did not see the commensurate expansion of the idea of civil society. Individuals with rights, persons connected to the state, and individuals connected to others in society gave rise to the concept of civil society. Both Hobbes and Locke make obvious references to civil society when attempting to distinguish between the "state of nature" and the "civil society" or "political society" once the contract is signed. Both speak of individuals with rights, and both look to the state to preserve those rights. It is difficult to regard the contractualists, Hobbes and Locke, as theorists of civil society because (i) their formulations on civil society are found in an embryonic form and (ii) their attempts, despite a rational and persuasive explanation on state and society, remained arbitrary (see Chandhoke, *State and Civil Society*).

The concept of civil society has emerged clearly between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, especially with the classical political economy theorists such as Adam Smith. Classical political economy, echoing individual rights like laissez faire, freedom, equality, made the

institution of state as simply irrelevant, devaluing it, and that of civil society as what Marx had said 'theatre of history'. This helped "the civil society", Chandhoke writes, "as a historically evolved area of individual rights and freedoms, where individuals in competition with each other pursued their respective private concern." The concept of civil society, which originated in the writings of political economists, was to take shape in relation to the state. J.S. Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville, who believed that the state had become far more powerful than they intended, sought to limit the state's authority through mechanisms established in the ever-evolving idea of civil society. Chandhoke sums up this phase of liberalism, saying: "... Civil society was used as a concept primarily for organizing state-society relations. The expansion of the state, it was perceptively recognized, would contribute to the shrinkage of the civil arena. State power could be limited only with the expansion of civil society." In the west, the process of democratisation allowed civil society to develop while also limiting the scope of the state. However, elsewhere, the concept of the state has gained traction, limiting the scope of civil society. Hegel's ideas, and hence Marx and Gramsci's, should pique your curiosity.

The Hegelian, Marxian and Gramscian Traditions

There is a definite relationship between the state and civil society in the writings of Hegel (1770-1831). He sees the state as the most recent link to emerge from the evolution of many institutions. Hegel recognises the state as higher in kind than civil society, describing it as the synthesis, expressing universality, of the thesis of families and the antithesis of civil society. The state, according to Hegel, is the highest, most recent, and even last form of social institutions. Civil society, he claims, is "an expression for the individualist and atomistic atmosphere of middle class commercial society in which interactions are external, ruled by the 'unseen' hand of economic rules rather than the self-conscious desire of individuals." So, civil society, a negative institution as it is for Hegel, belongs to the "realm of mechanical necessity, a resultant of the irrational forces of individual desires", governed, as Sabine says for Hegel, "by non-moral casual laws and hence, ethically anarchical." The thesis (family) and antithesis (civil, bourgeois society) combine to form what Hegel refers to as the state (the synthesis). As a result, the state acquires the universality of civil society as well as the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the family. As a result, although political economics and liberal-democratic theorists had given civil society prominence and the state a back seat, Hegel flips the stance and places the state in the position of civil society. According to Hegel, ultimately civil society is subordinated to the state, and the individual, to the whole. "Consequently, in Hegelian formulation", Chandhoke says, "there can be no interrogation of the state, of its designs for universality, or of its rationale. The state resolves civil society's paradox, and so there is no duality between the people and the state, simply legitimacy and acceptance." Unlike Hegel, who held the civil society captive and idealised the state, Marx strives to return the civil society to its rightful place as the historical theatre. But, according to Marx, civil society has failed to deliver on its promises, failing to establish a condition in which individuals can discover freedom and democratic reform, forcing individuals to seek methods and means to integrate into society and the state. Gramsci (1891-1937) following Marx and developing his theory of state takes into account the reality of civil society. His main proposition is that one cannot understand the state without understanding the civil society. He claims that the term "state" should encompass not only the government apparatus, but also the "private" apparatus of hegemony or civil society. Gramsci distinguishes between the state as a political organisation (the integral state, the visible political constitution of civil society) and the state as governance, based on Marx's concept of the state. Through civil society activities, the integral state continues to reproduce itself in everyday living practices. Hegemony is what gives moral and intellectual leadership to civil society practices. Hegemony, according to Gramsci, benefits both the dominant and subaltern classes in civil society. To summarise, civic society is vital for both liberals and Marxists. While liberals advocate for the separation of civil society from the autonomy of the state, Marxists propose an alternative civil society tradition in which civil society, in all of its potentialities, must be constantly reorganised and modified. Civil Society Organizations and State

Some civil society organisations have taken up the cause of the city's most vulnerable residents, sometimes independently, by offering alternatives to the traditional growth paradigm. However, their function becomes more important when they interact with formal government organisations, making the delivery system more practicable and viable, alongside state players. Their functional mode may involve three strategies:

- (a). 'Persuasive strategies' involve bringing the issue to the attention of the authorities. The action involved would be through surveys and collection and presentation of evidence and petition;

- (b). 'Collaborative strategies' entail an open interaction with authorities through lobbying of local government offices, departments and other decision making bodies;
- (c). 'Confrontational strategies' involve encounters with the government that would take the form of rallies and marches. Together, these strategies constitute a repertoire of action. If the government does not agree to the group's requests, the group's tactics may shift from persuasion to confrontation. However, if it believes the state apparatus is providing a conducive, environment for such joint activities, it may progress to cooperative cooperation methods with the state. The attention given to the process that has permitted the conscientization, mobilisation, and organisation of the previously overlooked and excluded parts of society is a significant change. Another name for this countervailing development process is 'another development.' This is the concept of 'empowerment,' which was stressed by Paulo Freire, a well-known Brazilian educator, providing energy and inspiration to a significant number of people and organisations, particularly some of the more committed NGOs. Many civil society organisations that embraced this concept emphasised the need of enlightenment. This concept primarily relates to the construction of an atmosphere that allows for the disputing of the "givens" as well as the "questioning" of factors that create and maintain poverty and subjugation of huge segments of the urban poor. Through learning and action, this process was hoped to be completed. A diverse range of social groupings contribute to many aspects and concerns in civil society. For example, social movements strive to organise societal power by appealing to issues of justice, survival, and identity. The majority of the so-called "new" social movements are not new, but they do have new characteristics, such as increased female participation. Social movements, however, also include those movements that have a very clear objective of bringing about political change.

12.4 Relationship Between Civil Society and State

The relationship between state and civil society is important in so far as it suggests the comparative position of each in relation to the other. In some analyses, this relationship is depicted as a zero-sum game: the stronger the state, the weaker the civil society; the weaker the state, the stronger the civil society. Obviously, expanding the scope of state activity would help to reduce the role of civil society; conversely, expanding the scope of civil society would help to reduce the role of the state. The 'sphere' of civil society in modern liberal democracies is bigger than that of the state, but in dictatorial regimes of any kind, the state's 'sphere' is greater than that of civil society. The concepts of state and civil society are not mutually exclusive. There is no such thing as a conflict between two people. Neither is the polar opposite of the other. The two should not be thought of as encroaching on one other's territory. The interaction between the two is not a zero-sum game. Indeed, a stronger state would place a greater emphasis on civil society's role, but this in no way decreases the effectiveness of civil society. The libertarian belief that the state will suppress civil society, as articulated in Hayek or Nozick's works, is, on the whole, unfounded. The fact is that the interactions between the state and civil society are reciprocal; they are integrative in nature, with each supporting the cause of the other. In fact, it's difficult to see civil society working well without the government. We observe citizens who are both confined and protected by the state. The state provides the integrative framework within which civil society operates; without the state, civil society cannot function efficiently. The integrative framework, as stated in laws and rules, is universally recognised as valid; yet, the framework must be administered impartially and in accordance with society's shared culture. We can't picture living without this integrative framework, which provides coherence and prevents civil society from becoming uncivilised. In the face of the all-powerful state, civil society must open up and confront bureaucratic gadgets, lest it become stiff. As a result, the reciprocity between the state and civil society is important, or should be regarded important. State power must be exercised within the bigger and broader realm of civil society, and civil society must keep state authority on its toes in order to prevent it from devolving into absolute monarchy. The two conceptions of state and civil society are not mutually exclusive. Democracy brings the two together. The state's claims are strengthened by civil society, while civil society is stabilised by the state. Both must operate within a democratic framework: the democratic state within the democratic civil society framework. In a democratic system, the state and civil society can work together to ensure that each operate effectively? The state must be democratically organised, with decentralised powers and tasks carried out according to established laws and processes. A state like this must be able to respond to the ever-increasing demands of civil society. Its role is to coordinate, to intervene as little as possible in people's social and economic lives, and to be regulative in nature. Civil society must become more diverse and open. It must maintain a continual and persistent conversation with the state, as well as with all of the constituents who

make it up. Its boundaries must be defined freely and openly, with state-free devices forming public opinion and public conversation. In liberal-democratic nations, there is a dynamic interplay of state and civil society forces, each of which leaves its impression on the other. State authority is utilised to dominate civil society in dictatorial regimes, and civil society is integrated into the state: the state speaks for the people. Democracy alone unites the state with civil society. The state cannot exist for long if it is not democracy laden; civil society cannot exist unless it is democratically structured and functions democratically. A democratic state cannot exist if it is restrictive, coercive, prohibitive, and imposing; it cannot exist if it does not provide the civil society frame in perfect order; it cannot exist if it does not guarantee rights and freedoms to individuals. Likewise, a democratic civil society cannot exist if it does not allow every individual to act in the public sphere, it cannot exist if each and every citizen does not have equal claim on the state, if each citizen is not respected as a human being.

Summary

The state is more than just government; it is also a political community. It is the visible political constitution of civil society, according to Gramsci, comprising of the full complex of actions by which a ruling class maintains its domination, as well as the means by which it manages to gain the assent of those it controls. It is, in other words, a complex of institutions and practices resting upon the nodal points of power in civil society. Civil society encompasses a wide range of beliefs, values, and institutions, including political, social, and civil rights, the rule of law, representative institutions, a public sphere, and, most importantly, a diverse range of organisations. The two notions, state and civil society, have evolved over time, and their qualities have changed as well. They've stood in relation to one another, each assigning a value to the other. Civil society took on a distinct meaning with the rise of political economy and liberalism, particularly in relation to the state. The state and civic society are inextricably linked. Civil society cannot exist without the state, and the state cannot exist without civil society. The two are in a mutually beneficial relationship. The state protects civil society in democratic systems, and civil society enhances the state. The state regulates civil society in authoritarian countries.

Key words

Civil Society, State, Liberal Tradition, Marxist Tradition, relationship between Civil Society and State etc.

Self Assessment

1. Which of the following did the post-war welfare state of 1948 not aim to provide?
 - A. free health care and education for all
 - B. a minimum wage
 - C. full employment
 - D. universal welfare
2. Weber (1919) said that the states monopoly of the use of force was legitimated by _____?
 - A. charismatic authority
 - B. rational -legal authority
 - C. traditional authority
 - D. value-rational authority
3. The media has started playing is vibrant role more vigorously after the _____?
 - A. Launching of private news channels
 - B. Masharruf Regime
 - C. Globalization phenomenon
 - D. None of these
4. Civil society includes _____?
 - A. Voluntary civic and social organizations
 - B. State institutions
 - C. Masses
 - D. None of these

5. Post-modernist writers have argued that_____?
- A. we live in a world of superficial fragmented images
 - B. no theory is better than any other anything goes
 - C. society has changed, and we need new kinds of theory
 - D. all of the above
6. The newest factor in the development equation is_____?
- A. Media
 - B. NGOs
 - C. Civil Society
 - D. None of these
7. The first stage that existed in Pre-British era was when civil society existed in the form of_____?
- A. NGOs
 - B. Baradaris
 - C. Rural Notables
 - D. Both b and c
8. The distribution of power in society is a concern for_____?
- A. microsociology
 - B. interactionism
 - C. macrosociology
 - D. ethnomethodology
9. Civil society can be understood as...
- A. The whole population of a state.
 - B. The people within a state who behave in a politically civilised way.
 - C. A social organization made up of retired civil servants.
 - D. A framework within which people who lack political authority conduct their lives.
10. Why did the term 'civil society' become popular in the 1980s?
- A. At that time there was growing disenchantment with the perceived dishonesty of governments, especially as recipients of aid.
 - B. The downfall of many totalitarian regimes was attributed to movements generated by civil society.
 - C. It seemed to offer the possibility of peaceful change in other states.
 - D. All of the above.
11. Why has the term 'civil society' aroused suspicion in some Islamic states?
- A. In those countries the state denies civil rights to its citizens.
 - B. It can be seen as part of a project of 'Westernization'.
 - C. The term is difficult to translate into Arabic.
 - D. It failed to recognize that brutal violence is the only way to facilitate change.
12. A major criticism of interest groups is that they...
- A. Result in greater influence for some groups than others, whether or not they are widely popular.
 - B. Invariably advocate policies which would lead to higher public expenditure.
 - C. Invariably seek media attention through sensational tactics.
 - D. Are always dominated by people with extreme views.
13. A crucial difference between interest groups and political parties is that...

- A. Interest groups always indulge in irresponsible 'gesture politics'.
 - B. They do not seek to present themselves as candidates for government.
 - C. Their leaders are inspired by principle rather than self-interest.
 - D. All of the above.
14. A positive view of the political role of the media sees it as...
- A. A way of keeping people harmlessly amused when times are hard.
 - B. A way of promoting constructive 'role models' for young people.
 - C. Much more trustworthy than politicians.
 - D. At its best, a potential check on executive power.
15. Why might new technologies not be as beneficial to democracy as initially hoped?
- A. The Internet is far too sophisticated for ordinary people to understand.
 - B. People who write Internet blogs often have extreme views.
 - C. It is very difficult to devise secure voting systems on the net.
 - D. It is far too easy for governments to control the Internet.

Answers of Self-Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. B | 3. A | 4. A | 5. A |
| 6. C | 7. D | 8. C | 9. D | 10. D |
| 11. B | 12. A | 13. B | 14. D | 15. C |

Review Questions

1. How did the term 'state' come to be used in the West?
2. Explain briefly the characteristic features of the State.
3. State briefly the ancient Greek view of the State.
4. Why do Marxists regard the state as the committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie?
5. Explain the early modern view of the state.
6. What is civil society?
7. Explain Hegel's view of civil society.
8. Explain the relationship between state and civil society.
9. How does democracy ensure an integrative relationship between the state and the civil society?



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Unit 13: Democracy in India

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- acquire knowledge of debates over the debate on models of development in India
- understand the land and industrial reforms in the study of political theory
- understand the meaning of minorities in the study of political theory
- examine the minorities issues in India
- analyze the advantage and disadvantages of affirmative system in India

Introduction

With the start of the decolonization process following World War II, the notion of development became more important in social sciences, owing to the fact that the newly decolonized countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, were at a relatively low level of development, i.e. widespread mass poverty, illiteracy and almost non-existent healthcare facilities. The poor state of affairs of these newly decolonized nations was largely due to centuries of exploitation by imperialistic powers, who plunder the raw materials of the colonies to meet the mounting needs of their factories, forcing the colonies' captive consumers to buy the manufactured goods at exorbitant prices. As a result, imperialism's exploitation of Asian and African economies was a three-pronged approach. First, the conquering powers plunder the colonies' abundant raw material resources in order to supply them to manufacturing units in their respective European countries. Second, to eliminate any competition, the local industry and manufacturing units were utterly destroyed. Third, finished products from their home countries were imported and marketed at inflated rates in captive colonial markets. In most Afro-Asian countries, including India, this pillaging process proceeded for hundreds of years. The outcome was obvious. When these colonies were ultimately gained political independence the condition of their economies was precarious, an overwhelming section of their population was illiterate, most people also did not have access to healthcare facilities as a result of life expectancy was very low and infant mortality rate was very high. In order to bring about a change for the better in these countries that collectively came to be known as the 'third world', the concept of development assumed significance.

13.1 Meaning of Economic Development

The term development, like any other social idea, does not have a single definition. It's also difficult to define because the term has varied connotations in different social sciences. In economics, for instance, with which the concept is closely identified, it mainly refers to the growth in per capita income and the structural or procedural changes that ensure that growth. It should be noted that structural and procedural changes usually entail a higher level of industrialization, the relocation of labour from rural to urban areas, a continuous inflow of capital into the market, changes in production relations, tariff policy changes to support open markets, and so on. Political science is concerned with economic development in addition to political development, which ranges from political independence to the establishment of a truly participatory and transparent democratic form of government, because the welfare of the people is largely dependent on economic growth. The experts usually define the concept of development as the transformation of a society from an over all lower level to higher level. In the words of J. H. Mittelman, development is "the increasing capacity to make rational use of natural and human resources for social ends." This is a reasonably comprehensive definition of the concept because it underscores three significant factors that are involved in the notion of development. To begin, people of a society can only make rational use of the natural and human resources at their disposal if they are politically independent and have the ability to participate in decision-making; in this situation, they decide how best to use their natural resources. It indicates that a genuine democracy exists. Secondly the members of the society must have achieved a considerable higher level of education, in particular scientific and technical education, to exploit the resources rationally. This dimension of the definition is indicative of educational development and finally the definition by the expression of social ends asserts that the objective of development must be well being of society at large. Another scholar Paul Baran points out that development is "a far reaching transformation of society's economic, social and political structure, of the dominant organization of production, distribution and consumption." The argument is stressed emphatically that development is a multilateral concept since it entails considerable changes in a society's economic, political, and social structures in addition to economic activities. Baran has also remarked that progress is never an easy task. The obstacles in the process of development vary from time to time and from society to society. It depends on the genius of the political class to convince people of the advantages of development. The tendency of a few of scientists, particularly those who believe that the free market economy is the solution for all social ills, to define progress solely in economic terms has drew criticism from more sophisticated researchers. Critics contend that development cannot be reduced to economic growth alone because it is a far more complex concept that ultimately aspires to improve the entire quality of life for all people. Many standards for assessing human well-being have been developed against this backdrop. For instance, M. D. Morris put forward his Physical Quality of Life Index (PQL) that majorly concentrates on life expectancy and infant mortality to determine the level of development in a society. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) issued the most significant challenge to the economic-centric notion of development in its Report of 1990, rejecting the concept of development linked to higher per capita income on the grounds that a nation's well-being cannot be judged solely on the basis of its economic growth. The UN agency also formulated a Human Development Index (HDI), "that combined an adjusted GDP/per capita estimate, life expectancy, infant mortality and levels of literacy." Thereafter, in the Human Development Report of 1995, the concept of Gender-related Development Index (GDI) that brought into focus the common practice exclusion of women from the overall process of development that exists in one form or the other in almost all nations.

13.2 Approaches to Economic Development

Contemporary social scientists advocate for a number of different methods to development. Nonetheless, they can be grouped into two broad categories: liberal and Marxist approaches. The other approaches are actually versions of the two primary methods, differing primarily in specifics or the emphasis placed on social, political, or political factors while keeping the two methods' basic thrusts. As a result, they are frequently used as development models. For example, some social scientists propose a market society model that is largely derived from the liberal method, but a welfare state model combines the liberal and Marxist approaches in one package. Also, the socialist model is much similar to the Marxist approach. Besides the two major approaches, we can think of a Gandhi approach to development that focuses more on the notion of sustainable development than the concept of development.

Liberal Approach:

The majority of proponents of the liberal approach are Western academics who think that all cultures must go through a cycle of primitive, traditional, or pre-modern stages before achieving modern, industrialised status. The essential premise of the argument is that modernism is more fitted than traditional systems to enhance socio-political situations. Similarly, it argues that an industrialised economy is far superior to an agrarian system for a civilization. The liberal view of development assumes that a pre-modern political order was primarily concerned with three functions: tax collecting, maintaining law and order within the state, and state defense. On the other hand a modern state, in addition to the obligatory functions mentioned above, performs various kinds of functions in order to ensure the well-being and uplift of its citizens. Second, it is often assumed that past political systems were largely monarchical or autocratic, with citizens having little or no say in how their governments were run. They were not citizens, but rather subjects. Most modern polities that are considered to be legitimate and accountable forms of governance, on the other hand, allow, and in many cases encourage, citizens to participate in political matters. Many of these political regimes are democratic, allowing residents to exercise political rights such as the right to vote, run for public office, hold public office, and criticise policies. A liberal democracy places a high value on media freedom, which allows citizens to express their opinions, make demands, and criticise the government's performance. The liberal approach to political growth also emphasises 'differentiation,' which primarily refers to the specialisation of positions and the visible division of labour in society. It also implies "shift from narrow group identification and loyalty to national identification and loyalty; change from ascribed status and role (determined by tradition) to achieved status and role (determined by performance); and development of appropriate processes and institutions to accommodate these changes." The Western scholars, who advocate the liberal approach, stress that the developing countries that are still stuck with the traditional/autocratic or non-democratic forms of governments can realize the objective of political development only if they opt for liberal democratic model by extending all political rights to the citizens, guaranteeing freedom of the media, making available right to freedom of religion to all, respecting the principle of gender equality, ensuring human rights for all, bringing about requisite economic reforms to strengthen free market economy and creating transparency in the functioning of the government. In short, the liberal approach to development contends that the developing countries can reach the level of developed countries only if the emulate the politico-economic model of the Western world.

Marxist Approach:

The Marxist approach to development is based on classical Marxism, as stated in the works of Karl Marx, Frederic Engels, and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Supporters of the method do not feel that the economic progress brought about by industrialisation and managed by capitalists can truly be called development in the genuine meaning of the word. Marxists propose a socialist model in place of a capitalism or free market model, which will create a fully egalitarian, classless, and stateless society. In his seminal work *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin correctly stated that the imperialistic powers' capitalist economies were based primarily on the exploitation of colonial natural resources. Lenin was perfectly legitimate in encouraging colonised countries to oppose imperialist powers, and in certain ways, it was an inspiration for the enslaved people of the colonies to fight for their freedom. Workers in a capitalist system are duped into believing they are free because they get rewarded for their labour, according to traditional Marxism. What truly occurs is that labour is converted into an abstract quantity that can be bought and sold, resulting in worker exploitation and capitalist profit. Workers in a capitalist society feel alienated because they have little influence over the mechanisms that direct them to specific jobs. The alienation is the result of a scenario in which workers produce commodities, but capitalists hold the means of production, which they claim as their private property. Furthermore, by declaring money to be the universal equal, capitalists exploit workers, who, according to Marx, possess all value. The money, in fact, conceals the real equivalent i.e. labour behind monetary exchange. The more labour goes in the production of a commodity, the greater value it acquires. Marx, therefore, observes: "As exchange-values, all commodities are merely definite quantities of congealed labourtime." Nonetheless, in the capitalist system, people are led to believe that power and value are eternally embodied in the form of money, whereas in actuality, they are embodied in the labour that produces goods and provides services. The so-called liberal approach to development, which promotes the capitalist paradigm of growth, is completely rejected by Marxists. Marxists say that the capitalist model is incompatible with the development of emerging countries since today's developing countries lack the same levels of political and economic development that imperialistic countries did when they chose the capitalist model. Paul Baran's assessment that today's

industrialised countries have gained their wealth by plundering the third world's natural resources is entirely correct. The developing countries of today do not have the 'advantage' of being able to use the resources of other countries. More importantly the indigenous capitalists of the third world are not properly equipped to give boost to economic development on their own,

The Marxists, therefore, believe that the capitalist model is absolutely irrelevant so far as the economic development of the decolonized or developing countries are concerned. In his book, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (1967), Andre G. Frank argues that local capitalists cannot promote capitalism in those nations because their situation differs significantly from that of capitalists in the United States and the United Kingdom. Because their political masters could use the riches of the colonies for their gain, the capitalists of the Western world, particularly Europe, could construct a safe capitalism system. Frank argues that the progress of the centre inevitably leads in the underdevelopment of the periphery by constructing a centre periphery model, in which the centre refers to imperialistic powers and the periphery refers to the colonies. Accordingly, Frank counsels the developing countries to desist from emulating capitalist model because it will only lead to underdevelopment. Similarly, the renowned Egyptian economist, Samir Amin, in his work, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment* (1974), emphasizes that the nature of relationship between the industrialized countries and the developing or underdeveloped countries is such which restrains capitalism to promote productive forces in the underdeveloped world. Amin concurs with Frank saying that his formulations are equally valid in case of African countries. In view of this the Marxist and Neo-Marxist scholars make attempt to explain underdevelopment in the 'third world' by way of putting forth 'dependency theory' according to which the underdevelopment of the 'third world' is the manifestation of the dependence of its sociopolitical and economic development models on the Western world. Ironically, the same Western world had colonized and plundered the resources of the 'third world' for centuries and even in the contemporary scenario continues to dominate the hapless underdeveloped countries.

13.3 Affirmative System in India

Inequalities have always existed in our culture. It was a caste-ridden, stratified hierarchical society, and a sector of the population had been denied even the most basic human rights. Their schooling, salaries, housing conditions, and social position were all governed by the whims of society's upper echelon, leaving them penniless. Economic backwardness resulted in social discomfort, which made them despondent and deprive them of even the dignity of existence. Upper castes controlled the levers of power in a society compartmentalised on the basis of caste, allowing them to operate their whips against the interests of lower castes. Lower castes had to serve the upper castes without having any say and grievance redressal mechanism. This inhumane and barbaric condition perpetuated for centuries, till "we the people" realised the malady impelling the framers of our constitution to think. Any democratic society faces the challenge of harmonising two essentially contradictory political concepts--one, equality before the law irrespective of religion, caste, creed, race, and gender, and the other, social justice at the cost of the same commitment for equality before the law. Even a sophisticated democracy like the United States is not immune from the rule, and has used affirmative action to provide justice for the less fortunate portions of society at the expense of individual merit and equality before the law. Large numbers of people in India have been subjected to social discrimination for centuries as a result of the country's unique institution known as the caste system. Efforts have been made to provide redress for these marginalised groups through policies such as reservations or quotas in jobs, seats in educational institutions and legislatures, and governmental aid, loans, and other development aid. In all, four under-privileged categories have either received benefits under the scheme or have been seeking such benefits, namely the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and the Scheduled Tribes (STs), the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), the religious minorities or sections thereof, and lately, the women. From a political standpoint, this research examines these categories. Its scope, on the other hand, is confined to evaluating both operational and proposed plans at the national level. Different states' experiences have only been mentioned a few times to provide an example or to illustrate a specific point.

13.4 Meaning and Background

The policy of extending special favours to the disadvantaged and vulnerable elements of society, most typically women, is known as protective discrimination. These are affirmative action schemes,

which are most prominent in the United States and India, where racial and caste prejudice has a long history. The practice is most widely used in India, where it is codified in the constitution and institutionalised. During the nationalist movement, the need for positive discrimination in favour of the socially poor was initially acknowledged. Mahatma Gandhi, a devout Hindu and firm believer in the caste system, was the first leader to recognise the seriousness of the issue and to appeal to the upper castes' consciences to address the age-old social ailment of relegating entire populations to the deplorable status of "untouchables." He also understood the political logic of inducting this large body of people into the political mainstream in order to make the freedom movement more broad based. By renaming these untouchables as "Harijans" (people of God) he tried to give this policy a religious sanction so as not to disturb the traditional sensitivities of the caste Hindus more than was really necessary.

SCs and STs and Constitutional Provision:

Specific provisions for reservations in services in favour of the members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been made as follows in the Constitution of India:-

Article 16(1): There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

Article 16(4): Article 16 provides for equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State, Nevertheless, "nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State".

There have been two Constitution Amendments incorporated in Article 16(4), they are:-

Article 16 (4-A) : Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotions, with consequential seniority, to any class or classes of posts in services under the state in favour of SCs/STs which in opinion of state, are not adequate by represented in the services under the state.

The 77th Amendment to the Constitution has been brought into effect permitting reservation in promotion to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thus, by amending the Constitution, the Parliament has removed the base as interpreted by Supreme Court in *Indira Sawhney* that the appointment does not include promotion. Article 16(4A) thus revives the interpretation put on Article 16. Rule of reservation can apply not only to initial recruitments but also to promotions. But no promotion can be made in promotion posts for the OBC's. The Supreme Court has emphasized that Article 16(4A) ought to be applied in such a manner that a balance is struck in the matter of appointments by creating reasonable opportunities for the reserved classes as well as for the other members of the society.

Article 16 (4-B): "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from considering any unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for being filled up in that year in accordance with any provision for reservation made under clause (4) or clause (4A) as a separate class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years and such class of vacancies shall not be considered together with the vacancies of the year in which they are being filled up for determining the ceiling of fifty per cent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year." The Constitution (Eighty-First Amendment) Act, 2000 has added Article 16(4B) to the Constitution. The Amendment envisages that the unfilled reserved vacancies are to be carried forward to the subsequent years and these vacancies are to be treated as distinct and separate from the current vacancies during any year. The rule of 50% reservation laid down by the Supreme Court is to be applied only to normal vacancies. This means that the unfilled reserved vacancies can be carried forward from year to year without any limit, and are to be filled separately from the normal vacancies. This Amendment also modifies the proposition laid down by the Supreme Court in *Indira Sawhney*.

Article 335: This article provides that "the claims of the members of the SCs and STs shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments in services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State".

13.5 Minority Issues in India

1. Problem of Identity:

Because of the differences in socio-cultural practices, history and backgrounds, minorities have to grapple with the issue of identity everywhere which give rise to the problem of adjustment with the majority community.

2. Problem of Security:

Different identity and their small number relative to the rest of the society develops feeling of insecurity about their life, assets and well-being. This sense of insecurity may get accentuated at times when relations between the majority and the minority communities in a society are strained or not much cordial.

3. Problem Relating to Equity:

As a result of discrimination, a society's minority community may continue to be denied growth possibilities. The minority community develops a sense of inequality as a result of their differences in identity. Despite the fact that India has been designated as a "secular" country, the issue of secularism continues to be a major concern. Over the previous few decades, conversion to Islam and Christianity has been a contentious issue. The reasons for this range from poverty to perceived prejudice, resulting in Muslim and Christian alienation in India on March 9, 2005, and the Indian government formed a committee under the chairmanship of Justice Rajendra Sachar to investigate and analyses the difficulties that Muslims confront in India. The socio-economic fabric of India is extremely complicated, as it is shaped by caste, religion, and a plethora of regional/linguistic differences. Simultaneously, the Indian economic, social, and political structures, which have existed for centuries, have a historical foundation as well. These influences have given Indian society a distinct personality. It has devolved into a jumble of layers and segments that have been separated and subdivided.

Summary

The discussion in India about positive discrimination is heated, and it is increasingly manifesting itself in violence. However, a democracy, which is fundamentally a social construct, is not guided by logic or ethics. At the root of democratic success is social engineering which is affected through political bargaining. Social engineering, which is accomplished through political negotiation, is at the heart of democratic success. The process is ongoing in India, and only time will tell if its tests were successful or not. Social categories do not exist in a static or homogenous state. In India, however, hierarchical stratifications have largely endured millennia and remain politically vital. In the current circumstances, it appears that the reservation policy will remain indefinitely, at least for the SC/STs. However, this is the simplest solution the state could come up with. The true goal for the government should be to make disadvantaged people competitive by boosting their standards to match those of the historically wealthy upper classes. That is expensive, and it necessitates a shift in power dynamics. The disadvantage would have to be brought to the forefront of the political debate. The current Dalit movement appears to be a smattering of straws in the wind, signaling a proclivity for violent transformation. However, the same cannot be stated about the OBCs. Unlike the SCs and STs the so called OBCs have held political power in different historical periods in different regions of India. They are neither as socially stigmatised as the scheduled castes, nor are they at the bottom of the economic ladder. In short, they are not as marginalised as the SCs have been. Given this reality, the demand for OBC reservation is unquestionably political, with entirely indefensible logic. In any scenario, the state's position would be increasingly questioned. The idea is that Indian society is typically aggressive and disintegrative on both vertical and horizontal levels. It was the central government's great military might, both under the Mughals and under the British that kept it in check. The proponents of state power argue for the state's militaristic role in maintaining societal order, while civil society advocates place the blame solely on the state for the society's escalating violence. The argument merits more examination in light of the societal polarisation that the reservation policy has exacerbated. In terms of minorities, India has claimed itself to be a "secular" country. Our country's constitution is secular. Almost every political party, including the Muslim League, declared itself secular. In practice, however, no political party keeps its pledge of secularism. Religious problems were frequently politicised by political parties. Religious shading is applied to secular matters and solely law and order issues. These parties are continuously looking for methods to politicise communal concerns in order to gain political

advantage. Hence, the reliability of these parties in their commitment to secularism is lost. This has created suspicion and a feeling of insecurity in the minds of minorities.

Key words

Economic Growth, Development, Affirmative System, Minority Issues, Contemporary Democratic Issues in India etc.

Self Assessment

1. The Economic aspects of democracy have been emphasised by constitutionality of laws enacted by
 - A. Liberal Theory of Democracy
 - B. Marxian Theory of Democracy
 - C. Both Marxian and Liberal
 - D. Theories of Democracy

2. There are a number of devices of direct democracy. The two most popular of these devices are:
 - A. Referendum and initiative
 - B. Elections and Political Parties
 - C. Political Parties and Press
 - D. Landsgemeinde and Parliament

3. Which one of the following statements is correct?
 - A. The press in democracy must be free and impartial
 - B. The press in democracy must be committed to the policies of the government
 - C. Appointment of civil servants
 - D. Appointment of judge

4. Which one of the following conditions essential for the smooth working of democracy has been wrongly listed?
 - A. Universal suffrage
 - B. Free elections
 - C. Minority rule
 - D. Presence of opposition

5. Which one of the following points given below as merits of democracy has been wrongly listed?
 - A. Democracy promotes general welfare
 - B. Democracy averts revolutions
 - C. Democracy leads to frequent changes in the policy of government
 - D. Democracy promotes patriotism

6. Which one of the following statements is not correct? The successful working of democracy depends on:
 - A. Presence of political parties based on political and economic principles
 - B. Presence of educated electorate
 - C. Presence of a strong propertied class
 - D. Presence of a vigorous system of local government

7. Democracy as a system of government
 - A. Is a panacea for all political evils

- B. Is a perfect government
C. Has its merits as well as demerits
D. Is fact declining
8. Democracy is rule of:
A. Voters
B. People
C. Members of Parliament
D. Political
9. To a socialist democracy means a society in which:
A. Inequalities of wealth should be removed by state action
B. All the means of production and distribution are owned by the state
C. Free enterprise and state enterprise exist side by side
D. Nobody is without work
10. Democracy as a system of government is based on the principle of:
A. Majority rule
B. Absolute liberty
C. End justifies the means
D. Quality rule
11. Which is a parliamentary democracy?
A. India
B. USA
C. China
D. None of above
12. Which article of constitution provides a reservation in India:
A. 11
B. 14
C. 44
D. 244
13. Article 14-18 of constitution gives rights:
A. Right to equality
B. Right to religion
C. Right to movement
D. None of above
14. Second Backward Classes Commission came in existence:
A. 20 December 1978
B. 20 December 1999
C. 20 December 1990
D. None of above
15. When Modal commission has submitted its report:
A. 31 December 1980
B. 31 December 1990
C. 31 December 1989
D. None of above

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	B	2.	A	3.	A	4.	C	5.	C
6.	C	7.	C	8.	B	9.	D	10.	A
11.	A	12.	B	13.	A	14.	A	15.	A

Review Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and nature of democracy.
2. Explain the evolution and growth of democracy in the 20th century.
3. Discuss various conceptions and types of democracy.
4. Explain various types of democracy.
5. Write a critical note on reservation Issues in India.
6. Write an essay on minorities' issues in India.



Further Reading

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14.2 Politics of Environment

14.3 Global Terrorism

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Learning Outcomes

- acquire knowledge of debates over the issues of economic growth in the study of political theory.
- understand the economic growth challenges.
- acquire knowledge of debates over the issues of terrorism in the study of political theory.
- analyses the terrorism issues and its responses in the study of political theory.
- examine the contemporary environmental issues

Introduction

To meet the population's ever-increasing demands, human civilization is required to engage in a continuous cycle of production of various material products and services. This continuous renewal of the production process, which is linked to distribution, exchange, and consumption, or, as we've characterised these four stages - social reproduction, is a law and need in all modes of production. We observe that there is a simple, scaled, and enlarged social reproduction, and that the volume of production may remain constant, drop, or increase from year to year. Given the ever-increasing breadth of societal necessities, broad legality necessitates a larger social reproduction process. As a result, we can claim that the extended theory of social reproduction is either an economic theory or an economic development theory. The analysis of economic conditions or economic development became an early focus of political economy research. Even at the time of the physiocrats, their main representative Francois Kene, explored the laws of restoring production in the macro scale. However, the level of development of modern economic theory of political economy is not expected only to explain the process of social reproduction, but to perform an economic analysis and thus to point out the possible choice of means, ways and methods that can be used for the realization of the objectives of economic development. In this way, economic theory formed the basis on the basis of certain decisions are made that are used for regulating and directing the flow of the process of social reproduction.

14.1 Meaning of Economic Growth and Development

Economic growth is defined as changes in material production over a relatively short time span, usually one year. In economic theory, economic growth is defined as a yearly rise in the value of material output, or the rate of growth of GDP or national income. Growth is possible since it does not alter the economy's developmental trajectory. As a result, economic development encompasses not only an increase in material output, but also all other socioeconomic processes and changes brought about by economic and non-economic forces. Economic development is therefore expressed in a longer period of time. Economic development of an economy consists of a series of structural changes. The economic development of the country will be achieved through greater

participation of the processing capacity of industrial production (secondary sector), and at higher levels is increasingly dominated by service sector (tertiary sector). Changes in production structure and the introduction of new products, new products, new techniques and technologies, new manufacturing processes, raw materials, and new energy sources are also critical for any country's economic progress. Changes in the distribution of production components, i.e. where they are now, and not just labour but the full technical potential, In the case of operating assets, technical potential is reallocated by engaging in capital accumulation in order to develop new generating capacity. Economic development entails a country's economy becoming more involved and effective in the global economy. The ever-increasing share of accumulation in national income is part of the trend. Thus, economic development represents a very complex process and phenomenon. Economic growth, measured by the percentage increase in national income per capita, cannot really be realistic indication of the achieved level of economic development (Peru, 1986). Economic development encompasses all long-term socio-economic developments in a country's economy, not just increases in GDP and national income. It is critical that political economy, above all, addresses issues of economic development. First and foremost, the goal of developing and implementing development and economic policies, Economists are interested in depicting the origins of economic growth, not only trends and ideas. They place a premium on growth calculations, ensuring that the factors that generate growth trends are thoroughly calculated. Japan and previously the Soviet Union in the period 1930-1960, Years have had enormous economic growth. With the help of calculating economic growth economics experts have discovered that the GDP of Japan grew at a rate of 10% per year (astonishing but true) due to the growth of inputs with rapid technological change (much faster than in other countries). The rise of the Soviet Union throughout the specified era was mostly due to a rise in compelled capital and labour inputs. The most essential component in economic growth is labour productivity. It represents the ratio of total output divided by the number of worker-hours in a particular sector, or at the level of the economy. If it slowed down the search are the reasons, and as a justification cited the following reasons: (Ilić, 2005).

1. Investment Enterprises in nature conservation, improving health and safety in the workplace. This was particularly true of mining, construction and services.
2. Increases in energy prices, especially after 1970 and 1990, when the company began replacing other energy inputs, capital and labor. The result is a reduction in the productivity of labor and capital in relation to previous growth rates.
3. After the 70s, there was a change of generations of workers who are inexperienced and inadequately trained to work with low wages, which is particularly applicable to the non-industrial sectors, such as areas in the preparation of fast food and the like.

In addition to these fundamental causes that contributed to poor productivity, decreased size allocations for civilian research and development, less investment in plant and equipment, and the like should be mentioned. These are just a few of the reasons why production has slowed. In this regard, it is necessary to investigate the possibilities of enhancing labour productivity. Increasing national savings and investment, which is the most difficult to attain, is required to achieve this. Economic investment groups can be classified in a variety of ways. Yet it is the most domesticated definition of the term in which the investment in the broadest sense of the word mean investment in fixed and revolving funds. Therefore we can say that the investments represent that part of the social product (in the expression of the social product or national income) that are in the process of its final allocation and use has not spent (in terms of individual, general and collective consumption), but it is used for replacement of worn and shabby and to build new capacity (Equal, 2005). If the term investment include not only the replacement of worn and discarded equipment and the construction of new capacity, but also the maintenance of existing capacity, then the notion of investment and the activity of the so-called. Upkeep of your investment, In this case, the concept of depreciation must adjust this setting, which means that the total depreciation fund parts of the part that goes to capital maintenance and part of that is spent for the replacement of worn-out and disposed of fixed assets. Such a definition of the term investments was accepted and implemented in practices our applied economic analysis and planning until 1957. In the middle of this year, our official statistics abandoned that concept on investments and accepted the concept that they recommend economists methodologists from the United Nations and accepted by most of the member countries.

14.2 Politics of Environment

While industrialization increased national wealth and provided conveniences, it also carried with it a slew of environmental risks. The availability of clean air and water has become a luxury. We may have to resort to deforestation if we want to provide accommodation for the population. Thousands of people are employed by industries that contaminate the air and water. Energy is a vital

component of existence. Today's demand is for nuclear energy. There's also the issue of radioactive waste to consider. Accidents and breakdowns in nuclear power plants can have major long-term consequences. As a result, what was once a technology issue has evolved into a political issue with national and international implications? The phrase culture refers to a community's set of values, customs, and beliefs. There is no longer a single society with a single cultural group. Multicultural groups and communities exist in every civilization and region. The greatest issue that modern statesmen face is achieving a desirable unity among diverse communities. In democratic countries, the problem is more serious. Ecology is a field of study that focuses on environmental issues. It has been a subject of study in the field of biology. Ecology is the study of the interaction between living creatures and their environment. Ecology became a political word in the 1960s, and we now refer to it as "green politics."

Ecologism as a political ideology brought 'nature' in the focus. Nature is an interconnected whole consisting of living and inanimate objects as well. There is need to keep a balance, lest the interconnectedness gets destroyed. This 'eco-centric perspective' is a new ideology in modern day political thinking. The idea that 'Nature' is an important element in human life takes inspiration from ancient religions. Paganism, Hinduism, Taoism, always stressed to respect nature. There were many Gods for air, sea, rivers and so on. Cutting down a green tree was a sin. Planting trees, feeding animals, preserving forest life were regarded as sacred duties. Even today tribal worship the trees as Gods. The famous Chipko movement testifies the strong tribal feeling towards nature. Rural life, with agriculture as centre of economic activity, uncorrupted by modern industrial culture was eco friendly system. Around 19th Century with industrialization and urbanization rapidly advancing, environment suffered severely. Industry requires raw materials. For that natural wealth is exploited. To manufacture paper forest are destroyed. Mining a prime industrial sector took the natural resources like coal, gold, copper from earth. These cannot be replaced. In fact, Industrialization is the rape of nature. There were reactions to this part of development which is destroying nature and spreading urban culture. In India Gandhiji's Hind-Swaraj is a critique of Industrialization. He pleaded for the rural economy, cottage industries and self-sufficient villages. His economic theories were totally eco-friendly. Such writing could be discovered elsewhere also. In Europe novelist Thomas Hardy, political thinkers like William Morris and Peter Kropotkin, argued for the village life. In fact, there was a nostalgia for an idealized rural existence. This was a direct reaction against industrialization. An important point to be noted is, this feeling was stronger in those countries where the industrialization was more rapid- Germany for instance. In Germany, powerful myths about the purity and dignity of peasant life developed. There was the movement of "Back to nature" among the German Youth. Interestingly this was used for political gains by both nationalists and fascists. It is in the 20th Century, that we find greater awareness of environmental problems because of industrialization. A clear understanding has been reached that the economic progress that is taking place has done great damage to the nature. This has endangered both the survival of human race and the planet it lives on. The dangers to nature are many fold. To increase agricultural production certain chemicals are used, which are destroying the fertile nature of earth. The use of certain pesticides kills many insects which are useful to farmers. Rachel Carson, in his work *The Silent Spring* (1962), made an analysis of the extensive damage done to the wild life by the increase use of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals. This is the first work of this kind. References can also be made to, Goldsmith et al *Blueprints for Survival* (1972), the unofficial U.N Report *Only One Earth* (1972) and the club of Rome's *the Limit of Growth* (1977). These works pointed out to the dangers of unplanned growth to the nature. Water, air, pollution is causing health hazards to all living beings. There were reports that because of sea water pollution caused by oil spill, thousands of fish got poisoned and were unfit for consumption. It is the moral duty of the present generation to preserve the natural wealth. Because of this environmental awareness around 80's, some movements started.

The organizations like Green Peace, Friends of the Earth, Animal Liberation Activists, effectively campaigned, to create a public opinion on the dangers of pollution, the dwindling reserves of fossil oils, deforestation and other related issues. From 1980s onwards the environmental questions have been kept high on the agenda of Green Parties, which now exist in most industrial countries. Environmental issues have international character. What happens in one country would spread chain reaction to various countries. Natural calamities like flood, famines, earthquakes, would show their consequences throughout world. There is also a historical dimension to the issue. Most of the industrially advanced countries today were once colonial powers. They looted the natural wealth in these colonies. In their pursuit for material wealth they caused excessive damage to nature. Today when the ex-colonial countries of Asia, Africa are trying to industrialize a big opposition is coming from European nations about danger to environment. They have forgotten who are original culprits. So the third world countries have taken up this issue at international forum. Since the environmental hazard has transnational character, and has become a global

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political usage the U.N. started looking into it. In 1972, there was the U.N conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm. The conference aimed at establishing an international framework to promote a coordinated approach to international environmental problems. In 1987 Brundtland Report advocated the idea of "Sustainable development" In 1992 at Rio a conference on "Earth summit" was held. All these summits aimed at reducing the environmental hazards and also provide the economic development. Perhaps, through modern technology, it is possible to achieve it. But this requires enormous funds. Each industry should invest substantial amount in Research and development. The return in this field is only long term. Most of the industries would like to have immediate gains. They may not care for R& D. For instance most of the chemical factories dump their waste in the nearby rivers causing water pollution. It should be their moral duty to invest in cleaning the river and make water useful. But that expenditure would not give them any return. As a result, they take shortcuts like dumping rubbish here and there and evading societal responsibility. Recycling garbage and taking other precautions is now possible thanks to contemporary technologies. However, these activities necessitate a large sum of money. Third-world countries argue that because their poverty and industrial backwardness are the result of colonial exploitation, and because they want to industrialise their country, industrialised countries have a moral obligation to "transfer technology" that can reduce pollution. They should split the majority of the money spent on R&D. These themes were explored at the 1997 Kyoto Summit. The scientists warned that the world was in peril. They stated that Global Warming poses a threat. This is because of the emission of gases like carbon dioxide into atmosphere. So the Kyoto conference established a legally binding commitment for the developed states to limit such emission in a phased process.

However, effective action is yet to emerge. Ecologism stands apart from traditional political creeds like Liberty, Democracy and equality. It examines the interrelationships that bind humans to all living organisms. The traditional ideologies treated 'man' as the primary point of focus in the creation. Man is the master of nature. God has created all natural wealth only for human beings. They have a right to all natural wealth. The idea of Progress was when man "Conquered" nature. This 'man centered theory is rejected by modern ecologists. David Ehrenfeld (1978) called this as wrong ideology. It is the moral duty of human beings to preserve and respect the earth and diverse species that live on it. Instead of that humans have wrongly assumed that they "are masters and possessors of earth" (John Locke). Modern ideology represents a new style of politics. In this ideology human species no longer occupy central stage. They are inseparable part of nature. Nature is a network of precious and fragile relationship between living species (including human) and environment. Damage to one aspect would lead to a chain reaction. The central idea of Green thought is Eco-system. Plants and animals, they argue, are supported by self-regulating natural processes. Humans, on the other hand, lack his self-regulating mentality. We should take only what is absolutely necessary from nature and leave the rest. However, the insatiable pursuit had put the natural treasure in jeopardy. For example, in the past, fisherman would refrain from fishing during particular times of the year to allow fish to reproduce. Many fishes are able to live because to the usage of conventional equipment such as nets. Modern corporate fishing, on the other hand, effectively loots the entire fishery's wealth. While traditional fishing was limited and primarily served to fulfill hunger, the modern fisheries sector is focused on marketing and profit. Profit mentality knows no bounds. This zealous quest of worldly gain has thrown the natural order off. The eco-system on which human life depends for survival is in jeopardy. There are many reasons why the eco-system is being in danger:

- 1) There is excessive growth of population. Longtime back Gandhiji's told "we have only one earth which is enough for everybody need not for everybody's greed" The limited resources and unlimited population has upset the ecosystem.
- 2) The mining industry has resulted in the depletion of finite and irreplaceable resources- like coal, natural gas, oil. This is also causing disturbances in climatic conditions.
- 3) The eradication of forests. Forests have always helped to provide clean air, control flood, regulate rain and also maintain the bio-diversity. Because of forests so many diversified species are existing.
- 4) The pollution of rivers, lakes and ponds has contributed to the marine life being endangered.
- 5) The use of chemical pesticides, have created many side effects.
- 6) The Eco-system believes in a balance between all living beings and nature. Today many species like tigers, lions, and variety types of forest animals are facing the dangers of extinction and there is increase of human species. Recently we are hearing the news that wild animal are wandering in the human inhabited areas because forests have been encroached. This again shows the danger of imbalance in ecosystem. As mentioned earlier the view that human beings are masters of nature should change. In religious teachings of Buddhism- Len Buddha we have certain philosophical

notions that give expression to ecological wisdom. It also prescribes a way of life that encourages compassion for fellow beings other species and natural world. In the Pre-Christian religions especially the tribal religion such ideas existed. Human beings are God's steward on Earth. They have been asked to preserve the planet. Earth is referred as mother earth- signifying all things have life. In modern days this idea that the planet Earth is alive has been developed by James Lovelock a Canadian scholar. He gave the name Gaia to planet. This is after Greek goddess of the Earth. Gaia hypothesis, is a theory which argues that the Earth should be understood as a living entity. It regulates its actions to maintain in own existence. There is a regulating behavior of earth which is character of other living beings. The essence of this theory is that those species which help Gaia to regulate prosper and those like human beings which are a threat to Gaia would be destroyed. This Gaia has developed into a powerful ideology. Gaia strongly believes that human beings must respect the health of the planet and act to conserve its beauty and resources. It is an extreme view. While moderate ecologists want the policies to be framed that regulate the supply of natural resources for human beings as long as possible the Gaia ideologist want the nature to be left untouched. Basically it is non-human unity approach to ecological issue. The health of planet is most important than that of any individual species, including human.

Another important ideological component in ecology is the policy of sustainability. According to Ecologists, both capitalists and socialists believe in excessive industrialism. The conventional political parties presume that human life has unlimited possibilities for material growth and wealth. As opposed to this Environmentalists coined a new phrase called "spaceship earth". The idea is 'The earth' is compared a spaceship. A spaceship is a closed entity. There are no inputs from outside. The people inside the spaceship must sparingly use the items for their existence. They cannot get oxygen or life saving things from outside. So only a prudent use of scarce things can sustain them. That is why the term sustainable development used in the economic context. This term spaceship Earth was used by Kenneth Boulding to warn against the tendency of human beings who are behaving that they are living in "a cow boy Economy" with unlimited opportunities like the American west during the frontier period. A closed system like Earth space ship can live so long as internal energy sustains. One day the earth, all planets may die like any closed system. The alternative system to the present reckless, exploitative and often violent terms of economic development has been suggested by E.F. Schumacher. In his work *Small is Beautiful*, Schumacher, argued that modern industrialists have treated energy as "income" that is constantly topped-up week after week, month after month. Actually energy is 'natural capital' and we should preserve it. Like we live on interest of the capital and will not swallow capital, we should treat energy as capital and use it as sparingly as possible. This tendency of treating 'energy' as income has resulted in the increase of demand for energy, especially in the industrialized west. With the depletion of finite fuel resources, which may not last till the end of present century, we need some hard thinking on new ways of economic development. So the ideas of solar energy, wind power and wave power as alternative source of energy which is eco- friendly and renewable, is making rounds. We should set clear limits on human ambitions. The new economic agenda is not utility maximizes but creating social awareness, social harmony to work together. Normally a policy of higher taxation on polluting industries, even penalize them is one solution. In Germany an extremist organization called Fund is sought certain radical measures that give a complete u-turn to present industrial based economy. They argue that since all the problems connected with ecology stem from materialism, consumerism, and a fixation of targets, the solution lies in "ZERO GROWTH" and the construction "Post Industrial Age", in which people live in small rural communities and rely on craft skills. It is certainly a copy of Gandhi an approach. This is a total rejection of industry and technology. This is a call "Return to Nature". It is doubtful how far it is practical. There are certain limitations to these ecological approaches. As already mentioned the developing countries feel overemphasis on ecology would deny their opportunity to catch up with the west. Since modern industries encourage globalization, ecology would be anti-global. The idea of zero growth can never be accomplished within a democratic set up. However the need to conserve natural resource is the most pressing need of the hour.

14.3 Global Terrorism

Terrorism and terror modules are present in a number of key sites around the world, which is referred to as global terrorism. Unlike other isolated acts of terrorism that aim to overthrow a country's government, global terrorism aims to install Islamic prophecy throughout the world by murdering innocent people and weakening nations. A succession of terror assaults occurred around the world, demonstrating that global terrorism is a terrible reality. Extremist terror organisations, largely funded by Islamic governments and clergy, are at the heart of global terrorism. The sole goal they have is to turn the entire globe into an Islamic state. The world has

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changed significantly since the September 11 attacks. Security has become an all-encompassing concern. Ordinary citizens now have to plan business trips or vacations around factors such as whether the destination is safe or not, what routes pose the least danger and how much time to factor in for security checks. In addition, people no longer feel safe in their own countries since terrorist strikes have taken place in countries that were considered safe and at varied locations such as malls, pubs and even thoroughfares. Terrorism also has economic impacts directly and indirectly. Terrorists target buildings and areas that are important financially or in terms of visibility or both. They destroy building, machines, plants transportation and other economic resources that can cost anywhere between thousands and billions of dollars in reconstruction. In addition, stock markets, trade, insurance and tourism also take serious hits due to terrorist attacks. Terrorism has also contributed to the rise of nationalism and increased skepticism of foreign businesses and cultures and immigrants and refugees. Prejudice is on the rise across the world and countries are closing their borders to immigrants, thus reducing the diversity and size of economic transactions. This has political repercussions as well. Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as President reflect the increasingly insular and nationalist thinking of people who have become very suspicious of foreigners and are letting their prejudices hang out for everyone to see. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, an international military initiative was launched by the United States. This initiative was called the War on Terror. As per President Bush, it was targeted at the radical network of terrorists as well as the governments that supported them. To this end, US and allied troops were deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, both believed to be home to terrorist cells and leaders. Eventually, the Obama administration formally called an end to the War and announced the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden had allegedly been killed by US Navy Seals and Al-Qaeda wasn't considered the threat it once used to be.

However, 2014 saw the emergence of ISIS or ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant). The jihadist organization was dubbed a terrorist group by the UN. This led to the formation of a new operation called Operation Inherent Resolve that would target terror in South Asia and the Middle East. The UN and the European Union have announced their own measures against terrorism, including sanctions against countries believed to be sympathetic to extremist causes. The European Union also determined to identify the causes of radicalization and combat it, secure borders and increase security on transportation, identify sources of support and communication for terrorists and cut them off and work on crisis management in the aftermath of a terrorist attack so as to reduce casualties as much as possible.

Summary

Economic development is not only quantitative but also qualitative changes that lead to better meeting their needs. Economic growth is the continuous increase in the volume of production in one country, i.e. GDP growth, whereas economic development is not only quantitative but also qualitative changes that lead to better meeting their needs. Economic development is associated with the accumulation of capital, in with investments. Under the capital we mean permanent production goods that serve as a work tool in the production of other goods. Under the concept of investment we mean investing in fixed and revolving funds, that is. The part of the social product that is not spent, but it is used for replacement and construction of new capacity. Investments are classified in a variety of ways based on their goal, technical structure, and funding source requirements. The most essential division, according to the purpose, is between fixed investments and investments in revolving funds. According to the criterion of sources of financing, net investments are those that are financed from the current distribution of national income and the corresponding depreciation from gross investment funds, while gross investment funds are those that are financed from the current distribution of national income and the corresponding depreciation. New investments, which fall somewhere between gross and net investment, are the third macroeconomic category of investment. When savings outnumber investments, and when savings outnumber investments, the more it consumes, resulting in a growth in production, employment, and capacity. Terrorists have also succeeded in drawing attention to their political and religious agendas through modern communication methods. The ramifications, on the other hand, are far more extensive and long-lasting than many had predicted. The world is divided, and countries are encroaching on one another. Terrorists will be able to use the mayhem to further their agendas as long as reactionary policies are maintained. Terrorism appears to be akin to the fabled hydra, in which one head is cut off and two more grow in its place. Fighting terrorism isn't a war in the traditional sense. Terrorism is more of a strategy than an organisation. This makes fighting against it and winning that much more difficult since the enemy is intangible and constantly changing.

Key words

Economic Growth, Economic Development, Environment, Terrorism, etc.

Self Assessment

1. Which of the following is generally regarded as the true index of economic growth?
 - A. An increase in national income at constant prices during a year
 - B. A sustained increase in real per capita income
 - C. An increase in national income at current prices over time
 - D. An increase in national income along with a corresponding increase in population

2. The concept of economic growth is:
 - A. Identical with the concept of economic development
 - B. Narrower than the concept of economic development
 - C. Wider as compared to that of economic development
 - D. Unrelated to the concept of economic development

3. The rate of growth of an economy mainly depends upon:
 - A. The rate of growth of the labour force
 - B. The proportion of national income saved and invested
 - C. The rate of technological improvements
 - D. All of the above

4. Among the following determinants of growth, which is a non-economic factor?
 - A. Natural resources
 - B. Population growth
 - C. Favorable legislation
 - D. Capital accumulation

5. Which of the following is inconsistent with Adam Smith's theory of development?
 - A. Development process is cumulative in nature
 - B. There is no limit to the growth process
 - C. Capital accumulation and market extension are two prerequisites for output expansion
 - D. There should be no government interference in the working of the economy

6. Among the various determinants of the growth of national wealth Adam Smith accorded central place to:
 - A. Division of labour
 - B. Capital
 - C. Natural resources
 - D. Technology

7. India has adopted pattern of economy from 1947 to 1991.
 - A. Capitalist
 - B. Socialist
 - C. Mixed
 - D. None of above

8. International solar alliance initiative taken by:
 - A. India-Russia
 - B. India-China
 - C. India-France

D. India-USA

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12. _____ is not a form of weapon of mass destruction.

- A. Nuclear
- B. Chemical
- C. Conventional
- D. Biological

13. Who is alleged terrorist organization behind 9/11 attacks on USA.

- A. Taliban
- B. Hamas
- C. Al Qaida
- D. Al Jazira

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Answers of Self-Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. B | 3. D | 4. C | 5. B |
| 6. A | 7. C | 8. C | 9. A | 10. C |
| 11. C | 12. A | 13. C | 14. C | 15. C |

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Review Questions

1. What are the reasons for the present environment hazards. Discuss various alternative Theories.
2. Bring out the significance of various movements aiming at ecological balance.



Further Reading

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