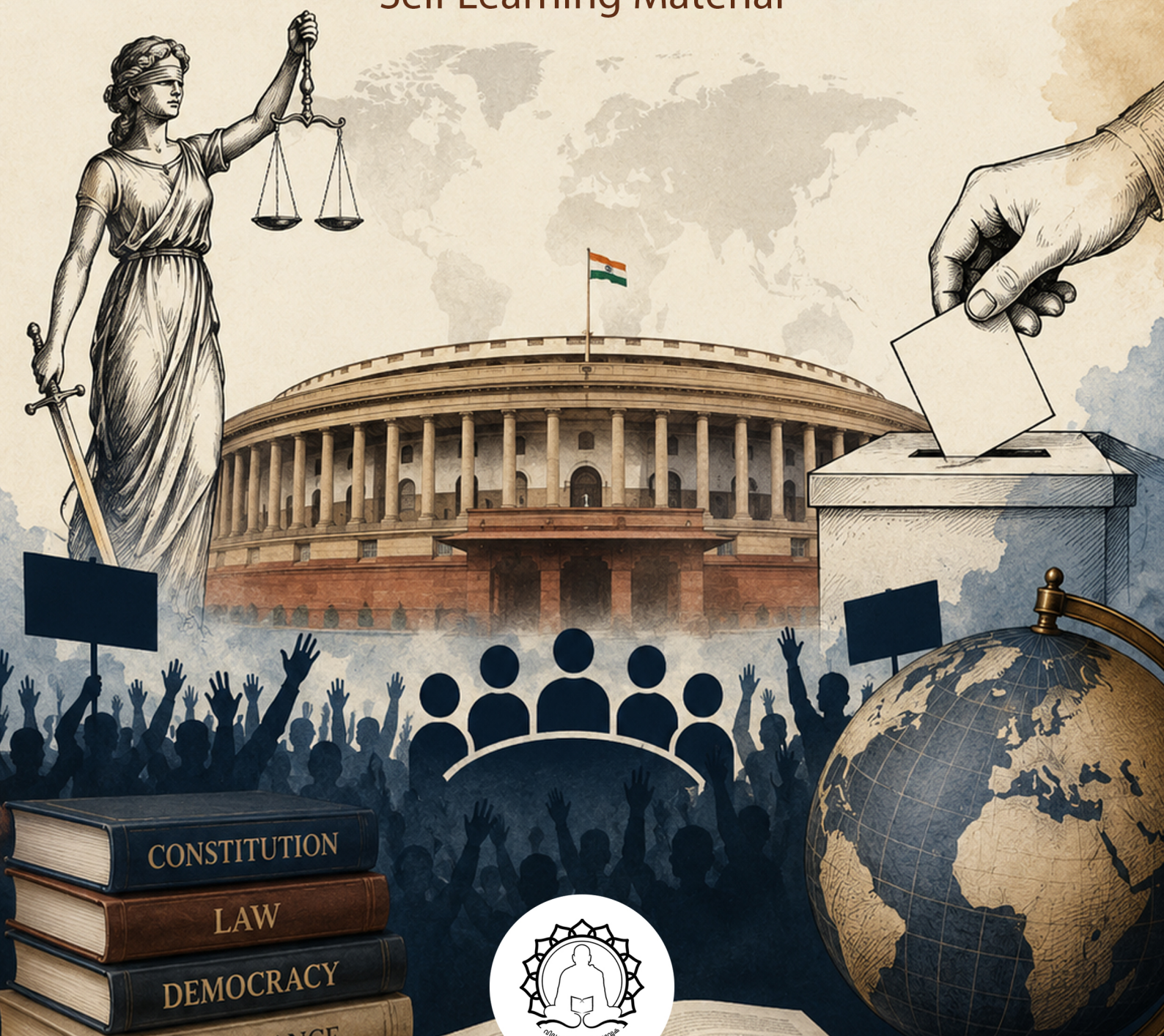


Understanding Political System

Course Code: SGB24PS202MI
Minor Course - Political Science
For FYUG Programmes (Honours)
Self Learning Material



SREENARAYANAGURU
OPEN UNIVERSITY

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

The State University for Education, Training and Research in Blended Format, Kerala



Vision

To increase access of potential learners of all categories to higher education, research and training, and ensure equity through delivery of high quality processes and outcomes fostering inclusive educational empowerment for social advancement.

Mission

To be benchmarked as a model for conservation and dissemination of knowledge and skill on blended and virtual mode in education, training and research for normal, continuing, and adult learners.

Pathway

Access and Quality define Equity.

Understanding Political System

Course Code: SGB24PS202MI

Semester - V

Minor Course
For Four Year Undergraduate Programmes
Self Learning Material
(With Model Question Paper Sets)



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SREENARAYANAGURU
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UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEM

Course Code: SGB24PS202MI

Semester- V

Minor Course

For FYUG Programmes

Academic Committee

Prof. Joby Varghese
Dr. K. Pradeep Kumar
Dr. G. Jayasenan
Dr. K. M. Sudhakaran
Dr. Prasanth Lal T.S.
Suja Karapath
Prathap Thevarthottam S. S.

Development of the Content

Dr. K. Suryaprasad

Review and Edit

Dr. Abhi T. Suresh
Dr. L. Vinaya Kumar

Linguistics

Dr. L. Vinaya Kumar

Scrutiny

Dr. Subheesh K.V.
Dr. Geetha K.L.
Hemanth V.L.
Dr. Vinesh N.V.
Dr. Nowfal N.

Cover Design

Jobin J.

Co-ordination

Director (IC), MDDC :
Dr. Sajeevkumar G.
Coordinator, Development:
Dr. Anfal M.
Coordinator, Distribution:
Dr. Abdul Razak Kunnathodi



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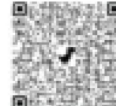
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MESSAGE FROM VICE CHANCELLOR

Dear Learner,

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to the Four Year BCom Programme offered by Sreenarayanaguru Open University.

Established in September 2020, our university aims to provide high-quality higher education through open and distance learning. Our guiding principle, 'access and quality define equity', shapes our approach to education. We are committed to maintaining the highest standards in our academic offerings.

Our University proudly bears the name of Sreenarayanaguru, a prominent Renaissance thinker of modern India. His philosophy of social reform and educational empowerment serves as a constant reminder of our dedication to excellence in all our academic pursuits.

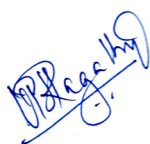
This material addresses the syllabus of the Political System as a Minor Course. It provides ample coverage of the subject's fundamentals for novice learners, with particular emphasis on the formation of political systems, theories, and elements. Emphasis has been placed on integrating the basic concepts of the discipline.

Our teaching methodology combines three key elements: Self Learning Material, Classroom Counselling, and Virtual modes. This blended approach aims to provide a rich and engaging learning experience, overcoming the limitations often associated with distance education. We are confident that this programme will enhance your understanding of commercial principles and practices, preparing you for various career paths and further academic pursuits.

Our learner support services are always available to address any concerns you may have during your time with us. We encourage you to reach out with any questions or feedback regarding the programme.

We wish you success in your academic journey with Sreenarayanaguru Open University.

Best regards,



Dr. Jagathy Raj V.P.
Vice Chancellor

01-08-2026

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BLOCK

Introduction to Political System



UNIT

Political Science: Meaning, Nature, Scope and Significance

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ explain the meaning and origin of political science
- ◆ analyse the nature and evolution of political science as a discipline
- ◆ examine the traditional and modern approaches to political science
- ◆ understand the concept of politics as a universal and dynamic process

Prerequisite

At the outset of studying political systems, a learner may raise a basic question: what does “politics” really mean, and why is it important to study it as a subject? This question usually comes from everyday observations—watching governments function, following elections, noticing laws being applied, and listening to public debates—without having a clear or organised understanding of what these activities signify. In response, the teacher presents political science as a systematic field of study that helps make sense of these experiences, moving the learner beyond the idea of politics as simply a struggle for power or a matter of administration. In explaining this further, the teacher makes it clear that political science is not limited to the study of government alone. It also includes the study of how people behave within organised societies. Questions such as who holds authority, how decisions are taken, and why institutions are formed become central to understanding political life.

Keywords

Polis, Power, Authority, Democracy, State

Discussion

1.1.1 Aristotle (384 – 322BC)

Greek political philosopher Aristotle was born into a wealthy family in northern Greece. In 367 BC, he came to Athens and joined Plato's Academy, where he studied and taught until Plato's death in 347 BC. His initial independent research focused mainly on biology, but his range of interest and learning was vast. Besides his significant biological works, he wrote treatises on physics, metaphysics, logic, psychology, aesthetics, ethics, and politics. His research is notably found in his famous political work, "Politics." Aristotle is rightly regarded as the "father of political science" due to his significant and lasting contributions to the field.

Polis: The term "Polis" means a Greek city-state, a state or society characterised by a sense of community.

Power: Power is the control over the mind and actions of others. It is the ability to get one's wishes carried out despite opposition. It also refers to the capacity to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of events.

Political Dynamics: Political dynamics refer to the current forces at work in government and politics. This includes the study of political parties, public opinion, pressure groups, and lobbies. A scientific study of these dynamics helps explain the political behaviour of individuals and groups.

Authority: Authority is the right or capacity to have proposals, prescriptions, or instructions accepted without persuasion, bargaining, or force. It is a system of rules, including legal systems, typically entitling particular office bearers to make decisions or issue instructions.

Influence: Influence is the effect of power exerted, meaning persuading someone to act in a particular way without using direct force or command.

1.1.2 Political Science – What is It?

Politics exists everywhere and is as old as human beings. It prevails in every sphere of life, and no one is completely beyond the reach of some political system. Politics is present in almost all human relationships, including business firms, religious organizations, professional and civic groups, schools, colleges, crime syndicates, castes, tribes, private clubs, and even families. Politics has always been created by human beings, giving rise to empires, nations, wars, revolutions, symbols, institutions, and constitutions. In this context, Heinz Eulan observed that the notion of politics does not come from heaven or oak trees; it is a human venture centred on man and created by man.

Political science is a social science that includes sociology, history, economics, and psychology. Its origin is connected with the historical circumstances of Greek city-states. The term politics is derived from the Greek word "polis," meaning city-state. In ancient Greece, the basic unit of human organisation was the city-state.

Aristotle is regarded as the "father of political science" due to his significant and lasting contributions to the field. In his famous book "Politics," Aristotle writes, "Man is by nature a political animal." He argues that anyone unable to live in society must be either a beast or a god. Thus, it is true that man is a social animal who cannot live without society or the state. By leading a solitary life, he cannot develop his faculties in the best possible manner.



Definitions

Political science may be broadly divided into two: traditional and modern definitions.

1.1.3 Traditional View

According to traditionalists, political science is the study of the state and government. Some of their definitions are:

- ◆ **Prof. James Wilford Garner:** “Political science begins and ends with the state.”
- ◆ **Prof. Ramond G. Gettell:** “Political science is the historical investigation of what the state has been, what the state is, and what the state ought to be.”
- ◆ **John Seeley:** “Political science investigates the phenomena of government, as political economy deals with wealth, biology with life, algebra with numbers, and geometry with space and magnitude.”
- ◆ **Paul Janet:** “Political science is that part of social science which treats the foundations of the state and the principles of government.”

From these definitions, Paul Janet’s seems most satisfactory, as the government is an essential feature of the state. Studying the state includes studying the government, as no state can exist without it. A comprehensive account of the state includes the structure and functions of government, its various forms and types, and related problems. Thus, traditionalists define political science as the study of the state and government.

1.1.4 Modern View

In the early 20th century, a new approach to studying political science emerged. This modern approach gained momentum with the

publications of “Essays on Human Nature in Politics” by Graham Wallas and “The Process of Government” by Arthur Bentley. They condemned the traditional viewpoint and were supported by American scholars like Charles Merriam, David Easton, Harold Lasswell, Almond, and Powell.

The modern approach shifts the focus from institutions to structures, functions, and processes. Politics is seen as an activity, with institutions as the framework. The new view treats politics as an activity and a process, implying the use of power. Hence, proponents of the new view observe political science as a conflict or struggle for power.

- ◆ Harold Lasswell: “Politics is the study of shaping and sharing of power and the study of influence and influential.”
- ◆ Robert Dahl: “Political science deals with power, rule, or authority.”
- ◆ Edward Banfield: “Politics is an activity by which an issue is agitated and settled.”
- ◆ David Easton: “Politics is the authoritative allocation of values.”

According to Easton, the allocation of values must be authoritative.

- i. “Politics is the Science of who gets what when and why?” – Hillman.
- ii. “Politics is the conduct of Public affairs for private advantage” – Lord Bryce

Political science is, thus, a social science focused on studying and evaluating political activities, power, processes, and institutions.

It includes the study of both political institutions and political ideas. It is now generally accepted that political science should also study informal organisations and political behaviour that supplement the formal structure of government and influence the political system's functioning.

1.1.5 Politics – A Universal Phenomenon and Continuing Process

Politics is a universal phenomenon present at all levels and in all realms of life. Conflicts or activities aiming to gain influence, control, or power occur in all human associations, from families to the international community. Politics is an unavoidable part of human life and is shaped by human nature, society, history, geography, economy, and culture. Everyone is involved in politics in some way.

Politics is a human activity rooted deeply in human nature. Humans are essentially social and live in groups. People are alike only in a few ways, and when they meet, they either agree or disagree. Disagreements lead to problems, which are addressed by creating authority patterns or institutions, such as families, tribes, churches, and states. The state government is the ultimate authority for controlling conflicts and solving problems, even using coercion if necessary.

The essence of politics is conflict and integration, which always coexist. Their relationship is complex, as they are both related and resultant. 'Conflict and integration' are integral parts of the ongoing process of politics.

1.1.6 Politics – Conflict Resolution and Allocation of Values

In the popular sense, politics is the process of decision-making about public actions or goods. It is primarily about determining 'who

gets what, when, and how,' which is usually decided by the government. Therefore, politics deals mainly with government or public decision-making. In other words, politics is the process of resolving conflicts and distributing rewards or values (such as resources, favors, contracts, jobs, and money) through governmental power and authority. Different actors in politics (individuals, groups, and countries) pursue their interests, agreeing or disagreeing on the allocation of values. The government decides how the allocation should be made and implemented. Governments everywhere face problems requiring decisions influenced by policy direction based on facts and values.

1.1.7 Science of Politics

The study of politics forms the science of politics or political science. Can politics be studied scientifically? Is there a science of politics? These questions are disputed. Some argue that political science cannot be strictly scientific, while others disagree. This leads to another question: What is science or the scientific method? Science is a branch of knowledge based on reason and evidence about specific subjects. It collects facts and draws valid inferences and conclusions. Scientific knowledge is empirical, verifiable, and communicable.

When examined in this light, politics offers a systematic body of knowledge. It seeks political knowledge that can be tested and verified to predict and influence political outcomes. Testing and verifiability are possible in political science to a certain extent, making it partially scientific. However, not everything in politics can be studied scientifically, as it is an applied science with practical tasks. Its theories are shaped by practice. While part of political phenomena can be studied scientifically, controlled laboratory studies are not feasible because politics deals with humans and social phenomena. Organised power, government,



law, policy decisions, revolutions, and wars are political experiments. Serious students can collect, analyse, classify, compare, and connect facts to make conclusions or generalisations, which may be measurable and verifiable. Predictions may also prove true. For instance, Aristotle scientifically studied 158 ancient constitutions and concluded that inequality generally causes revolutions, a generalisation that remains true.

"The science of politics is the one science which is deposited in the stream of history like the grains of gold in the sand of a river." - Acton.

Political science is increasingly becoming a growing science. It is more scientific than it was 60 years ago. Political theorists and practitioners now use biological, mathematical, and statistical theories, methods, and models. The use of electronic computers, public opinion polls, and techniques for manipulating the masses can also contribute to scientific study. However, the area covered by scientific study is smaller than politics as an art or activity. There is no entirely objective politics. Political science can separate objective elements from non-objective ones and critically assess each. However, like any other social science, it can hardly predict accurately. Thus, political science is a science, art, and activity. In other words, it is a social science dealing with human behavior.

1.1.8 Scope of Political Science

Scholars do not agree on the scope of political science. Vernon Van Dyke observed that its scope is not sharply defined. According to W. W. Willoughby, political science deals with three main topics: state, government, and law. Prof. Frank Johnson Goodnow believes political science has three parts:

the expression of the state will, the content of the state will, and the execution of the state will. Prof. Raymond Gettel writes that political science involves a historical survey of the state's origin and development and the evolution of political ideas and theories. He also noted that political science analyses the state's fundamental nature, its organisation, and its relations with individuals and other states. To understand the scope of political science, it can be examined under the following heads:

1. Study of State and Government

Political science studies the state and government scientifically. It examines the state's nature and formation and seeks to understand various forms and functions of government. Scholars like Johann Kasper Bluntschli and Garries believe the scope is limited to the state. However, scholars like Prof. Laski, Gilchrist, and Gettel argue it includes both state and government.

Political science investigates the state's origin, from tribal states to nation-states. It covers the history of the state, elements of the state, sovereignty and law, ends and functions of the state, the sphere of state activity, individual rights and obligations, political institutions, forms of government, elections, political parties, public opinion and its agencies, local bodies, and international bodies. It studies the state as it is, as it has been, and as it ought to be.

The scope of political science also includes government, which is the organised power of the state. The government is the ultimate authority to settle disputes and allocate values for society. It decides the results of politics: who gets what, when, and how. Governments face problems that require choices and commitments, often influenced by policy direction and legitimacy.

2. Study of Political Theory

Political theory is a major branch of political science. It focuses on the aims and objectives of political life based on political ideas or thoughts of political thinkers. Political theory defines concepts like democracy, liberty, equality, and political obligations. A student of political science must start with political theory to understand the basic concepts of the field.

3. Study of Political Institutions

Political science includes the study of political institutions through which the state operates. This encompasses the study of constitutions and comparative governments, as well as formal institutions like the legislature, executive, and judiciary. It also examines how the state is organized, the distribution of power among government organs, and the relationship between the government and the people. The study of public administration and local government also falls under this category.

4. Study of Political Parties, Pressure Groups and Public Opinion

In a democratic system, political parties play a crucial role in government operations, aiming to control the government. Studying political parties helps us understand the political process's nature and function. Additionally, there are organized groups or associations in every state that try to influence the government to protect their members' interests. A scientific study of these parties and groups helps explain individual and group behaviour. This field often collaborates with other social sciences like sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

5. Study of Adjustment between Individuals and the State

Political science examines the relationship between individuals and the state. Humans are the root of politics, and the adjustment

of individuals with society is a key aspect of political science. The state guarantees certain rights and liberties to citizens, but these are not absolute. The state can impose restrictions to prevent anarchy and avoid tyranny. Balancing state authority with individual liberty is a complex problem that political science must address.

6. Study of International Relations and International Law

The scope of political science includes the study of international relations, covering diplomacy, international politics, and international organizations like the UNO. Scientific inventions and discoveries have made cooperation and contact among different nations easier, making the world more interconnected. The idea of world government is being advocated. Political science also studies international law, which has gained greater importance as states become more interconnected.

7. Study of Power and Influence

Power is the central concept in political science. According to Robert Dahl, power is the ability to change the likelihood of outcomes. It is the capacity to make things happen in one's favor, serving as both a means and an end, akin to a net and a fish. Political science delves into the theory and practice of power, exploring various methods of obtaining, retaining, using, and resisting power.

Influence is closely linked to power. Harold Lasswell defines politics as the study of influence and the influential. Those with influence wield power in politics. Influence, a milder and broader form of power, is one of the most significant and immeasurable elements in politics. It impacts decision-makers and their power, as the saying goes, 'influence is stronger than government.'



1.1.9 Significance of Studying Political Science

The study of political science holds immense importance and value. Primarily, it is the science of the state and government, offering fundamental knowledge on the organization and continuation of the state. Political science explores the state's origin, constitution, forms of government, government organs, functions, and international relations, thereby expanding people's understanding. Individuals well-versed in political science are assets to the state, as the lessons it offers are useful for understanding rights and corresponding duties towards the state.

In democratic political systems, political knowledge empowers people to hold the government accountable for its actions. It enables individuals to make informed decisions on socio-economic and political matters, thereby safeguarding democracy from ignorance and indifference. Only intelligent and responsible citizens can preserve democracy, as ‘eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.’

Political knowledge is indispensable in modern times, given the pervasive nature of politics. As Robert A. Dahl notes, citizens encounter politics in various aspects of life, underscoring its unavoidable presence. Understanding political affairs, both domestically and internationally, is crucial for comprehending the functioning of constitutional institutions and ensuring effective governance.

Moreover, political knowledge is essential for evaluating global affairs and understanding the interconnectedness of nations. Adequate knowledge of world affairs, international law, disarmament, collective security, balance of power, regional arrangements, and international organizations is necessary, as events in one

part of the world reverberate globally. The study of political science fulfils this need by providing comprehensive insights into the complexities of modern politics.

A good citizen should understand how laws are made and enforced. In a democratic society, people should strive to comprehend and influence government operations. This is achievable only with sufficient knowledge of political science.

Political science knowledge is valuable for constitution makers, legislators, ministers, diplomats, and even members of the judiciary. Specialists in political science conduct research to uncover new principles and contribute to existing political knowledge, aiding those in power to solve political issues.

Every individual should be aware of their rights and duties as a member of the state. Studying politics helps in understanding government, policies, and programs, as well as various political ideologies in society. Participation in revolutionary politics can bring about societal change.

Political science is regarded as the science of statesmanship and leadership, evident in the training of recruits for services like the Indian Foreign Service and Indian Administrative Service.

Politics teaches cooperation, adjustment, and tolerance, crucial for societal progress. Without tolerance, there's a risk of anarchy, but politics promotes principles of coexistence and "live and let live."

A modern individual lacking political science knowledge is incomplete, as neglecting politics can lead to unhappiness. Therefore, political knowledge should be compulsory in all democratic countries, as suggested by George Bernard Shaw, who views political science as essential for civilization's preservation.



in exercising rights and fulfilling duties properly. Political science knowledge aids in assessing the value of political institutions accurately.

- ◆ Political science is a social science concerned with the study of state, government, power, and political processes.
- ◆ The term 'politics' is derived from the Greek word polis, meaning city-state.
- ◆ Aristotle is regarded as the father of political science and viewed man as a political animal.
- ◆ Traditional approaches focus on the study of the state and government, while modern approaches emphasise power, behaviour, and processes.
- ◆ Politics is a universal and continuous activity present in all human societies.
- ◆ Political science has both scientific and practical dimensions, though it cannot be fully exact like natural sciences.
- ◆ The scope of political science includes political theory, institutions, processes, public administration, and international relations.
- ◆ Political knowledge is essential for responsible citizenship and effective participation in democracy.

1. Who is regarded as the father of political science?
2. The term 'politics' is derived from which Greek word?
3. Who defined political science as the study of the state and government?
4. What is meant by 'power' in political science?
5. Name one modern political thinker associated with behavioural approach.
6. Political science belongs to which category of sciences?



7. What is meant by 'authority'?
8. Who defined politics as the "authoritative allocation of values"?
9. What is the primary unit of political organisation in ancient Greece?
10. Name any one area included in the scope of political science.

Answers

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Aristotle | 6. Social science |
| 2. Polis | 7. Legitimate power |
| 3. Garner | 8. David Easton |
| 4. Control | 9. City-state |
| 5. Easton | 10. State |

Assignments

1. Define political science and examine its nature and scope.
2. Discuss the evolution of political science from traditional to modern approaches.
3. Explain the concept of politics as a universal and dynamic process.
4. Analyse the scientific character of political science.
5. Evaluate the significance of studying political science in modern society.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is political science? Explain its core features.
2. Distinguish between traditional and modern approaches to political science.

3. Why is politics considered a universal phenomenon?
4. Explain the concept of power and its relevance in political science.
5. Discuss the scope of political science.
6. How does political science differ from natural sciences?
7. Explain the role of political science in shaping public awareness.
8. What are the key elements studied under political science?
9. Why is political knowledge important for citizens in a democracy?
10. Briefly explain the concept of authority in political systems.

Reference

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Suggested Reading

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Discussion

Totalitarianism

Sovereignty is a core characteristic of the state that sets it apart from other associations. It denotes the absolute freedom to govern and act. In political terms, sovereignty asserts the state's claim to ultimate political authority, independent of any higher power, in the making and enforcement of political decisions.

State Oligarchy

1.2.1 The Concept of State

1.2.1.1 Definition of State

Different scholars offer varying definitions of the state. Aristotle views it as a union of families and villages for a happy and honourable life. At the same time, Dr. Woodrow Wilson saw it as people organised for law within a specific territory. George Holland Sabine defines it as a numerous group occupying a defined territory, and Bluntchli describes it as a politically organised people in a specific territory. Harold Laski defines the state as a territorial society with government and subjects claiming supremacy over all other institutions.

Gabriel Almond prefers the term “political system,” defining it as the legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in society. Robert Dahl sees the political



system as residents and government in a territorial area constituting a state. However, the most comprehensive definition is offered by Phillimore, encompassing the people, territory, government, sovereignty, and international relations of the state.

1.2.1.2 Various Notions of State

1. State as a Class Structure

Franz Oppenheimer and Marx view the state as a class structure, where one class dominates over another. Lenin also sees it as a machine for one class to rule over another. Sociologists and political scientists like Mosca, Sidney Webb, Laski, G.D.H Cole, and Wright Mills share this perspective. However, this overlooks the positive aspects of the state.

2. State as a Power System

Following Machiavelli, some political scientists define the state as a power system. Max Weber, Catlin, B. Russell, Harold Lasswell, Charles Merriam, Kaplan, and Morgenthau see the state in terms of power. This view is criticised by idealist thinkers like T.H. Green, who argue that the state's basis is will, not force.

3. State as a Welfare System

Hugo Grotious and Athusius define the state as a welfare system, but this is a narrow perspective, as the state's role extends beyond welfare.

4. State as Joint Stock Company

Herbert Spencer views the state as a "joint stock protection company for mutual assistance," reflecting an extreme individualist view.

5. State as Political System

Gabriel Almond prefers the term "political system," which refers to interactions found in all independent societies, integrating and adapting through the use or threat of physical compulsion.

Mac Iver summarised different notions follows:

1. Class organisation
2. Organization of the whole community
3. Power system
4. Welfare system
5. Legal institution
6. Nation
7. Mutual Insurance Agency
8. The very basis of life
9. Necessary evil
10. Unnecessary evil
11. Corporation
12. Society itself

1.2.1.3 Essential Elements of a State

A modern state has four essential elements: population, territory, government, and sovereignty. Let's discuss them briefly.

1) Population

A state is an institution for humans. People or population is its basic element. Clearly, a state cannot exist without people. It cannot be a state of animals and birds. A state's population consists of a large number of citizens and a smaller number of residents and aliens. While the importance of population is recognized, there is no consensus on the ideal population size.

The population should be neither too small nor too large. Plato suggested an ideal number of 5,040, while Rousseau considered 10,000 to be ideal. Generally, a large population is seen as a strength, but it can also be a weakness. If the state can effectively utilize its human resources and provide basic necessities, a large population is an asset. However, if it cannot provide basic needs, the same population becomes a weakness.

Government functions are divided into three branches - legislative, executive, and judiciary. There are corresponding organs: the legislature that makes laws, the executive that executes laws, and the judiciary that interprets laws. The government punishes those who violate laws. If the state is an abstract concept, the government is its concrete form.

Territory is the physical or geographical element essential for a state. No state can exist without a land area. Territory refers to a definite area on the earth's surface, including land, water, and airspace. Modern states vary greatly in territorial size, from tiny San Marino (38 square km) to vast countries like China, Russia, Brazil, and India. A state's territory covers land, lakes, rivers, seas, and airspace. As with population, there is no definite limit prescribed for a state's territory size.

Rousseau favored small states, believing social bonds weaken as they extend further. Thinkers like J.S. Mill and Auguste Comte also defended small states. However, this view has changed over time, with a modern trend toward states having larger territories. Experience shows small states struggle to maintain independence. Scholars like Lord Acton supported this view, and history demonstrates how Russia's vast size helped it defeat Napoleon and Hitler's armies. Aristotle observed that a state's territory should be neither too small nor too large but sufficient to control and provide adequate natural resources and area.

Territory symbolizes a state's sphere of sovereignty and provides natural resources to sustain its population. It offers a sense of security and opportunity for a fuller life. People develop sentimental attachments to their homeland and are willing to make great sacrifices for its protection.

The government is the organization through which a state's will is expressed.

The state's authority is exercised through the government. State functions are performed by the government. Laws are made, declared and enforced by the government. It maintains law and order, protects life, liberty and property. It provides common services like defense, currency, foreign relations, infrastructure like roads and bridges, and utilities like transport, communications, water, electricity, health and education. The government can levy taxes to fund these services. A state cannot exist without a government - without it, there would be chaos.

No particular type of government is essential. Forms like democracy, dictatorship and monarchy exist across countries. It's difficult to say which is most suitable or powerful, though history shows both democracy and totalitarian dictatorships can influence behavior effectively. As Prof. Organski notes, the most powerful nations today include both a democracy and totalitarian dictatorship. However, no specific government type is recommended as essential for a modern state's existence.

Another essential state element is sovereignty, considered the most important. It is regarded as the state's soul, distinguishing it from other organizations. There can be no state without sovereignty - the supreme power over all individuals and associations within its territory. Only sovereign states can enter into treaties. A non-sovereign political unit lacks legal standing among states. Sovereignty



gives the state unlimited domestic and international authority, implying it can govern its territory as deemed necessary without external restrictions.

Sovereignty has internal and external aspects. Internal sovereignty means supremacy over all individuals/associations within. External sovereignty implies freedom from control by any other state or authority. As Lasky says, a sovereign state “issues orders to all human beings and associations within its area; it receives orders from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitations.” However, pluralists like MacIver do not consider sovereignty an essential state attribute.

In summary, every state must have a population, defined territory, established government and sovereignty. Lacking any one denies it statehood status. All elements must combine - the first three are visible, physical elements while the last is the spirit or essence. Abstractly, a state is a political-legal power entity. Concretely, it is the unified

community, territory and government.

Conclusion

The state is not a fixed, unchanging concept. It is a historical entity whose meaning, nature, scope and significance have evolved over time based on changing circumstances. The state cannot be understood merely as an abstract legal notion. To objectively understand political systems, we must examine how notions and concepts of the state itself have transformed across different eras and contexts. By exploring these changing notions of the state, we gain better insight into how and why the state has adapted in response to evolving times and situations. Looking at the historical evolution of the state allows us to grasp its fluid, dynamic character rather than viewing it through a strictly rigid, legalistic lens. This historical perspective provides a more comprehensive understanding of the state as an institution that has continually reshaped itself in accordance with new realities.

Recap

1. The state is the central concept in political science and represents a politically organised community.
2. It is defined by four essential elements: population, territory, government, and sovereignty.
3. Various scholars have defined the state from different perspectives, emphasising its political and social dimensions.
4. The concept of the state has evolved historically and continues to change with time.
5. Sovereignty is the most important element that distinguishes the state from other organisations.
6. The government acts as the machinery through which the will of the state is expressed.
7. The state plays a crucial role in maintaining order, ensuring welfare, and regulating social life.

Objective Questions

1. Who used the term 'state' for the first time?
2. Who wrote the book The Prince?
3. From which word is the term 'state' derived?
4. What are the four essential elements of a state?
5. Who emphasised that political science begins and ends with the state?
6. What is sovereignty?
7. How many organs does the government consist of?
8. Name one essential element of the state.
9. What is meant by territory?
10. Who defined the state as a territorial society with government and sovereignty?

Answers

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Machiavelli | 6. Supreme power |
| 2. Machiavelli | 7. Three |
| 3. Status | 8. Population |
| 4. Population, Territory,
Government, Sovereignty | 9. Land area |
| 5. Garner | 10. Laski |

Assignments

1. Define the state and explain its essential elements.
2. Discuss the various notions of the state.
3. Explain the importance of sovereignty in the concept of the state.
4. Analyse the role of government in the functioning of the state.
5. Examine the relationship between the state and its elements.



Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is meant by the state? Explain its features.
2. Discuss the essential elements of the state in detail.
3. Explain the concept of sovereignty and its importance.
4. Distinguish between state and government.
5. What is the role of territory in defining a state?
6. Explain the significance of population in a state.
7. Discuss different scholarly definitions of the state.
8. How has the concept of the state evolved over time?
9. What are the functions of government in a state?
10. Why is sovereignty considered the soul of the state?

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UNIT

The Concept of Sovereignty, Monism and Pluralism

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit the learners will be able to

1. Understand the concept of sovereignty
2. analyse different theoretical perspectives on sovereignty
3. examine the pluralistic critique of monistic sovereignty
4. evaluate the relevance of sovereignty in modern political systems

Prerequisite

As learners continue to study the concept of the state, a key question begins to arise: what gives the state its final authority? This question leads to the idea of sovereignty, which may at first seem abstract but is essential for understanding political power. A student may find it difficult to understand how authority can be described as “supreme” and may also question whether such authority is truly without limits in real situations. In response, the teacher places sovereignty within the wider framework of political organisation and explains that it refers to the highest form of power within a state. At the same time, this explanation leads to further questions about whether this power is absolute or whether it operates within certain limits. The discussion then moves towards different ways of understanding sovereignty, including the monistic view, which supports absolute authority, and the pluralistic view, which recognises the presence of multiple centres of power.

Keywords

Monism, Pluralism, Absolutism, De facto and De Jure, Popular Sovereignty

Discussion

Definitions

Look at the definitions of keywords given for this unit:

1) Monism

Monism is a theory or doctrine that denies the existence of distinction or duality. It maintains that only one supreme being exists. It stands opposed to the equally broad term 'pluralism'.

2) Pluralism

Pluralism refers to a condition or system in which two or more states, groups, principles, sources of authority, etc., coexist. According to the Britannica Dictionary, pluralism describes a situation in which people of different social classes, religions, races, etc., are together in a society but continue to maintain their distinct traditions and interests.

3) Absolutism

Absolutism means total and complete authority. An absolute ruler possesses complete power over their country, not bound by any external limitations such as customs, precedents, natural law, divine law, common law, or public opinion.

4) De Facto and De Jure

De Facto, a Latin term meaning 'from the fact', refers to what happens in reality or practice, as opposed to De Jure, which means 'from the law' and refers to what is legally noted in the legal code.

5) Natural Law

Natural law is a set of rules of good conduct that exist independently of conventional law, directly derived from nature. It asserts that these rules of right and wrong are inherent in people and are not created by society or

judges. Advocates of natural law regard it as the source of all laws, superior to any other law.

6) Positive Law

Positive law is the law that expresses the will of the sovereign, duly enacted by a legislative body, and recognized by the judiciary.

7) Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism is a political outlook or attitude that requires everybody or everything to conform to an established order enshrined in customary practices or a set of beliefs. It demands that rules and laws must always be obeyed, regardless of their moral correctness.

1.3.1 Sovereignty - Nature

There can be no state without sovereignty. The state exercises its sovereign power through the government. A sovereign state is not subject to any external control. The sovereign power is used to make laws, maintain law and order, and regulate the conduct of people and activities of other organizations within its territory. Sovereignty is a characteristic that distinguishes the state from other associations. The term 'sovereignty' derives from the Latin word 'superanus', meaning supremacy or paramount power. Therefore, sovereignty refers to the supreme or paramount power of the state.

Although 'sovereignty' is a modern term, the idea dates back to Aristotle, who referred to the 'supreme power' of the state. The terms 'sovereign' and 'sovereignty' were first used by French jurists Beaumanoir and Loyseau in the 15th century. Jean Bodin, a French political philosopher, was the first to discuss the nature and characteristics of sovereignty. He defined sovereignty as 'the supreme

power of the state over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law.' Subsequent thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel and Bentham further developed Bodin's ideas.

1.3.1.1 Definitions of Sovereignty

Different scholars have defined sovereignty in various ways. Jean Bodin defined it as 'the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law.' To Duguit, sovereignty is 'the commanding power of the state; the right to give unconditional orders to all individuals in the state's territory.' According to Burgess, sovereignty is 'the original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual, subjects, and all associations of subjects.' Willoughby said 'sovereignty is the supreme will of the state.' Prof. Laski stated the sovereign is 'legally supreme over any individual or group' and possesses 'supreme coercive power.' All these definitions focus on the legal supremacy of the state.

1.3.1.2 Characteristics of Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a legal juristic concept related to the legal supremacy of the state. It has many characteristics:

- ◆ It is absolute and unlimited. It is the supreme will of the state with no legal superior.
- ◆ Internally, it is supreme over individuals and groups. Externally, it is independent of compulsion or interference from other states.
- ◆ Even if a sovereign enters a treaty, it is not legally bound to obey it. The sovereign is not bound by international law. However, it must be stated that absolute sovereignty is neither possible nor desirable, as 'all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.' It is undesirable to give any person absolute power.

Hobbes removed all fetters and pleaded for the creation of absolute sovereignty. Lock maintained that political sovereignty belongs to the people but it is given as a trust in the hands of legal sovereign. In Rousseau both principles – popular sovereignty and absolute sovereignty – are found together. Rousseau maintained that sovereignty belongs to the people and the people cannot delegate it to any other authority. Thus, Rousseau became the supporter of direct democracy or popular sovereignty.

Another characteristic of sovereignty is its universality or all-comprehensiveness. The sovereign is supreme over all persons, associations and things within the state. No one can claim exemption from its authority. The only exemption given is to diplomatic representatives, which is a matter of international courtesy and not a real legal exemption. This concession can be withdrawn at any moment by the sovereign's will.

Sovereignty is inalienable. The state cannot part with or transfer its sovereignty to another entity. If the sovereign transfers its supreme power, it no longer remains the sovereign authority. This is comparable to how a person cannot transfer their life or personality to another without self-destruction. As Lieber states, "Sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life or personality without self-destruction." Sovereignty is considered the essence of the state's personality, and to alienate it would be equivalent to the state's suicide.

So in addition to being absolute, unlimited and supreme, sovereignty also has the characteristics of being all-comprehensive over the state's territory, and being an



inalienable power that cannot be permanently transferred or given up by the sovereign state.

According to Marxism:

1. *Sovereignty is a class power. In a class divided socially the economically dominant class makes use of it to serve its own class interest.*
2. *The basis of sovereignty is either naked power or false consciousness*
3. *Sovereignty is not diffused, but it is centralized power of the ruling class.*
4. *Whenever the class struggle became intensive, the basis of sovereignty as naked power is more apparent than its other basis namely, the general will of the people.*

Sovereignty is a permanent characteristic of the state. It exists as long as the state itself exists and only comes to an end with the destruction of the state. The two cannot be separated - sovereignty and the state's existence are inseparably linked. Even the death of a king or president does not mean the cessation of sovereignty, it is merely a personal change in the government, not a break in the continuity of the state's sovereignty.

Sovereignty is indivisible. It cannot be divided between or shared by different sets of individuals or groups into parts. It is an entire, absolute thing. To divide it is to destroy it. The idea of a "divided, fragmented, diminished, limited, relative sovereignty" is the very negation of true sovereignty itself. As Prof. Gettel states: "If sovereignty is not absolute, no state exists; if sovereignty is

divided, more than one state exists."

Sovereignty is exclusive. There cannot be two sovereign authorities in one independent state. If there were two sovereigns in a state, the unity and existence of that state itself would be disturbed and ultimately destroyed.

According to Liberalism:

1. *The state needs sovereignty to maintain peace, law and order, to resolve conflict and bring unity in society, and to perform welfare functions.*
2. *Sovereignty is not merely a law making or order giving power but it is required for the above-mentioned functions.*
3. *The basis of law is not sovereignty but their social utility*
4. *Sovereignty is diffused rather than centralized. There is no ruling class because power is divided among competing plural elites.*

Sovereignty is original. When a state comes into existence, sovereignty comes with it. Sovereignty is not conferred by anyone else. It is born with the state, and it will end with the destruction of the state.

The characteristics described above are subscribed to by monistic writers such as Austin, Bodin, Hobbes, Rousseau, and Hegel.

Sovereignty or the supreme authority of the state has two dimensions - internal and external. Internal sovereignty reflects the legal supremacy over citizens and other associations within the state. External sovereignty is reflected in the sovereign

equality of states in their interactions with other states. This means the state is independent of other states in conducting its external relations.

1.3.1.3 Kinds of Sovereignty

Sovereignty is primarily a legal concept. In practice, it may take different forms under different conditions, described as different aspects of sovereignty.

Titular and Real

A distinction exists between titular sovereignty and real sovereignty. A titular sovereign is sovereign in name or title only, not in fact. Outwardly, power is vested in the titular sovereign, but they exercise only symbolic and ceremonial state functions, normally acting on another's advice. The real power lies elsewhere. In India, the President is the titular sovereign, while real power rests with the Cabinet. In England, the King is the titular head without real power, which the King-in-Parliament and Cabinet enjoy. The agency or person actually exercising sovereign power is the real sovereign. An absolute sovereign is all-powerful, the source of all laws and authority, e.g., the US President.

Legal and Political

The legal sovereign is the lawyer's sovereign or sovereign from a legal perspective. Every state has a visible, determinate authority with power to issue final commands. Orders issued and laws enacted by this authority are recognized by courts, and their infringement invites punishment. This authority is the legal sovereign, recognized as such by the law of the land. Legal sovereignty may reside in human beings or institutions like Parliament. The legal sovereign is organised and clearly recognisable. All rights emanate from and are enforceable through the legal sovereign, whose authority is unlimited and not subject to internal or external control. Courts only

recognise the legal sovereign. The King-in-Parliament is England's legal sovereign. Austin's monistic theory fully expounds legal sovereignty.

However, 'behind the legal sovereign, there is a political sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow.' The political sovereign is unorganised and indeterminate, thus vague with no legal sanctity, incapable of legally expressing the state's will. The political sovereign is the people. No legal sovereign can ignore the political sovereign people's opinion, or risk being removed from power. This fear forces the legal sovereign to act per public opinion. The English constitutionalist A.V. Dicey put forward this political sovereignty concept.

De facto and De jure Sovereignty

A distinction also exists between 'de facto' and 'de jure' sovereignty. 'De facto' means something not legally recognised. A 'de jure' sovereign is considered sovereign by law. De facto sovereignty rests on physical force, while de jure sovereignty has the legal right to command obedience. Revolutions often destroy the old legal sovereign and establish a new one. A de facto sovereign may acquire legal status and become a de jure sovereign over time. Historical de facto sovereignty examples include Cromwell in England, Napoleon in France, and the Bolsheviks in Russia post-1917. Current military dictatorships after coups also represent de facto sovereignty, which often converts into de jure sovereignty by organising elections.

Popular Sovereignty

Popular sovereignty means the sovereignty of the people. This idea emerged as a protest against the absolutism of monarchs who relied on the theory of 'divine rights'. Roman thinkers stated the theory of popular sovereignty in general terms. Cicero said the authority of the commonwealth is derived from the corporate power of the people.



The question is whether ‘people’ means all residents of the state or only those with the right to vote. The latter seems more correct, as only those with the voting right can elect parliamentary representatives who make laws for the whole state. Rousseau strongly advocated popular sovereignty through his ‘general will’ concept, inspiring the French revolutionaries. It was also embodied in the American Declaration of Independence, stating governments derive just powers from the governed’s consent. Lord Bryce states popular sovereignty is the basis and watchword of democracy. However, the people’s will is not legally enforced by courts.

Monism (Austin’s Theory of Sovereignty)

Austin was the chief exponent of the monistic theory of sovereignty explained in his book ‘Lectures on Jurisprudence’. His theory is based on the conception of law, defined as ‘the command given by a superior to an inferior’. He defines sovereignty thus: ‘If a determinate human superior, not habitually obeying a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate human superior is sovereign in that society, and that society (including the superior) is political and independent.’

Key points from Austin’s definition:

1. Sovereignty is the essential state attribute.
2. Sovereignty is a ‘determinate human superior’, ruling out popular sovereignty as the people are an indeterminate mass.
3. Sovereignty is absolute and unlimited.
4. The sovereign is the source of all laws, translating will into binding commands.
5. Obedience must come from the bulk of society habitually, not necessarily the whole population.

6. The sovereign obeys no other higher authority.
7. Sovereignty cannot be shared between two or more persons/institutions as it is a unified thing.

So for Austin, sovereignty means unlimited, absolute power vested in one ‘determinate human superior’ who obeys no other, makes laws that society habitually obeys, and shares power with none. So for Austin, sovereignty means unlimited, absolute power vested in one ‘determinate human superior’ who obeys no other, makes laws that society habitually obeys, and shares power with none

1.3.1.4 Critical Evaluation

Sovereignty does not reside in a determinate human superior. Henry Maine disagreed, stating, “A despot with a disturbed brain is the sole conceivable example of such sovereignty.”

The sovereign is not the source of all laws. Austin’s postulate that ‘law is the command of the sovereign’ cannot be accepted. No sovereign can ignore customary laws grown over the ages. Many laws are based on customs, usages and religious practices, which the sovereign cannot simply disregard due to fear of public opinion and disapproval. In Western civilisation, a sovereign could not disregard ‘the entire history of the community, the mass of its historical precedents.’ Thus, there are many limitations on the sovereign’s power to make laws.

Austin’s theory is against Popular and Political Sovereignty. The democratic doctrine that sovereignty resides in the people is unacceptable to Austin. In modern times, it is almost universally believed that people are the ultimate sovereign. Thus, his theory is outdated and goes against democratic principles.

Sovereignty is not absolute. Austin's theory investing the sovereign with absolute and unlimited powers is unacceptable. In modern times, a state's sovereignty is subject to many restrictions. Numerous international treaties and organisations have restricted states' external sovereignty. Growing interdependence has made it difficult for states to act freely. A state's internal sovereignty has also eroded due to powerful associations and organisations within. Bluntschli says state power is limited externally by other states, international law and organizations, and internally by its own nature and individual/associational rights.

Sovereignty is not indivisible. Austin's conception that sovereignty is indivisible is objected to. In every state, power is divided among the three government organs. In a federal state, powers must be divided between the federal government and its units, each supreme in its own sphere. So sovereignty is divisible, and the idea of divided sovereignty must be accepted.

It is difficult to locate sovereignty. It may reside in the people, Parliament, head of state or the constitution. In federal states like the USA and India, it is difficult to decide where sovereignty resides.

In view of these weaknesses, Austin's theory of sovereignty is unacceptable in modern times. In theory, a sovereign may be all-powerful but in practice sovereign power is limited by numerous internal and external factors. As Prof. Laski observes, "It would be a lasting benefit to political science if the whole concept of sovereignty were surrendered."

1.3.2 Pluralism (Pluralist Theory of Sovereignty)

Pluralism, a reaction against the legal, traditional, monistic, and absolute theory of sovereignty advocated by Austin and others, challenges the concept of sovereignty as

comprehensive, indivisible, and inalienable. While anarchists seek to abolish the state entirely, pluralists aim only to dismantle its absolute and unlimited sovereignty. They first critique the monistic theory before presenting their own theory of the pluralist state. Harold Laski, J.N. Figgis, Earnest Barker, G.D.H Cole, A.D Lindsay, Duguit, Mac Iver, and others are proponents of pluralism.

The key points of the pluralist theory of sovereignty are:

1. Federal Character of Society

Pluralists argue that the idea of an all-powerful, all-inclusive sovereign state is futile and dangerous. They advocate for a federal society where authority is plural, viewing sovereignty as inherently multiple, divisible, and shared among various entities.

2. Role of Associations

According to pluralists, sovereignty is not solely vested in the state but also in other institutions like the family, church, and various social, political, economic, and cultural entities. These associations exist independently of the state, exercising their own autonomy and sovereignty within their respective domains. Thus, the state is just one among many associations, unable to claim absolute power over others.

3. Elimination of State-Government Distinction

Pluralists reject the artificial distinction between the state and government, viewing the government as the primary actor through which the state operates.

4. Absence of Uniqueness in the State

The state is not a singular and superior association; it lacks rightful pre-eminence over other associations. Consequently, people's allegiance is divided among various associations, including the state. Pluralists criticize sovereignty from multiple angles, with Lindsay suggesting its breakdown in modern life, Laski dismissing it as invalid



for political philosophy, and Barker deeming the doctrine of the sovereign state baseless.

1.3.4 Critical Evaluation

Critics have raised several points against the pluralist theory of sovereignty:

1. Promotion of Chaos and Confusion:

Critics argue that by diminishing the supremacy of the state and advocating for power-sharing with other associations, pluralism could lead to chaos and confusion. Without a sovereign state to maintain order and enforce laws, conflicts between associations and individuals may escalate. The state's duty to ensure compliance with laws would become ineffective without sovereign power.

2. Inequality between State and Associations:

Some critics contend that the state holds a distinct position as the overarching entity under which all associations exist and function. The state creates conditions for association operation and resolves conflicts between them. Therefore, it's argued that the state should retain the authority to determine the existence of associations.

3. Lack of Emphasis on Classless Society:

Critics maintain that without achieving a classless society, dividing or limiting sovereignty is impractical. Pluralism's focus on limiting state sovereignty should prioritize the establishment of a classless society, which they feel is not adequately emphasized in pluralistic theory.

4. Defence of the Need for a Strong State:

Opponents of pluralism advocate for a strong state, arguing that it's essential for modern governance. Pluralism's suggestion to make economic organizations independent of the state is seen as challenging, particularly in an era where state functions are expanding. They argue that ideologies like Liberalism, capitalism, and socialism all support a strong state, which they believe is necessary for achieving equitable income distribution and realizing a classless society.

The pluralists advocate for the state to share its lawmaking and decision-making power with other associations and groups. Undoubtedly, the devolution of power may be both useful and desirable. However, the superior authority of the state must remain to ensure that laws and decisions made by various associations and groups do not conflict with each other or contradict the state's goals.

It is also argued that the state and government are not identical. The pluralists' identification of the state with the government is unacceptable. The power of the state cannot be limited, whereas the power of the government is inherently limited. The government can only exercise powers assigned to it under the constitution, acting as an agent of the state.

The pluralists demand that the external sovereignty of the state be restricted in the interest of humanity, peace, and security. This can only be achieved by ending capitalism and imperialism, although the pluralists do not address this issue.

1.3.5 Merit of the theory

Despite criticisms, it cannot be denied that the pluralist theory of sovereignty was a welcomed reaction against the glorification of state authority. It emphasises the dangers of such glorification and serves as a timely protest against the rigid legalism of Austin's sovereignty theory. Pluralism highlights the growing importance of non-political groups, decentralisation of power, people's participation in the democratic process, and the dangers of excessive state interference in the functioning of groups and associations.

Pluralism represents a democratic challenge against absolutism, rejecting the absolute sovereignty advocated by Austin and Hegelian glorification of the state. However, it does not seek to abolish the state entirely but rather to strip it of its sovereignty, which is considered a weakness of the theory. Despite conflicting views, it can be concluded that regardless of the rights claimed or gained by groups, the state will remain a necessary force for adjustment.

Recap

- ◆ Sovereignty is the supreme and essential attribute of the state.
- ◆ It implies ultimate authority within a territory and independence from external control.
- ◆ Sovereignty has characteristics such as absoluteness, permanence, indivisibility, and exclusiveness.
- ◆ It exists in different forms, including legal, political, titular, real, de facto, and de jure sovereignty.
- ◆ Austin's monistic theory views sovereignty as absolute, indivisible, and vested in a determinate authority.
- ◆ Pluralists challenge this view and argue for the distribution of power among various social institutions.
- ◆ Modern political systems recognise limitations on sovereignty due to internal and external factors.

Objective Questions

1. What is the essential attribute of the state?
2. From which Latin word is 'sovereignty' derived?

3. Who first discussed the theory of sovereignty in detail?
4. Who is the chief exponent of the monistic theory of sovereignty?
5. What does 'de facto' mean?
6. What does 'de jure' mean?
7. Who advocated popular sovereignty?
8. Name one pluralist thinker.
9. What type of sovereignty is recognised by law?
10. What is meant by absolutism?

Answers

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Sovereignty | 6. By law |
| 2. Superanus | 7. Rousseau |
| 3. Jean Bodin | 8. Laski |
| 4. Austin | 9. Legal sovereignty |
| 5. In practice | 10. Absolute power |

Assignments

1. Define sovereignty and explain its characteristics.
2. Critically examine Austin's theory of sovereignty.
3. Analyse the pluralistic theory of sovereignty.
4. Distinguish between de facto and de jure sovereignty.
5. Explain the concept of popular sovereignty.

Self Assessment Questions

1. What is sovereignty? Explain its nature.
2. Discuss the main characteristics of sovereignty.
3. Explain Austin's monistic theory of sovereignty.
4. Critically evaluate the limitations of monistic theory.
5. What is pluralism? Explain its main features.
6. Distinguish between legal and political sovereignty.
7. Explain the concept of popular sovereignty.
8. How is sovereignty limited in modern states?
9. What are the different forms of sovereignty?
10. Discuss the relevance of sovereignty in contemporary politics.

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UNIT

State and Civil Society

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit the learners will be able to

- ◆ understand and define the concept of civil society
- ◆ analyse the characteristics and functions of civil society
- ◆ evaluate the role of civil society in democratic governance
- ◆ examine the relationship between state and civil society

Prerequisite

After gaining an understanding of the state and its authority, learners may begin to ask whether every part of social life falls under the control of the state or whether there are areas that function outside its direct reach. This question brings attention to the idea of civil society. A student may wonder how voluntary organisations, associations, and non-governmental bodies are connected to the state and what role they play in public life. In response, the teacher explains that while the state represents formal political authority, civil society is made up of various institutions created by individuals to pursue shared interests. These bodies function independently of the state, yet they remain closely linked to it in many ways. They take part in public life by expressing concerns, shaping opinions, and at times influencing policies and decisions.

Keywords

Bureaucracy, Civil Liberties, Civil Society, Elitism, Oligarchy

Discussion

1.4.1 Civil Society – What is it?

The state is the sovereign, organised, single political community of all the people living in a definite territory. It has an organised government through which the will of the state is expressed. The concept of state has already been discussed in the unit. It is not necessary to repeat it again.

There is no fixed definition of civil society. However, the term civil society is used in two senses. According to the first sense, civil society comprises social institutions like schools, churches, clubs, and other similar groups of citizens, which serve as structures of legitimisation of the state. In the second sense, civil society stands for a set of public interest organisations set up by some conscious citizens on the way to social reforms. The state must respond promptly to their demand in order to ensure the smooth functioning of society. Thus, civil society comprises organisations that are not associated with the government. It means all the non-government, private, economic, social, cultural, moral, recreational, and other such associations or institutions of people. The role of civil society in this sense has assumed special significance in recent years.

1.4.2 Characteristics of Civil Society

1. It consists of non-state institutions.
2. It is an organised society.
3. It is voluntary.
4. It is an autonomous body.
5. It is a non-profit entity.
6. It enables citizens' interaction

with the state and thereby facilitates citizen participation in the governance process.

1.4.3 Importance of Civil Society

Civil society works outside the state structure and belongs to the realm of autonomous associations and groups formed by individuals in their capacity as private citizens. It is worked by people with the help of their own resources and efforts. All non-governmental private organizations, associations, and institutions, including groups, constitute civil society. It refers to the non-governmental economic realm, distinct from states.

The core mission of a true civil society is to be the voice of the people by respecting and promoting constitutional laws (Civil society can interfere in the state function where it is deemed that the state is turning into authoritarian). Civil society is now considered essential to healthy democracy. A civil society expresses the concern of the citizens to the government using several democratic principles like peaceful protests, complaints in the form of petitions, by using the right to information, going to litigation, and several other measures. It creates an atmosphere where citizens are able to enjoy some level of autonomy or independence from government control or influence. It promotes a moral sense of obligations among citizens and motivates them to participate in civic causes. It discourages their dependence on the government for the solution of their common problems. Thus, it serves as a true source of democratization.

Civil society acts as a responsive agent: They monitor government policies and actions and hold the government accountable. They offer alternative policies for the government,



the private sector, and other institutions. They deliver services, especially to the poor and the underserved.

The civil society can also act as an election watchdog. It is very vigilant for the removal of the maladies which afflict the electoral system like those of criminalisation of politics, money power, muscle power, mafia power, booth capturing, and exerting undue influence on the free will of the electors in order to make elections free and fair.

Civil society can be an effective instrument in countering citizens' indifference towards civic duties. Civil society movements motivate people to take an active interest in public affairs and freely express their opinions. They serve as a crucial force in spreading awareness about various issues such as voting, environmental rights, health, democratic education, corruption, legal rights, and more. To maintain a stable democracy, a nation must unite regardless of caste, color, creed, or any other man-made differences. Civil society can break down such barriers by promoting national-level interest. Theatre, drama, arts, dance, sports, movies, and folklore are highly effective instruments used in this process to integrate everyone into the nation, thus strengthening democracy.

Civil society acts as a bridge between the government and the people, reflecting the voices of different sections within the parliament. These sections include labour unions, auto drivers, students, farmers, women, transgender individuals, homosexuals, doctors, lawyers, and even human rights workers.

Civil society movements demand that public affairs should not be concentrated in the hands of bureaucracy. Instead, citizens' participation in these affairs should be fully encouraged. Civil society alone can provide a forum for people to articulate their criticisms

of government policies and actions. It can also be an effective instrument in addressing economic inequalities and securing social justice.

In contemporary times, civil society consistently stands for the protection of individual rights and liberties, opposing unnecessary state interference in the social, economic, and cultural lives of individuals. It opposes all violations of human rights and liberties and cooperates to secure their needs and interests. In India, organizations like People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) have been engaged in these tasks. Similarly, 'civic action' groups in Mexico and 'Area boys' in Nigeria exemplify civil society organizations in other countries.

However, the civil society movement is not without its drawbacks. Does it promote democracy at all levels? Some organs of civil society are affiliated with elitist and oligarchic tendencies. Some civil society activists mobilize people using popular slogans for undue importance and wide publicity in the media. Some manifestations of civil society itself can take highly 'uncivil' forms that promote exclusion and violence. Some groups use democratic languages, institutions, and strategies to achieve undemocratic ends. Many civil society groups, such as environmental protection groups, have gained a remarkable amount of political influence.

Despite criticisms, civil society serves as an intermediate association between individuals and the states. It is the product of freedom of association. It acts as a bedrock of civil liberties for citizens, serving as a channel of communication between individuals and the states and functioning as a shock absorber in times of mounting tensions between individuals and the states. In short, it has become one of the key instruments of good governance worldwide.

1.4.4 Civil Society Organizations

Closely allied with civil society, civic organizations can be defined as non-profit community-based entities, such as companies, clubs, committees, associations, corporations, or authorized organizations, established mainly to further educational, charitable, religious, cultural, or local economic development purposes. Important organizations include:

1. Church and other faith-based organizations
2. NGOs and other non-profit organizations (e.g., Oxfam, Cancer Research UK, Salvation Army, Shelter, Age UK Citizens Advice)
3. Unions and other collective bargaining groups
4. Innovators, entrepreneurs, and activists
5. Cooperatives and collectives
6. Grassroots organisations

1.4.5 Civil Society and the State

Originally, the terms civil society and political society (state) were used

synonymously. However, the term civil society was first used by the ancient Roman philosopher Cicero (106-43 BC). In the 17th century, John Locke, an English philosopher, equated civil society with political society. He observed that when people relinquish the state of nature and set up a government for the protection of their natural rights, they enter into civil society. Civil society serves as a means to establish discipline, order, and security for the human community. In the 18th century, Rousseau, a French political philosopher, also treated civil society and political society as synonymous. It provides legal equality for all citizens, making them equal in the eyes of the law despite their natural differences. However, the German philosopher Hegel sought to distinguish 'civil society' from the state. In Hegel's view, civil society represented an organization in which an individual dealt with all other individuals as a means to serve his self-interest. Another German philosopher, Karl Marx, accepted Hegel's views of civil society but did not accept his distinction between civil society and the state. Marx believed that in actual practice, civil society represented the state itself.

In light of the above discussions, a distinction must be made between the state and civil society.

State and Civil Society		
The issue	The State	Civil society
Structure	Formal, unified structure. It consists of the three organs – Legislature, executive and judiciary.	Comprises loose organisation of citizens voluntarily pursuing public interest.
Authority	Armed with Supreme legal authority, ie sovereignty	No formal legal authority. It enjoys moral authority over citizens.
Jurisdiction	Compulsory jurisdiction over citizens and territory	No compulsory jurisdiction

Functions	Maintenance of law and order; protection of life and property of citizens	Protection of the common interest of citizens and exerting influence on governments organs.
Resources	Huge resources at its disposal –ownership of national wealth, taxation, public debt, etc.	No definite assets or source of income; it has to create its own resources.
Occurrence	Universal: some form of political organizations are to be found in all societies	It appears only in relatively advanced societies.

A state is identified by its unified, formal structure comprising different organs of power, particularly legislature, executive, and judiciary. On the other hand, civil society is comprised of loose organizations of citizens voluntarily pursuing the public interest. The state is armed with supreme legal authority, i.e., sovereignty, whereas civil society does not enjoy formal legal authority; it holds moral authority over its citizens. The state is empowered to exercise compulsory jurisdiction over its citizens and territory, while civil society does not exercise compulsory jurisdiction anywhere; it largely depends on its ability to motivate and inspire. The state is responsible for maintaining law and order as well as protecting citizens from internal and external offenses, natural disasters, and other calamities, whereas civil society voluntarily undertakes the protection of the common interest of citizens by mobilizing them, pooling their resources, and exerting influence on government organs. Furthermore, the state can use its power in an authoritarian way; civil society always works against undemocratic, anti-people laws and policies that in any way try to limit the rights, personal liberties, and privacy of people.

Moreover, the state has huge resources at its disposal, e.g., ownership of national wealth, power of taxation, and raising public debt, etc. But civil society has no definite assets or sources of income; it has

to create its resources through mobilizing subscriptions, grants, and donations, etc. Finally, the existence of the state is universal; some form of political organization is to be found in all modern societies. However, civil society comes into existence only in a relatively advanced society where citizens have become adequately conscious of their rights, duties, and common interests.

However, it must also be clearly understood that we cannot rigidly draw the boundaries between the two. These cannot be fixed. This is most evident from the fact that what was deemed to be the realm of the state (socio-economic welfare and development) is now deemed to be an area of concern and action for civil society. Since the political, economic, and social reforms of 1990, NGOs have been recognized as a special sector that plays an important role in the development of a country's economy. They also play a role in social services. As the state withdrew from the social service sector because of economic constraints, civil society organizations have come to be involved in social services. They filled the space untouched by the government and private sector. In a fragile and conflict-ridden country, it plays an even more important role of providing services normally the responsibility of the state. The major areas they involved are social services, employment generation, environmental concern, gender

issues, and actions, and poverty alleviation. NGOs play an important role in strengthening civil society through informing and educating the people.

Civil society cannot replace the state. It accepts the utility and role of the states in society. It simply opposes an over powerful, overactive, and authoritarian state. State and civil society can and must work together. Each can supplement the other. The state acting along with civil society can be highly

productive of desired and useful results. The concept of state and civil society is not in conflict with each other. Democracy integrates the two. The claims of the people get strengthened by civil society, and civil society becomes more stable and stronger in the democratic state. Both can and should work in a democratic spirit. In a democratic system, the state and civil society can collaborate for the effective functioning of each.

Recap

- ◆ Civil society refers to non-governmental organisations and voluntary associations that operate outside the state.
- ◆ It plays a crucial role in promoting democracy, participation, and accountability.
- ◆ Civil society acts as a bridge between the state and citizens.
- ◆ It helps in protecting rights, spreading awareness, and influencing public policy.
- ◆ There are clear differences between state and civil society in terms of structure, authority, and functions.
- ◆ Civil society organisations contribute to social development, welfare, and good governance.
- ◆ Despite its importance, civil society may also face limitations such as elitism and misuse of influence.

Objective Questions

1. What does civil society consist of?
2. Who first used the term ‘civil society’?
3. What type of authority does the state possess?



4. What type of authority does civil society possess?
5. What is bureaucracy?
6. What are civil liberties?
7. What is oligarchy?
8. What is elitism?
9. Does civil society have compulsory jurisdiction?
10. What role does civil society play in democracy?

Answers

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Non-governmental organisations | 6. Fundamental freedoms |
| 2. Cicero | 7. Rule by few |
| 3. Legal authority | 8. Rule by elite |
| 4. Moral authority | 9. No |
| 5. Rule by officials | 10. Promotes participation |

Assignments

1. Define civil society and explain its characteristics.
2. Distinguish between state and civil society.
3. Examine the role of civil society in a democratic system.
4. Analyse the importance of civil society in protecting rights.
5. Discuss the relationship between state and civil society.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is civil society? Explain its features.
2. How does civil society differ from the state?
3. Discuss the role of civil society in democracy.
4. Explain the importance of civil society in governance.
5. What are the main characteristics of civil society?
6. How does civil society influence public policy?
7. Discuss the limitations of civil society.
8. What is the relationship between civil society and the state?
9. How does civil society promote citizen participation?
10. Explain the concept of civil liberties in relation to civil society.

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BLOCK

Understanding the Basic Concept in Political System



1

UNIT

Rights – Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of rights
- ◆ analyse the essential characteristics of rights
- ◆ evaluate the importance of rights in individual and social development
- ◆ examine the role of the state in recognising and protecting rights

Prerequisite

At the outset of studying political systems, a learner may raise an important question: why are certain claims or freedoms described as “rights,” and what makes them essential for human life? This question often arises from observing social realities where individuals demand fairness, dignity, and protection against injustice. In addressing this, the teacher introduces rights as the fundamental conditions necessary for the development of human personality within society. The explanation proceeds by clarifying that rights are not isolated privileges but are deeply connected with social existence. Every individual, by virtue of living in a community, requires certain freedoms and opportunities to grow intellectually, morally, and socially. However, these rights are neither absolute nor independent; they are shaped by social values, legal recognition, and the collective good.

Keywords

Rights, Fundamental Rights, Political Rights, Moral Rights, Legal Rights

Discussion

Recently, the Supreme Court of India declared that transgender individuals are to be recognised as the third gender and granted the right to self-identify as male, female, or third gender. The court observed that the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of India apply equally to transgender persons. It also held that transgenders are to be treated as a backward class and should be granted their rights in education and employment. In this case, the court repeatedly emphasised the concept of rights. Human beings can develop all their mental, physical, and spiritual qualities only if they are entitled to certain rights and privileges. The question to consider is why certain social conditions are called rights. Can a person lead a good life without these rights? Start to find the answers.

2.1.1 Rights and Meaning

Rights are essential conditions of social life. According to Prof. Laski, rights are those conditions of social life without which no person can develop their best self. An individual living in society requires certain opportunities and social conditions to develop their material, intellectual, physical, and spiritual qualities. Each state grants certain rights to its citizens, which are essential for the development of individual personalities. This is why Prof. Harold J. Laski observes that every state is known by the rights it maintains.

As Thomas Hobbes describes, “Rights are what we may expect from others, and others from us, and all genuine rights are conditions of social welfare.” Different scholars have defined rights in various ways. A few of these important definitions are given below.

To Wilde, “A right is a reasonable claim to freedom in the exercise of certain activities.”

According to Bernard Bosanquet, “A right is a claim recognised by society and enforced by the state.” T.H. Green states, “A right is a power claimed and recognized as contributory to common good.” Prof. Laski says, “Rights, in fact, are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be at his best.” Prof. Ernest Barker defines rights as “the external conditions necessary for the greatest possible development of the capacities of personality.”

2.1.1.1 Characteristics of Rights

Based on the definitions of rights given above, the following are the essential features of Rights:

Rights are the product of society. There can be no rights outside society. Rights exist only in society; outside it, they are meaningless. It is only in a society that the question arises as to what an individual can do and what he/she cannot do because the consequences of his/her actions affect others.

Rights and duties go together. Every right has a corresponding obligation or duty. What is a right for one is a duty for another. For example, if one has the right to life, it is the duty of others to let him live. Thus, rights and duties are two sides of the same coin.

Rights should promote the common good. A right can be used only for social good and not against the interest of society. A right must not serve the good of a single individual at the cost of the good of others.

Rights are changing in character. Rights are not static. They tend to grow and change. Rights change with changes in society and ideas, and economic and political conditions. For example, in the early phase of industrial expansion, the right to unfettered

the birth of society. The concept of natural rights was defended by social contract philosophers in the 17th and 18th centuries. For instance, Locke championed the right to life, liberty, and property as natural rights that cannot be taken away by anyone. Some people interpret the meaning of natural rights differently. They say that there are certain things to which man has an inherent right. These rights are natural in the sense that they are necessary for the moral development of individuals. They represent an attainable ideal that the state seeks to achieve. However, in modern times, political thinkers do not support this view.

2.1.2.2 Moral Right

Moral rights are based on ethical feelings and the moral consciousness of the community. There is no legal force behind these claims. They are not enforced by law but by public opinion guided by traditions and customs. For example, parents have the right to be assisted by their children in their old age. Moral rights are largely based on religious beliefs and the moral conceptions of the people in any society. Therefore, they differ from society to society.

2.1.2.3 Legal Rights

A legal right is recognized and enforced by the powers of the state. The state provides legal machinery for their protection. Their violation attracts penalties ranging from simple fines to capital punishment. Legal rights are divisible into four categories: civil, political, economic, and fundamental.

2.1.2.4 Civil Rights

Civil rights are those which enable an individual to lead a decent civic life. They are called civil because they are essential conditions of civilized life. They are indispensable for civilized existence. It is only through the enjoyment of these rights that the well-rounded development of a person is possible. Some of the prominent

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civil rights are the right to life, the right to private property, the right to freedom of thought and expression, the right to freedom of association, the right to family, the right to work, the right to education, the right to religion, the right to freely move, and the right to make contracts. No one may be deprived of their rights without the due process of law.

2.1.2.5 Political Rights

Political rights are privileges recognized and guaranteed by the law of the state, enabling citizens to participate in the democratic process of the state. These rights are available only to citizens. The right to vote, the right to contest as a candidate in elections, the right to hold public office, the right to petition, and the right to criticize the government are some of the important political rights. Political rights are not generally enforced by the states; their exercise is optional for citizens. Some states make the

exercise of political rights, such as voting, compulsory and impose penalties for failing to exercise the right to vote.

2.1.2.6 Economic Rights

Economic rights are those essential for the economic development of individuals. In communist countries, economic rights are part of legal rights. For example, in China, the right to work, the right to wages, and the right to social security are economic rights. Important examples of economic rights include:

- ◆ The right to work
- ◆ The right to rest and leisure
- ◆ The right to state aid in the event of unemployment, old age, sickness, and similar situations
- ◆ The right to equal pay for equal work
- ◆ The right to strike

Rights		
Civil Rights	Economic Rights	Political Rights
1. Right to life and security	1. Right to work	1. Right to vote
2. Right to family	2. Right to rest and leisure	2. Right to contest elections
3. Right to speech and expression	3. Right to adequate wages	3. Right to form political parties
4. Right to Religion	4. Right against exploitation	4. Right to hold public offices
5. Right to family	5. Right to social security	5. Right to petitions
6. Freedom of assembly	6. Right to equal pay for equal work	6. Right to criticise the government
7. Freedom to form association or unions		
8. Right to equality before the law and equal protection of Law.		

the constitution is enforced, the rights are automatically enforced. As long as the constitution remains operational, rights also remain safe. However, it may be stated that the incorporation of these rights in a written constitution is not a hundred percent guarantee. Rights may be suspended during emergencies. The administrative machinery in Germany under Hitler shows that merely embodying rights in the constitution does not guarantee their protection.

Secondly, the judiciary must be given the authority to check the violation of these rights by the legislature, the executive, or private individuals by striking down wrongful laws as *ultra vires*. John Locke and Montesquieu suggested that the liberty of people could be secured only if there was a separation of powers. However, experience shows that the mere separation of the powers of the three departments, viz legislative, executive, and judiciary, is not enough to safeguard rights. These rights have been safeguarded even in

some countries where there is no separation of powers. However, it may be suggested that the system should be tried.

Strong, effective, and vigilant public opinion is probably a better safeguard for protecting these rights than any other method. Whenever a violation of these rights takes place, people must organize themselves and agitate against such violations. They should be vigilant about their rights and not tolerate the least infringement. Lord Bryce was right when he said, “eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.” Along with the evolution of vigilant public opinion, a strong and healthy opposition, and above all, the existence of a free press can also act as a check against the possible violation of these rights.

There should be decentralization of power. The concentration of power in one or a few hands leads to despotism and the violation of the rights of the people.

Recap

- ◆ Rights are essential conditions for the development of human personality.
- ◆ They exist only within society and are closely related to duties.
- ◆ Rights are not absolute and are subject to reasonable restrictions.
- ◆ They must promote the common good and possess legal recognition.
- ◆ Rights are classified into natural, moral, and legal rights.
- ◆ Legal rights include civil, political, economic, and fundamental rights.
- ◆ Fundamental rights are guaranteed and protected by the constitution.
- ◆ Safeguards such as judiciary, public opinion, and constitutional provisions help protect rights.

Objective Questions

1. Which political thinker is the greatest champion of Natural Rights?
2. Mention two Natural Rights.
3. By whom are natural rights said to have been given to man?
4. Who said that every state is known by the rights it maintains?
5. What enforces moral rights?
6. Name the book authored by Prof. Harold Laski.
7. Rights are meaningless unless they are recognised by which authority?
8. In which country is the right to work available to people?
9. Who concedes to the people the right to revolt in certain circumstances?
10. What is the most important characteristic of Natural Rights?

Answers

1. John Locke
2. Right to life, liberty, property
3. Nature
4. Prof. Laski
5. Public opinion
6. *A Grammar of Politics*
7. State
8. Former USSR
9. Prof. Laski
10. Cannot be curtailed by the state

Assignments

1. Define rights and explain their main characteristics.
2. Explain the different types of rights with examples.
3. Discuss the relationship between rights and duties.
4. Analyse the importance of fundamental rights.
5. Explain the safeguards available for the protection of rights.



Self-Assessment Questions

1. What are rights? Explain their importance.
2. Discuss the characteristics of rights.
3. Distinguish between natural, moral, and legal rights.
4. What are fundamental rights? Why are they important?
5. Explain the role of the state in protecting rights.
6. How are rights related to duties?
7. Why are rights not absolute?
8. What are civil and political rights?
9. Explain the concept of economic rights.
10. Discuss the safeguards available for the protection of rights.

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UNIT

Liberty - Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of liberty
- ◆ analyse the different dimensions of liberty
- ◆ examine various types of liberty in political theory
- ◆ evaluate the relationship between liberty and law

Prerequisite

While studying this unit, a learner may raise a fundamental question regarding freedom: does liberty simply mean the absence of restrictions, or does it involve something more structured and meaningful? This question often arises from observing real-life situations where individuals claim freedom, yet are subject to laws, rules, and social expectations. To address this, the teacher introduces liberty not merely as unrestricted freedom, but as a condition shaped by both individual rights and social responsibilities. The explanation proceeds by clarifying that liberty cannot exist in isolation from society. Absolute freedom, if allowed, would lead to disorder and conflict, making it difficult for individuals to coexist peacefully. Therefore, liberty must be understood in relation to law, justice, and social welfare. The learner is guided to recognise that true liberty involves the presence of conditions that enable individuals to develop their personality while respecting the rights of others.

Keywords

Liberty, Civil Liberty, Personal Liberty, Rule of Law, Separation of Powers

Discussion

In 1976, Mrs. Menaka Gandhi had her passport impounded by the Regional Passport Officer of Delhi, without being provided reasons or a chance to be heard. She challenged this in court, arguing that the right to travel abroad is part of personal liberty. The Supreme Court agreed, stating that her freedom was curtailed by the government's arbitrary action. This raises questions about the nature of freedom: is it merely doing what one wants? What concept of freedom should the state use to legitimately exercise power over us? These questions prompt discussions on personal liberty.

2.2.1 Liberty - Meaning

Montesquieu noted that no word leaves as lasting an impression as “liberty.” Throughout history, it has inspired millions to revolt against injustice. Everyone feels their personality can't develop without liberty, seeking it to the fullest extent.

The term “liberty” comes from the Latin “libre,” meaning freedom from all restrictions. In simple terms, it's the freedom to do as one pleases. Liberty is understood in two ways: negatively and positively.

2.2.1.1 Negative Aspect of Liberty

In a negative sense, liberty implies the absence of restraints, allowing individuals to do as they please. Advocates like John Stuart Mill, Isaiah Berlin, and Milton Friedman argue for this view. Mill defines liberty as the absence of all restraints, distinguishing between self-regarding and other-regarding actions. He asserts that restrictions should

only apply to other-regarding activities, with individuals having supreme control over themselves. However, the total absence of restraints leads to anarchy, where the strong dominate the weak. Thus, reasonable restrictions are necessary in civilized society.

2.2.1.2 Positive Liberty

Positive liberty doesn't just mean the absence of restrictions. It entails freedom within certain boundaries, allowing individuals to pursue worthy endeavours without unjust oppression. As Prof. Seeley notes, liberty opposes over-government and offers ample and equal opportunities for self-development, self-realization, and expression of intellectual, emotional, and sensuous potential. This aspect was advocated by new liberalism proponents like Prof. Laski and T.H. Green, as well as idealist thinkers like Immanuel Kant and W.F. Hegel.

Prof. Barker rightly emphasizes that state liberty is never absolute for each individual but always qualified for all. Each person must exercise their liberty without infringing on others. However, restraints on liberty must not be arbitrary or unjust, serving both individual and social welfare. For example, while individuals have the right to freedom of speech and expression for self-development, they cannot use these rights to defame others, commit contempt of court, or incite communal tension. Reasonable restrictions may be imposed on these rights. In essence, absolute liberty cannot be granted to anyone.

2.2.2 Definitions

“It means by liberty the absence of restraints upon the existence of those social conditions which in modern civilization are necessary guarantee of individual happiness.” – Prof Harold Laski

“Over himself, over his mind and body, the individual is sovereign.” – J.S. Mill

“Liberty means liberty to grow to one’s natural height, to develop one’s abilities.”- Burns

Various political scientists have offered their definitions of liberty. Some significant definitions are:

- ◆ According to Prof. Seeley, “Liberty lies in the existence of a right type of government.” Individuals cannot enjoy liberty under absolute rule.
- ◆ Prof. Gettell defines liberty as “the positive power of doing and enjoying those things which are worthy of enjoyment and work.”
- ◆ G.D.H. Cole views liberty as “the freedom of the individual to express his personality without external hindrance.”
- ◆ T.H. Green states, “Freedom consists in a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying.”
- ◆ Prof. Harold J. Laski defines liberty as “the absence of restraints upon

the existence of those social conditions which in modern civilization are the necessary guarantee of individual happiness." He also describes it as "the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves" and as "the affirmation by an individual or group of his or its own essence."

From the above definitions, one can understand the following:

1. Liberty means the presence of conditions essential for the development of an individual's personality.
2. It does not mean the absence of restrictions.
3. It means the absence of unjust and tyrannical restrictions.
4. It means legal, moral and reasonable restrictions on the actions of man.
5. It means the right of the individual to do things which are not harmful to others.
6. All individuals are equally entitled to liberty, indirectly, it means the absence of privileges of the few.
7. Law is considered an essential condition to maintain liberty.
8. Liberty comes after the right to life in terms of priority.



2.2.3 Types of Liberty

2.2.3.1 Natural Liberty

Writers discuss various kinds of liberty as they examine the concept from different perspectives. We will briefly consider them here.

Natural liberty refers to complete freedom to do as one pleases. This kind of liberty was believed to exist only in the state of nature described by Hobbes, where there was no state or law enforcement. Men lived according to the law of nature, which might be considered right. However, natural liberty ceased to exist after the establishment of the state and civil society. It was more like license than true liberty, akin to the freedom of the jungle, where the weak were at the mercy of the strong. Natural liberty is not applicable to the life of an individual as a social being; granting absolute liberty would lead to confusion and chaos. Therefore, natural liberty is merely a contradiction in itself.

2.2.3.2 Civil Liberty

Civil liberty is the freedom enjoyed by individuals in a state or civil society, guaranteed by the state. It encompasses the right of individuals to act as they please within the limits set by the law. Civil liberty includes rights such as freedom of movement, equality before the law, protection of personal possessions, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, and more. These liberties are protected against encroachment by both individuals and the government through state law. However, civil liberty is not absolute; certain limitations are imposed in the interest of society. Civil liberty imparts activity and implies the willing and spontaneous exercise of power. It holds immense value for individuals and associations within a state.

2.2.3.4 Political Liberty

Political liberty refers to the freedom of people to participate in the management of the political affairs of their country. It encompasses rights such as the right to vote, the right to run for public office, the right to criticize the government constructively, and the right to change the government through constitutional means. Political liberty is inherent in democracy, where no individual can be deprived of political freedom based on factors like caste, colour, sex, religion, or place of birth. According to Prof. Laski, political liberty becomes real when there are adequate education facilities for all members of society and an honest, independent, and impartial press to provide constructive criticism. In democratic countries like India, Britain, and the United States, individuals enjoy political liberty, which should be constitutionally and legally recognized to make it meaningful. The spread of education, the formation of political parties, and freedom of the press contributed to the expansion of political liberty.

2.2.3.5 Economic Liberty

It's observed that democracy without economic liberty lacks meaning. Without adequate economic security, individuals cannot develop their capabilities. Civil and political liberties mean nothing to someone who is hungry.

Economic liberty entails ensuring basic necessities for everyone and freedom from the constant fear of unemployment. Prof. Laski defines economic liberty as "security and opportunities to find reasonable significance in earning one's daily bread." Without economic liberty, it's widely believed that one cannot fully enjoy political and civil liberties.

Economic liberty includes the right to work for a minimum wage, leisure through regulated working hours, the right to form

2.2.3.9 International Liberty

The concept of international liberty encompasses the entire world. It's based on the idea that as the world becomes free, the use of force becomes meaningless, and aggression serves no purpose. It entails renouncing war, limiting armament production, abandoning the use of force, and peacefully resolving disputes. It also advocates for adequate restrictions on military strength to prevent it from infringing on the liberties of local or international populations.

2.2.4 Safeguards-Conditions of Liberty

The realisation of the concept of liberty requires certain fundamental conditions to be met. These conditions are outlined below:

2.2.4.1 Absence of Special Privileges

A fundamental condition for safeguarding liberty is the absence of special privileges. Equality among all individuals in society, regardless of religion, caste, creed, language, etc., is crucial. No individual should enjoy privileges based on such criteria, as this would result in unequal liberty.

2.2.4.2 Democratic Government

Liberty thrives in a democratic government, where people have full autonomy. In a democratic state, the government operates according to the will of the people, ensuring that public interest is upheld. If the government fails in this regard, people have the power to remove it, making it easier to safeguard liberty.

The inclusion of fundamental rights in a country's constitution is another prerequisite for liberty. These rights must be enforceable, and the judiciary should have the authority to declare any law or executive action violating these rights as



unconstitutional. The constitutions of both India and US incorporate a comprehensive list of fundamental rights.

2.2.4.4 Independence of Judiciary

An independent, impartial, and honest judiciary is essential for protecting the lives and liberties of the people. The judiciary serves as the guardian of people's rights and liberties, ensuring their protection. Independence in interpreting laws is crucial for the judiciary to fulfil its role effectively.

2.2.4.5 Separation of Powers

Liberty necessitates the separation of powers, as the concentration of powers can lead to their misuse. Montesquieu observed that liberty cannot exist if judicial powers are not separated from legislative and executive powers. This principle prevents the abuse of power, safeguarding people's liberties.

2.2.4.6 Rule of Law

The rule of law, which emphasizes equality before the law and equal protection of the law, is crucial for liberty. Under the rule of law, everyone is subject to the law, irrespective of position or status. It acts as a stronghold of liberty, ensuring justice and fairness for all.

2.2.4.7 Political Education

Political education ensures that people are aware of their rights and duties, contributing to the preservation of liberty.

2.2.4.8 Public Opinion and Free Press

Public opinion and a free press serve as additional safeguards for liberty. A healthy public opinion and free press play significant roles in protecting liberty by shaping public discourse and holding authorities accountable. Ultimately, public opinion serves as a crucial force behind the protection of individual liberties.

2.2.4.9 Healthy Party System

Political parties also help safeguard the liberty of the people. In England, there is neither a separation of powers nor a comprehensive Bill of Rights. However, organized political parties ensure the continuous enjoyment of liberty. Opposition parties keep a strict watch on the government's actions. The sword of criticism must always hang over the government to guard the liberty of the people against any wrongful moves. Mere existence of political parties is not enough; they should be well-organized and based on sound and healthy principles.

Lord Bryce was not wrong when he observed, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." People must be so watchful that they do not tolerate any violation of liberty at any time from any quarters. They should come forward, agitate against violations, and be ready to make sacrifices to safeguard their liberties. It is rightly said that the secret of liberty lies in courage. In this context, it is appropriate to conclude with the words of Prof. Laski, who writes: "Liberty is never real unless the government is called to account when it invades the rights of the people."

2.2.5 Relationship between Liberty and Law

The Individualists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Idealists, and many other schools of thought regard liberty and law as opposed to each other. This view does not appear correct because, without law, nobody can enjoy liberty. A society without law would lead to anarchy. In such a situation, liberty would exist only for the strong. Laws are necessary not only to ensure liberty for all people but also to bring about their all-round development.

As mentioned earlier, liberty does not mean the unrestricted right to do anything a person wants. Exercising such rights would endanger the liberty of others. Therefore,

all activities that endanger the liberty of others must be curbed, which can only be done through law. However, the law can impose only reasonable restrictions on the liberty of the people. What is reasonable and what is not reasonable is a matter of fact and difficult to determine. Perhaps the best criterion for deciding this problem is to find out whether or not it is socially necessary and whether it would help bring about the all-round development of human personality.

Therefore, it seems that not all restrictions can be objected to. Only those restrictions that hinder the development of human personality can be objected to. Experiments show that some regulations are always necessary for the maintenance of liberty. As Willoughby puts it, “freedom exists only because there are restraints.”

Liberty cannot mean absolute freedom but only regulated freedom. Locke rightly stated, “where there is no law, there is no freedom.” However, it must be clarified that not every law is a guardian of liberty. Many states have enacted laws that unduly curb individual liberty. Law is an enemy of liberty if it hampers the development of human personality. Therefore, the problem to consider is how to reconcile law with liberty. It is suggested that the law-making power of the state should not be entrusted to a single person or group of persons. When laws are made by the people, they are bound to be good laws because people would not enact laws that place unwarranted curbs on their own liberty.

Recap

- ◆ Liberty means freedom, but not absolute freedom.
- ◆ It has two aspects: negative (absence of restraints) and positive (presence of enabling conditions).
- ◆ Liberty is essential for the development of human personality.
- ◆ It includes various types such as natural, civil, political, economic, and personal liberty.
- ◆ Liberty cannot exist without law; law helps in regulating and protecting liberty.
- ◆ Certain conditions like democracy, rule of law, and fundamental rights are necessary for safeguarding liberty.
- ◆ Liberty and law are complementary, not contradictory.

Objective Questions

1. Who said, “Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty”?
2. From which word is liberty derived?
3. Which thinker advocates the negative concept of liberty?
4. Who stated that the state should not interfere in self-regarding actions?
5. Who wrote the essay On Liberty?
6. Mention any two safeguards of liberty.
7. Who said, “Where there is no law, there is no freedom”?
8. If a person is denied freedom of movement, it means denial of what?

Answers

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Lord Acton | 5. J. S. Mill |
| 2. Liber | 6. Rule of law; Fundamental rights |
| 3. J. S. Mill | 7. John Locke |
| 4. J. S. Mill | 8. Natural liberty |

Assignments

1. Define liberty and explain its nature.
2. Distinguish between negative and positive liberty.
3. Discuss the various types of liberty.
4. Explain the conditions necessary for safeguarding liberty.
5. Examine the relationship between law and liberty.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is liberty? Explain its main features.
2. Distinguish between negative and positive liberty.
3. Explain the importance of liberty in a democratic society.
4. What are the different types of liberty?
5. How does law help in protecting liberty?
6. What are the safeguards necessary for liberty?
7. Explain the concept of civil liberty.
8. Discuss the role of economic liberty in society.
9. What is personal liberty?
10. Analyse the relationship between liberty and law.

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UNIT

Equality-Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of equality
- ◆ analyse the positive and negative aspects of equality
- ◆ examine the relationship between equality and liberty
- ◆ evaluate the role of equality in democratic systems

Prerequisites

While studying this unit, a learner may begin to question whether all individuals in society can truly be treated as equals, given the evident differences in abilities, status, and opportunities. This doubt often arises from observing social realities where inequalities exist despite the ideal of equality being widely accepted. In addressing this, the teacher introduces equality not as uniformity among individuals, but as a principle aimed at ensuring fairness and equal opportunities. The explanation clarifies that equality does not imply identical treatment in all circumstances. Instead, it involves the removal of artificial barriers and privileges that prevent individuals from developing their potential. The learner is guided to understand that while natural differences among individuals cannot be eliminated, social and political systems must strive to minimise unjust inequalities.

Keywords

Equality, Economic Equality, Natural Equality, Privileges, Universal Adult Franchise.

Discussion

In a mathematical equation, equality is represented by the symbol =, which indicates a state of equality between the first part of an equation and the second part. Let us make it simpler.

$$2 + 2 = 4; 7 + 2 = 10 - 1; 6 - 3 = 2 + 1$$

All of the above are equations. They tell us that, for instance,

2 + 2 equals 4 or that 2 + 2 has the same value as 4. The question to be debated here is, is such a concept translatable to society?

2.3.1 Equality - Meaning

Equality, like liberty, is one of the important pillars of democracy. Both concepts are very closely related to each other; there can be no liberty without equality. There was perfect equality in primitive societies where nobody had any privilege that others did not enjoy. Nobody was rich, and nobody was poor. There was no concept of private property in those days; everything gifted by nature belonged to everybody. However, the introduction of private property as a result of production damaged primitive societies. With the advent of private property, the monolithic character of primitive society was lost. Society divided into two classes: the owners of property and the working class. This division led to the emergence of inequality. There have been many struggles for equality. In the American Declaration of Independence, it was declared that all individuals are equal. In the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, it was stated that men are born free and equal in dignity and rights. In the 19th and 20th centuries, almost all states recognized the right to equality. In India, the right to equality is also an important part of fundamental rights.

However, however, inequality is an inescapable social reality. Greek political philosophers like Plato and Aristotle defended inequality. Aristotle even justified slavery and maintained the superiority of the master over slaves. Absolute equality is only a poet's dream. Some men, by birth, are physically strong, while others are weak. Men differ in physical structure, capacity, temperament, and needs. Hence, there can be no identity of treatment and identity of rewards.

Equality is actually a levelling process. Originally, it was the common man's protest against the prerogatives of the nobility. Thus, equality means:

2.3.1.1 Absence of Special Privileges

It implies that no individual or section of people is given special privileges in society. Nobody is given special treatment on the basis of caste, religion, sex, colour, or creed. All members of the state and society should get equal opportunities on an equal basis. The principle of equality cannot allow special privileges.

2.3.1.2 Provision of Adequate Opportunity for Development

It means that every person in the state should get adequate opportunities for developing their personality. Nature has not made all men equal, as stated above, but it is not proper for the state to follow the law of nature. On the other hand, the state should not increase this natural inequality. No one in the state should demand the opportunity to develop his own genius at the cost of others.

2.3.1.3 Provision for the Minimum Standard of Living for Every Individual

Equality implies that the basic needs of every individual should be satisfied in



society. The essentials without which life is meaningless must be accessible to all. The urgent claims of all must be met before we can address the particular claims of some.

In light of the above observations, equality can be defined as the equal conditions guaranteed to each individual for making the best of themselves. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, equality implies:

1. Conditions of having equal dignity, rank, or privileges with others
2. Conditions of being equal in power, ability, achievements, or excellence
3. Fearlessness, impartiality, and due proportion. It may also mean equality of opportunity.

Laski maintains that equality means the following things:

4. The end of special privileges in society.
5. Adequate opportunities are laid open to all, allowing each individual to develop their personality.
6. All must have access to social benefits, and no one should be restricted on any grounds. Inequalities by birth or due to parental and hereditary causes are unreasonable.
7. The absence of social and economic exploitation.

Equality has two aspects: positive and negative. In the positive sense, equality means the provision of adequate opportunities for all. Since all men differ in their needs and capacities, they require different opportunities for their individual development. In the negative sense, equality means the absence of undue privileges. There should be no artificial grounds for discrimination. Thus, negative equality involves removing the man-made inequalities in society and ending the privileges enjoyed by special classes.

2.3.2 Dimensions of Equality

Different authors have suggested various dimensions of equality. Prof. Laski, in his book “A Grammar of Politics,” mentions only two dimensions: political equality and economic equality. Earnest Barker also mentions two dimensions: legal equality and social equality. Lord Bryce mentions four dimensions: civil equality, political equality, social equality, and natural equality.

However, there are four widely accepted dimensions of equality: legal, political, social, and economic. A brief discussion of each is highly warranted here.

2.3.2.1 Legal Equality

Legal equality means equality before the law and equal protection of the law. Equality before the law implies the absence of special privileges in favor of any individual and is based on the theory of the rule of law. The ordinary law of the land should be equally applicable to all. The French revolutionaries interpreted equality as equality before the law and did not recognize any special privileges for any class of individuals. Equal protection of the law means equal treatment under equal circumstances. It implies that equals should be treated equally, and unequals should be treated differently. In other words, among equals, the law should be equal and equally administered. Equals and unequals should not be treated alike. The concepts of equality

before the law and equal protection of the law seek to establish equality of status and opportunity. However, equality does not mean absolute equality. Since society stands for the welfare of all sections of society, it can make certain discriminations in favor of those who are less privileged.

Legal equality has another dimension as well. Justice, through the courts, should be made available to all people of the state. This would be possible only if the judicial procedure is made affordable. At present, judicial procedures are expensive and time-consuming, making justice accessible only to the rich. This situation can be remedied through the provision of free legal aid so that justice may be brought to the doorsteps of the poor and disadvantaged sections. Otherwise, legal equality becomes a hollow concept.

2.3.2.2 Political Equality

Political equality implies the right of all people to participate in the political process of the country. According to Prof. Laski, political equality means equal access for everyone to the avenues of authority. All citizens should have equal political rights: the right to vote, the right to contest any public office, the right to freedom of speech and expression, and the right to form political parties, associations, or unions. It also involves a universal adult franchise. However, the rights to the franchise are not available to foreigners, children, lunatics, and insolvents. Nobody should be discriminated against on the basis of caste, color, creed, or religion.

Prof. Laski also feels that political equality is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality: Unless the masses are assured of a reasonable amount of income, they would not be able to exercise their political rights properly. Thus, economic equality is a precondition for political equality. Political equality is available only in a country where everyone is in a position

to participate freely in the political process.

Equality has two aspects: positive and negative. In the positive sense, equality means the provision of adequate opportunities for all. Since all men differ in their needs and capacities, they require different opportunities for their individual development. In the negative sense, equality means the absence of undue privileges. There should be no artificial grounds for discrimination. Thus, negative equality involves removing the man-made inequalities in society and ending the privileges enjoyed by special classes.

2.3.2.3 Social Equality

Social equality means that every citizen must have equality of opportunity for the development of their personality irrespective of their social status. There may be rational distinctions in a society with regard to occupation and profession, but the feeling of superiority and inferiority should not be attached to them. The social status or prestige of a person should not be determined by their aristocratic birth.

The demand for social equality arose in the 19th century against aristocratic privileges, slavery, capitalists, and social inequalities based on race. In the 20th century, social equality was demanded based on sex, caste, and colour. The struggle for racial equality in countries like South Africa and the United States is a burning issue of our time. The problem is not solved only by providing constitutional and legal safeguards; it is also necessary to give up the myth of racial superiority.

2.3.2.4 Natural Equality

Natural equality is an ideal to be achieved. It means that nature has made all men equal. Plato says: "All men are by nature equal." The same view was expressed by J. J. Rousseau. He says, "Man is born free but every where is in chains." Before him,



Roman political thinkers like Cicero and Polybius, and ecclesiastical thinkers of the medieval period also stressed equality. Karl Marx said that everyone is equal as a human being. These thinkers believed that men are born free and equal and are endowed with equal gifts and talents. In spite of that, human beings are not equal, and they differ from one another in many respects. Thus, natural liberty is more an ideal than a reality.

2.3.2.5 Economic Equality

Political, social, and legal equality have no meaning without economic equality. Wealth provides all kinds of opportunities to those who have it, and the poor are forced to suffer serious disadvantages. Hence, economic equality has to be given an important place.

The concept of economic equality does not imply equal income for all, as this is neither possible nor desirable. For instance, a scientist and a laborer cannot be treated equally and provided with the same salary and wages for obvious reasons. So income has to vary from profession to profession, and in accordance with the quality and quantity of work done. What is needed under the concept of economic equality is that there should be a minimum standard of living for all. Absolute economic equality is not possible in the world. Economic equality can exist when all people have reasonable economic opportunities to develop themselves. Adequate scope for employment, reasonable wages, adequate leisure, and other economic rights create economic equality. Similarly, the gap between maximum and minimum incomes should be reduced as much as possible to achieve economic equality.

The accumulation of private property in a few hands increases inequality. This has become a result of the Industrial Revolution. That is why Marx and Engels urged the workers of the world to revolt against the existing economic system, which was responsible for economic inequality. They

demanded the abolition of private property and the nationalization of all means of production. It is said that without social ownership of means of production, economic equality would become an illusion. Social ownership would remove the basic cause of economic inequality. In a system of social ownership of means of production, distribution, and exchange, there will be no exploiters and exploited. However, this is only a wish. What is desirable is to introduce progressive taxation in the real sense and the provision of welfare services by the state. This will go a long way in providing economic equality to the masses.

2.3.3 Liberty and Equality

Liberty and equality are the two basic pillars of democracy. Since time immemorial, people have struggled hard to attain them. Human life cannot fully develop without liberty and equality. It is said that equality without liberty is slavery and liberty without equality is license. Yet, it is paradoxical that political thinkers differ among themselves regarding the relationship between the two. Some thinkers are of the view that the concepts of liberty and equality are incompatible. They argue that both liberty and equality are opposed to each other and are contradictory terms, unable to coexist. On the other hand, some scholars hold the view that they can exist together. They argue that liberty, in the absence of equality, is meaningless. We shall now examine these views separately.

1. Liberty and Equality are Incompatible

Some scholars like Lord Acton in England and De Tocqueville in France hold the view that equality and liberty are incompatible concepts. They were supported by Bogehot, Milton Friedman, Gaetano Mosca, and Vilfredo Pareto. They defended the liberty of the aristocratic sections of society. The

- Men are by nature unequal;
- Equality destroys individual liberty;
- Equality is unfair to the honest and gifted.

4. Equality and Liberty are Compatible

A definite change in the attitude of thinkers came with positive liberalism. The liberalists do not accept the viewpoint that liberty and equality are opposed to each other. Prof. Laski, Prof. Tawney, and Robert Morrison MacIver are the scholars who supported this viewpoint. They assumed that liberty and equality are complementary to each other. They observed that without equality, there could be no liberty. They understood equality as the abolition of special privileges or inequalities by birth. They do not find any contradiction between both concepts. The equal right to vote and equality before the law were supported on that basis. Political and legal equality were considered as preconditions for democracy. Without equality, there could be no democracy, and without democracy, there could be no liberty. If there is no democracy, liberty cannot exist because the loss of democracy would result in the advent of dictatorship, which is the enemy of liberty.

To sum up, both liberty and equality are related to each other as:

- Both are necessary for development;
- Both are the basic principles of democracy;
- Equality is a precondition of liberty;
- Equality is necessary for liberty.

It is a great injustice to treat the capable and the incapable, the intelligent and the fool, equally. This neither enhances the liberty of people nor helps in the promotion of public welfare. Labourers, doctors, engineers, scholars, scientists, traders, and artists cannot all be treated on equal footing.



In conclusion, we may say that the second viewpoint, i.e., equality and liberty are compatible, is more correct and acceptable. Both concepts have positive connotations, and both together produce a truly democratic

society. This is why most modern constitutions embody these ideals in their preambles. The absence of the ideals of equality and liberty is a characteristic of a totalitarian state.

Recap

- ◆ Equality is a fundamental principle of democracy.
- ◆ It does not mean absolute sameness but the absence of unjust privileges.
- ◆ Equality has both positive (opportunities) and negative (removal of privileges) aspects.
- ◆ It includes various dimensions such as legal, political, social, and economic equality.
- ◆ Legal equality ensures equality before law.
- ◆ Political equality ensures participation in governance.
- ◆ Social equality removes discrimination and hierarchy.
- ◆ Economic equality aims to reduce disparities in wealth and opportunities.
- ◆ Equality and liberty are closely related and complementary.

Objective Questions

1. Who said that equality disappeared with the emergence of private property?
2. Name the political thinker who justified inequality.
3. Who mentioned four dimensions of equality?
4. Abolition of privileges leads to which type of equality?
5. Universal adult franchise leads to which equality?
6. Name a thinker who considers liberty and equality incompatible.
7. Name a thinker who considers liberty and equality compatible.

8. Who stated that economic equality is impossible in a class-divided society?
9. Who said political equality without economic equality is a myth?
10. Political equality is best guaranteed in which system?

Answers

1. Rousseau
2. Aristotle
3. Lord Bryce
4. Social equality
5. Political equality
6. Tocqueville
7. Maitland
8. Lenin
9. G. D. H. Cole
10. Democracy

Assignments

1. Define equality and explain its positive and negative aspects.
2. Discuss the various types of equality.
3. Examine the relationship between liberty and equality.
4. Analyse the importance of equality in democracy.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is equality? Explain its meaning.
2. Distinguish between positive and negative equality.
3. What are the different dimensions of equality?



4. Explain legal and political equality.
5. What is social equality?
6. Discuss the concept of economic equality.
7. Why is equality important in democracy?
8. How does equality differ from uniformity?
9. Explain the relationship between liberty and equality.
10. Analyse the role of equality in ensuring justice.

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UNIT

Justice – Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of justice
- ◆ analyse different dimensions of justice
- ◆ examine the role of justice in social and political systems
- ◆ evaluate the relationship between justice, liberty, and equality

Prerequisite

Upon deliberating this unit a learner may raise an essential question: what does it truly mean for a society to be just, and how can fairness be ensured among individuals with differing needs and interests? This inquiry often emerges from observing situations where people demand fairness, equality, and protection of rights, yet experience inequality and injustice in practice. In response, the teacher introduces justice as a guiding principle that seeks to harmonise individual claims with the common good. The explanation clarifies that justice is not a fixed or uniform concept; rather, it evolves with changes in social, economic, and political conditions. What is considered just in one context may not be regarded as just in another. Therefore, justice must be understood in both legal and moral terms, encompassing laws, institutions, and ethical values.

Keywords

Justice, Legal Justice, Social Justice, Political Justice, Economic Justice



Discussion

2.4.1 The Concept of Justice

The existence and happiness of man depend on justice. In ancient times, people believed in natural justice, divine justice, and so on. Plato has made a very detailed study of justice. Modern democracy also tries to provide justice. A nation is judged based on how much justice it provides. Have you ever wondered how justice works? What are its components? Does it operate as it is meant to?

The concept of justice has been analysed and defined differently by jurists, philosophers, political thinkers, economists, sociologists, and religious leaders. The conception regarding the nature and definitions of justice has changed over time, depending on the conditions and circumstances prevailing in each age. What was considered just at one age began to be considered unjust at another period.

The origin of the word justice may be traced to the Latin word 'justicia,' which means joining or fitting. It means a system wherein all individuals are related to each

other. It also implies the type of moral, social, economic, political, and legal relations an individual has with others. Justice is opposed to what is unjust, wrong, or unreasonable. The words 'just,' 'right,' and 'reasonable' are primarily moral attributes, and hence justice is primarily a concept of morality. It is an ethical concept.

According to John Salmond, "Justice means to give every individual his due share," whereas, to D.D. Raphael, "Justice protects the rights of individuals as well as the order of society." Prof. Barker states, "Justice is the reconciler and synthesis of political values."

The Greek political philosopher Plato gives a philosophical interpretation of the term justice. To him, justice implies a life of people conforming to the rule of functional specialisation and the performance of allotted functions. Simply, it means that one man should practice only one thing to which his nature is best suited. It signifies doing your own work and not meddling with what belongs to others.

The nature and aims of a perfectly just society are a fundamental part of the theory of justice, according to John Rawls. Thus, the theory of justice has two meanings: a broader meaning and a narrower meaning.

Within the broader view, there are two main perspectives. The first is that justice is an eternal and absolute concept. The second perspective is that justice is a relative concept, varying from society to society. Aristotle and utilitarian philosophers like Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill emphasised this aspect of justice.

The narrow meaning of justice is associated with the legal system and the legal process in a society. In this context, justice is seen in relation to man.

2.4.2 Fundamental Postulates

Justice has assumed different forms in different periods. The form of justice depends on the place, circumstances, structure, and political conditions of society. However, some basic elements of justice are present in all conceptions. Arnold Brecht has given the fundamental postulates of justice, which are:

Truth: Truth is a basic postulate of justice. It means the exact presentation of an incident.

Generality of the System of Value: The same conception of justice should be applied to every matter.

Equality Before the Law: All citizens should be equal before the law. Citizens should not be discriminated against on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, color, or place of birth.

Freedom: Justice and freedom are co-related. It is said that man can get justice only in a free atmosphere. It is unjust to impose unreasonable restrictions on freedom. Restrictions can be imposed, keeping in view the welfare of society and the nation.

Respect for the Essentials of Nature: It is against the spirit of justice to compel a person to do work they do not like, or that is beyond their natural capacity.

What is explained above is necessary to follow to achieve justice at local, national, and international levels.

2.4.3 Dimensions of Justice

The modern concept of justice is different from the traditional concept. Traditionally, two forms of justice were prevalent: moral and legal. However, the modern concept has various aspects: legal, political, social, and economic. A brief understanding of each dimension of justice is necessary to get a clear understanding of the term.

2.4.3.1 Legal Justice

Legal justice is the narrowest concept of justice. It is associated with the legal system and the legal process existing in any society. It demands that the law should be reasonable and that everyone should get justice according to the law. The law should not only be reasonable but also equal for all. The object of the law is the well-being of the whole community; hence, the law should be equal for equals and unequal for unequal. Distinctions can be made on a rational basis. The rationality of the law depends on the social requirements and human values of society. A law that may be reasonable in one society may not be so in another.

If we want rational and just laws, the law-making institutions should also be rational and just. The right to make law should be given only to the representatives of the people. It is possible that a law passed may not be just and reasonable for certain reasons. Therefore, there should be an independent and impartial judiciary to ensure the justifiability of the laws.

Legal justice demands free and independent courts. To deliver free justice, the courts must be free and independent. Even rational laws would fail to deliver justice to the people if the judges were not allowed to act freely and fearlessly. Therefore, certain conditions must be prescribed to ensure their independence.

Legal justice also requires an inexpensive judicial process. Justice should be within the reach of the common man. At present, the judicial process is expensive and time-consuming. Hence, the poor are unable to address the court of justice. Therefore, the cost of the judicial process must be brought down as much as possible so that poor people can obtain justice. The court procedure should also be simplified to avoid delays in the delivery of justice. "Justice delayed is justice denied."



2.4.3.2 Political Justice

Every state must ensure political justice for its citizens. The ideal of political justice implies non-discrimination between individuals in the political sphere.

Political justice requires that all citizens be allowed to participate in the political process of the country. This means people should be allowed to take part in the law and decision-making process of the country. They should not be forced to pay any tax that they have not decided to impose upon themselves. The principle of “no taxation without representation” should be strictly followed. To ensure such measures, the right to franchise should be made universal. Every adult should be allowed to freely cast their vote to elect representatives.

To ensure political justice, it is also necessary that the elected representatives of the people are accountable to their electors. The people should have the right to remove representatives from power if they have failed to implement the aspirations of the people.

Ensuring political justice also means every person with the right to vote should be eligible to contest and hold elected office. There should be no discrimination in this regard.

Political justice also requires that Fundamental Rights be guaranteed to all people under the constitution. These rights should include freedom of speech and expression, freedom to form associations or unions, freedom to assemble, freedom of movement, and freedom to settle in any part of the country.

Political justice demands that recruitment to public services be made without discrimination. Merit alone should be the criterion for recruitment. Competent, impartial, and qualified public servants are required to ensure proper enforcement and

execution of laws and policies. Similarly, the recruiting agency should be independent and impartial to avoid discrimination in the selection process.

2.4.3.3 Social Justice

The concept of social justice aims to remove social imbalance by law in the social structure. It prohibits discrimination on artificial grounds and seeks to end social discrimination based on caste, community, race, and religion. It also means the absence of privileges for any section of society.

Social justice provides special attention to the weaker sections of society. Since society stands for the welfare of all sections of people, some form of protective discrimination in favour of less privileged sections is highly warranted. According to Prof. Barker, it is the main objective of society to give every individual the opportunity to develop their innate talents. Thus, establishing adequate conditions for all is social justice.

The state should strive to remove social evils to ensure a healthy and progressive society. However, social evils cannot disappear merely through governmental actions. Social welfare organisations will have to do a lot of work in this regard. Education can be of great help in this direction. At the same time, social awareness campaigns should be started in every nook and cranny to discourage these social evils. In this context, Dr. Ambedkar observes:

“Social justice means a way of life that recognises liberty, equality, and fraternity, which are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality; equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity.”

Social justice has been strongly emphasised in the Constitution of India. The government has made several legislations to establish

social justice. There are also organisations at the international level that promote social justice.

2.4.3.4 Economic Justice

Economic justice aims to establish economic democracy and a welfare state. It seeks to remove inequality of opportunity and status—social, economic, and political. No democracy can succeed without economic justice. The very concept of economic justice involves the idea of a welfare state. Social justice and economic justice are interrelated. A combination of social justice and economic justice denotes what is known as distributive justice.

As stated, economic justice involves the elimination of glaring inequalities in wealth, income, and property. Aristotle considered economic inequality improper. According to liberal thinkers, the demands of economic justice are satisfied when certain welfare services are provided by the state and disparities in income are reduced through progressive taxation. Liberal thinkers regarded free competition in a free market society as the key to economic justice.

Karl Marx considered economic justice to be the basis of social, political, and cultural justice. He associated economic justice with the mode of production in a society. Economic justice, according to Marx, can be secured only in an exploitation-free socialist economic system. There can be

no economic justice as long as people are divided into rich and poor, exploiters and exploited. Marxism associates economic justice with the abolition of private property and the establishment of communism.

In this context, important elements of economic justice are summarised as follows:

1. The bare necessities of all citizens should be ensured.
2. Every individual should be given a source of livelihood.
3. The state should provide special aid in cases of old age, unemployment, and sickness.
4. Men and women should be paid equally for equal work.
5. The operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth in particular persons or groups.

It is the state's responsibility to provide economic justice. Economic justice is the very foundation of a modern state. A just society cannot be established without economic justice.

In India, social and economic justice is ensured to the people by the Directive Principles of State Policy (Articles 36 to 51).

Recap

- ◆ Justice is a fundamental concept concerned with fairness and moral rightness.
- ◆ It has both legal and moral dimensions.
- ◆ Justice evolves according to social and historical conditions.



- ◆ Fundamental postulates of justice include truth, equality, freedom, and respect.
- ◆ Justice can be classified into legal, political, social, and economic justice.
- ◆ Legal justice ensures fairness through laws and judicial processes.
- ◆ Political justice ensures participation and non-discrimination in governance.
- ◆ Social justice aims to remove inequalities and discrimination.
- ◆ Economic justice focuses on equitable distribution of resources.
- ◆ Justice is closely related to liberty and equality.

Objective Questions

1. From which language is the word 'justice' derived?
2. Name the thinker associated with economic justice.
3. Who described justice as the "interest of the stronger"?
4. Who believed justice could be realised only in a Christian state?
5. Who viewed justice as a combination of liberty and equality?
6. Who said justice is the bond that holds society together?
7. From which angle does the common man view justice?
8. Who believed political justice is meaningless without economic justice?
9. From which Latin word is 'justice' derived?
10. Who stated that a society with exploitation cannot be just?

Answers

- | | |
|----------|------------------|
| 1. Latin | 3. Thrasymachus |
| 2. Lenin | 4. St. Augustine |

5. Rousseau
6. Plato
7. Legal angle

8. Marx
9. Jus
10. Marx

Assignments

1. Define justice and explain its basic postulates.
2. Distinguish between legal and moral justice.
3. Explain the different dimensions of justice.
4. What is social justice? How does it differ from economic justice?

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is justice? Explain its meaning.
2. Discuss the nature and importance of justice.
3. What are the fundamental postulates of justice?
4. Distinguish between legal and moral justice.
5. Explain the concept of political justice.
6. What is social justice?
7. Discuss the importance of economic justice.
8. How does justice relate to liberty and equality?
9. Why is justice considered essential in society?
10. Analyse the role of justice in maintaining social order.

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BLOCK

Political System - Theory and Process



UNIT

Political System: Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ♦ understand the meaning and nature of a political system
- ♦ analyse the structural and functional aspects of political systems
- ♦ examine input and output functions within a political system
- ♦ evaluate the role of feedback in maintaining system stability

Prerequisite

While comprehending this unit, a learner may raise a fundamental question regarding how societies are governed as a whole: is governance limited to formal institutions such as government, or does it extend to a wider network of interactions within society? This question often arises from observing everyday political processes such as policy-making, public participation, and the functioning of institutions. In response, the teacher introduces the concept of the political system as a comprehensive framework that includes not only formal structures like the legislature, executive, and judiciary but also informal elements such as political parties, pressure groups, and communication networks. The explanation proceeds by clarifying that a political system is not a static structure but a dynamic process involving continuous interaction between society and governing institutions. It is through these interactions that demands are articulated, decisions are made, and policies are implemented. The learner is guided to understand that political systems operate within a broader environment and are influenced by social, economic, and cultural factors.

Keywords

Political system, Inputs, outputs, , Feedback, Interest aggregation, Interest articulation,

Discussion

3.1.1 Political System – Meaning and Nature

A political system is one among the social systems. This means that outside and beyond the political system, there are other systems or environments—physical, biological, social, psychological, etc. It is distinguished from other systems by its exercise of authority, control over other systems, and pattern maintenance.

The concept of the political system is a combination of two words: political and system. The word political mainly refers to power or authority. However, in a broad sense, it refers to power, influence, control or authority, use or threat of use of physical force, etc. The term system indicates a set of elements standing in interaction. According to Gabriel Almond, a system implies ‘the interdependence of parts and a boundary of some kind between it and its environment’. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it as ‘a complex set of connected things or parts, an organized body of material or immaterial things’.

According to Max Weber, ‘a political system is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory’. Beer and Ulam describe it as ‘a structure that performs certain functions for the society’. David Easton defines a political system as ‘that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented’. He says that the first aspect of the study of a political system is the making and execution of policies.

A political system is not concerned with all the policies in the society but only with those policies that are made for the whole

society. It is not concerned with those policies made by a group for a group. Policies must have a general character. According to David Easton, a political system is concerned with policy making, policy execution, authority, and the role of all those in society in general. The study of a political system is the study of an activity, a process rather than the study of an institution like the state.

Harold Lasswell and Morton Kaplan say, 'a political system is a process of collecting policies with the help of severe deprivation'. Robert A. Dahl defines a political system as 'any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority'.

Thus, it seems that a political system is a pattern of human relationships through which authoritative decisions are made and carried out for a society. The political system includes not only governmental institutions such as the Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary but all structures in the political aspects. It is also concerned with informal organisations like political parties, pressure groups, and means of communication. In a sense, all structures in their political aspects are included in the political system. Traditional structures like kinship ties and caste groupings, religious and cultural structures, and phenomena of violence also form part of the political system.

3.1.2 System Analysis by Gabriel Almond (Structural-Functional Analysis)

The method of system analysis adopted by Gabriel Almond is more representative in political science than that of David Easton. Almond's objective was to search for a 'functional theory of the polity'. His primary interest was to understand how



political systems change in type from the traditional to the modern.

Almond defines a political system as 'that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of interactions and adaptation by means of employment, or threat of employment, of more or less physical compulsion.' It seems that he combines Weber's definition of the state, Easton's concept of 'authoritative allocation', and Talcott Parsons' view of the functions of the political system in society.

A system, according to Almond, is characterized by:

1. Comprehensiveness: A system is comprehensive in the sense that it includes all the interactions—inputs as well as outputs—which affect physical coercion in all the structures. It includes the interactions of regionalism, religious upheavals, inflation, party politics, etc. In other words, it covers all those structures which are engaged even indirectly with the authoritative allocation of values.

2. Interdependence: This means that the various subsets of the political system are so closely connected with each other that a change in one subset produces a change in all other subsets. For instance, the emergence of pressure groups and trade unions brought about corresponding changes in the party system on one side and the legislative process on the other. Similarly, electoral processes have been influenced and affected by technological development.

3. Existence of Boundaries: Almond defines boundaries as 'the point where other systems end and the political system begins.' Systems have a tendency towards equilibrium, which implies that variables adjust themselves with each other and achieve a condition of harmony, stability, or balance.

In addition to these three characteristics, Almond also lists another characteristic of the system: equilibrium. It implies that the variables have adjusted themselves with each other and reached a stage where conditions of harmony, stability, or balance exist.

The features of the political system described above are structural features. Besides these, Almond claims that he is more interested in processes than in institutions. He, therefore, prefers to study the structures within the political system which have certain common characteristics like:

1. Universality of Political Structures:

According to Almond, all political systems, whether primitive or modern, have political structures. By political structures, he means legitimate patterns of interactions by means of which internal or external order is maintained. A political system must have not only specialized political structures like those of the legislature, executive, and judiciary but also informal and non-specialized structures such as political parties, pressure groups, mass media, and other organizations with some political bearing.

2. Universality of Political Functions:

Every political system performs the same functions, though there may be differences in different political systems and their structures.

3. Multi-functionality of Political Structures:

According to Almond, no political structure performs only a single function. Rather, all structures perform various types of functions. Multi-functionality is an outstanding characteristic of all political structures. It means that a political structure performs not one type of function but many types of functions, which are performed by different structures like those of the legislature, executive,

political system. Every political system must perform the functions of political socialisation and political recruitment. Citizens are trained in appropriate skills and given political values, expectations, and effects. Once the process of political socialisation and recruitment is complete, structures representing interest articulation and interest aggregation begin to be organized.

flow the outputs of rules, regulations, and adjudications in response to the claims and demands. Communication determines the flow of information between society and the system. It is the process whereby components of the political system, such as individuals, groups, and institutions, transmit and receive information regarding the functioning of the political system. Mass media or organizations controlling mass communication are most suited to perform this function.

3.1.4 Output Functions

The output functions are performed by governmental organs: the Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary. These functions are known as authoritative decisions and actions of system leaders. While Almond has not given great attention to these output functions, they are still significant. The output functions are:

a) Rule-Making

This is the process of legislation or law-making. Rule-making occurs in every type of government, whether democracy, dictatorship, or monarchy. In a democracy, the legislature exercises the law-making function. However, the executive and judiciary also participate in law-making through delegated legislation and judicial legislation (common law).

b) Rule-Application

Rule application implies the enforcement of laws enacted by the legislature. The rule application department consists of all officers engaged in carrying out the functions of the government. Rules are executed by officials who require a high degree of administrative capacity. In this context, the role of bureaucracy has considerably increased. Max Weber says that “bureaucratization is the very essence of the political modernization

process.” Bureaucracy is the core of modern government.

c) Rule Adjudication

This means the interpretation or adjudication of laws. It is the main function of the judiciary. The judiciary resolves disputes between the government and citizens as well as among citizens themselves. Adjudication involves making authoritative decisions to determine whether or not rules have been complied with in particular cases.

In his later writings, Almond notes recent developments in system analysis, mainly under the influence of David Easton. He introduces the concept of capabilities to understand the extent to which the system can cope with inputs effectively. The capabilities of a political system may be extractive (of resources), regulative (over individuals and goods), or distributive (of goods and services). Additionally, the system should possess symbolic and responsive capabilities, both domestically and internationally. Challenges to capability can come from within the system itself (e.g., from elites) or from the environment (e.g., from social groups or other political systems).

Almond’s structural-functional analysis has been found useful for comparative politics but also faces criticism. Critics argue that Almond discusses functions without referring to a system in which functions have meaning. Additionally, his definition of the political system is considered unsound. Another criticism is that his analysis focuses primarily on a system’s survival, making it ideologically inclined towards conservatism. Finally, it is noted that the analysis is not suited to analyzing power relations in a society. Despite these criticisms, structural-functional analysis represents a significant advance in political analysis.

3.1.5 System Analysis of David Easton

David Easton is the first major political scientist to develop a systematic framework based on the system analysis approach for the study of politics. He defines politics as “the authoritative allocation of values,” which broadly constitutes the political process. He treats all political systems as open and adaptive. In other words, the “allocation of values” is made in response to corresponding demands from society or the environment. It becomes authoritative because it receives support from the environment. According to Easton, the political system receives inputs from the environment in the form of demands and support, and it produces outputs in the form of policies and decisions. These outputs flow back into the environment through a “feedback” process, giving rise to fresh demands.

The input-output analysis of David Easton revolves around three concepts: Input, Output, and Feedback.

3.1.5.1 Inputs

Easton says that demands are the raw materials from which the finished products, called decisions, are manufactured. Demands may arise from any source: the people, politicians, administrators, opinion leaders, and so on. Easton classifies demands into four categories:

1. Demands for allocation of goods and services: such as wages and working conditions, educational opportunities, roads, and transportation.
2. Demands for regulation of behavior: such as provisions for public safety, controls over markets, and rules pertaining to marriage, health, and sanitation.
3. Demands for participation in the political system: such as the right to vote, the right to

stand as a candidate for election, the right to access all public offices, and the right to form political associations.

4. Demands for communication and information: such as affirmation of norms, information regarding policy intent, and displays of the majesty and power of the political system during foreign threats or ceremonial occasions.

According to Easton, demands are not the only inputs; support is also crucial. A political system receives considerable support from the environment, without which it cannot survive. Support can be overt when an action is clearly and manifestly supported, or covert, which refers to a supportive attitude. Support is also subclassified into four types:

1. Material support: such as payment of taxes and other levies, and rendering service in the public interest, like social work or military service.
2. Obedience to laws, rules, and regulations.
3. Participatory support: such as voting, political discussions, and other forms of political activity.
4. Attention to governmental communications: displaying deference or respect to public authority, symbols, and ceremonials.

3.1.5.2 Outputs

The outputs consist of policies and decisions. They are classified into four categories:

1. Extractive outputs: which take the form of tribute, taxes, or personal services.
2. Regulation of behaviour: which may cover a wide range of human activities.
3. Allocation or distribution of goods and services: opportunities, and honours.
4. Symbolic outputs: which take the form



of affirmation of values, display of political symbols, and communication of policy intent.

3.1.5.3 Feedback

The input-output function involves feedback, which is a dynamic process. Easton says that the demands and support that the political system receives from the environment in the form of inputs go through a conversion process within the system itself and take the form of outputs. The output is put back into the system as input and is described as feedback. In a sense, it is the public reaction to the outputs. Feedback has two aspects: negative and goal-changing. Negative feedback deals with the regulation of errors, while goal-changing feedback addresses the problem of purposive redirection.

This is, therefore, a cyclic process known as the flow model of the political system.

Here, the political process involves a continuous and interlinked flow of behavior. In short, outputs are not terminal points. They are fed back into the system, thereby shaping its subsequent behavior.

No doubt, the system analysis developed by Easton is considered a pioneering task. His method has proven very useful for the comparative analysis of diverse political units and has been extensively used for analyzing the international political system. This model has served as a basis for Gabriel Almond's model of structural-functional analysis as well as Karl Deutsch's model of communication theory. However, it has been criticized for its inability to understand the structure and function of political power as well as in analyzing mass political behaviour, such as voting behaviour. Nonetheless, it represents a substantial advance in the direction of constructing a theoretical framework from within the discipline of political science.

Recap

- ◆ A political system is a network of interactions concerned with authoritative allocation of values.
- ◆ It includes both formal institutions and informal structures.
- ◆ It functions within a broader social and environmental context.
- ◆ Gabriel Almond emphasised structural-functional analysis of political systems.
- ◆ David Easton introduced input-output analysis.
- ◆ Key properties of political systems include comprehensiveness, interdependence, and boundaries.
- ◆ Political systems perform input functions such as political socialisation, interest articulation, and communication.
- ◆ Output functions include rule-making, rule-application, and rule-adjudication.
- ◆ Feedback ensures continuity and adaptation of the system.

Objective Questions

1. Who is the author of the book Political System?
2. Who defined politics as the “authoritative allocation of values”?
3. Who introduced system theory in political science?
4. What is the aim of general system theory?
5. Who introduced the concept of equilibrium in political systems?
6. Who defined a system as a set of interacting elements?
7. According to Max Weber, what is the distinctive feature of a political system?
8. What does the study of a political system include?
9. Who wrote The Politics of Developing Areas?
10. How does David Easton classify inputs?

Answers

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. David Easton | 6. Gabriel Almond |
| 2. David Easton | 7. Use of legitimate force |
| 3. Gabriel Almond and David Easton | 8. Formal and informal institutions |
| 4. Systematisation of knowledge | 9. Gabriel Almond and Coleman |
| 5. Morton A. Kaplan | 10. Demands and supports |

Assignments

1. What is a political system? Explain its characteristics and functions.
2. Discuss the system analysis of David Easton.
3. Explain the structural-functional approach of Gabriel Almond.



4. Analyse the concept of input and output functions in a political system.
5. Explain the role of feedback in maintaining political systems.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is meant by a political system?
2. Explain the nature and characteristics of a political system.
3. Discuss the structural-functional analysis of political systems.
4. Explain the input-output model of political systems.
5. What are input functions?
6. What are output functions?
7. What is feedback in a political system?
8. Explain the role of political communication in a political system.
9. How do political systems interact with their environment?
10. Analyse the importance of system theory in political science.

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UNIT

Political Culture

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of political culture
- ◆ analyse different types of political culture
- ◆ examine the role of political culture in shaping political systems
- ◆ evaluate the relationship between political culture and political development

Prerequisite

While studying this unit, a learner may begin to question why political systems function differently in different societies, even when they have similar institutional structures. This curiosity often arises from observing variations in political behaviour, participation, and public attitudes across countries. In addressing this, the teacher introduces the concept of political culture as the set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and orientations that individuals hold towards their political system. The explanation proceeds by clarifying that political institutions alone cannot determine how a political system operates; rather, the behaviour and perceptions of citizens play a crucial role. Political culture shapes how people understand authority, respond to political processes, and participate in governance. The learner is guided to recognise that political culture is influenced by historical experiences, social structures, and cultural traditions.

Keywords

Political Culture, Democracy, Civic Culture, Political Subculture, Subject Political Culture, Participant Political Culture, Parochial Culture



Discussion

3.2.1 Political Culture

In many countries in Asia and Africa, a democratic system was introduced, but in some countries, it succeeded while in others it did not. For example, on August 15, 1947, there was the partition of India and Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan adopted the same political system, i.e., democracy. However, while democracy is flourishing in India, there has been no stable democratic system in Pakistan for a long time. In Nigeria, Sudan, and many countries in Africa, there have been military coups, and power was usurped by dictators. In many countries in Asia and Africa, the plant of democracy has not been able to grow and flower. Why?

Political culture is a comparatively new concept in political science. The concept has been popularized by writers like Ulan and Gabriel Almond. It varies from nation to nation.

The concept of political culture, as observed by Gabriel A. Almond, is that “every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political action. It is a combination of attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of a society with particular reference to political issues.” It can be measured in terms of public opinion, surveys, public statements, and writings.

Lucian W. Pyee defines it as “the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system, and it is rooted equally in public events and private experience.” Alan R. Ball states that “a political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of society that relate to the political system and political issues.” According to Almond and Powell, “political culture is a pattern of

individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of the political system.”

Political culture is not static. It changes in response to new ideas, the impact of new leaders, population changes, and many other factors. With the help of these changes, it continues from generation to generation through the process of political socialisation.

Political culture includes:

1. The scope of activities, issues, and decisions perceived by people as relevant to the management of political power;
2. The body of wisdom and knowledge that enables people to comprehend political matters;
3. The faith beyond substantive knowledge;
4. The values considered most sensitive to political action; and
5. The standards accepted as valid for appraising and evaluating political conduct.

Political culture is composed of attitudes and orientations developed by people in a given society toward objects within their political system. According to Almond and Powell, such individual orientation involves several components or dimensions, including cognitive orientation (knowledge about political objects and beliefs), affective orientation (feelings of attachment or rejection toward political objects), and evaluative orientation (judgments or opinions about political objects).

These three dimensions are interrelated. The objects of these cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations are the input

toward the system as a whole. They are always busy making reasonable demands on the political system and are involved in making decisions. Evaluation and criticism of the system exist at all levels. Political activity should be under the close scrutiny of individuals and groups within society. In a sense, they are active participants in the political process. Participant political culture is clearly noticeable in Britain, America, and Scandinavian political systems.

These three types of political cultures are ideal types. None of them can be found in pure form in any society. This led Almond and Verba to list some mixed types of political culture. They are:

1. Parochial-subject political culture;
2. Subject-participant political culture;
3. Parochial-participant political culture; and
4. Civic culture.

3.2.5 The Parochial-Subject Political Culture

In this culture, individuals are aware of governmental structures and their roles within them. However, they are unaware of how they can influence the political system. Here, the sense of self as a political force is relatively weak. The input institutions of the political system, such as political parties, pressure groups, communication, media, etc., often remain undeveloped, which is one of the reasons for the weak political efficiency of the people.

3.2.6 The Subject-Participant Political Culture

Citizens are divided into two groups—politically aware and active members, and the rest who are relatively passive. The politically aware are sensitive to all types of political objects and may have developed political efficiency. Since the input institutions are



relatively weak, the average citizen finds it difficult to participate, which in turn affects their political actions.

3.2.7 Parochial-Participant Political Culture

This culture features relatively local input institutions, like tribal or caste associations, while the national output institutions are fairly well developed. Here, national political institutions are always subjected to the pressure of local parochial institutions and their interests. This poses a problem in achieving national integration and process. In such a political culture, the national government tries to encourage popular political participation through mass rallies, national elections, etc. Both input and output institutions are under parochial pressure.

3.2.8 The Civic Culture

Almond and Verba's final category of political culture is the civic culture. It combines all the characteristics of the three ideal types of political culture. Here, cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations toward the political system as a whole are very high. The identification of civic culture is based on their extensive study of political attitudes and democracy in five nations: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Mexico.

In this type, citizens are capable of associating and unwilling to associate when they perceive the government acting against their interests. The citizen in the civic culture has a reserved influence—a potentially active citizen whose interest in political life is not necessarily high, but whose rate of extra-political association is high. The citizen's sense of obligation to participate in political activities is one of the variables of civic culture. Modern governments encourage their citizens to participate in at least some political activities. However, citizens' participation

in political activities depends on their sense of obligation to participate. Almond and Verba's study reveals variations among citizens in different democratic countries. Citizens' sense of competence or political efficacy is another important variable of civic culture.

Almond and Verba have given the following characteristics of civic culture:

1. Orientation toward the political system in both political and governmental senses.
2. Pride in respect of one's nation.
3. Expectation of fair treatment from the government.
4. Ability to talk freely and frequently about politics.
5. Emotional involvement in elections.
6. Tolerance toward opposition parties.
7. Active participation in local government activities, parties, and civic associations.
8. Self-confidence in one's competence to participate in politics.
9. Civic cooperation and trust.
10. Membership in political associations.

According to Almond and Verba, Great Britain and the United States reveal the closest examples of civic culture.

3.2.9 Political Subculture

The people of a country may not display a single type of orientation. Political sociologists generally agree that diverse political orientations exist in society among different groups toward political objects. This means political culture is not always homogeneous but may be heterogeneous.

Political subcultures may develop based on region, religion, social class, caste, language, generation, occupation, and other factors. These subcultures play a very important role. However, subcultures are not necessarily divisive; they differ on specific issues related to authoritative decisions. Myron Weiner has differentiated between mass and elite political cultures and observed that India's political culture is characterized by these two political cultures. When a political subculture challenges the basic structural arrangement of society, the stability of the political system is threatened, compelling political authorities to use force.

3.2.10 Determinants of Political Culture

Political continuity, colonial domination, geography, ethnic differences, religious differences, and socio-economic structure play important roles in the development of political culture. Political continuity plays a crucial part in developing political culture. The political culture of Britain has been influenced by its long-standing political continuity. If there had been no political continuity for a long time, there would have been no scope for the development of a particular political culture in that country. Unlike Britain, the political culture of France was shaken by the French Revolution and the events that followed.

Political culture is also affected by colonial domination and imperialist control. The political culture of India, for instance, was significantly influenced by British rule for about two centuries. Geography also molds the political culture of a country. The insular position of England created a political culture different from that of continental countries.

Ethnic differences also mold the political culture of a country. If there were no racial differences in Africa, the political cultures of the countries in that region would have been

different. However, racial differences can be mitigated through mutual understanding and tolerance. Religious homogeneity or differences also have effects on the political culture of a country. Religious differences in India, for example, contributed to the partition of the country.

The political culture of a country is influenced by its socio-economic structure. These differences explain the variations in political culture among countries.

3.2.11 Political Culture of Democracies

One of the important characteristics of democratic government is that it provides a proper balance between governmental power and the representation of the people, both politically and culturally. In this culture, it is expected that all decisions should take into consideration the known wishes and aspirations of the people. Formal and informal channels of communication facilitate understanding these wishes within the constitutional framework where governmental decisions are made. According to Almond and Verba, the most appropriate political culture for a democratic system of government is the civic culture. The concept of political culture assumes that societies require some consensus on values and norms for their stability.

3.2.12 Contribution of Political Culture

Political culture is an important method to judge the development and modernisation of a country. It has made significant contributions to political science. The significance of the subject can be understood through the following points:

1. It has made political science a more complete social science.
2. It has focused attention on the



study of the political community or society as distinct from individuals, thus studying the total political system.

3. It has encouraged political scientists to study social and cultural factors responsible for shaping a country's political culture.
4. The study helps to devise appropriate means for bringing progressive political changes in societies and can predict changes over time.
5. It enables understanding why similar political phenomena across the world produce dissimilar political results and provides a tool for comparing different political systems.
6. The study of political culture inevitably leads to understanding political socialisation.
7. It provides a new perspective on the political history of a nation.
8. It helps in understanding political change and modernisation.

However, a difficulty with this concept is that it is challenging to measure political culture due to hindrances like illiteracy, lack of political maturity, and misinformation. The popularity or acceptability of political culture cannot be measured solely by attendance at public meetings, questionnaires, or sampling. For a proper and scientific study of political culture in a society, several methods must be combined.

In conclusion, political culture is considered important in any country's political system as it reflects the political values, beliefs, and attitudes of the nation. Just as social culture is crucial in people's social values, political culture holds immense significance for the people. It is important to note that political culture is not static; it changes in response to new ideas, population growth, and other factors. These changes are transmitted from generation to generation through the process known as political socialisation. Therefore, the study of political culture is incomplete without a proper understanding of the process of political socialisation.

Recap

- ◆ Political culture refers to the set of attitudes, values, and beliefs regarding political life.
- ◆ It influences political behaviour and the functioning of political systems.
- ◆ Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba classified political culture into parochial, subject, and participant types.
- ◆ Civic culture is a balanced combination of these types and is essential for democracy.
- ◆ Political culture is shaped by historical, social, and economic factors.
- ◆ It plays a crucial role in political stability and development.
- ◆ Differences in political culture explain variations in political systems across societies.

Objective Questions

1. Who are the main proponents of the concept of political culture?
2. Who wrote The Civic Culture?
3. How many types of political culture are identified by Almond and Verba?
4. Which type of political culture is characterised by low political awareness?
5. Which political culture is associated with active participation?
6. What is civic culture?
7. Which type of political culture is found in traditional societies?
8. Political culture is influenced by which factors?
9. Which political culture is considered ideal for democracy?
10. Who classified political culture into three types?

Answers

1. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba
2. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba
3. Three
4. Parochial culture
5. Participant culture
6. Balanced political culture
7. Parochial culture
8. Social, economic, and historical factors
9. Civic culture
10. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba

Assignments

1. Define political culture and explain its features.
2. Discuss the classification of political culture by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba.
3. Explain the concept of civic culture and its importance.



4. Analyse the role of political culture in political development.
5. Examine how political culture influences political behaviour.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is political culture?
2. Explain the main features of political culture.
3. Discuss the types of political culture.
4. What is parochial political culture?
5. What is subject political culture?
6. What is participant political culture?
7. Explain the concept of civic culture.
8. How does political culture influence political systems?
9. What factors shape political culture?
10. Why is political culture important for democracy?

Reference

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UNIT

Religion - Definition and Components; Economic and Political Institutions - Definition and Types

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of political socialisation
- ◆ analyse the process through which political attitudes are formed
- ◆ examine the relationship between political socialisation and political culture
- ◆ evaluate the importance of political socialisation in maintaining political systems

Prerequisite

Upon comprehending this unit, a learner may begin to question how individuals develop their political beliefs, attitudes, and values. This curiosity often arises from observing differences in political opinions among individuals and groups within the same society. In addressing this, the teacher introduces political socialisation as the process through which individuals acquire knowledge, values, and orientations towards the political system. The explanation proceeds by clarifying that political behaviour is not innate but is shaped over time through various social influences. Institutions such as family, educational systems, media, and peer groups play a significant role in transmitting political ideas and norms. The learner is guided to understand that political socialisation is a continuous process that begins in early life and evolves with changing experiences.

Keywords

Political Socialisation ,Agents of Socialisation ,Family ,Media, Political Participation

Discussion

3.3.1 Political Socialisation

Political socialisation is one of the major concepts of political sociology. The study of political socialisation is a promising approach to understanding political stability and development. The process of acquiring social learning is known as socialisation. When this process has a clear political context, it is known as political socialisation.

3.3.1.1 Definitions and Meaning

Political socialisation is the process by which political culture is shaped at the individual and community levels and is passed from generation to generation. According to Gabriel A. Almond and Robert L. Powell, “political socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed.” David Easton and Dennis defined political socialisation as “those development processes by which persons acquire political orientation and patterns of behavior.” Alan R. Ball defines political socialisation as “the establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about the political system.” In the words of Robert Sigel, “it is the gradual learning of norms, attitudes, and behavior acceptable to an ongoing political system.”

Political socialisation is a process that occurs in every country under every system of government. It operates smoothly without people being aware of it. It is a process that begins in early childhood and continues throughout an individual’s lifespan. It is determined by the socio-economic and cultural environment of the society in which the individual lives.

Political socialisation is a process of learning from experience. It is a continuing process involving all kinds of learning, both formal and informal. However, socialisation

is distinct from mere learning; it indicates that part of learning which is relevant to social life. Learning is a conscious process that differs from socialisation. What is true of learning is also true of political socialisation.

3.3.1.2 Aims of Political Socialisation

The main aim of political socialisation is the transmission of political values from one generation to another. Political socialisation shapes and transmits a nation’s political culture. Sometimes it maintains, transforms, and creates the political culture of people. It maintains political culture by successfully transmitting it from an older generation to a new one. Political socialisation introduces values, norms, and orientations into the minds of individuals so that they develop trust in their political system. Sometimes, a nation may try to establish a completely new political order, requiring the creation of a new political culture. This is known as the creative role of political socialisation. The process of political socialisation in every society involves a combination of all three tasks: maintaining, transforming, and creating political culture. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in youth may change in old age due to new education, changing social environments, new experiences in life, and the performance of political parties.

3.3.1.3 Types of Political Socialisation

According to Almond and Powell, there are two types of political socialisation: Direct and Indirect, or Manifest and Latent. Direct political socialisation refers to the process in which the content of transmitted information, values, or feelings are purely political. It involves the explicit communication of information, values, or feelings towards political objects, e.g., formal education in educational institutions, talks on mass

media about political problems, and the use of platforms for audiences. It includes all types of propaganda. It may also operate through imitation, anticipatory behavior, expectation, and experience. Ordinarily, children imitate the political ideas of their parents. Similarly, rural people imitate urban individuals.

In latent or indirect political socialisation, the transmission does not directly approach the problem, but ideas are transmitted indirectly. It is the method of transmitting non-political attitudes which affect analogous roles and objects in the political system; usually, it works unnoticed and more or less automatically. One method of indirect manifestation is the transference of values and thoughts to other persons. In other words, an individual, as a result of his relationship with his parents, teachers, or some other agency, may develop an attitude toward authority in general. This attitude can later be directed toward political authority in particular, and thus the orientation with non-political objects is ultimately transferred into political orientation. This is an instance of indirect or latent political socialisation. Latent political socialisation may be intentional or unintentional.

Latent political socialisation may take place through interpersonal transferences, apprenticeship, and generalizations.

3.3.1.4 Process of Political Socialisation

The process of political socialisation generally operates in a casual or quiet manner without people being aware of it. A newborn child is not a socialized creature and must be socialized through the learning process. The process of political socialisation starts when the child becomes aware of a wider environment. It is at this stage that the general attitudes of children towards authority, resistance, cooperation, aggression, etc., begin to form. Early socialisation, which

begins in childhood, continues through adolescence and adulthood, and ends with death in old age. Almond and Powell state that the process of socialisation continues throughout an individual's life. Easton and Dennis refer to four stages in the process of political socialisation at the childhood stage:

1. Recognition of authority through particular individuals such as parents, police officers, and the president of the country;
2. Distinction between public and private authority;
3. Recognition of impersonal political institutions like the national legislature, judiciary, and voting behavior;
4. Distinction between political institutions and persons engaged in the activities associated with the institution.

Sometimes, the process of socialisation may be discontinued due to migration from one country to another or from a village to a city, or vice versa. Migration from a village to a city results in discontinuity because early socialisation does not help them. The problems faced in cities are different. The nature of political socialisation in countries with dictatorships is different from those with democratic forms of government. Discontinuity also results from time lags, multiplicity of agents, sudden changes in social values, political upheavals, mobility, etc.

Political socialisation is the process through which we learn about politics. It concerns the acquisition of emotions, identities, and skills as well as information. The main dimensions of socialisation are what people learn (content), when they learn it (timing and sequence), and from whom they learn it (agents).



3.3.1.5 Variables of Political Socialisation

Political socialisation has two variables: homogeneous and heterogeneous. In the former case, people have trust in their political system, whereas in the latter case, they have doubts and dissatisfaction with the political system in which they live. In the former case, there can be political stability. The nature and speed of change in the process of socialisation and the political system depend on the pace with which changes come from homogeneous to heterogeneous variables. To avoid sudden and violent changes, it is essential to keep a constant watch on both variables.

3.3.1.6 Political Socialisation and Political Culture

The concepts of political socialisation and political culture are closely allied, linked, and connected. Political socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and transformed. It maintains political culture by successfully transmitting it from an older generation to a new one. The process of political socialisation in every society involves a combination of maintaining, transforming, and creating a new political culture. Thus, it is difficult to separate political socialisation from political culture.

3.3.1.7 Agents of Political Socialisation

The various elements of political socialisation are transmitted through a variety of agents, but primacy is not given to any one agent or group of agents. Some agents are more applicable to some subjects of socialisation than others. They may also vary in importance from one political system to another and sometimes within a political system. The way in which these agents transmit the elements of political socialisation also varies. However, these agents teach young people about the political

system. They can also influence people's political preferences and the political process. Almond and Powell enumerate eight agents of political socialisation, explained below:

1. Family

The family is the first and most impactful agent of political socialisation during childhood. It should be described as the child's first window to the world outside and their first contact with authority. Much of an individual's personality is shaped at home in the first ten or fifteen years of life. The family's role in the political socialisation process may be explained by several factors. First, the family holds a crucial position in the child's life, working as the only agency for meeting the physical and emotional needs of a child for a long period. Second, children have a natural tendency to imitate their parents. Third, members of the family usually live in the same environment and are influenced by the same neighbors, neighborhood, friends, and economic forces of the area, as well as the father's occupation. Family members read the same newspapers, watch the same radio and TV programs, listen to the same preacher, and share other local opinions.

2. Peer Group

A peer group is a group of people approximately the same age, sharing similar problems. Childhood playgroups, friendship cliques, small workgroups, brothers and sisters, and married couples are examples of peer groups. They can freely discuss matters concerning themselves and other objects of society. Such free discussion helps to formulate views and attitudes towards various objects in society. In these groups, interaction on political issues is spontaneous and not formal. Members of the groups are normally willing to accept the majority view about political issues or values after frank discussion.

The peer group supplements the socializing functions of the family. The peer group does not always work in conflict with the family but also facilitates easy interaction among its members. Like the family, a peer group is characterized by highly intimate relations, which also facilitate the task of socializing its members.

3. The Educational Institutions

Education has long been regarded as an important variable in the explanation of political behaviour. There is considerable evidence to suggest that it is an important agent of political socialisation. It has been established that the level of education is closely related to interest in politics, voter turnout, and overall political participation. The selection of courses in school assumes great importance. Allen R. Barce says that, “the educational system has an important effect on the process of socialisation. The values imparted by schools and universities may not be the result of direct political indoctrination, but are nonetheless important.” In schools, roles are more differentiated than in the family. As an authority figure, the teacher is much more like a political authority than the parents. Schools socialize students by teaching about the country’s past, its heroes, its traditions, and glorifying the achievements of the state.

Teachers can also help in the creation of new values and new political ideas. Political parties consider educational institutions as fertile ground to politically socialize children according to their philosophy. The extent of the influence of political socialisation in educational institutions can be judged by the fact that many student leaders later become successful political leaders. Students become politically socialized during school not only through teachings but also through the influence they derive from their school experience.

4. Experience in Employment

Political orientations are shaped through participation in unions, collective bargaining, demonstrations, and other forms of decision-making. Informal groups of employees exert influence on the attitudes of their members towards political objects and events.

5. Mass Media

Radio, TV, newspapers, periodicals, and the internet are examples of mass media that provide a good deal of political information and add their own interpretations. According to Almond and Powell, “the role of mass media in political socialisation must not be overlooked.” In addition to providing information about political events, they add their own comments in the form of editorials. The opinions, ideas, and values communicated through mass media deeply influence viewers and listeners. The mass media, in most cases, are not the actual originators of the messages they transmit. The messages originate from government officials and political leaders. The mass media just channel these messages to the people. In this regard, mass media is not an agent of political socialisation, but only an instrument used by various agents of socialisation.

6. Political Parties and Political System

Individual orientation to politics is often conditioned by direct contact with the political system. Relationships with political parties, pressure groups, and influential political leaders determine a person’s attitude towards politics. Direct formal and informal relationships with specific elites in the political system are inevitably powerful forces in shaping an individual’s orientation to the system. Political parties are also important agents of political socialisation. Various methods are used to



articulate party views and convince people. Through political propaganda, electioneering, political recruitment, and articulating and aggregating their political interests, political parties become direct agents of political socialisation. Interest groups are also created in society for this purpose.

7. Religious Institutions

Religious institutions play an important role in political socialisation. People are easily influenced by the views of religious leaders on political issues. They have played and continue to play an important role in India. On important occasions, political leaders in India often seek the cooperation of religious leaders, believing that their support goes a long way in the political socialisation process.

8. Symbols

Political and social symbols are important features of political socialisation and contribute to the development of political orientation. These symbols include the birthdays of patriots, martyr days of national heroes, and the celebration of events of national importance.

3.3.1.8 Importance of Political Socialisation

1. It brings enlightenment to the people.

2. It brings efficiency to the working of the political system.
3. It provides legitimacy to the political system.
4. It helps in the formation of political culture.
5. It helps in maintaining political culture.
6. It provides a link between the political system and the social system.
7. It provides knowledge about political matters.
8. It provides stability to the political system.

According to Almond and Powell, “the study of political socialisation seems to be one of the most promising approaches to understanding political stability and development.” Thus, political socialisation is the induction of citizens into the political culture of a particular political system. The process of political socialisation is lifelong, beginning in childhood and continuing into old age. For the stability of the political system, it is essential that the agents of political socialisation create a favorable image of the political system and its main actors in the minds of the people.

Recap

- ◆ Political socialisation is the process through which individuals acquire political values and attitudes.
- ◆ It plays a crucial role in shaping political behaviour and participation.
- ◆ Major agents include family, education, media, peer groups, and political institutions.
- ◆ Family acts as the primary agent in early stages.

- ◆ Educational institutions provide structured political knowledge.
- ◆ Media influences public opinion and political awareness.
- ◆ Political socialisation is a continuous and dynamic process.
- ◆ It helps in maintaining political stability and continuity of political culture.

Objective Questions

1. What is political socialisation?
2. Which is the primary agent of political socialisation?
3. Name two agents of political socialisation.
4. What role does education play in political socialisation?
5. How does media influence political socialisation?
6. Is political socialisation a continuous process?
7. Which agent shapes early political attitudes?
8. What is political participation?
9. Political socialisation is related to which concept?
10. Which institution transmits political values formally?

Answers

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Process of acquiring political values | 6. Yes |
| 2. Family | 7. Family |
| 3. Family and education | 8. Involvement in political activities |
| 4. Provides political knowledge | 9. Political culture |
| 5. Shapes public opinion | 10. Educational institutions |

Assignments

1. Define political socialisation and explain its nature.
2. Discuss the major agents of political socialisation.
3. Analyse the role of family and education in political socialisation.
4. Examine the influence of media on political socialisation.
5. Explain the importance of political socialisation in democracy.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is political socialisation?
2. Explain the features of political socialisation.
3. What are the main agents of political socialisation?
4. How does family influence political behaviour?
5. What is the role of education in political socialisation?
6. Explain the influence of media on political attitudes.
7. What is political participation?
8. How is political socialisation related to political culture?
9. Why is political socialisation important for democracy?
10. Discuss the continuous nature of political socialisation.

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UNIT

Political Communication and Mass Mobilization

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this unit, the learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of political communication
- ◆ analyse the role of media in shaping political opinion
- ◆ examine the relationship between communication and political participation
- ◆ evaluate the importance of political communication in democracy

Prerequisite

While studying this unit, a learner may begin to question how political ideas, policies, and decisions are communicated to the public and how people become actively involved in political processes. This curiosity often arises from observing election campaigns, media debates, and public movements that influence political outcomes. In addressing this, the teacher introduces political communication as the process through which information, ideas, and values related to politics are transmitted within society. The explanation proceeds by clarifying that political communication is not limited to formal announcements by governments but includes a wide range of interactions involving media, political parties, pressure groups, and citizens. It plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing decision-making. The learner is guided to understand that communication is essential for linking the government with the people. The unit further introduces mass mobilisation as a process through which large groups of people are organised and motivated to participate in political activities.

Keywords

Political Communication, Mass Mobilisation, Media, Public Opinion, Propaganda

Discussion

3.4.1 Political Communication

Closely allied with the concept of electoral behavior and the electoral system is the concept of political communication. Karl W. Deutsch has identified some important features of this concept and believes that the political system and political communication are closely linked with each other.

Karl W. Deutsch says, “Political communication is the transmission of politically relevant information from one part of the political system to another part and between the social and political systems.” It is a subfield of communication and Political Science. It is concerned with how information spreads and influences politics, policymakers, the news media, and citizens. According to George Washington University, Political Communication is the study of the flow of information through the political process; the study of who knows what, when, where, and how; and how people use their information to further political goals.

The process of Political Socialization, Political Participation, and Political Recruitment depends upon the process of Political Communication. The communication of knowledge, values, and attitudes determines the political activity of individuals.

The communication process involves understanding, sharing, and meaning. It consists of the source of the message, the message itself, the channel through which it passes to the audience, and the process known as Feedback. Thus, in a system of Political Communication, a typical source would be a candidate for election to a political office; his message would be a series of policy proposals; his channel would be a

television broadcast; his audience would be those members of the electorate who happened to watch the broadcast; and the feedback would be the audience's reaction of approval or disapproval of his proposal. Thus, communication influences public opinion of political figures and public policy.

In every society, there is a complex network of communication. Similarly, a complex network is found in any political system. For a political office holder, his source of information will include his immediate colleagues in office, the administrative office holder associated with his post, various political associates, a variety of less political contacts, the mass media, periodic contact with other members of society, public speeches, and visits to different parts of the country.

All functions in a political system are performed by means of communication. For instance, the head of the family, school and college teachers, and religious leaders perform the work of inculcating values in people; leaders of interest groups and political parties perform the function by communicating demands and policy recommendations; legislators make laws on the basis of information communicated to them by their fellow parliamentarians and ministers of the government; the administrators perform their functions on the basis of information communicated to them by society and organs of government. The judicial process is carried on by means of information communicated to the judges by the litigating parties and decisions of fellow judges. Thus, communication is an aspect of all political functions.



3.4.1.1 Factors of Political Communication

Broadly speaking, Political Communication has four factors. The first is the part in which an idea is provided, e.g., to give an idea about bringing communal harmony or streamlining the public distribution system. The second is the business part, e.g., the betterment of the lot of backward classes. The third part is the complaint part, e.g., political parties and leaders are informed about the drawbacks of the system. Lastly, there is an 'achievement part' when the system communicates to the people the goals achieved and seeks their cooperation for further action. The ideal part of communication is concerned with policies, plans, and blueprints; the business part with duties, responsibilities, and methods of doing; the complaint part is concerned with the necessities of changes and petitions, representations, etc.; whereas the performance part is concerned with initiative, courage, improvements, and reforms.

3.4.1.2 Types of Political Communication

There are two types of Political Communication, namely, communications among the citizens themselves on the one hand and between political leaders and citizens on the other. Both types of communication are ongoing in various ways. These two types coexist and cover each other. The strength and effectiveness of political communication depend on the amount of power that is employed for the purpose of communication in different situations. It is an important instrument of political participation.

Political leaders and those who are heavily involved in political activities can more effectively use political communication than others because the former are more methodical and likely to be more political in character.

3.4.1.3 Channels of Political Communication

1. Mass Media

Each political system develops its own network of political communication. The significance of particular sources, channels, and audiences differs accordingly. Except in primitive societies or societies characterized by traditional cultures, the printed word and broadcasting are the major means by which political communication is transmitted in any political system.

New technologies and changes in the mass media have enabled party leaders to appeal directly to voters. Media has been considered an unbiased provider of information. The growing availability of political information through the media has reduced the cost of making informed decisions. Many of the information functions, like those of providing campaign information, were performed by political parties in earlier times. The media have now become the primary source of campaign information. Furthermore, the growth of electronic media has diminished the role of political parties. Electronic media also make it easier to communicate events through personalities.

2. Political Parties and Interest Groups

Other channels of communication are important and often more obviously political. Interest Groups and Political Parties are vital to the communication process. Compared to mass media, which may be regarded as a general means of Political Communication, Interest Groups and Political Parties are more specifically and frequently involved in the process.

3. Informal Contact with Individuals

Apart from mass media and formal organizations, there is a third important channel of communication: informal

contact between individuals and groups of individuals. Informal contacts or face-to-face relationships are the most common and frequent means of communication in many societies, although their role in political communication is probably related more to the formation of public opinion than merely to the transmission of political information.

3.4.1.4 Factors Influencing Political Communication

The particular pattern of information that a political system develops depends upon various factors in society. The most important of these are physical and technological, economic, socio-cultural, and political factors. The historical development of communication networks is closely linked to physical and technological factors. The ability of the various colonial powers of the 18th and 19th centuries to communicate effectively with their colonies was limited by slow-moving sea transport. Newspapers were either nonexistent or had only a limited circulation. Technological advancements, however, subsequently overcame many of these problems. In so doing, they created not a new communication network but added a further dimension to the existing networks.

Physical barriers such as mountains, deserts, forests, seas, lakes, and rivers are often important in determining the initial pattern of communication. Further, the size of the country may be considered in this direction. It seems that the larger the country, the greater the problem of communication, regardless of the existence of natural barriers to such communication.

In most countries, however, technological changes have reduced the problems presented by physical factors and have profoundly altered communication patterns. Modern technology has not only greatly increased the ease and speed with which people and materials can be transported from one place to another.

The extent to which physical barriers are overcome and technological advances are significant is loosely related to economic development. The higher the level of economic development, the more extensive the development of mass media. These matters of communication will be affected by a variety of socio-cultural factors. An obvious factor is the level of literacy. Apart from limiting the impact of printed media, illiteracy also limits the impact of the spoken word since it is inevitably linked to educational attainment. In such circumstances, face-to-face contacts assume intense importance and are the principal means of communication. The educational system was strengthened to propagate political information, and great efforts were made to increase literacy levels to facilitate the use of printed media. Face-to-face contacts were organized through party organizations mainly by means of group discussion and instruction. The system was based on three concepts: first, a monopoly by the authorities of all means of communication; secondly, the belief that a message was more effective if it was simple and constantly repeated; and thirdly, the reinforcement of the use of all channels for the same message at the same time.

3.4.2 Mass Mobilization

Mass Mobilization is the process of bringing together a large number of people for a specific cause or objective through organized social and political movements. Its basic elements are collective action and shared commitment to a common goal. It takes the forms of protests, demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience. The mobilization may be based on caste, class, religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender, or specific issues like nuclear disarmament.

Mass mobilization movements can be sparked by a range of issues, including political oppression, social injustice, economic inequality, and environmental



concerns. Mass mobilization may also arise from questioning the legitimacy of the existing regime. It is the study of how and to what extent groups are mobilized politically or electorally in a democratic political system to influence who governs or how they do so. The ruling class also tries to mobilize people behind the regime to strengthen the authority of the government.

It has been applied to the studies of social movements, national movements, rebellions, revolutions, and electoral politics. It is also applied to the study of 'populism,' which refers to any political movement that seeks to mobilize people as individuals rather than as members of any particular socioeconomic group. It is directed against a state that is considered to be controlled either by vested interests or too powerful in itself.

3.4.2.1 Essentials of Mass Mobilization

Effective Mass Mobilization depends on the resources that must be mobilized by the groups and the way in which such resources are deployed. Politically relevant resources include education, freedom of information, a particular social outlook or ideology that defines a social or political issue, leadership, money, time for political activity, communication networks, symbols, commitment of the participants to the cause, and the like. All these factors are crucial in the success or failure of political mobilization to achieve the goal.

Every movement requires good leadership. Good leadership keeps the movement active, makes it more effective, and decides the objectives of the movement, the program of action, and the strategy of agitation. Political mobilization is purposive; it has an objective or a focused problem. For example, a movement against corruption will have the objective of ending corruption.

The need for organization is another essential element to follow up on an issue.

For example, the farmers' movement has farmers' organizations. Since a movement is a collective action, it requires public support. It is essential that the public feel connected with the issue being focused on by the movement. Every movement has a program of action that helps to shape public opinion.

3.4.2.2 Mass Mobilization in India

Mass mobilization and the organization of the masses derive their inspiration from the freedom struggle and the lessons learned from it. In the middle of the 19th century, both Hindus and Muslims revolted against the British East India Company, which came to be known as the Sepoy Uprising. The revolt included not only soldiers recruited by the East India Company but also the civilian population. The revolt is regarded as India's first war of independence against British imperialism and colonialism. The mass mobilization paved the way for continued resistance against outside oppression. Mass movements like the Swadeshi Movement, the Khilafat Movement, the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Quit India Movement mobilized the masses against British rule in India. The mass mobilization led by the Indian National Congress, Muslim League, and Hindu Mahasabha urged people to participate in processions, gatherings, and raising funds for the movement.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan, the Lokpal Andolan, and the farmers' movement are some of the notable movements in recent times. Among these, the Narmada Bachao Andolan deserves special mention. It was a significant movement after the Chipko movement that gained widespread popularity in the country. The movement started with the specific issue of people displaced by the creation of the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River. Its objective was to stop the dam from being constructed.

Gradually, it became a wider movement that questioned all such big dams and the model of development that required such dams. Since the 1980s, the dam has been the focus of protests, as it displaced millions of people from their homes. The large-scale protest against the dam was significant in many respects. The coming together of tribals and environmentalists, along with the support shown by industrialists in the country, helped the movement gain popularity across the world. The role of the Supreme Court is also important as it helped bring justice to the movement.

Anna Hazare's call for the Lokpal Bill and his anti-corruption movement was a bright star against the rising tide of corruption. He started the anti-corruption movement in April 2011. As a mark of protest, he began a hunger strike, which drew support and protesters took to the streets. His movement was named Jan Lokpal Andolan. After many days of hunger strike, Anna Hazare and his followers convinced the government to pass the Lokpal Bill. Finally, the Lokpal Bill was passed by Parliament, and he ended his hunger strike. Recently, the farmers' agitation in India demanding the withdrawal of certain farm laws passed by Parliament also met with success.

As in the case of India, mass mobilization has played a critical role in promoting democratic governance in many parts of the world. The movement for democracy in Nepal and Bolivia's water war may be referred to in this context.

3.4.2.3 Movement for Democracy in Nepal

Nepal witnessed an extraordinary popular movement in April 2006 aimed at restoring democracy. In 1990, the King of Nepal had accepted democracy, changing the country from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. However, in 2001, the entire royal family was mysteriously massacred, leading to a new king. The new king, Gyanendra,

did not accept democratic rule; therefore, in 2005, he dismissed the prime minister and dissolved parliament. A movement was started in April 2006 to regain democracy. All the political parties formed a seven-party alliance and called for a four-day strike in Kathmandu. The alliance had three demands: the restoration of parliament, power to an all-party government, and a new constituent assembly. The protest soon turned into an indefinite strike, with Maoist insurgents and various other organizations joining hands. Eventually, the king was forced to concede all three demands. This struggle came to be known as Nepal's second movement for democracy and is a source of inspiration to democrats worldwide.

3.4.2.4 Bolivia's Water War

Bolivia's water war, a struggle against the privatization of water, reminds us that popular struggles are integral to the working of democracy. Bolivia is a poor country in Latin America. The World Bank pressured the government to give up its control of municipal water supplies. The government allowed a multinational company to take control of the water supply in Cochabamba. The company immediately increased the price of water fourfold, leading to spontaneous popular protests. In 2000, a new alliance of labor, human rights, and community leaders came together to form an organization called FEDECOR. The group then held a four-day strike in the city. The government agreed to negotiate, and the strike was called off, yet nothing happened. Another strike followed, and the government imposed martial law. But the power of the people forced the company officials to flee the city and the government to concede to all the protesters' demands. The contract with the company was canceled, and the water supply was restored to the municipality at old rates. This came to be known as Bolivia's water war.



3.4.2.5 Mobilization and Organization

Various organizations back every power struggle and movement that happens in the world. It is appropriate to consider the different organizations that played a role in the movement for democracy in Nepal. Firstly, they had the seven-party alliance, which consisted of major parties in parliament, and secondly, they had the backing of the Nepali Communist Party (Maoist). Along with these influential groups, there were also organizations such as teachers, laborers, students, and human rights groups that played significant roles in the movement.

Bolivia's water war was led by FEDECOR, which comprised local professionals. They were also supported by organizations like factory workers, farmers, students, and other socialist parties.

Mass Mobilization has been a means of promoting progressive social and political change. It can play a critical role in toppling authoritarian regimes and promoting democratic governance. Further, it has transformed the nature of political protests and acts as an effective tool for addressing the grievances of the people. However, it is also used by reactionaries. Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany came into existence by mobilizing the masses. Mass Mobilization can be difficult to sustain for long periods. Internal divisions and power struggles may arise within the movements. One way to overcome this challenge is to build strong relationships and networks among the participants and cultivate a sense of shared purpose and values.

Recap

- ◆ Political communication involves the flow of information within a political system.
- ◆ It connects the government with citizens and facilitates interaction.
- ◆ Various channels include media, political parties, and pressure groups.
- ◆ Media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion.
- ◆ Mass mobilisation refers to the organisation of people for political participation.
- ◆ It is important in democratic processes such as elections and movements.
- ◆ Political communication and mobilisation together strengthen democracy.
- ◆ They help in spreading awareness, influencing policies, and encouraging participation.

Objective Questions

1. What is political communication?
2. Name one channel of political communication.
3. What is mass mobilisation?
4. Which medium plays a major role in political communication?
5. What is public opinion?
6. What is propaganda?
7. Political communication connects which two entities?
8. What is the role of media in politics?
9. Mass mobilisation is associated with which activity?
10. Political communication is essential for which system?

Answers

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Transmission of political information | 6. Spread of ideas to influence attitudes |
| 2. Media | 7. Government and people |
| 3. Organisation of people for political action | 8. Shapes public opinion |
| 4. Media | 9. Political participation |
| 5. Collective views of people | 10. Democracy |

Assignments

1. Define political communication and explain its importance.
2. Discuss the various channels of political communication.
3. Analyse the role of media in political communication.



4. Explain the concept of mass mobilisation.
5. Examine the relationship between political communication and democracy.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is political communication?
2. Explain the importance of political communication.
3. What are the main channels of political communication?
4. How does media influence political opinion?
5. What is mass mobilisation?
6. Explain the role of public opinion in politics.
7. What is propaganda?
8. How does political communication strengthen democracy?
9. What is the relationship between communication and participation?
10. Analyse the role of mobilisation in political change.

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BLOCK

Political System and Ideologies



Democracy

UNIT

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the concept and meaning of democracy as both a system of government and a way of life
- ◆ analyse the conditions, principles, and features necessary for the successful functioning of democracy
- ◆ explore the various types of democracy, including direct and indirect forms and their institutional variants
- ◆ evaluate the merits and demerits of democracy as a political system

Prerequisite

Think of a familiar scene: a grama panchayat election in a small Kerala village, where candidates go door to door, ward members are chosen by ballot, and a gram sabha meeting later holds them accountable for the promises made. Now think of a bigger, more historic moment — 1957, when Kerala became the first place in the world to bring a communist party to power through the ballot box, under E.M.S. Namboodiripad, without a single shot fired. Both scenes, small and large, are democracy at work: power passing from the people, through their vote, to those who govern them, and back to the people again at the next election. This unit asks you to move from these familiar pictures to the underlying idea — what makes such a transfer of power "democratic," and what conditions keep it working.

Keywords

Aristocracy, Autocracy, Democracy, Dictatorship, Sovereignty, Totalitarianism, Tyranny, Universal Adult Franchise

Discussion

4.1.1 Democracy - Meaning

To begin with, Carl Friedrich observes, “Democracy has been the battle cry of the twentieth century. Everyone is for democracy as he understands it.” Democracy has emerged as the most important political concept in the 20th century. It has come to be accepted as the most desirable and popular form of government. It provides equal rights among citizens, enhances the quality of decision-making, and improves the dignity of citizens. Democratically governed nations are more likely to secure peace, deter aggression, expand open markets, promote economic development, uphold human rights, and the like.

The term democracy is derived from two Greek words - ‘demos’ and ‘kratos’. Demos means people and kratos means power. Therefore, democracy means the power of the people. Simply defined, it is a system in which the government of a country is elected by the people. Webster’s New Encyclopedic Dictionary defines it as “a government in which supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representative.”

According to Lord Bryce, democracy is a form of government in which the ruling power of the state is legally vested not in any particular class or classes, but in the community as a whole. Seeley says, “Democracy is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people”. Thus, democracy is a form of government where people have the authority to elect representatives by voting. The first democratic country in the world is Greece.

Democracy is better than any other form of government. A state with a democratic form of government prevents rule by

autocrats, guarantees fundamental freedoms of individuals, and allows for a relatively high level of political equality.

4.1.1.1 Conditions for the Success of Democracy

Democracy is a challenging form of government. In order to work successfully, certain objective conditions are necessary. These conditions are as follows:

1. The first among these is faith in democracy. People should have faith in democratic principles. No system can function successfully unless and until the people believe that it is the best system of government. If people have sufficient faith in democracy, they will resist any attempt to destroy it.
2. Another condition essential for the success of democracy is political awakening among the people. Political awakening implies that people should be fully conscious of their rights and duties. Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy; it is necessary for protecting democracy. People who are indolent and not interested in what is happening in the country cannot be the guardians of democracy. The people must cherish the principles of democracy and have a determination to keep the flame of democracy alive.
3. Another point to be discussed in this connection is that the people should have a high level of intelligence and a sound system of reasonableness.
4. Another necessary condition is that there should be strong and



vigorous public opinion. An enlightened public opinion holds the government in check. (For the formulation of public opinion, it is necessary that there should be an independent press, an informed citizenry, and freedom of speech and expression. When this is lacking, democracy has a foundation of sand and cannot be expected to last long.)

5. Democracy demands a spirit of tolerance from the people. The majority has the right to put its policies and programs into effect. While doing so, it is their duty to ensure that the interests of minorities are not hurt. The minority must recognize the right of the majority to rule the country.
6. Another condition for the smooth working of democracy is the existence of good leadership. Leadership is often provided by political parties. Leaders must be individuals of character, ability, judgment, initiative, intelligence, imagination, and public spirit. They should have the personality to lead the country. Great leaders like Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill, Jawaharlal Nehru, and George Washington helped democracy work successfully.
7. Another condition is the need for a good party system. Political parties are the lifeblood of democracy. Without political parties, there can be no democracy. But parties must be organized in such a manner that the people have a full say in the policymaking process of the government.
8. The existence of an effective and strong opposition is very essential for the success of democracy. In a democracy, the opposition is as important as the ruling party. If the ruling party abuses power and acts contrary to democratic principles, the opposition is ready to check it or expose the government. This will force the ruling party to correct its wrong policies and decisions.
9. Democracy works well if there is no concentration of power. Authority should be decentralized so that there can be scope for appeal. Officials should act as servants and not masters.
10. Economic equality is another condition. Successful working of democracy is not possible in a country where there are extremes of wealth and poverty. There can be no political equality without economic equality.
11. Faith in peaceful methods is another condition. Differences between individuals and groups must be resolved peacefully through negotiations and discussions, not through force, violence, or intimidation.

4.1.1.2 Democracy as a Form of Government and Way of Life

As a form of government, democracy means the rule of the people either directly or indirectly through elected representatives. It has three aspects: political, economic, and social.

The political aspect denotes the existence of democratic institutions. These include equal rights to vote, equal rights to stand as candidates for election, and equal access

to all political offices. Democracy is also characterized by periodic elections, freedom of speech and expression, publication, and association.

These rights provide opportunities for political participation. Among them, freedom of speech, publication, and association are especially important. They are integral to democracy, enabling free discussion and continuous participation of people in the government. Free discussion is the soul of democracy.

The economic aspect of democracy implies the equitable distribution of wealth among various sections of society and the abolition of glaring inequalities of income, wealth, and property. In short, it means economic democracy - the right to work, leisure, fair wages, and the right to recreation. Thus, the concept of economic democracy involves the idea of a welfare state.

To ensure political justice, universal adult suffrage has been introduced in the country. This means every person, irrespective of wealth, education, caste, sex, and religion, has been allowed to participate in the political process of the country. It also includes reasonable reservations and safeguards for the betterment of weaker sections.

The social aspect of democracy implies the absence of all kinds of privileges extended to any particular section of society. It also implies the absence of all kinds of discrimination based on caste, community, race, or religion. A combination of social and economic justice denotes what is known as distributive justice. All persons are socially equal and should be treated as equals.

4.1.1.3 Democracy as a Way of Life

Conventional exponents of democracy largely treated it as a form of government. However, some philosophers have tried to shift the focus of democracy from mere

governance to an analysis of democracy as a way of life. Freedom of speech, elections, and other democratic institutions enable people to adopt a rational attitude in politics. John Dewey, an American philosopher, is the chief representative of this school of thought. He argues that the process of how people form judgments, communicate with each other, and come together to solve problems fosters a rational political attitude. Dewey defines democracy as a process whereby the majority is formed, particularly through free communication and associations between citizens. When people communicate, talk, and share their ideas, a democratic public comes into existence. He argued that membership in voluntary associations and local communities helps individuals become democratic citizens. However, increasing industrialization, urbanization, geographical mobility, and the growth of the state pose serious challenges to the development of democracy as a way of life. Nevertheless, its message is clear: we should organize our society into small, coherent communities to give effect to the democratic principle.

Another implication of treating democracy as a way of life is associated with the demand for democratization at all levels, such as in political parties, industrial management, and university administration. This means that those affected by particular institutional decisions should have their say or representation at the decision-making level. Thus, members of political parties should have an effective say in formulating policies and programs; workers should have an effective say in production policy and industrial management. Similarly, teachers and students should have a say in deciding education policy. In short, democracy as a way of life requires the end of authoritarianism at all levels, including the school and family levels. This does not mean the end of guidance and supervision by superiors; it means that decisions should



amendments. Some Swiss cantons have compulsory referendums for ordinary laws. When a law passed by the legislature is submitted to the people for their decision only on the demand of a specified number of voters, it is known as an optional referendum.

Initiative

Democracy may be of two kinds from the point of view of forming governments: Direct or Pure Democracy and Indirect or Representative Democracy.

Initiative enables people to propose legislation themselves. They can send the proposal to the legislature, which may then enact it. In Switzerland, any 50,000 citizens may sign a petition outlining the measures they want. The proposal is then submitted to a vote of the people, and if approved, it becomes a duly enacted law. In Switzerland, initiative is practiced for both ordinary and constitutional measures. Initiative can be formulated or unformulated. Formulated initiative is sent to the legislature in the form of a complete bill, and the legislature is bound either to accept it or to submit it to a popular vote for decision. When the initiative is in general terms or not properly drafted, it is termed as unformulated initiative. If the legislature approves it, it is properly formulated and referred to the verdict of the people.

It is a system of government in which all public decisions are taken by a general body of citizens at their regular meetings. It is feasible only in small communities. Examples of direct democracies are found in ancient Greek city-states, some ancient Indian republics, new English townships, British parish meetings, etc. It is practicable in small states with small populations but not in large states of modern times. Direct democracy exists in some cantons of Switzerland in modern times, adopted due to dissatisfaction with the electoral system, representative bodies, and political parties.

The direct democratic devices are: Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite, and Recall. These devices affirm the ultimate sovereignty of the people and the submission of the government to the wants and wishes of the people without depending on elections or political parties. A brief discussion of each is provided below.

Plebiscite

This device directly consults the people on questions of political importance. It is not concerned with any legal matter of public importance. In modern times, it was first used by Napoleon and has been frequently used since. For example, in 1935, the people of Saar were asked to express their opinion on whether they wanted to remain in Germany or not. Similarly, the people of Junagarh (Saurashtra-Gujarat) were asked to give their opinion on whether they wanted to remain in India or join Pakistan.

Referendum

The term “referendum” means to “refer to”. It is a device by which important issues, such as constitutional amendments, may be referred to the people to obtain their verdict. Opinion by the people can be either compulsory or optional. When a referendum is compulsory for all laws of a specific type, it is termed as a compulsory referendum. In Switzerland and France, a referendum is compulsory for all constitutional



Recall

Recall is another device through which voters can recall officers and elected representatives before the expiration of their term if they fail to carry out their duties properly. Many states in the United States and certain cantons in Switzerland empower their people to recall their representatives if they do not reflect the wishes of the people.

2. Indirect Democracy

In indirect democracy, the will of the state is not directly formulated by the people but indirectly through their elected representatives. It is a form of democracy where people elect representatives by voting and delegate to them the power of decision-making. Millions of people in a country cannot assemble in one place to discuss matters and make laws. Therefore, all adults elect their representatives at regular intervals.

England first established the indirect form of democracy in the 17th century. Countries like India, France, Italy, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, Japan, Canada, Holland, and Sudan practice indirect democracy. Indirect democracy appears in various forms:

1. Parliamentary or cabinet form
2. Presidential form
3. Unitary form
4. Federal form

4.1.1.5 Merits of Democracy

It is appropriate to discuss the grounds on which democracy is regarded by its advocates as the best form of government. The following grounds are advanced in its favour:

1. Democracy serves the interests of the common man. Rulers cannot afford to neglect their interests because they

know they cannot return to power by ignoring the welfare of the people.

2. Democracy promotes the principle of equality for all men and women. It rejects the principle that 'some are born to rule and others to be ruled'.
3. Democracy respects the ideals of liberty and fraternity. Every individual is free to think, speak, and act, and develop their own personality. Democracy also rests on the principle of fraternity.
4. Democracy is responsive to public opinion. It derives its legitimacy from the consent of the people. It is responsive to public opinion as expressed through newspapers and other media. If rulers act contrary to the wishes of the people, they can be removed by the people.
5. The chances of revolution are less in a democracy. By holding periodic elections, democracy gives ample opportunity to the people to change the government peacefully and constitutionally if they are dissatisfied with its performance.
6. Democracy raises the moral standards of people. In a democracy, people are sovereign masters. Public offices are open to everybody, allowing anyone to rise to the highest position based on merit. Moreover, there is no discrimination in a democratic setup.
7. Democracies afford opportunities for political participation. Elections, election manifestos, propaganda, public meetings, and a free press provide political education to the people, which is not available in a dictatorship.
8. Democracy provides training for good citizenship. It trains people in the art



of government. People can participate in political activities and learn how to run their own institutions. Democratic government functions transparently and rests with the people.

9. Democracy promotes patriotism. Participation in the management of government affairs can develop patriotism because citizens feel that the government is their own, and officials are their servants rather than their masters.
10. Democracy reduces the chances of dictatorship. A democratic government minimizes the chances of a dictatorial regime coming to power.

4.1.1.6 Demerits of Democracy

Despite these advantages, the democratic form of government is not free from criticism. Aristotle classified it as a degenerate or perverted form of constitutional government. It continues to face ruthless criticism, and major objections against democracy are as follows:

1. Firstly, in a democracy, people are not always rational and capable of making wise decisions.
2. Democracy is the most expensive form of government. Repeated elections, prolonged and futile discussions and debates, formation of several committees, salaries, allowances, and pensions of representatives impose a heavy burden on taxpayers.
3. Democracy is criticized for resulting in the tyranny of the majority over the minority because every decision is based on majority opinion. Sometimes, majority decisions harm the interests of the minority, which has no choice but to submit to the will of the majority.
4. Democracy is also criticized for being slow in arriving at decisions. It operates through consultations and criticisms, which take time to reach decisions and execute them.
5. Figures like H.G. Wells and Henry Maine have found democracy to be a cult of incompetence and ignorance. According to Lecky, 'it is government by the poorest, the most ignorant, the most incapable, who are necessarily the most numerous'. Such people may not fully understand public affairs and may elect representatives not based on merit but on popularity.
6. The detrimental effects of the party system are another drawback. A democracy struggles without a well-organized party system.
7. Sometimes, elected representatives do not prioritize the needs and interests of citizens but instead focus on personal gain, leading to bribery and corruption. Votes and legislators can be bought, lowering moral standards in politics.
8. Some argue that there is no inherent moral value in democracy due to constant competition and power struggles.
9. It is also criticized that the belief that power in a democracy resides in the hands of the people is a myth. People are often controlled and led blindly by a few individuals who rise to power through fair or unfair means. The people may be deceived into believing they have power when they do not.
10. Critics argue that democracy suffers from hollow idealism, lacking true equality and liberty. It can be difficult to achieve major socioeconomic changes.

In conclusion, democracy offers significant opportunities for people to exercise their rights freely and voice their opinions. However, the mere structure of democracy does not guarantee achieving the objectives of democracy. Democratic processes require patience, especially in policy implementation, which may not always be effective during times of crisis. Therefore, provisions for

temporarily suspending democratic processes during emergencies are essential. Suitable checks against arbitrary use of power should be incorporated within democratic constitutions. Moreover, today democracy is not only a form of government but also a way of life, which is why there is a demand for democratization at all levels, including factories, offices, schools, and families.

Recap

- ◆ Democracy is a form of government where people have the authority to elect representatives by voting.
- ◆ The term “democracy” is derived from two Greek words - demos and kratos - meaning power of the people.
- ◆ Greece is regarded as the first democratic country in the world.
- ◆ The principles of democracy include Liberty, Socialism, Secularism, and Republicanism.
- ◆ Democracy may be classified into two broad types: direct and indirect.
- ◆ In direct democracy, all adult citizens of a state take part directly in the decision-making process.
- ◆ The direct democratic devices include Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite, and Recall.
- ◆ In indirect democracy, the will of the state is not formulated directly by the people but through their elected representatives.
- ◆ Indirect democracy may take the form of Parliamentary, Presidential, Unitary, or Federal government.
- ◆ Life in a democratic country allows people to live freely and happily, a condition often absent under monarchical rule.
- ◆ Democratic governments confer certain rights on citizens, which they exercise as members of the political community.
- ◆ Citizens are also assigned certain duties, which make them responsible members of society and contribute to their overall development.

Objective Questions

1. Who said that democracy is the government of the people, for the people, and by the people?



2. In a democracy, the ultimate sovereign is _____.
3. Democracy arose as a reaction against _____.
4. Who advocated direct democracy?
5. Who is the author of the book Modern Democracies?
6. Who argued that political equality is a myth in the absence of economic democracy?
7. Which are the two Greek terms from which "democracy" is derived?
8. Name the four direct democratic devices.
9. In which country can direct democracy still be observed today?
10. Indirect democracy is also known as _____.
11. Who is regarded as the chief exponent of democracy as "a way of life"?
12. What are the three aspects of democracy as a form of government?

Answers

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Abraham Lincoln | 8. Answer: Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite, and Recall |
| 2. The people | |
| 3. The arbitrary rule of monarchs | 9. Switzerland |
| 4. Rousseau | 10. Representative democracy |
| 5. A. V. Dicey | 11. John Dewey |
| 6. The Marxist writers | 12. Political, economic, and social |
| 7. Demos and Kratos | |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What does the word "democracy" mean?
2. Which country is regarded as the first democracy in the world?
3. What are the two broad types of democracy?

4. What is direct democracy?
5. What is indirect democracy?
6. Name any two direct democratic devices.
7. Which country still practises direct democracy today?
8. What are the three aspects of democracy as a form of government?
9. Who described democracy as a "way of life"?
10. State one merit of democracy.

Assignments

1. Discuss the origins and meaning of democracy according to its Greek roots. How has the concept evolved over time?
2. Explain the conditions necessary for the successful functioning of democracy, illustrating each with examples.
3. Compare and contrast direct democracy with indirect democracy, citing countries that practise each form.
4. Outline the merits and demerits of democracy, analysing the advantages and disadvantages of democratic governance.
5. Explore democracy as a way of life according to John Dewey. How does his perspective differ from the traditional view of democracy as merely a form of government?
6. Examine whether democracy remains the most desirable form of government in the twenty-first century, taking into account its economic and political costs.

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UNIT

Liberlism

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the concept of liberalism and its philosophical foundations
- ◆ analyse the essential principles of liberalism
- ◆ explore the differences between classical liberalism and modern (positive) liberalism
- ◆ evaluate the importance, merits, and demerits of liberalism

Prerequisite

In 1930s Thiruvananthapuram, a young journalist named Swadeshabhimani K. Ramakrishna Pillai wrote openly against the Diwan of Travancore's misrule — and paid for it with exile from the state. His demand was simple: that an individual should be free to speak, write, and criticise power without the state's permission. That demand — freedom from arbitrary authority, protected as a right rather than granted as a favour — is the seed from which liberalism as a political philosophy grew, first in Europe and later across the colonised world, including in movements much like this one in Kerala.

Keywords

Deregulation, Individualism, Laissez-faire, Liberalism, Limited Government, Natural Rights, Neoliberalism, Welfare State



Discussion

4.2.1 Liberalism - Meaning

Liberalism is a political principle that emphasizes the liberty of individuals. Liberty in this context implies freedom from constraints, particularly those imposed by an authoritarian state.

The word 'liberalism' originates from the Latin word 'Liberalis', which means freeman. This principle fundamentally believes in the freedom of the individual. According to Encyclopaedic Britannica, freedom forms the foundation of liberalism. It represents the voice of a free life to think, believe, move, express, discuss, and associate freely. Thus, liberalism is the expression of personal freedom in every sphere of life. According to George McGovern, "Liberalism as a political creed is a compound of two separate elements - democracy and individualism. It opposes all forms of dictatorship."

It emerged in the 16th century as a reaction against the authority of feudal barons, aristocratic government, and ecclesiastical power. The rise and growth of liberalism are products of the Renaissance in Europe and England, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution.

4.2.1.1 Main Principles of Liberalism

Liberalism is not a fixed mode of thought but an intellectual movement that seeks to accommodate new ideas to address new situations and challenges. However, the main principles can be identified as follows:

1. Man is a rational creature capable of contributing immensely to social progress and his own well-being.
2. There is no fundamental contradiction between an individual's self-interest and the common interest.

3. Every individual possesses certain natural rights from birth that cannot be taken away by any authority.
4. Civil society and the state are artificial institutions created by individuals to serve the common interest.
5. Liberalism promotes civil liberties of the individual, including freedom of thought and expression, freedom of association and movement, and other personal freedoms.
6. Liberalism upholds freedom of contract, stating that no individual can accept any obligation without their own consent; contracts made under duress shall be void.
7. Liberalism advocates for the establishment of limited and constitutional government and opposes arbitrary rule.
8. Liberalism views the state as a necessary evil, treating it as a means to fulfill the aims of individuals and rejecting absolute state power.
9. Liberalism advocates for secularism.
10. Liberalism places its faith in democracy and believes in popular sovereignty.

Thus, individualism, freedom, reason, toleration, consent, constitutionalism, equality, and justice are its essential elements.

4.2.1.2 Negative Liberalism or Classical Liberalism

John Locke, Adam Smith, and Jeremy Bentham were early proponents of classical liberalism. Locke is known as the father of liberalism, Smith as the father of economics,

and Bentham as the founder of utilitarianism. All of them defended the principle of laissez-faire, which implies minimal state interference in economic activities of individuals.

It is termed negative liberalism because it envisages a limited role for the state in the interactions among individuals. The proponents of negative liberalism assumed that the individual was an autonomous, supreme, and rational being capable of managing their own affairs. Therefore, state interference was deemed unnecessary. For instance, John Locke advocated for a limited government.

During the Industrial Revolution, many economists supported liberalism on economic grounds. Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Malthus were prominent among them. They strongly advocated for non-intervention by the state in the economic activities of the people and supported an open society where the economy, trade, exchange, contracts, competition, and markets would be completely free.

Basic Principles of Classical Liberalism

The principles and beliefs of classical liberalism have been summarized by Hollowell in his book “Main Currents in Modern Political Thought.” They are as follows:

1. Faith in the absolute value and worth of human personality.
2. Belief in the rationality and goodness of man.
3. Belief in the existence of certain natural rights, including the right to life, liberty, and property.
4. The state is an artificial institution that comes into existence by mutual consent.
5. The relationship between the state and individuals is contractual.
6. Laws are the best means of social control, based on rationality rather than command.
7. The state is a necessary evil and should perform minimal negative functions.
8. An individual should be free in all walks of life—political, economic, social, moral, spiritual, and intellectual.
9. Belief in an open society where there is natural harmony.
10. Belief in a free economy and free trade.

Classical liberalism remained a popular doctrine until the last quarter of the 19th century. After that, it gave way to positive or new liberalism.

4.2.1.3 Positive Liberalism or New Liberalism

In the 19th century, T. H. Green, an English political philosopher, sought to add a moral dimension to liberalism. He advocated a comprehensive theory of the welfare state. This tradition was further developed by L. T. Hobhouse, Harold Laski, and R. H. Tawney. Thus, the theory and practice of the welfare state flourished in the first half of the 20th century in England. This theory contemplates a positive role for the state in securing a dignified life for individuals, hence it is called positive liberalism. The reasons for its growth were:

1. **Changes in socio-economic and political conditions of society:** Unrestricted freedom granted to capitalists resulted in the exploitation of the working class. The role of the state changed; instead of being a necessary evil, it became a positive force for good. The rise of the welfare state led to the rise of positive liberalism.
2. **Rise of socialism:** A new ideology emerged that provided a more satisfactory answer to the problems created by



capitalism and offered a better economic ideology.

Features of Positive Liberalism

The basic features are as follows:

1. Liberty is something positive and not merely the absence of restraints. It believes in freedom through the state rather than freedom from the state.
2. Positive liberalism believes in the positive role of the state. Its objective is to promote the welfare of the community and safeguard their rights and liberties.
3. It does not consider the state as a necessary evil.
4. The state should not allow an unregulated or free economy because it has proven detrimental to the common man.
5. Capitalists must be taxed to raise funds needed to promote the welfare of the common man.
6. Rights and liberties are given to individuals for social welfare. If they are used against the interests of the common man, they can also be restricted.
7. It believes in democratic and parliamentary methods to bring about desired reforms in society.
8. The state has to coordinate and reconcile conflicting interests of opposing classes to achieve harmony in society. Instead of class struggle, there should be class harmony in society.
9. Evolutionary development of society should be preferred over revolutionary changes in society.

4.2.1.4 Classical Liberalism and Modern Liberalism - A Distinction

A distinction may be made between classical liberalism and modern liberalism.

Liberalism as originated in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries is known as classical liberalism. Locke, Adam Smith, Bentham, and Spencer were its main supporters. Classical liberalism was modified in the latter half of the 19th century by scholars like J.S. Mill and T. H. Green. The essential differences between the two are given below:

1. Classical liberalism begins with the individual, whereas modern liberalism begins with groups and associations.
2. Classical liberalism supports the natural rights of man, but modern liberalism holds that rights are granted by society and enforced by the state.
3. Classical liberalism emphasizes liberty, believing in the negative aspect of liberty, whereas modern liberalism supports positive liberty.
4. Classical liberalism is identified with individualism and holds the view that 'the state is a necessary evil'. However, modern liberalism views the state as a welfare institution.
5. Classical liberalism opposes any form of authority, whereas modern liberalism supports state intervention for the larger interest of society.
6. Classical liberalism is a philosophy of the middle class, while modern liberalism is an ideology of the capitalist class.

It may be stated that modern liberalism is relevant to India, whereas the principles of classical liberalism are not acceptable to the Indian people. India is a welfare state. The aim of Directive Principles of State Policy is to make India a welfare state. Classical liberalism considers the state in a negative sense, while modern liberalism views the state as a positive force for promoting the welfare of the people. The Indian government regulates trade and industry and has adopted a policy of mixed economy.

4.2.2 Neoliberalism

The philosophy of neoliberalism was developed by 20th-century economists like Friedrich Hayek and philosophers such as Robert Nozick. They dealt with the problem of deteriorating economic growth which started from the mid-1970s in the Western world. They hold the view that interference, whether with good intentions or not, would have negative effects. The best solution should be found in 'self-help, individual responsibility, and entrepreneurialism'. They support the negative view of liberty and argue for non-interference in the economic liberty of individuals. According to them, there is no such thing as society, only individuals and their families. Neoliberalism is categorized into four main strands of thinking: sociological liberalism, interdependence liberalism, institutional liberalism, and republican liberalism.

The major elements of neoliberalism are:

1. **The rule of the market:** It aims at liberating free enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by government. This includes reducing wages by de-unionizing workers and eliminating workers' rights. It advocates total freedom of movement for capital, goods, and services.
2. **Cutting public expenditure on social services:** This may involve reducing expenditure on education and healthcare, though it does not oppose government subsidies and tax benefits for businesses.
3. **Deregulation:** It aims to reduce government regulation of everything that could diminish profits.
4. **Privatization:** This is the process of selling state-owned enterprises, goods, and services to private investors. It includes sectors like banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways,

electricity, schools, hospitals, and even freshwater.

It is observed that neoliberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank.

4.2.2.1 Merits of Liberalism

Liberalism has introduced many humanistic and democratic ideas. It has advocated values such as liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice. It was liberalism that dealt a death blow to monarchy, papacy, and the feudal order, paving the way for democracy. Nobody can deny that liberalism brought tremendous economic and industrial development. However, the following points should be noted in this context:

1. It dismantled the feudal order and challenged conservative and orthodox ideas of monarchy and the pope.
2. It provided guidelines for establishing a capitalist society based on economic liberty.
3. It promoted immortal slogans of liberty, equality, and fraternity.
4. It introduced notions of democracy, natural rights, and the development of human personality.
5. Its economic philosophy facilitated industrial development and, in modern times, added a new dimension. Liberals believed that individuals could safeguard their economic interests and therefore should be independent in the economic sphere. Adam Smith, Bentham, Mill, and Spencer sought to limit the functional role of the state on economic grounds.
6. Its social philosophy aimed to bridge the gap between classes and provide stability to society.



7. Its political philosophy transformed the state from a police state to a welfare state.
8. It promoted secularism in all spheres of life.

4.2.2.2 Demerits of Liberalism

Liberalism has been criticized on the following bases:

1. It may be stated that man is not selfish only. No individual can be wholly selfish or wholly selfless.
2. The argument that the State is a necessary evil is not wholly true. It is the natural expression of man's social consciousness. The modern state is a welfare state and a positive good.
3. Liberalism is not a consistent philosophy. The concept of liberalism is vague and contradictory, supporting a progressive view at one time and condemning it at another.
4. It is incorrect to say that the individual is the sole judge of his interest. There are certain matters in which society and

the state understand the individual's interest better. Professor Garner argues that society is a better judge of man's physical, mental, and spiritual needs.

5. Liberalism is often identified with capitalism, as it strongly supports the freedom of the property-owning class.
6. Its conception of liberty is flawed. Liberals wrongly perceive the state's functional sphere and individual liberty as opposed to each other. In reality, liberty can be positive and constructive only when it is under some control.

In spite of these criticisms, the concept of liberalism remained a socio-economic and political philosophy of the West during the past. It profoundly affected Europe and America in the 19th century, encouraging industrial progress in different states. However, in the 20th century, socialism and communism posed a threat to liberalism. Hence, it is necessary to make required changes according to changing conditions of life to keep it relevant. Attempts should be made to strike a balance between individual interests and social interests.

Recap

- ◆ The word "Liberalism" comes from the Latin *Liberalis*, meaning freeman; it combines the values of democracy and individualism.
- ◆ Liberalism emerged in the sixteenth century as a reaction against feudalism, aristocracy, and clerical authority; John Locke is regarded as its father.
- ◆ Liberalism can be classified into two broad strands: Negative (classical) and Positive (new) liberalism.
- ◆ Negative liberalism views the state negatively and advocates minimal state interference; its exponents include John Locke, Adam Smith, and Jeremy Bentham.
- ◆ Positive liberalism views the state positively, promoting individual development and welfare; its advocates include T. H. Green, L. T. Hobhouse, and Harold Laski.

- ◆ Classical liberalism begins with the individual, while modern liberalism begins with groups and associations.
- ◆ Classical liberalism supports natural rights, while modern liberalism holds that rights are granted by society and enforced by the state.
- ◆ Neoliberalism, developed by thinkers such as Hayek and Nozick, calls for the rule of the market, deregulation, privatization, and reduced public expenditure on social services.
- ◆ Liberalism dismantled the feudal order and promoted the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.
- ◆ Liberalism's economic philosophy facilitated industrial development by limiting the functional role of the state.
- ◆ Liberalism has been criticised for treating the individual as wholly self-interested and for identifying too closely with capitalism.
- ◆ Despite these criticisms, liberalism remains a foundational socio-economic and political philosophy of the modern West.

Objective Questions

1. Which Latin word is the term "Liberalism" derived from?
2. How do individualists regard the state?
3. What kind of state did individualists aim to create?
4. Who advocated the idea of a "police state" as opposed to a welfare state?
5. When did the philosophy of liberalism originate?
6. Why did the positive concept of liberalism emerge?
7. What is meant by "Negative Liberalism"?
8. Who is the author of The Wealth of Nations?
9. Who held the view that individuals are the best judges of their own interests?
10. Who is credited with introducing far-reaching changes to liberal philosophy?
11. Name the four main strands of neoliberal thinking.
12. Which institutions have been identified as key promoters of neoliberal policy worldwide?

Answers

1. Liberalis
2. As a Necessary evil
3. A state with minimum function
4. The classical individualists
5. As a protest against the absolutism of the Church and the feudal order, in the sixteenth century
6. Because negative liberalism had outlived its utility amid the rise of the welfare state and socialism
7. A minimum of restraint on the individual by the state
8. Adam Smith
9. Individualists
10. T.H. Green
11. Sociological liberalism, interdependence liberalism, institutional liberalism, and republican liberalism
12. The IMF, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank

Self-Assessment Questions

1. From which Latin word does "Liberalism" come?
2. Who is regarded as the father of Liberalism?
3. What are the two broad strands of Liberalism?
4. What does negative liberalism advocate?
5. What does positive liberalism advocate?
6. Name one thinker associated with classical liberalism.
7. Name one thinker associated with positive liberalism.
8. What is Neoliberalism?
9. Who wrote The Wealth of Nations?
10. State one criticism of Liberalism.

Assignments

1. Explain and evaluate liberalism in the context of globalization.
2. Examine the difference between classical and modern liberalism.
3. Evaluate the future prospects of liberalism's continuity in the context of globalisation.
4. Discuss the main principles of neoliberalism and assess their impact on the contemporary welfare state.
5. Critically analyse the merits and demerits of liberalism as a political philosophy.
6. "Liberalism is not a consistent philosophy." Examine this statement with reference to the tension between classical and positive liberalism.

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UNIT

Marxism

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the philosophy of communism and its historical emergence
- ◆ enumerate and discuss the basic principles of Marxism
- ◆ critically appreciate the communist philosophy and its major concepts
- ◆ examine the relevance and limitations of Marxism today

Prerequisite

Before we begin, think of any society you know — some people are very rich, owning factories, land, or businesses, while most people work hard just to survive. This picture is common across almost every country, rich or poor. Thinkers have long asked why this gap between rich and poor exists, and whether it can be removed. Some believe small reforms are enough; others believe the whole system must change. It is in this search for a fairer society that Karl Marx emerges as one of the most influential thinkers in political thought.

Marx did not just describe this inequality — he tried to explain why it exists and how it changes over time. He argued that to understand any society, we must look at who owns the resources needed for production, and who must work for them to survive. For Marx, this economic relationship shapes a society's politics, laws, and ideas. He also believed this relationship is never stable — it carries tensions that eventually push society to change. This way of thinking about history and society is what we now turn to as Marxism.

Keywords

Bourgeoisie, Class Struggle, Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Proletariat, Socialism, Surplus Value, Withering Away of the State

Discussion

4.3.1 Marxism - Meaning

Karl Marx, the father of Marxism or scientific socialism, is one of the most versatile geniuses the world has ever produced. His sincerity, search for truth, and intellectual honesty distinguish him from many of his contemporaries. His open-mindedness and sense of facts made him one of the world's most influential fighters against hypocrisy. He had a burning desire to help the poor and the oppressed and was fully conscious of the need to create a classless society. He provided a revolutionary program for the emancipation of the exploited classes and suggested revolutionary methods for changing the present society.

He aimed to establish society on a rational basis—a society in which man shall not be exploited by man. It will be a society in which all live in peace, harmony, and comfort, enjoy true freedom and liberty, and have the full opportunity to develop their potential and personality. This society, which Marxists call the Communist society, is truly an ideal society. Marxist philosophy emerged as a reaction to the findings of liberal ideology and the evils of capitalism. Over the years, its gospel of revolution has spread like wildfire and has engulfed many countries around the world.

To have a clear understanding of Marxism, it is imperative to explain its basic principles. It has been described as a synthesis of German idealist philosophy, French socialism, and English political economy. The basic

principles of Marxism are contained in the *Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital*.

The *Communist Manifesto* is one of the most outstanding political documents of all time. It contains Marx's most lucid, clear, and compact account of his conceptions of dialectical materialism, the materialistic or economic interpretation of history, the class struggle, the theory of surplus value, the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the establishment of the communist society. A brief discussion of his ideas is summarized below:

4.3.1.1 Dialectical Materialism

The philosophy of communism is known as dialectical materialism. It is not the original idea of Marx; he borrowed it from Hegel, though earlier Sophists had used the term. Plato used this concept for resolving conflicts of divergent ideas or, in other words, as a system by which logical conclusions could be arrived at.

Marx deeply studied Hegel's dialectics and adopted it in his own philosophy. It is imperative to understand Hegel's dialectics for a clear understanding of Marxian dialectical materialism. According to Hegel, this world moves and changes constantly. The basis of this movement is the idea or world spirit. According to him, history is not merely a chronology of events but an orderly scheme of growth.

This development is possible through the dialectical process, which is based on



contradiction. Hegel describes three stages of growth: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. According to him, an idea begins with a thesis. A contradiction to the idea naturally appears, called the antithesis. Out of the conflict between the two, a synthesis occurs, and a new idea emerges containing the good elements of both the thesis and antithesis.

This synthesis then becomes the thesis, giving rise to its antithesis, and eventually, a new synthesis emerges. This process of development continues throughout the evolution of nature and society.

Marx accepted Hegelian dialectics but rejected the idea that the world is regulated by the world's spirit. He was a materialist, so he replaced Hegel's world spirit with matter. According to Marx, matter, not the world spirit, is the basis of dialectics.

The material object is the basis of the world. According to him, matter evolves and constantly moves towards growth. This evolution takes place through a dialectical process. He says that contradictory forces are present in every stage of society, becoming the moving force in history. He gives the example that the present capitalist society is the thesis, which will clash with its antithesis, the proletariat, and a synthesis will occur, leading to a classless and stateless society.

4.3.1.2 Materialistic or Economic Interpretation of History

This is the cornerstone of communist philosophy. It is the application of dialectical materialism to the development of human society. According to this theory, all the mass phenomena of human society and all fundamental changes in history are determined by the mode of production or the economic or material forces. In Marx's own words, "All the social, political, and intellectual relations and religious and legal systems, all the theoretical outlooks which emerge in the course of history,

are derived from the material conditions of life. It's not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."

The theory begins with the simple truth that man must eat to live. His very survival depends upon the success with which he can produce what he needs from nature. Production is, therefore, the most important of all human activities. Men in association produce more than men in isolation, and society is thus the result of an attempt to secure the necessities of life. But society has never accomplished that to the satisfaction of all its members. Those who control the means of production control society. This has always been subject to internal stress and strain. Accordingly, the entire history of mankind can be divided into the following stages:

1. The age of primitive communism
2. The age of slavery
3. The age of feudalism
4. The age of capitalism

Each stage had its corresponding social relations determined by the economic forces of that stage. In the first stage, the means of production were slight and owned in common. In the next three stages, the class that owned the means of production dominated and exploited the rest, leading to class struggle.

4.3.1.3 Class Struggle

If the economic interpretation of history represents the process of social change, class struggle represents its mechanism. It illustrates how society progresses from one stage to another in the course of its historic development. For Marx, class struggle is the key to understanding human history. He states, "The history of all hitherto existing

society is the history of class struggle.” This implies that history is propelled, and the fate of man is determined, by the war of classes rather than the war of nations.

Marx asserts that it is the class, not the individual, which is the basic unit that accounts for social evolution. Social evolution, therefore, depends on social classes confronting each other in a class struggle. According to him, in every epoch of history, society has been divided into two major economic classes: the ruling or dominant economic class and the exploited economic class. These classes are hostile to each other because of their diametrically opposed economic interests. One is the privileged class and owns the means of production, distribution, and exchange, while the other class consists of workers.

Thus, the means of production and distribution divide men into different classes. The two dominant classes are the owners and the toilers, or the haves and the have-nots. Each class develops its class consciousness. They oppose each other, resulting in class struggle. Marx explains this from historical evidence. The ancient (slaves and freemen), medieval (feudal lords and serfs), and modern (capitalists and labour class) classes stood in constant opposition to one another.

These struggles each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society or in the common ruin of the contending classes. The continuous class conflict became all the more acute and alarming in the age of capitalism through the means of surplus value. To explain the exploitative nature of capitalistic society, he introduces his labour theory of value or the theory of surplus value.

4.3.1.4 Theory of Surplus Value

According to Marx, “labor is the sole creator of value.” He calls value “crystallized labor” and commodity “congregation of labor.” His theory is an extension of Ricardo’s

labor theory of value. Marx differentiates between two kinds of values: the use value of a thing and the exchange value. The use value of a thing depends on the use a person makes of that thing.

Since everything is not equally useful to every man, the use value of a thing differs from person to person. For example, the use value of mutton is nil for a vegetarian but significant for a non-vegetarian. Moreover, the use value of a thing is not the same at all times. For example, when a person is ill, the use value of a medicine might be very great, but when he recovers, its use value is considerably less.

On the other hand, the exchange value of everything is expressed in terms of price. Unlike the use value, the exchange value of a thing is the same for all persons. For example, the exchange value of a watch is the same for everybody. According to Marx, the exchange value of a thing is determined by the amount of labor required to produce it. However, the value given to the laborer as a wage is less than this.

The difference between the value given to labor and the value produced by labor is surplus value. Surplus value, as Marx says, is appropriated by the capitalist. He gets richer and richer through the laborers’ work while the workers sink deeper and deeper into poverty. It is sheer exploitation. The rate of surplus value indicates the extent of exploitation. In a capitalist society, the laborer is forced to sell his labor to live. Thus, by paying less, the capitalists earn more.

4.1.3.5 Revolution of the Proletariat

Marx realized that there was a deep-rooted economic antagonism between the capitalists and the proletariat. According to him, capitalism carries with it the seeds of destruction through revolution. It leads to overproduction and consequent depression



and unemployment.

Capitalism ruins the lower middle class. They will join with the working class. This will increase the number of the proletariat considerably. They come closer and closer and concentrate in certain centers. But their miseries multiply. Developments in the means of communication and transport will give the working class added advantages.

The proletariat will violently revolt. It will become a movement, first local, then national, and international. The proletariat will declare their ends. They have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Thus, through a socialistic revolution, the working class will overthrow the capitalists from their present position and capture all economic and political power. After the revolution, all the upper classes will be eliminated, and there will be a dictatorship of the proletariat.

4.3.1.6 Dictatorship of the Proletariat

After capitalism is destroyed, communism will not emerge at once. It is preceded by the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a 'quasi-state' or a political organization of the working class. It is the dictatorship of the communist party for the proletariat. It has the historic mission of crushing capitalism and reconstructing society. It is an essential change in the course of the transition from capitalism to a socialistic society.

The state will continue to exist since overthrowing capitalism will be a hard task. It will take a long time to remove the remnants of capitalism and complete the task of revolution. Once capitalism is completely destroyed and socialism is established, the state will become unnecessary and 'wither away.' A classless and stateless society will emerge. In that society, "the free development of each is the free development of all."

The basic rule will be: "From each according to his ability, to each according

to his needs." The people will act without any compulsion and without any subordination. Private property, the conventional family, and marriage will disappear. The union of male and female will be based on mutual love and affection.

4.3.1.7 Criticism of Marxism

Marxist Socialism has been subjected to severe criticism by many scholars:

1. The Marxian dialectics are beyond the reach of reason and critical examination. His greatest mistake appears to be his belief that the principle of dialectics could be applied to matter as well. Hegel had applied it to ideas, but Marx applied it to matter. This is the most unconvincing part of his philosophy.
2. The materialistic interpretation of history, as observed by Marx, is one-sided and cannot be accepted. He overemphasized the importance of economic factors at the expense of other factors. He oversimplified complex social phenomena.
3. Marx's doctrine of class and the doctrine of class war are defective. His economic concept of class is one-sided and oversimplified. Due regard is not given to other factors. It may be stated that social classes cannot be considered solely as economic classes. Likewise, the concept of class struggle neglects the possibility of class cooperation at various levels.
4. The communist concept of the state is misleading. It is wrong to consider the state as an instrument of exploitation and oppression. The state is a natural and necessary institution without which an individual cannot achieve perfection. Additionally, the withering away of the state is an illusion. It has not been realized in any communist country.

5. Marxism underestimates the role of political power. The possibility of a few among the proletariat rising to the status of a new exploiting class escaped the attention of Marx and his followers. In fact, in all socialist states, new classes have emerged—classes of politicians, technocrats, bureaucrats, and intellectuals. The new class is backed by an authoritarian political system and totalitarian social control.
 6. Marxism is wrong in considering religion as the opium of man. Religion, rightly interpreted, is an elevating and ennobling force.
 7. It may also be criticized that the victory of the proletariat is an unproven assumption. Capitalism is not necessarily sowing the seeds of its decay. The fall of capitalism may not lead to communism; it might sometimes lead to dictatorship, as observed by Prof. Laski. It is also criticized that Marx ignored the middle class.
- The concept of Marxism has been attacked and advocated, criticized, and defended. However, the impact of Marxism has been revolutionary both in political practice and theory. Its influence has compelled the consideration of the social context in political inquiry. The sociological dimensions of recent political analysis are the direct outcome of Marxian political sociology. It directed political studies to the relevance of sociological factors. The threat of Marxian revolution has forced rulers everywhere to consider the welfare of the people, making it an important political concern. In short, Marx has provided a philosophy that has changed the face of the world.

Recap

- ◆ The theory of socialism developed by Karl Marx is known as Communism or Scientific Socialism.
- ◆ Marx suggested a revolutionary method for transforming existing society.
- ◆ The basic principles of communism are contained in *Das Kapital* and *The Communist Manifesto*.
- ◆ The core principles of communism include dialectical materialism, the materialistic interpretation of history, class struggle, surplus value, proletarian revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and the withering away of the state.
- ◆ The philosophy of communism is known as dialectical materialism, a concept Marx borrowed and adapted from Hegel.
- ◆ According to Marx, all fundamental changes in history are determined by the mode of production, or economic and material forces.
- ◆ The means of production and distribution divided human society into different classes.
- ◆ The two dominant classes in every epoch are the owners (exploiting class) and the toilers (exploited class).
- ◆ The opposition between these classes produces class struggle, the mechanism by which society moves from one historical stage to another.

- ◆ According to Marx, labour is the sole creator of value; the gap between the value labour produces and the wage it receives constitutes surplus value.
- ◆ Marx held that revolution is inevitable because capitalism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction.
- ◆ After the revolution, a dictatorship of the proletariat will precede a classless, stateless society governed by the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Objective Questions

1. Why is Marxian socialism considered scientific?
2. With whose collaboration did Marx write The Communist Manifesto?
3. The dialectical principle implies that human history develops through what process?
4. According to Marx, what does the legal system of a country depend on?
5. Marx says that the history of a state is a record of what?
6. After the revolution by the workers, what type of state emerges?
7. How would the withering away of the state take place?
8. According to Marx, what does the state represent?
9. Who said, "Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose except your chains"?
10. According to Marx, the exchange value of a good is determined by what?
11. From whom did Marx derive the dialectical method, before adapting it to materialism?
12. Name the four historical stages into which Marx divides the development of human society.

Answers

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Because it is based on a thorough study and analysis of history | 3. Conflicts and contradictions (thesis, antithesis, synthesis) |
| 2. Friedrich Engels | 4. The economic system |
| | 5. Class struggle |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 6. A proletarian state (dictatorship of the proletariat) | 9. Marx. |
| 7. Automatically, once a classless society is established | 10. The amount of labour necessary to produce it |
| 8. An instrument of exploitation and oppression | 11. Hegel |
| | 12. Primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, and capitalism |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is Marx's theory of socialism also known as?
2. In which two books are the basic principles of communism contained?
3. What is dialectical materialism?
4. Name the two dominant classes according to Marx.
5. What is surplus value?
6. Who collaborated with Marx on The Communist Manifesto?
7. What is meant by the "withering away of the state"?
8. According to Marx, what determines historical change?
9. What is meant by "dictatorship of the proletariat"?
10. State one criticism of Marxism.

Assignments

1. What are the basic principles of Marxism, and how have they influenced the development of communist ideology?
2. How does Marx's concept of dialectical materialism differ from Hegelian dialectics, and what are its implications for historical change?
3. What is Marx's materialistic interpretation of history, and how does it apply to the different stages of human society?
4. What are the main criticisms of Marxism, and what implications do they have for its application in contemporary society?

5. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." Explain this statement of Marx.
6. "The value of a commodity is the value of labour necessary to produce it." Do you agree with this statement? Give reasons.

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UNIT

Gandhism

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the basic principles of Gandhism
- ◆ examine Gandhi's views on politics, religion, means and ends, non-violence, satyagraha, and his concept of the ideal state
- ◆ explore the differences between Gandhian socialism and Marxian socialism
- ◆ evaluate the relevance of Gandhism in the contemporary world

Prerequisite

In 1924, at Vaikom, a group of reformers sat quietly outside a temple road that Avarna communities were forbidden to walk on — not shouting, not fighting, simply refusing to leave until the injustice was addressed. When Gandhi later visited and lent his support to the Vaikom Satyagraha, it became one of the clearest local demonstrations of a method he had already made famous: resisting an unjust rule without ever raising a hand against another person. That picture — quiet, disciplined resistance aimed at conscience rather than force — is the clearest way into everything this unit covers about Gandhian thought.

Keywords

Ahimsa, Ends and Means, Gram Swaraj, Non-violence, Sarvodaya, Satyagraha, Swaraj, Trusteeship



Discussion

4.4.1 Gandhism-Meaning

Mahatma Gandhi was a man of greatness and goodness. His unique and towering personality had many facets. He was a great thinker, teacher, preacher, leader, fighter, humanist, nationalist, internationalist, and, above all, an enlightened soul. He experimented with truth throughout his life, challenging most of the ideas and beliefs of his time, and evolving his own ideology and techniques for solving national and international problems, which constitute the essence of Gandhian philosophy.

However, there is no “ism” in Gandhi. “Ism” implies a distinctive doctrine, but he never claimed finality of his opinions. He observed, “There is no such thing as Gandhism, and I don’t want to leave any sect after me.” However, he was not a political dreamer; he gave practical shape to the ideas he preached. The main ideas of Gandhiji can be summarized as follows:

4.4.1.1 Politics and Religion

Gandhiji was not a politician, but he entered into politics because to him, politics was an integral part of ethics and religion. By taking an active part in politics, he realized that all men are equal in the eyes of God. He identified himself with the whole community and dedicated his life to the betterment of all. Thus, his political activities were shaped and colored by religious belief. He said that there is no politics devoid of religion. By religion, Gandhiji did not mean Hinduism or any other particular creed; he said that all religions are equal. The essence of all religions is identical; the God of Hindus is not different from the God of Muslims or Christians. All religions teach piety and charity towards fellow beings. No religion is superior or inferior to any other religion.

He stated that religious tolerance was the keynote of social harmony. He was fully convinced that no civilization can endure for long unless it has adopted the higher values of life, which are essentially spiritual in character.

4.4.1.2 Truth and Nonviolence

Truth and non-violence form the essence of Gandhian thought. He was a great devotee of truth, and his life itself was an experiment with truth. He identified non-violence with truth and truth with God, saying, “God is truth and truth is God.” Therefore, to realize God, we must realize truth and adhere to truth under all circumstances.

Gandhiji was a great advocate of non-violence. He said that non-violence is the law of mankind, just as violence is the law of the brute. It is the rule and breath of life. Non-violence is a soul force or truth-seeking force. It is not a negative force; it does not mean passivity or pacifism or weak submission to the will of the evildoer. Non-violence has been described as the bravery of the soul, a warfare of the ascetic, and an “adventure in love.” This represents only the negative side of non-violence. On the positive side, it implies love for all. We should extend our love not only to those who love us but also to those who hate us. Even the intention to harm somebody or wishing them ill is a form of violence. Acquiring material things beyond one’s immediate need is also a form of violence. Even acts that spread atmospheric pollution and damage public health amount to violence. Thus, the principle of non-violence encompasses all rules of good citizenship and human decency.

The Gandhian ideal of non-violence is rooted in the Hindu doctrine of Ahimsa, which means avoiding injury to anything on

4.4.1.4 Satyagraha

As taught and practised by Gandhi, non-violence is a total philosophy of life. In the economic field, it means a decentralized village economy opposed to both capitalism and communism. In the political field, it means a federation of autonomous village republics. In the international field, it means avoiding the use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, and the formation of an international peace force. In short, non-violence means tolerance towards all faiths, ideologies, cultures, colors, creeds, castes, classes, and conflicts.

4.4.1.3 Ends and Means

As stated, Satyagraha is based on suffering. Suffering serves three purposes: it purifies the sufferer, intensifies favorable public opinion, and makes an appeal to the opponent's soul. The concept of Satyagraha is of two kinds: Constructive Satyagraha, which includes negotiation, arbitration, padyatra for mass contact, swadeshi, prayer, self-purification, publications, and declaration of ultimatums; and aggressive Satyagraha, which consists of civil disobedience, non-cooperation, no-tax campaigns, hartals, strikes, boycotts, picketing, fasting, etc.

Gandhi's idea of Trusteeship is a pragmatic model of development that aims to attain economic equality in society. It provides a means by which wealthy people would be the trustees of trusts that look after the welfare of the people in general.

4.4.2 Gandhiji's Concept of State

Gandhiji considered the state as an organism of violence and force. He said the individual has a soul, but the state is a soulless machine. He is often described as



a philosophical anarchist. He says that the state is evil because it is based on violence and uses force against individuals.

Thus, he wanted to establish an ideal state called Ram Raj - the Kingdom of God on earth. It is a classless and stateless society in which there shall be no inequalities. There will be no command and obedience, superior and inferior. Everybody rules himself and regulates his own actions in the interest of society. It is a perfect democracy. It must be composed of prosperous, happy, and self-contained villages and village communities. There is no exploitation of man by man. It is based on non-violence, free labor, and non-possession. It is primarily an agricultural society with cottage industries. However, he did not emphasize the establishment of his ideal society because he believed that it could not be achieved immediately. As an alternative, he suggested the non-violent state.

The non-violent state is based on the willing consent of the people. He believed in the decentralization of powers with village republics. Each village would have a panchayat with full power of administration and defence. There would be a federation of self-sufficient villages with no police or military force and judiciary; voluntary cooperation and decentralization would be the distinct features of Gramswaraj.

In a non-violent state, there would be no untouchability. Harijans and members of the depressed class would receive special care. Cottage and small-scale industries would be permitted with restrictions.

In the ideal society, nobody will be discriminated against based on religion, race, caste, etc. He favoured the idea of a secular state. The state should not interfere in the religion of the people. He was of the opinion that religion is a personal affair of the individual and the state should practice

neutrality in this respect. No religion should be given special privileges by the state.

Gandhiji believed in the trusteeship system. He said that no one should have property more than what one needs. The surplus property would be placed under a trustee who should manage the property for and on behalf of the propertyless.

Gandhiji regarded the state as a means and individuals as an end. The state originated for the sake of man, and the state is an instrument for the welfare of individuals. Whenever the state abuses its authority, the people should non-violently resist its authority.

Gandhiji also realised that the state could not be abolished. Therefore, he advocated minimum functions for the state. The state should enjoy only limited power. A powerful state is a horrible state. He held that the government is best which governs the least.

He opposed the principle of majority. He believed in democracy but opposed the principle of majority rule. According to him, the majority should govern with the cooperation of minorities. The majority should respect the rights of minorities.

Gandhiji's ideas exerted great influence not only in India but also in other countries. However, his ideas have been subjected to heated discussion and criticism. Many of his ideas are not practical. His ideal state is attractive, but it is not possible to give a practical shape.

4.4.3 Gandhism and Marxism

It has often been said that Gandhiji was a communist minus violence. Both Gandhiji and Marx were deeply concerned with the plight of the downtrodden. Both stood for a classless and stateless society. It is sometimes felt that their philosophies were akin to each other. But on deeper analysis, it is revealed

as a liberating force. Similarly, Gandhism is for small-scale industries, while communism favors big industries.

8. Gandhiji's vision of future society consists of self-disciplined individuals, but Marx's vision of future society consists of a self-regulated society ruled by the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.'

4.4.4 Relevance of Gandhism

Although Gandhian ideology is utopian by present standards, its importance cannot be underestimated. His philosophy may prove relevant in the present-day world torn by suspicions and strife, and as a savior of fast-decaying humanity.

He was a world teacher, and his teachings evoked the attention and admiration of the world. His principles of conduct for individuals and nations had a profound influence on the thinkers and leaders of the world.

His concept of non-violence and ahimsa can bring peace in the present turbulent society where violence breeds violence and hatred breeds hatred. His idea that ends and means must be equally pure and noble is a principle that can stop deteriorating human behavior.

His insistence that people should perform their duties without being mindful of rewards or results is a good message to modern society, where there is a demand for rights without obligations towards others. His stress on vocational education, cottage industries, prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs is being followed by states. His view that the administration of justice should be made cheaper for the common man and arbitration should be encouraged led to the modern concept of distributive justice and Lok-adults.

His dream of decentralisation of power and authority became a reality with the



73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. Moreover, his preachings to humanity, such as forgiveness rather than punishment, loving one's enemies, and leading a simple life, are very much relevant in today's world. Above all, the concept of Satyagraha, as developed and practised by Gandhiji, became the strongest and bravest democratic weapon, which is being practised by democratic forces to protect and promote the interests of the people and oppose evil practices of the government even today.

However, his concepts of a stateless society, private property, socialism of hand and feet, and trusteeship seem difficult to put into practice. Nonetheless, his concepts open new areas of thinking, and if adopted as ideals, they will remain relevant for all times to come. Gandhiji lived for the liberation of humanity from exploitation, disease, hunger, ignorance, and mental and physical worries and miseries. Thus, it may be stated that he is the guiding light of modern India.

Recap

- ◆ Mahatma Gandhi was a great leader, thinker, teacher, preacher, humanist, fighter, nationalist, and internationalist.
- ◆ Gandhiji was not a conventional politician; he sought to spiritualise politics and treated it as inseparable from religion and ethics.
- ◆ Truth and non-violence form the essence of Gandhian thought; he equated truth with God.
- ◆ Satyagraha, meaning "holding onto truth," is the heart and soul of Gandhism — a moral weapon based on soul force rather than physical coercion.
- ◆ Gandhiji believed that means and ends are inseparable, comparing them to the seed and the tree; immoral means can never produce moral ends.
- ◆ Gandhiji viewed the state as a "soulless machine" based on violence and force, and is often described as a philosophical anarchist.
- ◆ Gandhi's ideal state, Ram Raj, envisioned a classless, stateless society composed of self-sufficient village republics.
- ◆ As a practical alternative to the ideal state, Gandhi advocated a non-violent state based on decentralisation, panchayat governance, and voluntary cooperation (Gram Swaraj).
- ◆ Gandhi favoured a secular state in which the government would remain neutral toward all religions and would not interfere with individual faith.
- ◆ Gandhi's trusteeship system held that surplus wealth should be managed by its owners as trustees for the benefit of society, not accumulated for private gain.
- ◆ Gandhism and Marxism share a concern for the downtrodden and a vision of a classless society, but differ fundamentally on spiritualism versus materialism, and non-violence versus violence, as means of change.

- ◆ Gandhi's ideas on decentralisation, distributive justice, and satyagraha remain relevant today, influencing movements such as the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments and non-violent civic resistance.

Objective Questions

1. The autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi is titled _____.
2. Gandhi believed in the purity of means as well as _____.
3. Gandhi adopted the path of Satyagraha to achieve the goal of _____.
4. In Gandhi's view, God and _____ are inseparable.
5. According to Gandhi, name some of the forms Satyagraha may take.
6. Gandhism regards _____ as a means and the individual as an end.
7. Gandhiji is described as an anarchist because he preached for a _____.
8. Gandhism attached more importance to duties than to _____.
9. Gandhism has been described as "communism minus" what?
10. Gandhiji believed in which system in the economic field?
11. What did Gandhiji call his ideal state, envisioned as the Kingdom of God on earth?
12. What term describes Gandhi's model of self-sufficient, decentralised village governance?

Answers

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. My Experiments with Truth | 5. Non-cooperation, hartals and strikes, picketing, social boycott, hunger strike, civil disobedience, and hijrat state |
| 2. Ends | |
| 3. Swaraj | |
| 4. Truth | 6. The state Rights |



- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 7. Classless and stateless society | 10. The trusteeship system |
| 8. Rights | 11. Ram Raj |
| 9. Violence | 12. Gram Swaraj |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is the title of Gandhi's autobiography?
2. What does "Satyagraha" mean?
3. What is Gandhi's view on the relationship between means and ends?
4. What did Gandhi call his ideal state?
5. What is "Gram Swaraj"?
6. What is the trusteeship system?
7. Why is Gandhi sometimes described as a philosophical anarchist?
8. Name one form of Satyagraha.
9. How does Gandhism differ from Marxism?
10. State one way Gandhism remains relevant today.

Assignments

1. What are the basic principles of Gandhism?
2. "Gandhism is communism minus violence." Discuss.
3. Critically examine the Gandhian concept of the state.
4. Gandhiji believed that religion is a private affair of individuals and that the state should not interfere with it. How far do you agree?
5. Analyse the relevance and importance of Gandhism in the light of contemporary political conditions in India.
6. What is trusteeship as advocated by Gandhiji? How far is it practicable in the present-day world?



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Political System and Good Governance



UNIT

Good Governance - Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and characteristics of good governance
- ◆ discuss the indicators and parameters of good governance
- ◆ trace the evolution of the concept of good governance in India
- ◆ examine the challenges in establishing good governance and the measures needed to overcome them

Prerequisite

Think of the last time you needed a certificate — a birth certificate, an income certificate, a land record — from a government office in Kerala. A generation ago, that often meant repeated visits, unclear procedures, and sometimes a bribe to "speed things up." Today, an Akshaya centre or an e-governance portal lets you apply, track, and collect the same document with minimal friction and a visible paper trail. The difference between those two experiences — one opaque and arbitrary, the other transparent, accountable, and responsive to the citizen — is exactly what this unit means by "good governance": not just having a government, but having one that manages its affairs fairly, openly, and for the benefit of the people it serves.

Keywords

Accountability, Consensus, Good Governance, Legitimacy, Participation, Rule of Law, Sub-Saharan Countries, Transparency



Discussion

5.1.1 Good Governance

“Good governance is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanism, process and institution through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences”. (UNOP, 1997)

Governments have played a vital role in the life of humanity throughout recorded history. They must develop and promote the parameters of good governance. Thus, the concept of good governance has become the most debatable issue all over the world in general and in third-world countries in particular.

The need for good governance has been universally accepted. Throughout human history, it has been recognised that the state and its machinery should work for the welfare and well-being of the masses. Based on this, states or governments have been designated as good or bad by Greek political philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, or by Indian philosophers through texts like the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gita, Arthashastra, and Buddhist teachings in ancient times. In modern times, political philosophers such as John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, James Stuart Mill, and Thomas Hill Green have emphasized the need for good governance. However, the concept of good governance in its present form was coined by the World Bank in 1989 with reference to the development administration of Sub-Saharan nations.

The Bank document entitled “Governance and Development” emphasized the key

elements of good governance, namely, accountability, rule of law, openness, and transparency. It stressed that good governance is a necessary condition for efficient and effective administration of newly independent countries. It is also related to the capacity of the political and administrative system to cope with the emerging challenges of society. It refers to the adoption of new values of governance to establish greater efficiency, legitimacy, and credibility of the system.

5.1.2 The Concept of Good Governance

To understand the concept, it is pertinent to see the meaning of good governance. The word “good” implies just, fair, right, and moral. In contrast, the word “governance” refers to the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). According to the World Bank, good governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development. Adrian Leftwich has defined good governance as a system to promote:

1. Open market, friendly and competitive economy.
2. Democratization.

3. Improvement of human rights records.

5.1.3 Characteristics of Good Governance

Good governance has eight major characteristics:

1. Participation
2. Consensus-oriented
3. Accountability
4. Transparency
5. Responsiveness
6. Effectiveness and efficiency
7. Equity and inclusiveness
8. Adherence to the rule of law

Thus, good governance consists of the elements of participation, accountability, predictability, and transparency.

5.1.4 Parameters of Good Governance

The World Bank has identified some parameters of good governance, which have assumed significance for both developed and developing nations:

1. Political accountability, including the acceptability of the political system to the people and regular elections to legitimise political power.
2. Freedom of association and participation** for various religious, social, economic, cultural, and professional groups in the process of governance.
3. An established legal framework based on the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary

to protect human rights, secure social justice, and guard against exploitation and abuse of power.

4. Bureaucratic accountability, including openness and transparency in administration.
5. Freedom of information and expression needed for the formulation of public policies, decision-making, monitoring, and evaluation of government performance.
6. A sound administrative system leading to efficiency and effectiveness, which, in turn, means cost-effectiveness.
7. Cooperation between the government and civil society organizations.

5.1.5 Indicators of Good Governance

The Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) lays down the following indicators of good governance:

1. Legitimacy of government.
2. Accountability of political and official elements of government.
3. Competence of governments to make policies and deliver services.
4. Respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Besides, the OECD has also identified three distinct aspects of good governance:

1. The form of political regime.
2. The process by which authority is exercised.



3. The capacity of the government to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge its functions efficiently and effectively.

5.1.6 Evolution of the Concept in India

Since independence, structural changes have been made in the administrative setup to fulfill the aspirations of the people. In 1949, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar recommended the creation of an Organisation and Methods division in each ministry for administrative improvement. In 1951, A.D. Gorewala, in his report, recommended that clean, efficient, and impartial administration was the first condition for the success of democratic government. He suggested the reorganization of administrative machinery to ensure speedy, effective, and responsive administration. Likewise, in 1954, Paul H. Appleby emphasized the need for setting up an Institute of Public Administration to reform Indian administration. In the same year, Asoka Chandra suggested ways to remove delays in the execution of projects. Further, T.T. Krishnamachari's report dealt with the training of IAS officers and improvement in district administration. Pandit Nehru himself emphasized the need for democratic decentralization.

To ensure democratic decentralization, local bodies were established for both urban and rural areas. However, these bodies could not generate the required level of political participation among the people and, in most states, became ineffective or non-operational for various reasons. As a result, the bureaucracy became uncontrollable, leading to corruption and misuse of power. The Santhanam Committee and the first Administrative Reforms Commission were constituted to give suggestions for curtailing

corruption in administration. The Economic Reforms Commission under L.K. Jha (1983) advocated the need for accountability. In this context, Rajiv Gandhi rightly noted that out of every rupee spent by the government, only 15 paise reached the truly needy. Thus, public administration, which was meant for the welfare of the people, turned into a burden. Consequently, the need and necessity for the concept of good governance emerged on the global stage under the banner of the Second Minnowbrook Conference (1988). The conference emphasized the need for economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (3 Es) in administration. In light of this, steps were taken in Indian administration to restructure and redesign it to be pro-people. Additionally, local bodies were re-established with constitutional provisions. The 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts of 1993 made adequate provisions in the Constitution by inserting the 11th and 12th Schedules.

These bodies have provided adequate constitutional opportunities for political participation to all segments of society. Twenty percent of seats are reserved for SCs and STs. One-third of the total seats are reserved for women, which is likely to increase to 50%. These bodies have given new opportunities for political participation to citizens in decision-making and implementation at the local level.

However, the hegemony of bureaucracy was not checked properly even after the establishment of local government bodies, and the layman remained deprived of relevant information. In this context, the Right to Information Act, 2005, was passed. The act makes the government more consensus-oriented and accountable to the governed. It promotes transparency and openness in governmental affairs and makes the government more responsive to the needs of the people. It instills confidence among citizens that they can question the

government and actively participate in the political process at the local level. In short, it forces authorities to ensure transparency, accountability, and responsiveness in day-to-day functioning, which are the ingredients of good governance. There is hardly any public activity (Section 8 being an exception) that is out of the ambit of the RTI Act. Its scope is as wide as that of the office of the Chief Justice of India. The Act has undoubtedly strengthened right-thinking and honest personnel, providing them with adequate safeguards against corrupt and selfish bureaucrats and politicians. Moreover, it has made our system more accountable, transparent, open, and responsive, which are the basic components of good governance. In addition to the Freedom of Information Act, other initiatives like e-governance with a focus on minimum government and maximum governance, legal reforms, ease of doing business, and police reforms have already been started. Besides, the National Human Development Report outlines the good governance approach. Later, a model code of governance drafted by a committee of Chief Secretaries provided essential elements of good governance.

In this context, a reference may be made to the Seven Sins of public life pointed out by Gandhiji in the context of the concept of good governance. These are politics without principles, wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without

character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, and worship without sacrifice. These lessons are as valid now as when first enunciated in the 1920s.

5.1.7 Challenges to Good Governance

There are certain challenges to ensuring good governance. They are given below:

1. Criminalization of politics.
2. Corruption.
3. Gender disparity.
4. Growing incidence of violence.
5. Delay in justice.
6. Centralization of the administrative system.
7. Marginalization of the depressed classes.

The effective functioning of governance is the prime concern of every state and its people. What is needed is a transparent, accountable, and intelligible governance system absolutely free from bias and prejudices. The best way to ensure transparency and accountability in governance is through increased and informed participation of the people. People are the biggest stakeholders in governance and have a critical and crucial role to play.

Recap

- ◆ Good governance involves the transparent and accountable exercise of public authority.
- ◆ It ensures service delivery guided by the participation of the people.



- ◆ The World Bank coined the term 'good governance' in its present form in 1989, with reference to the development administration of Sub-Saharan nations.
- ◆ Good governance has eight major characteristics: participation, consensus-orientation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness, and adherence to the rule of law.
- ◆ The World Bank identified key parameters of good governance, including political accountability, freedom of association, an established legal framework, bureaucratic accountability, and freedom of information.
- ◆ The OECD identifies four indicators of good governance: legitimacy, accountability, competence in policymaking and service delivery, and respect for human rights and the rule of law.
- ◆ In India, structural reforms since independence — from the Gorewala Report (1951) to successive Administrative Reforms Commissions — have shaped the evolution of good governance.
- ◆ The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments (1993) strengthened democratic decentralisation as part of the good governance agenda.
- ◆ The Right to Information Act, 2005 made Indian governance more transparent, accountable, and responsive to citizens.
- ◆ Gandhiji's "Seven Sins of public life" (e.g., politics without principles, wealth without work) remain a relevant ethical benchmark for good governance.
- ◆ Major challenges to good governance in India include criminalisation of politics, corruption, gender disparity, and centralisation of administration.
- ◆ The most effective safeguard for transparency and accountability is increased and informed public participation.

Objective Questions

1. Who coined the concept of good governance in its present form, and in what year?
2. In which document did the World Bank emphasize accountability, rule of law, openness, and transparency?
3. How many major characteristics of good governance are identified?

4. Name any three indicators of good governance identified by the OECD.
5. Who recommended the creation of an Organisation and Methods division in each ministry in 1949?
6. Which commission (1983) advocated the need for administrative accountability in India?
7. In which year and at which conference was the need for Economy, Efficiency, and Effectiveness (3 Es) emphasized?
8. Which Act made Indian governance more transparent and accountable to citizens?
9. What proportion of seats is reserved for women in local bodies under decentralisation reforms?
10. Name any two of Gandhiji's "Seven Sins of public life."
11. What do the "Three Es" of administration stand for?
12. Name any two major challenges to good governance in India.

Answers

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The World Bank, in 1989 | 7. 1988, at the Second Minnowbrook Conference |
| 2. "Governance and Development" | 8. The Right to Information Act, 2005 |
| 3. Eight | 9. One-third (33%) |
| 4. Legitimacy of government, accountability of political and official elements, and competence in policymaking and service delivery | 10. Politics without principles; wealth without work |
| 5. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar | 11. Economy, Efficiency, and Effectiveness |
| 6. The Economic Reforms Commission under L. K. Jha | 12. Corruption and criminalisation of politics |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Who coined the modern concept of "good governance"?
2. In which year was the term first used by the World Bank?
3. Name any two characteristics of good governance.
4. What are the "Three Es" of administration?
5. Which Act made Indian governance more transparent and accountable?
6. Name one challenge to good governance in India.
7. Name any two indicators of good governance identified by the OECD.
8. Name one of Gandhiji's "Seven Sins" of public life.
9. What proportion of local body seats are reserved for women?
10. What is the best way to ensure transparency and accountability in governance?

Assignments

1. What is the meaning of good governance, and why are transparency and accountability essential for it?
2. What are the eight main characteristics of good governance, and how do they contribute to effective governance?
3. What are the key parameters of good governance according to the World Bank, and what are the indicators identified by the OECD?
4. How has the concept of good governance evolved in India since independence, and what significant reforms have been undertaken to promote it?
5. What are the main challenges to establishing good governance, and what strategies can be proposed to overcome them?
6. Examine the changing role of technology in unleashing an era of good governance.

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UNIT

Constitutionalism and Rule of Law

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ define the concepts of Constitution, Constitutionalism, and Rule of Law
- ◆ understand the principles, features, and pillars of Constitutionalism and Rule of Law, including those developed by Prof. Albert Venn Dicey
- ◆ examine the patterns and relevance of Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law
- ◆ analyse the problems associated with Constitutionalism and the application of the Rule of Law in India.

Prerequisite

Imagine a Kerala government order directing the eviction of families from a piece of land without following due legal procedure. If the affected families move the Kerala High Court, and the court strikes down the order for violating their fundamental rights, something important has been demonstrated: even the state government, which made the order, is not above the law — it must answer to the Constitution just like any citizen. This is the everyday, local face of two ideas this unit explores in depth: constitutionalism, which insists that all power be exercised within limits set by the Constitution, and the rule of law, which insists that everyone, however powerful, is equally subject to the law.

Keywords

Constitutionalism, Supremacy of the Constitution, Separation of Powers, Rule of Law, Equality before the Law, Fundamental Rights, Constitution, Judicial Review

Discussion

5.2.1 What is Constitutionalism?

Constitutionalism is a modern concept that connotes a political order governed by laws and regulations. It stands for the supremacy of law, not of man. It is a system of 'divided power.' By dividing power, effective restraints upon governmental actions follow. In other words, constitutionalism is a political philosophy that emphasizes the importance of a constitution as the supreme law of the land and a foundation for a well-organized and just society. As constitutionalism is a political spirit or philosophy, it is not necessary that states having a constitution may practice constitutionalism. For instance, Singapore.

Constitutionalism is an important principle element of liberalism. It means certain limitations upon the government specified by the constitution. It further states that whenever the government intends to discharge any function or adopt a policy, it must follow these restrictions.

According to Carl J. Friedrich, "It is a body of rules ensuring fair play, thus rendering the government responsible." It requires a

constitution "to limit the arbitrary action of the government, to guarantee the right to be governed, and to define the operation of sovereign power. It is another name for limited and civilized government."

5.2.1.1 Constitution and Constitutionalism

In order to get a clear understanding of the concept, we must first understand the meaning of the terms constitution and constitutionalism. The main difference between constitution and constitutionalism is that the constitution is a written document that outlines the structures and functions of the state and the rights of citizens; on the other hand, constitutionalism is an unwritten idea or philosophy that governs through rules and regulations stated in the constitution. The essential differences between them are given in a tabular form.

Thus, it seems that the difference between constitution and constitutionalism is that the constitution acts as a document that limits state power, whereas constitutionalism is a concept of limiting the state's outreach.

Constitution	Constitutionalism
A document that limits the power of the state.	The concept/theory/ideology behind limiting the power of the state.
Written document	Soul/Philosophy of the Constitution, unwritten.
Deals with the structure of government the political process and citizen's Rights.	It deals with limiting the power of the state and protecting individual rights.
A country can exist without a constitution.	A country can never exist without constitutionalism.

The rise of the constitutional state is a historical process. Its chief materials are contained in the history of political institutions and Western political ideas. The history of the development of constitutionalism is the history of the growth of political institutions, as witnessed in Greece, Rome, and thereafter in the middle of the modern ages.

Constitutionalism is one of the basic values of liberalism and a key component of liberal democracy. It is based on the assumption that government is always liable to become a tyranny against individuals because ‘power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely’. Constitutionalism is thus a vital guarantee of liberty. Liberal constitutionalism is associated with a written constitution, a system of checks and balances among organs of government, and guarantees for the rights and liberties of the people.

5.2.1.2 Principles of Constitutionalism

As stated, constitutionalism stands for a system that has a division of powers and checks and balances so that the government remains responsible. It also describes adequate techniques and procedures that can bring about systematic and orderly change. It does not stand for a particular form of government, though it may be described as essential for a democratic polity. In this context, it is essential to discuss the principles and features of constitutionalism summarized as follows:

1. **Supremacy of the Constitution:** Constitutionalism asserts that the constitution is the supreme law of the land. All other laws and government actions must conform to its provisions.
2. **Separation of Powers:** Constitutionalism advocates for the separation of powers among the three branches of government: the executive, legislative, and judicial. This division of power prevents any one branch from dominating the others.
3. **Responsible and Accountable Government:** In a democratic system, people are sovereign masters. They have the right to demand accountability. When the government fails to fulfill the expectations of people, the authorization to govern is revoked in the next elections.
4. **Limited Government:** Constitutionalism places limits on the powers of the government to protect individual rights and prevent abuse of authority. Any exercise of authority beyond these limits is considered unconstitutional.
5. **Rule of Law:** The Rule of Law implies that every action of the government must be authorized by law. Everyone, including the government, is subject to the law.
6. **Independence of Judiciary:** The judiciary must be independent in the interpretation of the law. An independent judiciary is crucial to uphold the rule of law. The judiciary serves as the final arbiter of legal disputes.
7. **Protection of Fundamental Rights:** Constitutionalism recognizes and safeguards the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals. These rights are enshrined in the constitution and protected from infringement by the government or other individuals.
8. **Police Accountability:** Constitutionalism also envisions that the police, while performing their duties, shall uphold the rights, freedom, and dignity of individuals. This can be ensured by bringing the police under the control of laws and courts.
9. **A Stable Political Order:** All changes should be effected in a peaceful and lawful manner. A stable political order in a country must also mean socio-economic welfare of the people.

and are striving to achieve the ideals of a social welfare state. Some of them are imitating patterns borrowed from European countries where they were once colonies. They have also been developing a blend of indigenous components and socialist patterns. Furthermore, several developing countries are experimenting with a mixture of the liberal democratic model and socialist ideals, alongside responding to the demands and aspirations of their local populations. For example, countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan have alternated between parliamentary and presidential systems. The failure of constitutional states in many third world countries, such as Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Thailand, has led to the collapse of popular systems, often replaced by military rule.

However, countries like India and Sri Lanka have been able to adopt unique patterns. A few countries initially moved towards socialism but have recently retreated.

5.2.1.5 Problems and Prospects

Constitutionalism is still in an experimental stage and faces serious challenges both internally and externally within countries. It is notable that war, emergencies, and socio-economic deterioration pose significant challenges to constitutionalism. During wartime, governments often claim absolute power, implementing measures such as compulsory conscription, military training, nationalization of major industries, and press censorship in defense against foreign aggression. This can subvert the framework of constitutional government. Some constitutions include clauses allowing unlimited government powers during wartime or armed rebellion, as seen in Ireland, Italy, Germany, Japan, and India (under Article 352 of the constitution). However, Professor K.C. Wheare observes, “The extent to which constitutional government has been

suspended in times of war varies greatly. It should not be assumed that war inevitably leads to the destruction of constitutional governments in every case, but it certainly strains and often compromises them to some degree.”

Closely allied with war is the concept of emergency. The suspension of constitutional government is justified during national emergencies. For instance, President Lincoln sent troops to crush the revolt of Southern states in the USA, and the British government took significant measures during the First and Second World Wars. American President Roosevelt even implemented the ‘New Deal legislation’ in the 1930s to combat the Great Depression. The government of India made controversial arrangements during the national emergency in 1975, criticized as the ‘murder of democracy.’ However, in countries where constitutionalism is deeply rooted, normalcy often returns after hostilities cease, as witnessed in Britain, the USA, France, and India. In contrast, Italy, Germany, and Japan did not immediately revert to normal governance.

Finally, socio-economic distress factors such as starvation, famine, illiteracy, disease, and poverty necessitate swift and effective state action. Governments are called upon to take immediate and drastic steps to alleviate these conditions, sometimes stretching governmental authority beyond constitutional limits. Professor K.C. Wheare rightly suggests, “Conditions of national emergency or socio-economic distress often lead to the suspension of ordinary limitations on government to permit swift and effective action. Crisis or emergency government can seldom be constitutional government; peace and prosperity are indeed strong allies of constitutional government and its prospects.”

In this context, a pertinent question arises: what should be the outlook of constitutionalism in the present age

of globalization, liberalization, and privatization? Constitutionalism should respect nationalism and self-determination. However, history has shown that the edifice of a constitutional state has been shattered by forces of nationalism or sub-nationalism, as seen in Pakistan (1971), the Soviet Union (1990), Sri Lanka (1987), and others.

Though constitutionalism does not strictly advocate for representative and responsible government, it vehemently opposes totalitarianism in all its forms. A democratic constitution must provide space for essential freedoms, safeguard minority rights, protect legitimate social and economic rights, and ensure freedom for the mass media and similar institutions.

The present age emphasizes nationalism, democracy, and socialism. Constitutionalism in this era must embody these ideals. The concepts of federalism and sovereignty also demand careful consideration. Federalism can realize the ideal of ‘unity in diversity.’ The state should act as a welfare state, balancing the interests and classes of society. This can be achieved through formal or informal accommodations within the political system, or through the decentralization of power as seen in three-tier federalism in countries like Switzerland, the USA, and India, among others. Even a multinational constitutional state or union, such as the European Union, operates in this direction. In unitary states like Great Britain and France, devolution or decentralization of power can be adopted within the constitutional framework.

Constitutionalism enables better governance of the country and restrains the overuse of power. It prioritizes the welfare of society and its people, playing a crucial role in building democratic societies and upholding the principles of justice, fairness, and equality. It ensures that governmental power is exercised within defined limits,

respecting the rights and freedoms of all citizens.

5.2.2 Rule of Law

5.2.2.1 Rule of Law – What is It?

Rule of Law is a basic principle of the British Constitution. The doctrine is accepted in the American and Indian constitutions, forming the entire basis of administrative law. The doctrine was first propounded by Greek political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. According to Aristotle, it is a system of rule inherent in the natural order.

In England, Rule of Law began in 1215 when King John of England signed the document called Magna Carta of 1215. The signing of Magna Carta indicated the consent of the Monarch of England to be under the law and the law to be supreme. The doctrine of Rule of Law took on new significance after the conflict between the King and Parliament, which was resolved in favor of Parliament. In this context, Sir Edward Coke, the originator of this doctrine, stated that the King cannot be above the law and established the supremacy of law over the executive.

In the USA, the doctrine of Rule of Law was first introduced in 1776 by the constitutional lawyer Professor Albert Venn Dicey in his book ‘The Law of the Constitution’.

It is a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions, and entities, including the state, are accountable to laws. In short, it is a situation in which the law of a country is obeyed by everyone.

Professor Dicey stated that Rule of Law means the absolute Supremacy of Law. This means that no man can be arrested, punished, or lawfully made to suffer except by due process of law, and for breach of law



established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary court of the land. It also implies the predominance of law as opposed to arbitrary powers.

5.2.2.2 Pillars of Rule of Law

According to Professor Dicey, the concept of Rule of Law has three pillars based on the principle that ‘Government should be based on the principle of law and not of men’. These are:

1. Supremacy of Law;
2. Equality before the law; and
3. Predominance of Legal spirit.

1. Supremacy of Law

This is the first pillar of Dicey’s concept of Rule of Law. Rule of Law guarantees liberty of person and property. According to Dicey, the absolute supremacy of law as opposed to arbitrary power of the government is what constitutes the Rule of Law. This means that no man may be punished without due process of law in the ordinary legal manner in the ordinary court of law. Thus, it epitomizes that ‘a man may be punished for the breach of law, but he cannot be punished for anything else’. Further, Dicey asserted that discretion has no place where there is supremacy of law. According to him, discretion is linked to arbitrariness. He says that wherever there is discretion, there is room for arbitrariness.

2. Equality before the law

Secondly, Rule of Law ensures equality. The term equality before the law describes that all are equal in the eyes of the law and all people are subject to the same law and same court regardless of their position and status. That is what is law for one is also law for another. He criticized the French legal system, ‘Droit administratif’, which provides separate tribunals for settlement of disputes between the government and

individuals. According to him, Special Courts and special laws are a threat to the principle of equality and negate the principle of Rule of Law.

3. Predominance of Legal spirit

According to Dicey, many countries’ rights such as right to personal liberties, freedom from arrest, freedom to hold public meetings are guaranteed by the written Constitution. However, in England it is not so. Those rights are the result of judicial decisions in concrete cases which have arisen between parties. Thus, Dicey emphasized the role of Courts of law as a guarantee of liberties. He suggested that the rights would be secured more adequately if they were enforceable in the courts of law than by a mere declaration of those rights in the document.

5.2.2.3 Principles of the Rule of Law

The basic principles of Rule of Law include the following:

1. Citizens are accountable to the law.
2. Leaders are accountable to the law.
3. The law is universal.
4. Transparency or open government.
5. Law must be enforced equally and impartially.

5.2.2.4 Merits of the doctrine

Dicey’s thesis has its own advantages and merits. The doctrine of the Rule of Law proved to be an effective and powerful weapon in keeping administrative authorities within their limits. It serves as a touchstone to test all administrative actions. It also paved the way for the growth of Administrative Law.

The first principle (supremacy of law) recognizes the essence of democracy, which

is that every government must be subject to law and not law subject to the government. It rightly opposed the arbitrary and unfettered discretion of governmental authorities, which have the tendency to interfere with the rights of citizens.

The second principle (equality before law) is equally important in a system wedded to democratic polity. It is based on the well-known maxim, “However high you may be, Law is above you,” and “All are equal before the Law”.

The third principle puts emphasis on the role of the judiciary in enforcing individual rights and personal freedom irrespective of their inclusion in a written constitution. Dicey feared that a mere declaration of such rights in any statute or constitution would be futile if they could not be enforced. He was right when he said that a statute or even a constitution can be amended, and fundamental rights can be abrogated.

5.2.2.5 Criticisms

Dicey’s thesis was not completely accepted even in his era. Dicey failed to distinguish between arbitrary power and discretionary power. According to him, “wherever there is discretion, there is room for arbitrariness”. It may be stated that though arbitrary power is inconsistent with the concept of Rule of Law, discretionary power is not; in a modern welfare state, administrative discretion is indispensable. Many administrative tribunals have come into existence which adjudicate the rights of the people not according to common law but according to special laws applied to special groups.

Another drawback is Dicey’s presumption that the judiciary is the solution to all suits. He mistrusted over the system of ‘droit administratif’ which was wrong. It seems that the system exercised check in a much better manner than the judiciary. Thus, he misunderstood the real nature of Droit

administratif which was successful in France.

Dicey’s ‘Rule of Law’ has, however, been identified in democracies across the world with the rights of the people. The International Commission of Jurists, in their Delhi Declaration 1959 accepted the idea of Rule of Law as the modern form of the Law of Nature. The rule of law consists of several basic principles which the policymakers, judges, and all law enforcing agencies should consider while exercising authority in a democratic society. This means that all duties, powers, and functions of the government and its organs are done in accordance with the law.

5.2.2.6 Rule of Law in India

The preamble of the Constitution prescribes the ideas of justice, liberty, and equality. These concepts are further enunciated in Part III of the Constitution, which deals with Fundamental Rights. These rights are made enforceable in the court of law. All three branches of government—the legislature, executive, and judiciary—are subordinate to the Constitution. They are not only subordinate but are bound to act according to its provisions. The Constitution provides for judicial review to enforce Fundamental Rights. If there is any abuse of power by the executive, the same may be challenged on the ground of malfeasance. Furthermore, Article 21 provides that ‘no person shall be deprived of his life and personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law’. This principle of natural justice gained significance, especially after the Maneka Gandhi case. In India, there is no rule that ‘the King can do no wrong’ as in the case of England. Besides, Article 14 guarantees equality before the law. Even the state and its officials are liable in torts and contracts. If any wrong is committed by an employee of the state, the state may be made liable for such acts.



- ♦ guarantee of individual liberties.
- ♦ Dicey's thesis has been criticised for failing to distinguish arbitrary power from necessary administrative discretion.
- ♦ In India, the Rule of Law is upheld through Fundamental Rights (Part III), judicial review, and Article 14's guarantee of equality before the law, though certain exceptions exist (e.g., military law, preventive detention).

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Objective Questions

1. Who wrote the book "Constitutional Government and Democracy"?
2. What is constitutionalism opposed to?
3. Name three principles of constitutionalism.
4. There are three patterns of constitutionalism: Western, Socialist, and _____.
5. Who were the leading exponents of the Western pattern of constitutionalism?
6. According to the Socialist pattern, the constitution is a means to implement the ideology of _____.
7. Marxian Constitutionalism views the state as a _____.
8. The pattern of constitutionalism in developing countries is a mixture of _____.
9. The main problems of constitutionalism are _____ and _____.
10. Constitutionalism is one of the political values of _____.
11. Who signed the Magna Carta in 1215, marking an early milestone in the history of the Rule of Law?
12. What are the three pillars of the Rule of Law according to Dicey?

Answers

1. Carl J. Friedrich
2. Arbitrary government
3. Rule of Law, Separation of Powers, and Independence of the Judiciary
4. The pattern of developing



- | | |
|---|---|
| countries | 9. War, emergency, and economic crisis |
| 5. Thomas Paine, Harold Laski, and C. F. Strong | 10. Liberalism |
| 6. Scientific Socialism | 11. King John of England |
| 7. Class institution | 12. Supremacy of Law, Equality before the Law, and Predominance of the Legal Spirit |
| 8. Western, developing, and native models | |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is constitutionalism?
2. What is the difference between a constitution and constitutionalism?
3. Who developed the modern doctrine of the Rule of Law?
4. Name the three pillars of the Rule of Law according to Dicey.
5. Who first established that the King cannot be above the law?
6. Name the three patterns of constitutionalism.
7. What are the main challenges to constitutionalism?
8. Which Article of the Indian Constitution guarantees equality before the law?
9. What does judicial review mean?
10. Give one criticism of Dicey's theory of the Rule of Law.

Assignments

1. Compare and contrast the concepts of constitution and constitutionalism. How do they relate to each other in theory and practice?
2. Discuss the principles of constitutionalism with reference to the supremacy of the constitution, separation of powers, and the rule of law.

3. Analyse the patterns of constitutionalism, focusing on the differences between the Western liberal pattern and the socialist pattern.
4. Evaluate the challenges faced by constitutionalism in developing countries.
5. Explain the pillars of the Rule of Law as laid down by Dicey, and discuss their merits.
6. Examine the extent to which the Rule of Law has been accepted in India, noting any exceptions.

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UNIT

Participatory Development and Decentralisation

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and importance of participatory development
- ◆ discuss the concept of Democratic Decentralization in India
- ◆ evaluate the significance of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments
- ◆ explain the importance of the Panchayati Raj institutions in India

Prerequisite

In 1996, Kerala launched the People's Plan Campaign, handing over a fixed share of the state's plan budget directly to gram panchayats. Ordinary residents gathered in ward-level sabhas — not to elect someone else to decide for them, but to decide for themselves which road to repair, which well to dig, or which school to fund first. Villagers who had only ever been recipients of government schemes suddenly became planners of their own development. That shift — from being governed for, to governing with — is exactly what this unit means by participatory development and democratic decentralisation, and Kerala's own experience is one of the clearest real-world illustrations of the constitutional reforms this unit examines.

Keywords

Decentralisation, Devolution, Democratic Decentralization, Gram Sabha, Nagara Palika, Panchayat Raj, Participatory Development, Three-Tier System

Discussion

5.3.1 Participatory Development

Participatory development seeks to engage the local population in development projects. It has taken a variety of forms since it emerged in the 1970s, introduced as an important part of the basic needs approach to development.

The objectives of economic and social development in developing countries aim at a process of self-reliant and sustainable development through which social justice will be realized. Self-reliant development means building the endogenous mechanisms of society that will enable developing nations to achieve growth without aid ultimately. Sustainable development means continuing a stable growth pattern where economic development is in harmony with the environment. The realization of social justice means equalizing and ensuring opportunities for people to participate in order to rectify disparities between regions, income levels, and genders.

For this to be possible, the forces of development should not only aim to boost the production of material goods but also foster and improve the social capabilities of the people involved in development. For this purpose, people involved in development should take an active part in the process of planning and implementing development activities and enjoy their fruits. Participatory development means participation in every aspect of politics, the economy, and society as both the means and the goal of development.

The government-led development approach adopted by developing countries is effective and efficient. Due to the insufficient capabilities of local people and low societies, the beneficiaries of development are put in a passive position. It is to be noted that the

government-led approach to development may exacerbate deep-rooted problems like economic and social disparities between different classes, regions, and rural and urban areas. This may undermine and counteract the effectiveness and sustainability of development projects.

Participatory development is not an attempt to replace the top-down development approach with a local community approach. It attempts to introduce a bottom-up style of development to remedy the shortcomings of the government-led approach and aims to improve local society's participation.

To create conditions for promoting participatory development, the government must enact legislation and create institutions. These institutions must guarantee political and economic freedom. The government also needs to relax regulations to remove obstacles to economic participation, improve financial management, build infrastructure, and train businesspeople.

The quality of participation varies according to the following factors:

1. What kind of participatory entities exist, and what kind of institutions offer what kind of opportunities for participants?
2. The extent to which the state and government guarantee the effectiveness of institutions and carry out appropriate policy support.
3. The extent to which participating entities are able to respond to the opportunities to participate; and
4. How states and governments are able to strengthen the institution.



5.3.1.1 Elements of a Participatory Society

The chief elements are:

1. Free and independent press - A participatory society allows opinions, ideas, and information to flow freely through media like newspapers, radio, television, blogs, and social media.
2. Participation in decision-making; and
3. Independent and impartial judiciary.
3. More social contact and interpersonal relationships.
4. More opportunities for learning and developing skills, knowledge, education, and employment.
5. More self-esteem and self-confidence.
6. More leadership skills
7. Improved relationships; and
8. More communication and collaboration skills.

5.3.1.2 Steps of a Participatory Approach

The steps involved are:

1. Forming a planning team;
2. Identifying possible issues.
3. Carrying out participant analysis.
4. Determining the purpose and level of participation;
5. Identifying constraints and special circumstances;
6. Selecting a method and deciding.

5.3.1.3 Importance of Active Participation

Individuals who actively participate in their own development and well-being can feel empowered and improve overall development and well-being. It stimulates the productive energy of people, encourages their participation in the productive process, and promotes more equitable sharing of benefits. However, the following points may also be noted:

It provides:

1. More independence and autonomy in what they can do.
2. More opportunities to have a say in matters concerning their lives.

5.3.1.4 Challenges

The major challenges are given below:

1. A major internal challenge in public participation is inadequate financial resources and human resources.
2. Lack of skilled facilitators;
3. Low efficiency
4. Lack of interest in participation; and
5. Language barriers.

In conclusion, we may say that participatory development is both an end and a means. It is an end because participation builds skills and enhances people's capacity for action and for enriching their lives. It is a means because participation contributes to better development policies and projects.

5.3.2 Decentralization and Democratic Decentralization

Democratic decentralization is a process of devolving power, responsibility, and authority of decision-making from states to the elected representatives at the lower level of governance. The main reason for such an arrangement is that several issues can be efficiently solved at local levels.

The government introduced the concept of decentralization for good governance and the development of rural and urban areas at the grassroots levels. The government had reasons to believe that without decentralization, the burning problems of poverty alleviation and sustainable development would remain a dream.

In 1992, the 73rd and 74th Amendments were passed to give effect to decentralization. The 73rd Amendment introduced Panchayat Raj Institutions as a unit of local self-government. However, it was not a new concept. It has been in existence for centuries with the name Grama Panchayat. There were a number of committees appointed by the government of India to study the implementation of self-government at the rural level. It was only in 1992, on the recommendation of the L.M. Singhvi Committee (1986), that it was granted constitutional recognition as the third level of India's federal democracy. Panchayat Raj Institutions are responsible for the development of rural areas. Another Amendment (74th) was also introduced in the same year for the development of urban areas. It gives municipal bodies the power and authority to plan for economic development and implement schemes.

The Amendment added two new parts to the constitution - Part IX titled the Panchayats (73rd) and Part IX A titled Municipalities (74th). It also added two new Schedules - Schedule 11th contains powers, authorities, and responsibilities of panchayats and the 12th schedule specifies powers, authority, and responsibilities of municipalities.

The Constitution of India, in Article 40, enjoins: "The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of local self-government."

Devolution of authority and resources is given to the local government on a permanent basis. However, the state government does not give the power and authority to levy taxes from the public. Instead, the state government funds them, handles the tax, and provides staff so that they can carry out their responsibilities. Local government is a state subject in the constitution. Consequently, the devolution of power and authority to the local governments has been left to the discretion of the state.

5.3.2.1 Decentralized Urban Governance

In the context of urban local government, the 74th Amendment is a milestone. It gives constitutional status to urban local bodies, codifies the procedure for their constitution, and defines their structure, functions, and resource generation. The Act aimed at greater clarity between states and urban local governments in terms of devolving adequate powers and resources to enable the municipalities to function as urban local self-government.

5.3.2.2 Features of the 73rd and 74th Amendments

Some of the features of the Acts are as follows:

1. It has made it mandatory for all states to set up three-tier bodies (in small states having less than 20 lakh population, two-tier bodies).
2. Periodic elections to all tiers at regular intervals of five years, and if dissolved earlier, fresh elections to be held within six months.
3. Reservation of seats for SCs and STs in all panchayats and municipalities at all levels in proportion to their population.



4. One-third reservation of seats for women in Panchayats and Municipalities.
5. All posts at all levels (with two exceptions) to be filled by direct elections.
6. Indirect election to the post of Chairman at the intermediate and apex tiers.
7. Creation of a State Election Commission to conduct free and fair elections to Panchayats and Municipalities.
8. A State Finance Commission to be set up in each state every five years to review the financial position of the Panchayat Raj and municipalities.
9. Devolution of powers to Panchayat bodies to perform 29 functions and to Municipal bodies to perform 18 functions as suggested by the Eleventh and Twelfth Schedules respectively.
10. Organization of Gram Sabha and Ward committees is another feature.
11. The 74th Amendment provides for the constitution of District Planning Committees and Metropolitan Planning Committees to prepare a development plan.
12. Article 243M of the 73rd Amendment exempts the application of this Act to certain areas in the country. The Act does not apply to the states of Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram. Provisions of the Act are also to be implemented in the Union territories with certain modifications owing to their peculiar conditions.

5.3.2.3 Gram Sabha

The Act also made provision for Gram Sabha, which is the foundation of the Panchayat Raj System. It is the lowest body of Panchayat Raj and consists of all persons whose names are included in the electoral

roll for the Panchayat at the village level. The term 'Gram Sabha' is defined in the constitution under Article 243(b). It meets twice a year. The Gram Pradhan has the right to call special meetings. Quorum is one-fifth. It works as a watchdog of Gram Panchayat.

The constitution mentions that Gram Sabha exercises such powers and performs such functions at the village level as the legislature of the state may, by law, provide. However, the following are its main functions:

1. It elects members of Gram Panchayats.
2. It approves the administrative report of the Gram Panchayats.
3. It approves the budget of the Panchayat.
4. It approves development programs to be undertaken during the current year.
5. It approves the village production plan.

The decisions taken by the Gram Sabha cannot be annulled by any other body except itself.

5.3.2.4 Functions of Gram Panchayat

Panchayat Raj institutions perform certain functions which are important and directly influence the day-to-day lives of citizens. The important functions are summarized as follows:

1. Development plans for the promotion of small-scale and cottage industries, corporations, execution of plans for agricultural and irrigation development.
2. Civic amenities like building roads, drains, tanks, wells, street lights, registration of births, deaths, and marriages.
3. Law and order functions - maintenance of watch and ward service of village volunteer force.

4. Welfare functions - famine relief, welfare plans for women and children, backward classes, management of village fairs, libraries, and reading rooms.
5. Commercial functions - supervision of Panchayat enterprises such as community orchards and fisheries.
6. Administrative functions - maintenance of accounts, collection and maintenance of records, supervision of public schools.

5.3.2.5 Sources of Income

1. Income from taxation on village property, animals, vehicles, electricity and water tax, house tax, license tax, toll tax, professional tax.
2. Grant-in-aid received from the state.
3. Public contributions and voluntary donations.
4. Village fairs, common land, tanks, and forests.

5.3.2.6 Importance of Panchayat Raj System

Panchayat Raj has great importance. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had called it a revolution. The importance of the system is clear from the following facts:

- 1. Promotes democratic representation:** This system of Panchayat Raj increases cooperation among people and offers an institutional framework for democratic decentralization. It can be described as the bedrock of grassroots democracy. It signifies marked devolution of power from higher to lower levels in a way that the units of local government exercise their authority with the participation of the people. This democratic decentralization or Panchayat Raj aims at making democracy

real, bringing the government down to the people; that is why they are called the governments of the grassroots level. Lord Bryce is right when he observed, “The best school of democracy and the best guarantee for its success is the practice of local self-government.”

- 2. It promotes effective and efficient planning:** The Gram Panchayats in the country have been entrusted to provide basic services to the villagers and plan for local economic development. The Gram Sabha discusses the development work plan of the Gram Panchayats and elected representatives execute the plan.

- 3. Ensures good governance:** Consensus and participation are the two important pillars of good governance and the Panchayat Raj Institution helps in ensuring both these pillars.

- 4. It provides training and experience of running administration.**

5.3.2.7 Achievements of Democratic Decentralization

Rising Women Representation

The proportion of elected women representatives has been steadily rising since the enactment of the 73rd Amendment. Currently, India has about 260,512 Panchayats with 3.1 million elected representatives, of which a record 1.3 million are women.

Creating Healthy Competition Among Various States

The passage of the 73rd and 74th Amendments has created healthy competition among various states regarding devolution (the 3 Fs: Funds, Functions, and Functionaries). For instance, Kerala has devolved 29 of its functions to Panchayat Raj. Rajasthan took inspiration from Kerala and devolved many key departments such as health, education, women, and agriculture to Panchayat Raj



Institutions. Similarly, Bihar came up with the idea of Panchayat Sarkar, and states such as Odisha have increased 50 percent seats for women.

5.3.2.8 Issues and Challenges

Local government is a state subject in the constitution, and consequently, the devolution of power and authority to the Panchayat Raj institutions has been left to the discretion of the state. Some important subjects for the functioning of the Panchayat Raj institutions have not been devolved in certain states. The major challenges are listed below:

1. Insufficient funding: Despite constitutional empowerment, local bodies face problems of inadequate finance to carry out various activities assigned to them.

2. Infrastructure challenges: Some Gram Panchayats do not have their own buildings; they share space with schools, Anganwadi centers, and other places. Some have their own buildings without basic facilities like toilets, drinking water, and electricity connections. While some Panchayats have internet connections, they are not functional. In many cases, for data entry purposes, officials have to visit block development offices which delay the work.

3. Lack of staff: Local governments do not have staff to perform even basic tasks. The Standing Committee on Rural Development in 2018 observed severe lack of supporting staff and personnel in Panchayats, such as secretaries, junior engineers, computer operators, and data entry operators. This affects their functioning and delivery of services.

4. Untimely and delayed elections: States often postpone elections and violate the constitutional mandate of holding elections every five years to local governments. In Tamil Nadu, Panchayat elections have not been held for over two years, resulting in

the state losing Finance Commission grants from the Union government. Elections were held in 2019.

5. Corruption: Criminal elements are attracted to local government elections, tempted by the large sums of money now flowing to them. A market chain of corruption operates, involving a partnership between elected representatives and officials at all levels. However, there is no evidence to show that corruption has increased due to decentralization.

6. Downgraded role of the institution: They are merely acting as implementation machinery rather than policy-making bodies.

5.3.2.9 Suggestions

1. Revitalization of Gram Sabha.
2. Gram Sabha and Ward committees have to be revitalized to achieve the objective of people's participation in real terms.
3. Strengthening organizational structure: Organizational structure should be strengthened with sufficient manpower. Serious efforts should be made towards recruitment of supporting staff to ensure the smooth functioning of the Panchayats.
4. Devise a comprehensive mechanism for taxation and funding at local levels.
5. Ministry of Panchayati Raj should monitor the release and expenditure of Finance Commission's grants to ensure that there is no delay in their release. It should also ensure that grants are utilized properly and effectively.
6. Audit Committees: Audit Committees may be constituted by the state government at the district level to exercise effective control over financial transactions.

India's effort in decentralization is one of the largest experiments in deepening

democracy. India has a robust democratic structure for local governance. What we need to practice is a robust democratic culture and give life to our existing structure. The government should make adequate efforts to devolve funds, functions, etc

Recap

- ◆ Participatory development engages the local population in development projects, empowering communities to negotiate with institutions.
- ◆ It emerged in the 1970s as part of the basic needs approach to development.
- ◆ The essentials of a participatory society include a free press, participation in decision-making, and an independent judiciary.
- ◆ Participatory development functions as both an end (building people's capacities) and a means (improving development policy and outcomes).
- ◆ Democratic decentralization devolves power, responsibility, and decision-making authority from the state to elected representatives at lower levels of governance.
- ◆ The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments (1993) gave constitutional status to Panchayats and Municipalities.
- ◆ Panchayati Raj is structured in three tiers: Gram Panchayat (village), Panchayat Samiti (block), and Zilla Parishad (district).
- ◆ Gram Sabha, the foundation of Panchayati Raj, consists of all registered voters at the village level and functions as a watchdog over the Gram Panchayat.
- ◆ One-third of seats in Panchayats and Municipalities are reserved for women, alongside reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- ◆ Panchayati Raj institutions promote democratic representation, effective planning, good governance, and administrative training.
- ◆ Kerala has devolved 29 functions to its Panchayati Raj institutions, inspiring similar decentralisation reforms in states like Rajasthan and Bihar.
- ◆ Major challenges include insufficient funding, staff shortages, delayed elections, and the institutions' downgraded role as mere implementation machinery.

Objective Questions

1. Which committee recommended the Panchayati Raj System in India?
2. When was the Panchayati Raj System first introduced?
3. Which Article of the Constitution relates to Panchayati Raj?
4. What is the main objective of Panchayati Raj?
5. How many tiers are there in the Panchayati Raj System?
6. Where was the Panchayati Raj System first implemented?
7. What proportion of seats is reserved for women at all levels of the Panchayati Raj System?
8. On whose recommendation was the Panchayati Raj System introduced in India?
9. At what level is the Gram Panchayat formed?
10. Under which Article of the Constitution are Gram Panchayats established?
11. Under which Article are the powers and functions of the Gram Sabha conferred?
12. Which states do not have the Panchayati Raj System under the 73rd Amendment?

Answers

1. The L. M. Singhvi Committee
2. 2 October 1959
3. Article 243
4. To enable people's participation in local administration
5. Gandhiji
6. Three tiers
7. Nagaur, Rajasthan
8. One-third
9. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee
10. Article 40
11. Article 243(A)
12. Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is participatory development?
2. Which constitutional amendments gave Panchayats and Municipalities constitutional status?
3. What are the three tiers of the Panchayati Raj system?
4. What is a Gram Sabha?
5. What proportion of seats is reserved for women in Panchayats?
6. Who recommended the Panchayati Raj system?
7. Where was the Panchayati Raj system first implemented?
8. Name one function of the Gram Panchayat.
9. Name one challenge faced by Panchayati Raj institutions.
10. Which states do not have the Panchayati Raj system?

Assignments

1. Discuss the meaning and importance of participatory development. How does it contribute to sustainable and self-reliant growth in developing countries?
2. Explain the concept of democratic decentralization in India.
3. Evaluate the significance of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments in India.
4. Analyse the importance of Panchayati Raj institutions in India, their key functions, and the challenges they face.
5. "An important initiative of the Government of India is to strengthen local government." Examine this statement in light of the 73rd and 74th Amendments.
6. Discuss the achievements and challenges of democratic decentralization in India, with reference to at least two states.



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UNIT

Non-State Actors – Pressure Groups, Interest Groups and Mass Media

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ define interest groups and pressure groups
- ◆ compare interest groups and political parties
- ◆ discuss the different types of pressure groups working in India, and evaluate their role in a democracy
- ◆ explain the importance and role of mass media in a democratic society

Prerequisite

Think of Kerala's coir workers' unions in Alappuzha, or its toddy tappers' and fisherfolk associations, regularly negotiating wages, safety measures, or storm-warning protocols with the state government. None of these organisations ever contests an election or tries to form a government — yet they clearly shape policy through negotiation, protest, and public pressure. This is the exact distinction this unit builds on: an interest or pressure group seeks to influence those in power, while a political party seeks to become the power itself.

Keywords

Liberal Democracies, Interest Groups, Pressure Groups, Influence on Government, Lobbying, Mass Media, Print Media, Digital Media

Discussion

5.4.1 Pressure Groups, Interest Groups, and Mass Media

Prof. Finer rightly says that in all liberal democracies, there are two important channels of popular representation: political parties and the electoral process, and interest groups and pressure groups. Interest groups and pressure groups can be defined as voluntary organizations formed to defend particular interests in a society. They promote a cause or a political position without participating in the actual contest for power. In a democratic political system, both pressure groups and interest groups play a significant role, and over time, their influence has been increasing substantially. They now influence all three branches of government: the executive, the legislature, and even the judiciary. Some of these groups are very powerful and, with their influence and financial power, affect the decision-making process in one way or another. In this context, it should be noted that interest groups and pressure groups are not the same.

5.4.2 Interest Groups Defined

Simply defined, interest groups are private organizations for the promotion of specific interests. These groups, which have specific interests, are called interest groups. They are non-political organizations that work to support an interest, principle, etc. They are formal associations of individuals or organizations that influence government decision-making and public policy.

A person can be a member of different associations simultaneously. Interest groups may or may not be involved in political activities. Today, in every country, particularly in democracies, we see a bewildering number of such groups. These include consumer

societies to solve the problems of consumers, bus passengers' associations to solve the problems of bus passengers in a region, and parents' and teachers' associations to address the problems of students and schools. Interest groups are, therefore, groups of like-minded people who protect and further specific interests.

5.4.3 Pressure Groups Defined

Pressure groups are those interest groups that directly or indirectly exert pressure on the political and administrative machinery of the nation to win a decision in their favor. These are private associations formed to influence public policy. According to Prof. Finer, “pressure groups are, by and large, autonomous and politically neutral bodies that bargain with political parties and bureaucracy regardless of the political complexion of the government in power.”

An interest group becomes a pressure group when it exerts pressure on the policy decisions of the government. However, pressure groups are not political organizations. They do not nominate their members for elections or seek to capture power. They are concerned with specific programs and issues.

Their activities are confined to the protection and promotion of their members' interests by influencing the government. They pressure party leaders, legislators, ministers, and bureaucrats to achieve gains for their members. Generally, they have no political alignment. However, their members may sometimes be affiliated with political parties. They may not aspire to form governments but aim to change its direction and policy in a particular manner. Most pressure groups, except business groups, do not have an independent, autonomous existence.



	Interest group/Pressure Group	Political parties
1.	They promote special interests	They promote general interest
2.	They are smaller groups	They are bigger groups
3.	A person can member of several groups at a time	A person can be a member of only one political party at a time
4.	Their main aim is to influence the state policy	Their main aim is to capture power and form government
5.	They do not directly involve themselves in political activities	They contest elections and work inside and outside the parliament
6.	They draw programmes and strategies	They draw a definite political programme
7.	They work secretly and are called Nameless Empires	They work openly and remain in lime light

5.4.3.1 Characteristics of Pressure Groups

The characteristics of pressure groups are as follows, based on their specific interests:

1. Self-interest is the root cause for the formation of pressure groups. Individuals forming these groups aim to protect their specific goals, such as passing a bill in the legislature. Their goals are never as broad as those of the state.
2. Formally or informally organized: They can be formally organized as registered associations or trusts, but they can also operate informally.
3. No open alignment with politics: They do not want to display a political character. Although they may align with political parties, they refrain from directly engaging in the politics of a country by contesting candidates in elections.
4. Exclusive or overlapping membership: A person can be a member of multiple pressure groups—cultural, educational, professional, etc.
5. Use of constitutional and non-constitutional means: When they operate within the law or constitution, their activities are considered constitutional. However, sometimes they resort to threats, coercion, bribery, and blackmail.
6. Indirect Role in Politics and Administration: They operate at an intermediate level between political and non-political activities. They do not have flags, party manifestos, or intentions to seize power. However, they can instruct their members to support or oppose particular candidates, parties, or policies, thus indirectly influencing politics and administration.
7. Unspecified tenure: A pressure group may be permanent or short-term. Once their objective is achieved, they may dissolve.
8. Omnipresent: Pressure groups exist everywhere and in all forms of government. In dictatorial regimes, they operate underground; in democracies,



5.4.3.2 Types of Pressure Groups / Interest Groups

spontaneous actions and violence. Examples include student organizations and youth organizations.

5.4.3.3 Pressure Groups in India

1. **Associational Groups:** These include leading pressure groups like organizations of businessmen, workers, farmers, professionals, etc. They are formally organized and typically registered bodies with constitutions, rules, organizational structures, and finances. Examples include trade unions, chambers of commerce and industry, lawyers' organizations, journalists' associations, and teachers' organizations.
2. **Institutional Groups:** These groups are formally organized and consist of professionally employed individuals. They are part of the government machinery and seek to exert influence through constitutional means and in accordance with rules and regulations. Examples include associations like the IAS Association, IPS Association, and State Civil Services Associations.
3. **Non-Associational Groups:** This category includes groups with informal organizations based on factors like religion, caste, race, communities, and social traditions. These groups have intermittent existence, appearing and disappearing from time to time. Examples include caste, religion, race, or language-based groups.
4. **Anomic Groups:** These encompass organizations whose behavior is unpredictable and often involve

2. **Peasants' Associations:** Despite India being an agricultural country, farmers' associations historically have not been very powerful. However, organizations like the All India Kisan Sabha, founded in 1936, and the Bharatiya Kisan Union have gained prominence over time.

4. Trade Unions: Leadership of trade unions often comprises intellectuals and is closely linked with major political parties in India. Examples include



the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), and United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).

5. **Communal and Religious Groups:** These groups represent specific community interests and may have political implications. Examples include the Republican Dal, Shiromani Akali Dal, and Hindu Maha Sabha.
6. **Tribal Groups:** These groups advocate for tribal interests. Examples include the National Social Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Tribal National Volunteers (TNV) in Tripura, United Mizo Federal Organizations (UMF), and Tribal League of Assam (TLA).
7. **Linguistic Groups:** These pressure groups promote specific languages. Examples include the Tamil Sangh, Hindi Protection Parishad, and Punjab Sahitya Sabha.
8. **Women Associations:** These associations advocate for women's rights and improvement of their status in society. Examples include the All India Women's Conference.
9. **Professional Groups:** Various professional groups such as the Indian Medical Association (IMA), Bar Council of India (BCI), and All India Federation of University and College Teachers (AIFUCT) operate in India.
10. **Ideology-based Groups:** Several groups in India are based on specific ideologies, such as the Narmada Bachavo Andolan, Chipko Movement, Women's Right Organization, and India Against Corruption.
11. **Anomic Groups:** These unpredictable groups include entities like Naxalite

groups, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), and others that have emerged post-independence.

12. **Interest Groups based on Gandhian Ideology:** Another significant category includes groups that follow Gandhian principles and ideals, such as the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Sarvodaya Samaj, and Sarsewa Samaj.

Techniques and Methods:

Pressure groups employ various techniques and methods to advance their interests:

1. **Lobbying:** This method is frequently used in democratic states, influencing legislative committees and individual legislators to protect their interests.
2. **Propagandizing:** Pressure groups influence public opinion to indirectly affect government decisions, which are sensitive to public sentiment in democracies.
3. **Strikes, Bandhs, and Gheraos:** These forms of protest are utilized by pressure groups to achieve their objectives, including boycotts, picketing, and instigating workers.
4. **Other Non-legal Methods:** Pressure groups may also resort to financing political parties, sponsoring candidates, and exploiting caste, creed, and religious sentiments to promote their interests.
5. **Resort to Courts:** When efforts to prevent unfavourable legislation fail, pressure groups may seek judicial intervention to declare such laws unconstitutional, leveraging provisions related to fundamental rights, due process of law, equity, and public interest litigation.

5.4.3.4 Functions, Role, and Importance of Pressure Groups

The role of pressure groups is significant and important in the political process of



a country. Their roles and importance are detailed below:

1. Interest articulation: Pressure groups bring the demands and needs of the people to the attention of decision-makers. The process by which the claims of the people are crystallized and articulated is called interest articulation.
2. Political Communication: These groups communicate the interests of their members to political decision-makers.
3. Agent of political socialization: Pressure groups serve as agents of political socialization by influencing the orientation of people towards the political process.
4. Pressure groups play a vital role in the legislative process: They endeavor to elect members favorable to them in the legislature so they can influence the lawmaking process.
5. Pressure groups influence the administrative process: They actively engage with the administration. Through lobbying with the bureaucracy, pressure groups are often in a position to influence the policy implementation process.
6. They also attempt to influence the judiciary through newspapers, editorials, journals owned by them, and they may even impact judicial judgments.
7. Pressure groups influence the formation of public opinion through constant propaganda in favor of particular policies. They organize seminars, press conferences, and distribute books and pamphlets to sway public opinion.
8. Pressure groups contribute to improving the quality of government. The information and advice provided by these groups help to enhance the quality of government policy and legislation.

9. They help educate people, compile data, and provide specific information to policymakers, thus functioning as an informal source of information.

Pressure groups are now considered indispensable and helpful elements of the democratic process. However, their roles and functions vary depending on the nature of the constitution, cultural values, and the political system. In totalitarian political systems, their role is secretive, limited, and punishable. The form of society and the type of party system—whether single, two-party, or multi-party—directly influence their functioning. Economic liberalization and globalization have further increased the role of pressure groups. Recent experiences indicate that big businesses and large farmers exert influence on governments and political parties. Democratic politics thrives on consultation, negotiation, and some degree of bargaining. Therefore, it is crucial for governments to consult these organized groups while formulating and implementing policies.

5.4.4 Mass Media

The present century has witnessed significant growth in mass media. Apart from generating awareness, mass media has become instrumental in governing our lives. Rather than being merely a forum of cultural expression, it has developed its own culture. Originally intended to report on people's way of life, mass media has itself become a way of life for people.

Mass media refers to vehicles or means of communication that disseminate information from the source to a large audience. Any media intended for a broad audience is called mass media. It serves as a primary source of information, entertainment, marketing, advertising, and motivation for everyone. Examples of mass media include radio, television, newspapers, social media, digital media, and the internet.

The term 'Mass Media' began to be used in the 1920s. Initially, it referred primarily to print and visual media. Audio-visual mediums gained popularity as they provided both information and entertainment. In recent times, the internet has emerged as the latest and most popular mass medium. Information is readily available through websites and easily accessible through search engines. Users can engage in multiple activities simultaneously, such as playing games, listening to music, and social networking, regardless of location.

Today, mass media is generally categorized into seven branches based on their introduction:

1. Print (books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, etc.) from the late 15th century.
2. Recordings (gramophone records, magnetic tapes, cassettes, CDs, and DVDs) from the late 19th century.
3. Cinema from around 1900.
4. Radio broadcasting from about 1910.
5. Television broadcasting from about 1950.
6. Internet from about 1990 (digital media).
7. Mobile phones from about 2000 (digital media).

Each mass medium has its own content types, creative artists, technicians, and business models. The sixth and seventh media, internet and mobile phones, are collectively referred to as digital media, while radio and TV are known as broadcast media.

New developments in communication technologies have transformed our information environment. Modern communication technologies such as microprocessors and chips have revolutionized broadcasting,

telephone systems, and human interactions. Digitalization and fiber optics have integrated services into a large interactive communication system. The internet, a global network of interconnected computer networks, serves billions of users worldwide. It enables instant access to information through websites and search engines, facilitating activities like gaming, music streaming, and social networking from any location.

Most traditional communication media, including telephones, music, film, and TV, have been reshaped or redefined by the internet, giving birth to new services like Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP). Newspapers, books, and other printed materials are adapting to website technology. The internet has enabled or accelerated new forms of human interaction through instant messaging, internet forums, and social networking.

5.4.1.1 Role of Mass Media

Mass media is an important tool of communication, providing a platform for the free flow of information from all corners of the world. It can create awareness, educate, and entertain us. However, if misused, it can be detrimental to people.

Mass media influences many aspects of human life. It gives voice to the voiceless and has numerous instances where it has brought justice. For example, in 1981, The Indian Express newspaper reported that 33 suspected criminals in Bihar were blinded by the police using acid. Treating the newspaper report as a Public Interest Litigation petition, the Supreme Court directed the state government to bring the blinded men to Delhi for medical treatment and ordered speedy prosecution of the policemen involved. Thus, free legal aid became a fundamental right.

A free and fair press is undoubtedly a watchdog of a democratic country. It is often referred to as the fourth pillar of democracy



and the backbone of democratic governance. It exposes loopholes in the system and reminds politicians of their promises and performances, holding them accountable to the people. During election campaigns, the media provides information and analysis on political parties' policies, candidates, and performances. In India, the media has evolved significantly, often acting as a watchdog against abuses of power and correcting governmental mistakes.

The media serves as a tool for effective and widespread communication, contributing to the world becoming a global village. It plays a vital role in spreading arts, culture, and diverse perspectives worldwide. With the internet, anyone can learn a new language, explore different cultures, and experience global content without leaving their home.

Mass media also functions as an encyclopedia of information. The internet, in particular, is a massive source of knowledge, and various forms of mass media help facilitate learning across different subjects and locations.

Mass media influences and changes public opinion, playing a crucial role in a country's political dynamics. Media representation of social and political issues raises awareness among citizens about their rights, various problems, and potential solutions.

Moreover, mass media affects societal behaviour, which can be positive or negative. It can promote pro-social behaviours like spreading awareness and changing social norms. However, it can also influence behaviour towards violence, deviance, and delinquency, which is a negative impact.

The media plays an essential role in sensitizing society to social problems

such as HIV/AIDS, coronavirus, drug abuse, alcoholism, and criminalization of politics, among others. It acts as a mirror reflecting the harsh realities of life and has become increasingly active with the advent of electronic communication, uncovering many scandals through sting operations.

However, it cannot be concluded that the media in every nation achieves the highest standards of journalism. High-quality journalism requires media to be aware of their social responsibilities and actively engage with them. While globalization has professionalized media, it often fails to report on serious incidents in rural areas, such as mass killings and starvation deaths, with the seriousness they deserve.

Media also has its pitfalls. Growing consumerism and materialism can detract from its expected functions. Partisan attitudes, sectarian biases, and sensationalism undermine ethical journalism. Pursuing opportunistic gains and creating sensational or fake news to attract viewers or readers are harmful practices that media should avoid.

No one is perfect in the world, and neither is the media. It has a constructive role to play in society. Media acts as a watchdog in a democracy that keeps the government active. It has become an integral part of daily life. The present media revolution has helped people make informed decisions, marking the beginning of a new era in democracy. It has become the eyes and ears of the world. It is impossible for anyone to directly know all that is happening in the world. Therefore, we rely on mass media to keep us informed. The media also filters facts and makes sense of the world for us.

Recap

- ◆ In liberal democracies, popular representation flows through two channels: political parties and the electoral process, and interest and pressure groups (Prof. Finer).
- ◆ Interest groups are private organisations formed to promote and protect specific interests without seeking political power.
- ◆ An interest group becomes a pressure group when it actively exerts pressure on government decision-making.
- ◆ Unlike political parties, pressure groups promote special (not general) interests, remain smaller in size, and do not contest elections.
- ◆ Pressure groups may be institutional, associational, non-associational, or anomic in character.
- ◆ Major categories of pressure groups in India include business groups (e.g., FICCI), peasant associations (e.g., Bharatiya Kisan Union), student organisations (e.g., SFI, ABVP), and trade unions (e.g., INTUC, BMS).
- ◆ Other categories include communal/religious groups, tribal groups, linguistic groups, women's associations, professional groups, and ideology-based groups (e.g., Narmada Bachao Andolan).
- ◆ Techniques used by pressure groups include lobbying, propaganda, strikes and bandhs, financing political parties, and resorting to courts.
- ◆ Pressure groups perform functions of interest articulation, political communication, and political socialization.
- ◆ Mass media refers to means of communication that disseminate information to a large audience; it is often called the fourth pillar of democracy.
- ◆ Mass media has evolved through seven branches: print, recordings, cinema, radio, television, internet, and mobile phones.
- ◆ Mass media functions as a watchdog of democracy, shapes public opinion, and educates citizens, though it can also spread sensationalism or misinformation if misused.

Objective Questions

1. What is the primary difference between interest groups and political parties?
2. Which type of group does not contest elections but influences policies indirectly?
3. What is the main aim of pressure groups in political systems?
4. In what ways do pressure groups exert influence on governments?
5. Which type of group is formally organised and registered?
6. What distinguishes pressure groups from interest groups in terms of tenure?
7. Which type of group has no direct involvement in contesting elections?
8. What is the primary function of mass media in a democracy?
9. Which mass medium has been in use since the late fifteenth century?
10. How has the internet impacted mass media?
11. Who described pressure groups as "autonomous and politically neutral bodies that bargain with political parties and bureaucracy"?
12. Name any two Gandhian-ideology-based interest groups in India.

Answers

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Interest groups promote special interests; political parties promote general interests | short-term or a permanent basis depending on the issue |
| 2. Interest groups | 7. Pressure groups |
| 3. To influence policy decisions
Lobbying, strikes, propaganda and legal methods | 8. Acting as a watchdog |
| 4. Lobbying, strikes, propaganda, and legal methods | 9. Print media |
| 5. Associational groups | 10. It has increased accessibility and enabled interactive, two-way communication |
| 6. Pressure groups may exist on a | 11. Prof. S. E. Finer |
| | 12. Harijan Sevak Sangh and Sarvodaya Samaj |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is an interest group?
2. What is a pressure group?
3. How is a pressure group different from a political party?
4. Name one type of pressure group found in India.
5. Name one technique used by pressure groups to influence government.
6. What is mass media often called in the context of democracy?
7. Name any two types of mass media.
8. What is lobbying?
9. Since which century has print media existed?
10. State one positive and one negative role of mass media.

Assignments

1. Examine the major interest groups working in Indian society.
2. Explain the functions and role of pressure groups in a democracy.
3. Compare and contrast different types of pressure groups prevalent in India. How do they impact public policy and governance?
4. Critically examine the importance of mass media in contemporary society.
5. "Civil society organisations are the voice of the voiceless people." Do you agree with this statement?
6. Discuss the techniques and methods employed by pressure groups to influence government decisions.

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BLOCK

Political System and Globalisation



UNIT

Globalisation - Meaning and Nature

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and characteristics of globalisation
- ◆ analyse the essentials and driving factors of globalisation
- ◆ explore the different types (economic, political, and cultural) of globalisation
- ◆ evaluate the effects - both benefits and drawbacks - of globalisation in India

Prerequisite

Since the 1970s oil boom, hundreds of thousands of Keralites have migrated to the Gulf for work, sending remittances home that have transformed household economies across the state — new houses, better education, small businesses funded entirely by money earned abroad. At the same time, Kerala's own fisherfolk now find themselves competing with cheap, frozen imported fish, and Malayalam television channels are watched by a diaspora spread across continents. All of this — people, money, goods, and culture moving freely across borders — is globalisation in its most everyday, lived form: a process that opens up real opportunity while also exposing local livelihoods to distant pressures.

Keywords

Cultural Exchange, Cultural Homogenization, Deregulation, Export and Import, Globalisation, Liberalisation, Multinational Corporations, Privatisation

Discussion

6.1.1 Globalization - Meaning

Globalization is a multi-dimensional phenomenon involving diverse activities and interactions, including economic, political, technological, cultural, and environmental manifestations. It signifies the flow of ideas, capital, commodities, and people across different parts of the world. Thus, it is a process of increasing interdependence, interconnectedness, and integration of economies and societies to such an extent that events in one part of the globe affect people in other parts. The crucial element is worldwide interconnectedness and flow, facilitated by advances in communication and development.

Globalization is often perceived as a ‘newly found phenomenon,’ but in reality, it is as old as history. It began with large migrations of people across vast land masses. During the pre-World War period, there was rapid integration of economies through trade flows, capital movement, and global migration. The inter-war period witnessed barriers to restrict free movement, but after 1945, efforts to increase integration resumed.

6.1.1.1 Key Features of Globalization

1. All societies have become interconnected. According to Albrow, it is the process through which peoples of the world are incorporated into a single global society.
2. Actions in one part of the world have rapid and significant repercussions in other parts.
3. Emergence of global social strata showing certain common cultural features.
4. Bypassing national boundaries.
5. New entrepreneurship.

6. Global financial markets and centralization of power.
7. Transnational media systems.
8. Global tourism.

6.1.1.2 Globalization: The Causes

The end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the restructuring of Eastern European countries, and the weakening of communism paved the way for a new world order characterized by globalization. The process began in the 1970s but gained momentum in the 1990s.

The emergence of globalization is a consequence of deliberate efforts by Western liberal capitalist countries to establish a global market-oriented economic order. Multinational companies (MNCs) sought free access to global markets, restricted only by protectionist policies of various countries. They pressured their governments to remove these barriers, which became feasible due to the collapse of socialism, advancements in transport and communication, and economic challenges in developing countries. International bodies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) played a role in integrating economies and enforcing structural adjustments. Many developing countries, compelled by necessity or coercion, integrated into the global economy. In recent decades, globalization has accelerated due to various factors:

1. **Technology:** Enhanced communication speed, particularly through social media, has minimized geographical distances.
2. **LPG Reforms:** Liberalization, Privatization, and Globalization reforms since 1991 have increased India's global interactions.



3. Improved Transportation: Rapid growth in air travel has facilitated global trade.
4. Rise of WTO and Multinational Organizations: The WTO's establishment in 1994 reduced global trade barriers and fostered free trade agreements.
5. Increased Capital Mobility: Reduced restrictions on capital flows have connected global financial markets.
6. Rise of Multinational Companies: MNCs disseminate best practices globally by selling products in diverse markets.

These factors have promoted economic liberalization and globalization, contributing to the world becoming a global village. Additionally, the growth of global trading blocs, reduced tariff barriers, expansion of global media, increased labour mobility, and internet introduction are other significant causes.

6.1.1.3 Types of Globalization

There are three types of globalisation: economic, political, and cultural.

1. Economic Globalization

Economic globalization focuses on integrating financial markets and coordinating financial exchanges. Free trade agreements like NAFTA and TPP exemplify economic globalization, shifting from distinct national economies to a global economy. Production is internationalized, and financial capital flows freely between countries.

2. Political Globalization

Political globalization involves national policies that bring countries together politically, economically, and culturally. It erodes national sovereignty and enhances the role of international organizations and non-state actors such as the UN, NATO, EU, World Bank, IMF, and OECD.

3. Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalization involves the global circulation of information, commodities, and images that flatten cultural differences between nations and individuals. It encompasses enhanced communication, social media prevalence, and improved transportation, leading to cultural homogenization. Social, economic, and political diversities converge as people worldwide watch the same programs, consume similar products, and support common sports and celebrities.

6.1.1.4 Impact of Globalization in India

India is one of the developing countries that has shown significant success after implementing globalization. It affects the lives of individuals and society. Globalisation affects people's access to goods, the prices they pay, and their ability to travel to other countries.

In India, Globalization has resulted in an increase in the creation of new job opportunities in multinational companies like cell phones and fast-food companies. Several international companies operating in India have created a slew of new opportunities.

India's IT sector has boomed due to globalization, as Indian companies collaborate with international firms to expand their businesses.

There has been an increase in foreign investment, inviting an inflow of private foreign capital. As a result, international companies have started branches, particularly in the pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and petroleum industries, bringing advanced technology and processes that have modernized the industrial sector.

The reduction in export subsidies and import barriers has enabled free trade, making India's market attractive to the international community.

India plays a crucial role among developing countries in trade and commerce, with some companies becoming multinational themselves (e.g., TATA Motors, Ranbaxy). Opportunities have also increased as Indian companies collaborate with international firms to expand their businesses.

Agriculturally, the majority of people depend on the agricultural sector, either directly or indirectly, for their livelihood. Due to globalization, the technological capabilities of farmers have increased. Globalization has facilitated the global export of Indian products such as tea, coffee, and sugar.

Prior to globalization, the Indian financial sector was mismanaged by corrupt government officials. Market competition and innovations were introduced by removing control of the financial sector from bureaucracy.

Cross-cultural impacts are another effect of globalisation on Indian society, significantly seen in cultural, social, political, and economic aspects.

However, economic unification is the main factor contributing to a country's maximum economy in the international economy.

6.1.1.5 Benefits of Globalization

There are differences of opinion regarding the impact and usefulness of globalization, primarily divided into optimistic and pessimistic views. Let us examine both sides.

Supporters of globalization argue that it increases the volume of trade in goods and services, flows private capital, increases foreign direct investment, creates new jobs, strengthens domestic economies, improves productive efficiency, and enhances competition. The chief merits of globalization are outlined below:

1. Globalization has led to economic recovery. Pre-globalization

economic policies were not yielding positive results, and the gap between the rich and the poor was widening. Lack of competition allowed large business houses to sell average products at higher prices. However, globalization has increased market efficiency for goods and capital, utilizing previously untapped resources and leading to significant economic recovery.

2. Globalization decreases the cost of manufacturing, enabling companies to offer goods at lower prices to consumers.
3. Globalization increases labor productivity.
4. Globalization attracts foreign capital and updated technology, improving the quality of production.
5. It improves the living standards and purchasing power of people.
6. Globalization promotes the expansion of liberal democracy by enhancing accountability and transparency of power.
7. Culturally, globalization has facilitated a phenomenal growth in the global circulation of cultural goods like printed matter, music, visual arts, cinema, photography, radio, and television.
8. Globalization encourages wealthy countries to invest their capital in countries other than their own.
9. In a globalized scenario, domestic industries in developing countries become conscious of price reduction and quality improvement to compete globally.



6.1.1.6 Drawbacks of Globalization

Globalization has also had negative impacts on society. It may result in domination by advanced countries over third world countries and contribute to income disparities within and between countries.

1. A general criticism of globalization is that it has made the rich richer while impoverishing the non-rich. It benefits managers, owners, and investors but has adverse effects on workers and the environment. Exploitation of labor and hazardous conditions, including child labor, have increased. Safety standards are often ignored to produce cheap goods, and human trafficking has risen.
2. Globalization harms domestic local markets, as many global corporations provide goods and services at nominal rates.
3. Globalization has led to a significant decrease in skilled labor in developing countries due to easy mobility to countries with better opportunities.
4. Globalization results in cuts to welfare measures, reduced subsidies for mass consumption goods, and declining real wages. Social welfare schemes or safety nets are under great pressure in developed countries

due to deficits, job losses, and other economic impacts of globalization.

5. Criticism of globalization includes its potential to impose cultural domination and imposition. Culturally, it undermines traditional values and promotes consumerism and Western values through electronic media.
6. Politically and economically, globalization weakens states by reducing sovereignty and increases foreign control over national economies, widening inequalities and worsening poverty.

Another drawback is the potential increase in pandemics due to increased travel. Examples include the H1N1 (Swine flu) outbreak in 2009 and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

In conclusion, despite its drawbacks, globalization is here to stay. More goods and services, investments, and technologies are moving between countries, with multi-dimensional global effects on the environment, culture, political systems, economic development, and human well-being. It promotes a worldview where people are more open and tolerant of each other. Business growth overseas benefits from effective communication and technology, increasing the availability of goods and services worldwide.

Recap

- ◆ Globalization is the process of increasing interdependence, interconnectedness, and integration of economies and societies worldwide.

- ◆ It is not entirely new — it began with early human migrations and pre-World War trade flows, though it accelerated sharply after the 1990s.
- ◆ Key features include a single interconnected global society, rapid cross-border repercussions, emerging global social strata, and the erosion of national boundaries.
- ◆ The end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the weakening of communism paved the way for the current phase of globalisation.
- ◆ Technology, the establishment of the WTO (1994), improved transportation, and the rise of multinational companies have accelerated globalisation.
- ◆ Globalisation may be classified into three types: economic, political, and cultural.
- ◆ Economic globalisation integrates financial markets and internationalises production and capital flows.
- ◆ Political globalisation enhances the role of international organisations (UN, WTO, IMF) while eroding national sovereignty.
- ◆ Cultural globalisation leads to cultural homogenization through the global circulation of media, entertainment, and consumer goods.
- ◆ In India, the 1991 LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation) reforms boosted foreign investment, exports, and the growth of the IT sector.
- ◆ Supporters highlight benefits like economic recovery, lower costs, improved technology, and the expansion of liberal democracy; critics point to rising inequality, labour exploitation, and cultural domination.
- ◆ Globalisation has also increased risks such as the rapid global spread of pandemics (e.g., H1N1 in 2009 and COVID-19 in 2020).

Objective Questions

1. What is the process of increasing interdependence and integration of economies and societies called?
2. What term refers to the free movement of goods, services, and capital across borders?
3. What is the transfer of state-owned enterprises to private ownership called?

4. What is the term for selling goods and services to other countries?
5. What is the term for buying goods and services from other countries?
6. What phrase describes the spread of ideas, values, and culture across borders?
7. Which international organization promotes free trade among nations?
8. What term refers to reduced government control of economic activities?
9. What is the movement of people across borders called?
10. In which year did India adopt its LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation) reforms?
11. Name the three types of globalisation.
12. Name one drawback of globalisation for developing countries.

Answers

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Globalization | 8. Deregulation |
| 2. Liberalization | 9. Migration |
| 3. Privatization | 10. 1991 |
| 4. Export | 11. Economic, political, and cultural |
| 5. Import | 12. Exploitation of labour and widening income disparities |
| 6. Cultural exchange | |
| 7. The World Trade Organization (WTO) | |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What does the term "globalisation" mean?
2. Name any two features of globalisation.
3. What are the three main types of globalisation?

4. In which year was the WTO established?
5. What does the term "liberalisation" mean?
6. What is "privatisation"?
7. Name one cause of globalisation.
8. In which year did India adopt its LPG reforms?
9. Name one benefit of globalisation for India.
10. Name one drawback of globalisation.

Assignments

1. Analyse the role of technological advancements, particularly in communication and transportation, in facilitating the process of globalization.
2. Evaluate the benefits and drawbacks of globalization from the perspective of developed and developing countries.
3. Examine the impact of globalization on India, including its effects on agriculture, industry, and services.
4. "The emergence of globalisation is a consequence of the efforts of Western liberal capitalist countries to bring the whole world under one market-oriented economic order." Explain.
5. "Globalization is a market without walls." Prepare a short project report on this statement.
6. Discuss the three types of globalisation - economic, political, and cultural - with suitable examples.

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UNIT

Globalisation and Changing State System

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand the traditional state system and the concept of sovereignty
- ◆ examine whether globalisation has altered the traditional role of the state
- ◆ analyse the social, political, economic, cultural, and technological implications of globalisation for the state
- ◆ examine the position of third-world countries in the global era

Prerequisite

Kerala's trade in spices and gold with Rome and Arabia dates back centuries — long before the modern “nation-state” existed. Yet today, when the WTO in Geneva sets a trade rule or the RBI in Mumbai adjusts a policy, it directly shapes what a trader in Kochi can import, export, or price. That shift — from a local ruler holding complete authority over trade, to that authority being shared with distant international institutions — is exactly what this unit means by the changing relationship between globalisation and state sovereignty.

Keywords

Cultural Homogenization, International Monetary Fund, Multinational Corporation, Non-Governmental Organizations, Sovereignty, Westphalian State System, World Bank, World Trade Organization

Discussion

In recent years, the impact of globalization on the state has become an essential topic of analysis for political scholars and practitioners alike. The unprecedented interconnectedness of countries, trade, and communication has changed the landscape in which states operate. The globalized era has affected the welfare state, financial systems, education, politics, and economic development. With the advent of technology, the state's role in these sectors has changed significantly, requiring adaptation and strategic planning. Have you ever wondered how governments manage to discover strategies for thriving in a globalized world?

6.2.1 Changing State System

Globalization has changed the traditional role of the state to some extent. The nation-state system in international politics started taking shape in 1648 when the Treaty of Westphalia was signed. Before that, states existed and interacted with each other. However, the Peace of Westphalia paved the way for the emergence of the nation-state system. It recognized that the Roman Empire no longer commanded the allegiance of the state. It also recognized that the Pope had no right to interfere in state affairs in the name of his highest spiritual authority. Thus, the state emerged supreme in its territory and over its people. The concept of state sovereignty gained full recognition, meaning each state had the right to utilize its people's strength and resources without outside restraints.

The role of the state, as envisaged above, has undergone development and changes due to globalization. The contemporary nation-state system has altered the role of nation-states politically, socially, economically, culturally, and technologically. A brief discussion of the subject is warranted

here for a clear understanding.

Globalization has changed the state's role politically due to inter-state relationships and interdependence. The role of the nation-state in a global era is largely regulatory. While the domestic role of the state remains largely unchanged, previously isolated states are now forced to engage with one another to set international common policies. As the world becomes interdependent, the fate of one state is linked to the fate of another. States were created to be sovereign, but due to globalization, the role of the state has changed, as most states now heavily depend on others. For instance, since the Second World War, Britain and other Western states have become structurally dependent, militarily and financially, on the USA. Furthermore, globalization has shifted power to regulate certain activities from the government to international institutions. International organizations like the WTO frame rules and regulations for all countries. As a result of globalization, the market now determines the social and economic priorities of the state. This situation has reduced the state's capacity to perform welfare functions and given way to the concept of a minimalist state that performs functions related to law and order and security. Thus, the state's role has changed from being an authoritarian figure to an independent figure.

Socially, globalization has a problematic effect. The role of the state has become a protector rather than a controller. Policymakers must consider global issues when addressing policy problems in a national setting.

On a cultural level, the world has shifted from national cultures to mixed cultures, resulting in a homogenized global culture rather than nationalism. This phenomenon

could create an imbalance of power among nations of different economic strengths.

According to Ramesh Karky, economic globalization is a historical process resulting from human innovation and technological progress. It refers to increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The internationalization of financial markets, technology, manufacturing processes, and services imposes new limitations on the freedom of actions of nation-states. Additionally, institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund impose new constraints and imperatives. Furthermore, international institutions like the WTO play a dominant role in influencing countries to adopt certain market initiatives.

Currency plays a crucial role in the trade of goods and services. It acts as an instrument of exchange that facilitates trade. In international business, the role of currency is particularly important concerning currency exchange and exchange rates. The existence of a single currency helps encourage more trade across borders, thus boosting economies. One such example is the Euro, used by all states in the European Union. The prevalence of a single global currency also helps strengthen the value of that particular currency. However, such uniform currency would create problems for states in regulating and controlling their currencies. States no longer control currency because of intangible assets, importation, online electronic banking, and shared currency.

Along with the problem of currency is the issue of the erosion of national citizenship. National citizenship is based

on the assumption that an individual should be a citizen of one and only one country and that the state has exclusive claims to that person's loyalty. For many states, there is no sharp distinction between citizens and non-citizens. Permanent residents, guest workers, refugees, and undocumented immigrants are entitled to a set of rights even if they cannot vote. The ease of travel and the desire of many countries to attract capital or skilled workers have made citizenship more flexible.

6.2.2.3 Treaties

Treaties are one of the sources of international obligations. It is a basic norm of law that one cannot derive rights and liabilities from a treaty to which they are not a party. However, contemporary international law envisages that rights and liabilities are created for states even though they are not parties to the treaties. Certain treaties create objective legal situations like neutralization, demilitarization, internationalization of human rights, and conventions codifying existing norms of customary international law.

6.2.2.4 International Organizations

International organizations have a tremendous impact on the sovereignty of states. This can be appreciated from four perspectives. The activities of international organizations can have quasi-legislative, administrative, supervisory, as well as jurisdictional effects. This hinders the freedom of member states to act as they please.

6.2.2.5 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Transnational organizations (NGOs) have made significant influence over state activities. Throughout the 19th century, there were transnational movements to abolish slavery, promote women's rights, and improve conditions for workers. The

number of such organizations has grown tremendously. The availability of inexpensive and fast communication technology has made it easier for such groups to organize and impact public policy and international law. Such groups prompt questions about sovereignty because they appear to threaten the integrity of domestic decision-making.

Moreover, member states of organizations like the World Trade Organization, which aims to promote trade among member states freely and smoothly, must relax trade barriers and create a trade and investment-friendly environment. This results in restructuring the government's economic policies, leading to the erosion or diminishing of economic sovereignty over activities that states previously enjoyed before the advent of these international organizations.

6.2.2.6 Human Rights

Human rights have significantly impacted sovereignty. Due to the internationalization of human rights, a state is no longer free to treat its nationals and aliens as it pleases. It must conform to international standards laid down in various human rights treaties, most of which are now regarded as customary laws. This means that human rights are applicable in every society and association of human beings.

The universality of human rights was adopted by the Vienna World Conference in 1973. It took the proposition that all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent, and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner on the same footing, irrespective of national and regional peculiarities and various historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds. It is the duty of the state to promote and protect all human rights. A state must meet international standards or be held responsible for breaches of international human rights law.

6.2.2.7 Intellectual Property

The protection of intellectual property rights has also affected the sovereignty of states. Intellectual property rights, their use, and production are protected and regulated by international instruments like WIPO (the World Intellectual Property Organization), the Berne Convention, and TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights). These instruments lay down certain standards which a state must maintain to protect and regulate the use of intellectual property rights. These international instruments have an indirect effect on the sovereignty of states to regulate intellectual property rights. In this context, states have to make their domestic laws in consonance with these international instruments.

6.2.2.8 Media

Media is a major factor worldwide. Newspapers and television channels give the impression of the world being one state. Media raises awareness of events elsewhere in the world because states are no longer isolated. An example of globalizing media worldwide is the BBC. Another aspect is that globalization has led to the revolution of information technology. With the advent of the internet and smartphones, there has been a growth in communication. People can be easily contacted across the world, creating stronger relationships between states. Similar to the media, the internet makes information available to everyone, so the state does not need to transfer information to the people. The state can no longer control all in-state language and education due to global mass media. As a result, the state is not completely relied on for educating its citizens.

Thus, globalization has changed the role of the state in many ways: politically through the interdependence of states, socially through the problems and threats of terrorism and other deadly diseases, technologically through the media and internet, and economically

through the shift from national to global economics. The state has moved from being a controlling entity to a protecting one and from an authoritative to a dependent figure. It seems that globalization has lowered the importance of the state. This results in an erosion of state capacity. All over the world, the old welfare state is now giving way to a more minimalist state that performs certain core functions such as maintaining law and order and ensuring the security of its citizens. However, it withdraws from many of its earlier functions directed at economic and social well-being. In place of the welfare state, the market becomes the prime determinant of economic and social priorities. The entry and increased role of MNCs worldwide lead to a reduction in the government's capacity to make decisions on its own. It diminishes nationalism. In a sense, it is the antithesis of nationalism as it suggests that there are no boundaries, just one globe. The importance of nationalism diminishes as we live in a world in which national borders are increasingly irrelevant.

However, the above views can be contested. It seems that the state continues to remain the main actor in international politics, guarding its own national interests. The state still has the legitimate right to use coercive force and make laws and regulations. Besides, the state continues to perform the function of maintaining law and order. Above all, technological advancement has enabled the state to collect and disseminate information. States continue to shape the transnational interactions of non-state actors. The state still moulds the activities of non-state actors more than its behaviour is moulded by them. Thus, it may be stated that states are not becoming weak. The sovereignty of the state is not withering away. This gives the message that the role of states has become multi-dimensional. They have to give effect to the implications of international standards and regulations while making and implementing national policies and programmes.



Recap

- ◆ The modern nation-state system originated with the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which established state sovereignty over territory and people.
- ◆ Globalization has changed the role of the state politically, socially, economically, culturally, and technologically.
- ◆ Many problems — terrorism, environmental issues, drugs, epidemics, and human rights — are no longer purely national concerns but require global attention.
- ◆ Globalization has eroded the state's capacity to act independently, due to the influence of international organisations and multinational companies.
- ◆ The state's capacity to perform welfare functions has reduced, giving rise to the idea of a "minimalist state" focused on law, order, and security.
- ◆ The market has become the prime determinant of economic and social priorities, replacing many functions of the welfare state.
- ◆ There has been an erosion of state authority, with private players increasingly influencing decision-making.
- ◆ Liberalization has encouraged the free flow of goods and services, leading to the abolition of the license-raj in India and a reduced regulatory role for the state.
- ◆ Currency, citizenship, treaties, and intellectual property have all become areas where state sovereignty is shared with international standards and institutions.
- ◆ Human rights have been internationalised since the 1993 Vienna World Conference, meaning states must meet international standards or be held accountable.
- ◆ Counter-view: the state continues to be the main actor in international politics, retaining the legitimate right to use coercive force and maintain law and order.
- ◆ It may be concluded that state sovereignty is not withering away but has become multi-dimensional, requiring states to reconcile national policy with international standards.

Objective Questions

1. What is the amalgamation and rapid unification between countries identified as?
2. Globalization has improved the living standards of which group?
3. Which Indian industry was notably hit by globalisation?
4. Which organisation emphasizes the liberalisation of foreign investment and trade?
5. A tax on imports is an example of what?
6. What is the main reason MNCs invest and set up operations in other countries?
7. Which institution supports investment and foreign trade globally, including in India?
8. In which year did the Government of India remove major barriers to foreign investment?
9. In which year was the Treaty of Westphalia signed, establishing the modern state system?
10. What is the term for a state's exclusive authority over its territory and people?
11. Name one area where international standards limit state sovereignty.
12. What kind of state has emerged as governments withdraw from welfare functions?

Answers

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Globalisation | 7. The World Trade Organization |
| 2. People living in developing Countries | 8. 1991 |
| 3. The toy-making industry | 9. 1648 |
| 4. The World Trade Organization (WTO) | 10. Sovereignty |
| 5. A trade barrier | 11. Human rights (or intellectual property, or trade) |
| 6. To increase their assets and earn profits | 12. A minimalist state |

Self-Assessment Questions

1. In which year was the Treaty of Westphalia signed?
2. What does the term "sovereignty" mean?
3. Name one way globalisation has changed the political role of the state.
4. What is meant by cultural homogenization?
5. Name one international organisation that limits state authority in trade matters.
6. What is a "minimalist state"?
7. Name one area of state activity affected by international human rights standards.
8. Why has national citizenship become more flexible in the age of globalisation?
9. Name one non-state actor that influences government policy today.
10. Is state sovereignty disappearing or merely changing? Give a one-line answer.

Assignments

1. How does globalisation affect state capacity?
2. How have multinational companies affected the role of the state?
3. Explain the economic consequences of globalisation for the nation-state.
4. "Globalization has shifted power from nation-states to global consumers." Justify the statement.
5. "Globalization favours westernisation." Discuss.
6. Examine whether state sovereignty is truly "withering away" in the era of globalisation, or merely changing in form.

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UNIT

National Autonomy Vs Global Commitments

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand how globalisation affects national autonomy
- ◆ identify the areas that require global effort and global cooperation
- ◆ examine the extent to which globalisation has altered the national autonomy of nation-states
- ◆ evaluate the balance between national policy-making and global commitments in areas like health, security, and the environment

Prerequisite

When a cyclone warning is issued for Kerala's Arabian Sea coast, the state's disaster management response doesn't operate in isolation — it draws on global meteorological data and international early-warning systems. Similarly, during the COVID-19 pandemic, Kerala's own health department had to align its testing protocols, case reporting, and vaccine rollout with international standards set by the WHO. Even decisions that feel entirely local and "national" are, in practice, shaped by commitments made at the global level — which is precisely the tension this unit examines.

Keywords

Drugs, Epidemics, Global Interdependence, Human Rights, National Autonomy, Sovereignty, Terrorism, Transnational Problems

Discussion

6.3.1 National Autonomy

The concept of national autonomy has undergone changes in the contemporary world with the advent of globalization. In the globalized era, multinational institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, and International Monetary Fund promote universal standards, which in turn alter the national autonomy of states. As a result, the nation-state is often seen as a less significant partner in policymaking and lacks the power or mandate to control or have a democratic voice under the globalization paradigm.

6.3.2 Global Interdependence

The world is at a crucial turning point in history. Global interdependence increasingly affects all aspects of human activities, particularly state actions. Developing countries are especially influenced by global events, leading to a decline in the power of national governments to direct their economies and determine their political structures due to financial and technical assistance. Today, national policies are interlocked with global issues, and the boundaries of political systems are subject to external pressures and influences. The international environment plays a significant role in shaping national policies. Mass media and international conferences facilitate policy diffusion. Harrop states that the “international environment forms much of the context of national policymaking.... International organizations such as the European Community also form an increasingly important part of the context of national policymaking. The policy agenda is also becoming international.”

6.3.3 Influence of Multinational Corporations and International Organizations

The capacity of national policymakers to frame their own agenda is reduced due to the influence of multinational corporations and international organizations. National issues such as social welfare, the environment, drugs, and trade, once part of the national policy agenda, have become global issues. The national policy agendas of developing countries are now exposed to developed countries. With globalization, there is greater scope for interaction between nation-states. A nation-state now exercises less control over its policy agenda than before the advent of globalization. From a national perspective, this means that while the policy agenda may be global, policymaking and implementation remain national. Global politics plays an increasingly important role in determining national policy, especially for developing nations. Global issues interact with national issues, which in turn interact with local issues. This is the trend of political globalization.

6.3.4 Transnational Problems

Many of today’s problems—economic crises, environmental pollution, organized crime, poverty, terrorism, drug abuse, epidemics, and human rights issues—are increasingly transnational in nature. These problems cannot be addressed solely at the national level or through state-to-state negotiations. Globalization thus requires a complex decision-making process at the global level, paving the way for a growing multi-layered system of governance.



6.3.4.1 Terrorism

Terrorism is a global problem spreading like a cancer. In India, terrorist organizations such as the People's War Group in Andhra Pradesh, the Maoists in Bihar, and others like Lashkar-e-Toiba and Hizbul Mujahideen are active. The attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in the United States on September 11, 2001, and the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, highlighted that terrorism is a vital challenge to the world community. These incidents reinforced the idea that "no single country can tackle today's complex and dangerous problems on its own." In this context, O.P. Sabharwal observed that our main enemy in the 21st century is terrorism, bringing the world to the brink of destruction. Global cooperation is now needed to combat global terrorism. The USA, UK, and European Union issued strong warnings to Pakistan after the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament. Similarly, the SAARC Standing Committee resolved to implement U.N. Security Council anti-terrorist resolution 1373 in its entirety. This demonstrates that to promote national interest, states must make compromises and adjustments with other nations, thereby restricting their absolute autonomy.

6.3.4.2 Epidemics

Expanding epidemics such as AIDS, H1N1, and the coronavirus pose serious concerns and have become global issues, attracting attention worldwide. AIDS has already killed 20 million people, with about 35 million living with the disease today, and 15,000 new infections occurring daily. Increased travel has the potential to spread other epidemics like H1N1 and the coronavirus. This global problem affects all states, resulting in countless deaths. A unified global effort is required to combat such issues.

6.3.4.3 Drugs

The production, transportation, sale, and use of drugs have become global concerns. Once regarded as a social problem requiring national policy, drug use has posed a serious menace to the international community since the 1980s, requiring global policy, cooperation, and action. International concerns have focused on the supply and transportation of drugs from producer nations like Thailand, Pakistan, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia.

6.3.4.4 Human Rights

Human rights issues necessitate the subjugation of political sovereignty to international institutions and leading players in international politics. Due to the internationalization of human rights, states are no longer free to treat their nationals and aliens as they please. They must conform to international standards laid down in various treaties like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which are based on customary laws. This is also true for child labour abuses and corruption.

6.3.4.5 Environment

Environmental issues such as air and water pollution, deforestation, and soil erosion have become critical problems with serious consequences for health, food production, productivity, and the ability of the earth to support human life. Protection and improvement of environmental quality have been global issues since the 1980s, directly affecting policy issues such as international security, North-South relations, and world trade. Growing environmental stress pressures national policymakers to change or modify their policies. The World Commission on Environment and Development observed that the traditional form of national autonomy is increasingly challenged by ecological

ability of national governments to make policies independently of these changes. Dickens observes that the well-being of a nation depends not merely on events in their own backyards but on what happens on a much larger geographical scale. Therefore, we need a global perspective.

Issues such as social welfare, trade, industry, agriculture, health, education, nuclear war, and famine are items on the national policy agenda that are tied to global issues. This has been accompanied by growing regionalism and internationalization. The global environment forms much of the context of national policymaking. Unilateral instruments cannot solve the growing problems that confront humanity. No state alone can face the challenges posed by these problems.

Globalization has led to the integration of domestic economies with the global economy. States have relaxed trade barriers and created special economic zones and industrial corridors, leading to the entry of global corporations into national economies. This has resulted in limited control and changes in state policies towards economic regulation. Other serious problems, such as the growth of terrorism, the spread of epidemics, the menace of drugs, environmental issues, and human rights concerns, have led to a reduction in national authority.

Changes have occurred in industry as a consequence of globalization. The major sources of the global shift are transnational corporations, which organize production on a worldwide scale. They influence national government policies, as well as the technology of transport, communication, and production. This has largely weakened the

- ◆ Globalization has altered the national autonomy of nation-states, eroding external sovereignty in particular.
- ◆ Many contemporary problems — economic crises, environmental issues, drug abuse, epidemics, and human rights violations — are transnational and cannot be solved unilaterally.



- ◆ Multinational institutions such as the UN, WTO, and IMF promote universal standards that reduce a nation-state's control over its own policy agenda.
- ◆ Terrorism has become a global problem; the 9/11 attacks and the 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament demonstrated that no single country can tackle it alone.
- ◆ Epidemics such as AIDS, H1N1, and COVID-19 require coordinated global responses rather than isolated national action.
- ◆ The international drug trade has required global cooperation since the 1980s, given its cross-border production, transport, and sale.
- ◆ Human rights issues subordinate a state's political sovereignty to international standards and treaties, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- ◆ Environmental problems like pollution and deforestation have been treated as global concerns since the 1980s, notably through the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio.
- ◆ Poverty and population growth in developing countries are addressed through global strategies, such as the World Bank's poverty-reduction approach.
- ◆ Transnational corporations organize production on a worldwide scale, limiting the ability of national governments to frame independent economic policy.
- ◆ States have relaxed trade barriers and created special economic zones, integrating domestic economies with the global economy.
- ◆ The role of the state has shifted from that of an autonomous controller to a protector operating within a web of global commitments.

Objective Questions

1. What is the full form of SEZ?
2. Where was the first plant of Ford Motors set up in India?
3. In which year did the Government of India relax foreign investment and trade restrictions?
4. Which Indian industry was affected by foreign domination after globalisation?

5. Why do MNCs set up new factories and offices across various nations?
6. Which sector experienced the least benefit after globalisation?
7. Foreign direct investment caused by globalisation in India is mainly associated with whom?
8. Globalization has mainly improved the growth of which group of countries?
9. Globalization is meant to ensure economic and social benefits to which groups?
10. Which international organisation helped multinational companies enter the global market?
11. Name any two transnational problems that require global cooperation.
12. In which year was the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro?

Answers

1. Special Economic Zone
2. Chennai
3. 1991
4. Dairy products
5. Because production costs are low there and they can earn more profit
6. The agricultural sector MNCs
7. Multinational corporations
8. Developed countries
9. Labourers, consumers, and producers
10. The World Trade Organization (WTO)
11. Terrorism and epidemics
12. 1992

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is national autonomy?
2. Name one transnational problem that requires global cooperation.
3. In which year did the 9/11 terrorist attacks take place?



4. Name one epidemic mentioned as a global health concern.
5. Since which decade has the international drug trade required global cooperation?
6. Name the international declaration that sets global human rights standards.
7. Where and in which year was the UN Conference on Environment and Development held?
8. What is a Special Economic Zone (SEZ)?
9. Name one way multinational corporations affect national policy-making.
10. Has globalisation increased or reduced a state's external sovereignty?

Assignments

1. How does globalisation affect the national autonomy of a state?
2. "Globalization has shifted power from nation-states to international agencies." Justify the statement.
3. What is the impact of globalisation on a state's sovereignty?
4. "Multinational companies affect the decisions taken by governments because their interests depend on government policies." Discuss.
5. Examine terrorism, epidemics, and environmental degradation as examples of transnational problems requiring global cooperation.
6. To what extent should national governments retain autonomy over health and economic policy in an interdependent world?

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UNIT

Rising Inequality in the Era of Globalisation

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- ◆ understand whether globalisation has contributed to inequality in general
- ◆ identify the effects of globalisation in contributing to inequalities in developing nations
- ◆ discuss how the globalisation process has affected various social groups, including women
- ◆ explain the process of growing income and wage inequality in the globalised era

Prerequisite

Consider two Kerala families living through the same globalised economy: in one, a son works as a software engineer in Bengaluru or the Gulf, sending home remittances that fund a new house and his siblings' education. In the other, parents continue in traditional fishing or coir work, competing against cheap machine-made imports, with wages that have barely moved in years. Both families are equally “inside” globalisation, yet one has clearly gained far more than the other. That gap is exactly what this unit means by rising inequality in the era of globalisation: the same process that creates real winners can just as easily leave others behind.

Keywords

Developed Countries, Gender Pay Gap, Income Inequality, Oxfam International, Structural Adjustment, Third World Countries, Wage Inequality, Washington Consensus

Discussion

6.4.1 Inequality and Globalization

Globalization is increasingly associated with inequality. Critics argue that globalization exacerbates inequality both within and between countries. While globalization may enhance the incomes of individuals globally, some studies suggest clear winners and losers, while others refute these claims. They argue that globalization promotes economic integration, poverty alleviation, and reduces inequality. Which perspective holds true?

Globalization and technological advancements offer substantial opportunities for the world economy, aiding in global poverty reduction. However, a byproduct is an economy increasingly divided between winners—typically Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and industrially advanced states—and losers, particularly in the developing world where wages are low, regulations weak, and production oriented toward the global market rather than domestic needs.

One way globalization exacerbates inequality is through increased specialization and trade. While trade can stimulate economic growth and raise per capita income, it may also contribute to relative poverty. For instance, importing cheaper steel may conflict with domestic supply, leading to job losses and declining real living standards due to higher structural unemployment.

Globalization may also heighten inequality by boosting profits for multinational corporations like Apple, Google, and Facebook. It also exacerbates inequality by increasing demand for high-skilled labor, thereby depressing earnings for lower-skilled workers.

6.4.2 Inequalities in Developing Countries

Global inequalities among countries are profound and widening. For example, the United States, Europe, and Japan are on average 100 times richer than Ethiopia, Haiti, and Nepal. Although rapid growth in countries like India and China initially reduced global inequality, studies indicate that globalization largely amplifies existing inequalities. Forty years ago, the gap between the richest fifth and poorest fifth of the world's population was 30 to 1. By 1990, it had widened to 60 to 1, and by 2000, to 74 to 1. Currently, the wealthiest fifth of the world's population consumes 86% of global production, while the bottom fifth consumes only 11%.

In the 1990s, developing countries embraced market liberalization reforms by reducing tariff barriers, privatizing economies, and opening capital markets under the Washington Consensus with support from the World Bank and IMF. However, this led to a debt crisis, exacerbating poverty in the Global South. IMF structural adjustment loans, conditioned on economic reforms, aimed to address the debt crisis and restructure economies, but often at the expense of developing countries' autonomy.

These structural adjustment policies often resulted in negative growth, increased external debt, reduced exports, and intensified poverty. The reforms under the Washington Consensus, implemented across Latin America and other Global South regions, failed to yield expected results, benefiting instead companies from wealthy countries due to reduced tariffs. Clearly, there is a pressing need for more inclusive policies



that allow developing countries to harness the benefits of globalization actively and equitably.

6.4.3 Inequalities in India

Inequality has been alarmingly high and has destabilized social and political order worldwide even before the pandemic struck. Inequality is widening across the world, and India is no exception. According to a recent Oxford report, inequality in India has risen to levels last seen during colonial times. The additional wealth acquired by India's 100 billionaires since March, when the lockdown was imposed, is enough to give each of the 138 million poorest individuals ₹94,045. Studies also show that unskilled workers in India would take three years to earn what the richest person earned in one second last year.

6.4.4 Income Inequalities

Studies indicate that income inequality among countries far exceeds inequalities within countries. Average incomes in the richest countries are significantly higher than those in the poorest countries, with estimates suggesting incomes are 40-50 times greater in these countries. Growing disparities are evident within developed nations, between developed and developing nations, among developing nations themselves, and among the poor worldwide.

By examining the impact of globalization, studies reveal income inequalities within advanced countries such as the USA, Australia, Denmark, Japan, the UK, and the Netherlands. These inequalities may be attributed to investment outflows, North-South trade imbalances, and net capital flows over the years.

As mentioned earlier, globalization contributes to income disparities between developed and developing nations. Terms of trade often favor developed countries

due to their bargaining power. Emmanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin have observed that globalization favors the West and disadvantages developing countries, enriching the rich and impoverishing the poor.

Growing disparities can also be observed between the developing and least developed countries themselves, as stronger nations attract the bulk of foreign investments. Many smaller states argue that globalization leads to dominance by wealthy and powerful states over weaker ones.

Studies also suggest that globalization contributes to income disparities between more educated and less educated members of society, leading to declining wages for unskilled workers. These widening disparities in less developed states push them into dire poverty, with many living on less than a dollar a day. The gap between the rich and poor appears to be widening. For instance, the World Inequality Report 2022 states that the richest 10% of the global population currently claims 52% of global income, while another report by Hardoon and Suckling observed that the poorest 50% of the global population shares just 8.5% of global income. Clearly, the benefits of economic changes have not been evenly distributed, with globalization playing a significant role in this unequal distribution. The collapse of the Soviet Union and Japan's period of economic stagnation may have also contributed to the low-income growth among the world's poorest.

However, inequalities are not solely measured by income. Other factors include gender, age, origin, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, class, and religion. Together, these factors contribute to inequalities within and between countries.

6.4.5 Wage Inequalities

There is evidence of wide disparities in wages. One study finds that the median wage

for jobs in advanced countries is two and a half times higher than in the most advanced developing countries, and five times higher than in low-income countries. For instance, a Chinese manufacturing worker earns about one-twentieth of what a U.S. manufacturing worker earns.

The situation is more complex in the developing world where economies are undergoing rapid change. Indeed, the working conditions for many in the supply chain are deplorable, with low pay and hazardous working conditions. Differences in domestic factors such as business climate, governance, migration, foreign trade, foreign investment, and the pace of technological change may also directly affect wage disparities. Studies also suggest that globalization contributes to wage inequalities between more educated and less educated members of society. This means that unskilled workers may be affected by declining wages, which are under constant pressure from globalization.

The gap, however, has narrowed in part due to globalization from 1999 to 2009 (the years of the worst recession). Average real wages rose by about 0.5 percent in Africa and Latin America, and nearly 8 percent in developing Asia. However, since 2009, the picture has changed significantly, contributing to wage inequalities as before.

Globalization has impacted various segments of society, including women. The various opportunities for women workers created by globalization include job creation in the formal sector, international recognition of women workers' issues, and the strengthening of women's economic independence. These opportunities have undoubtedly raised the self-confidence of women workers. However, globalization has also posed significant challenges for women workers, such as the gender pay gap, job losses, unsafe working conditions, male

migration to urban areas, sexual exploitation, trafficking, and health hazards. Not only do they receive lower pay than male employees, but they also lack rights and better working conditions. Reports from Oxfam show that without jobs in sweatshops, women would earn much less. The War on Want report published in July 2011 revealed that sweatshop workers' wages were insufficient to provide basic human necessities for their families. Therefore, sweatshops today not only contribute to inequality but also perpetuate poverty. Globalization and the fast-fashion industry have created a situation where these women face immense pressure to support their children. Lack of legal rights, sexual harassment in the workplace, and hazardous working conditions are critical concerns for women workers.

However, without public policy interventions, globalization cannot end gender inequality. Despite significant increases in agency and access to economic opportunities for many women in many countries, a large gender gap remains in some areas. Public action is needed to close this gender gap. Only then can countries harness globalization as a force for greater gender equality.

Globalization has had little impact on eliminating inequalities or promoting social progress. The gap between winners and losers from globalization has generally widened, while state resources to uplift the less privileged have diminished. The post-globalization period has seen the growth of regional imbalances and disparities between the North and South. Furthermore, developing and underdeveloped nations have the largest populations below the poverty line, and inequalities among social groups have increased based on each state's level of development. Growth appears to have favored urban areas, the organized sector, wealthier states, and property owners over rural areas, the unorganized sector, poorer



states, and wage earners. Indigenous peoples, migrant refugees, ethnic minorities, and others continue to suffer from discrimination, marginalization, and lack of legal rights. This economic polarization has been a period of growth accompanied by inequality. The commitment to balanced economic

growth and development has waned with the advent of new economic policies. In the era of globalization, liberalization, and privatization, each state, whether developed or underdeveloped, is left to pursue its own interests.

Recap

- ◆ Globalization has contributed to inequality visible within rich countries, between developed and developing nations, within developing nations, and among the world's poor.
- ◆ Globalization and technology have divided the world into winners (MNCs, industrialised states, property owners) and losers (low-wage workers in the developing world).
- ◆ Increased specialisation, the profit motive of multinational companies, and rising demand for high-skilled labour are key mechanisms through which globalisation increases inequality.
- ◆ The gap between the world's richest and poorest fifth widened from 30:1 (forty years ago) to 74:1 by the year 2000.
- ◆ Developing countries adopted market liberalisation reforms under the Washington Consensus in the 1990s, which often led to debt crises and worsened poverty in the Global South.
- ◆ India has seen inequality rise to levels last recorded during colonial times, with billionaire wealth growing sharply even as the poorest struggle.
- ◆ Income inequality between countries generally exceeds inequality within countries, with incomes in rich nations 40–50 times higher than in the poorest nations.
- ◆ The richest 10% of the global population claims over half of global income, while the poorest 50% shares less than a tenth.
- ◆ Wage inequality is stark: median wages in advanced countries are two-and-a-half times higher than in advanced developing countries, and five times higher than in low-income countries.
- ◆ Globalization has created both opportunities (job creation, economic independence) and challenges (gender pay gaps, unsafe conditions, exploitation) for women workers.

- ◆ Growth under globalisation has tended to favour urban areas, the organised sector, and property owners over rural areas, the unorganised sector, and wage earners.
- ◆ Public policy intervention, rather than globalisation alone, is considered necessary to close gender and income gaps and make growth more inclusive.

Objective Questions

1. What term describes a tax imposed on imported goods that restricts foreign trade?
2. What does the WTO primarily help multinational corporations to secure?
3. In which year did the IMF begin its operations in India?
4. What have Indian markets mainly become, as a result of globalisation?
5. Which organisation deals with trade rules among nations?
6. Which agreement was replaced by the WTO in 1995?
7. In which year was the WTO formed?
8. Which zones allow companies to avoid paying taxes for a significant period?
9. Who introduced the New Economic Policy in India in 1991?
10. Which sector has expanded significantly due to globalisation-driven growth in services?
11. Name the global economic reform package associated with the debt crisis of the 1990s.
12. According to the World Inequality Report 2022, what share of global income does the richest 10% claim?

Answers

1. Import tax (tariff)
2. Access to trade and investment opportunities
3. March 1947
4. A buyers' market



- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. The World Trade Organization (WTO) | 9. Dr. Manmohan Singh |
| 6. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) | 10. Call centres and the IT-enabled services sector |
| 7. 1995 | 11. The Washington Consensus |
| 8. Special Economic Zones (SEZs) | 12. 52% |

Assignments

1. Briefly discuss the causes and effects of rising inequalities in the era of globalisation.
2. To what extent is global poverty harmfully affected by the global economy? Write a note on inequalities in India in the global context.
3. How has globalisation proved to be a major challenge for women workers?
4. Discuss how globalisation has contributed to wage and income inequalities.
5. Examine the impact of the Washington Consensus and structural adjustment policies on developing countries.
6. "Growth under globalisation has favoured some groups more than others." Discuss with examples.

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MODEL QUESTION PAPER
SET - 01

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

QP CODE:

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Reg. No :

Name :

FIFTH SEMESTER BA HISTORY(HONOURS) EXAMINATION
MINOR COURSE- SGB24PS202MI -
UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEM
(CBCS - UG)
2024-25 - Admission Onwards

Time: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 70

Section A

(Answer any 8, each carry 1 mark)

(8×1= 8)

1. Who is regarded as the “Father of Political Science”?
2. Which element is considered indispensable for the existence of a State?
3. Who propounded the Monistic Theory of Sovereignty?
4. Which concept refers to the sphere of voluntary organizations existing between the State and the individual?
5. Which political thinker is closely associated with the theory of natural rights?
6. Who defined liberty as the absence of restraints?
7. Which principle emphasizes equal opportunities rather than identical treatment?
8. Which Greek philosopher described justice as each person performing the function best suited to him or her?
9. Who introduced the concept of the political system as a framework for analysing political life?
10. Which concept explains the values, beliefs, and orientations of citizens towards the political system?



Section B

(Answer any 6 each carry 2 marks)

(6×2=12)

11. Define Political Science.
12. What are the essential elements of a State?
13. What is sovereignty?
14. What is meant by civil society?
15. Define rights.
16. Distinguish between positive liberty and negative liberty.
17. What is equality of opportunity?
18. Define justice.

Section C

(Answer any 6 each carry 5 marks)

(6 x 5 = 30)

19. Explain the nature, scope, and significance of Political Science.
20. Discuss the Monistic and Pluralistic theories of sovereignty
21. Explain the relationship between the State and civil society
22. Discuss the relationship between rights and duties in a democratic society.
23. Explain the major features of political culture.
24. Describe the role of religion as a political institution.
25. Explain the basic principles of Liberalism.
26. Discuss the importance of constitutionalism and the Rule of Law in democratic governance.

Section D

(Answer any 2 each carry 10 marks)

(2 x 10 = 20)

27. Critically examine the concepts of liberty, equality, and justice and explain their significance in a democratic political system.
28. Analyse the major political ideologies of Democracy, Liberalism, Marxism, and Gandhism, highlighting their relevance in contemporary politics.
29. Examine the principles of Good Governance and evaluate the role of decentralisation and participatory development in strengthening democracy.
30. Critically analyse the impact of globalization on national sovereignty, State autonomy, and socio-economic inequality.





**MODEL QUESTION PAPER
SET - 02**

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

QP CODE:
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Reg. No :
Name :

**FIFTH SEMESTER BA HISTORY(HONOURS) EXAMINATION
MINOR COURSE- SGB24PS202MI -
UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEM
(CBCS - UG)
2024-25 - Admission Onwards**

Time: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 70

Section A

(Answer any 8, each carry 1 mark)

(8 x 1 = 8)

1. Who defined the State as a community claiming the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory?
2. Which theory of sovereignty argues that sovereignty is shared among various associations within society?
3. Which thinker is closely associated with the concept of civil society as a sphere distinct from the State?
4. Which concept refers to the legal and moral claims that individuals enjoy within a political community?
5. Which approach considers political communication as an essential component of the political system?
6. Which ideology advocates the establishment of a classless and stateless society?
7. Which institution is regarded as the foundation of democratic decentralisation in India under the 73rd Constitutional Amendment?
8. Which type of group seeks to influence public policy without directly contesting elections?
9. Which concept refers to the ability of a State to make decisions independently without external interference?
10. Which contemporary global process has widened economic disparities within and among nations?



Section B

(Answer any 6 each carry 2 marks)

(6 x 2 = 12)

11. Define the term State.
12. What is pluralism?
13. Distinguish between legal rights and moral rights.
14. What is political socialisation?
15. Define Marxism.
16. What is the Rule of Law?
17. What is national autonomy?
18. What is meant by global inequality?

Section C

(Answer any 6 each carry 5 marks)

(6 x 5 = 30)

19. Explain the significance of Political Science as a social science.
20. Differentiate between Monistic and Pluralistic theories of sovereignty.
21. Discuss the relationship between liberty and equality.
22. Explain the importance of political communication in a democratic political system.
23. Discuss the fundamental principles of Gandhism.
24. Explain the role of mass media in promoting good governance.
25. Discuss the changing role of the State in the era of globalisation.
26. Explain the conflict between national autonomy and global commitments.

Section D

(Answer any 2 each carry 10 marks)

(2x 10 = 20)

27. Critically examine the concepts of rights, liberty, equality, and justice as the foundations of a democratic political system.
28. Analyse the meaning, nature, and significance of political systems, with special reference to political culture, religion, economic institutions, and political communication.
29. Evaluate the significance of democracy, liberalism, Marxism, and Gandhism in understanding contemporary political systems.
30. Critically examine the concepts of good governance and globalisation, highlighting the importance of constitutionalism, decentralisation, non-state actors, and the challenges posed by rising global inequality.



സർവ്വകലാശാലാഗീതം

വിദ്യാൽ സ്വതന്ത്രരാകണം
വിശ്വപൗരരായി മാറണം
ഗ്രഹപ്രസാദമായ് വിളങ്ങണം
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Thalassery

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Dharmadam, Thalassery,
Kannur, Pin: 670106
Ph: 04902990494
email: rctdirector@sgou.ac.in

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Tripunithura, Ernakulam,
Kerala, Pin: 682301
Ph: 04842927436
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Kollam, Kerala Pin- 691601, email: info@sgou.ac.in, www.sgou.ac.in Ph: +91 474 2966841

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