

Fundamentals of Political Science

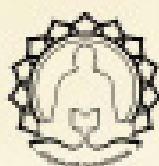
COURSE CODE: B23PS01 DC

Undergraduate Programme in Political Science

Discipline Core Course



SELF LEARNING MATERIAL



SREENARAYANAGURU
OPEN UNIVERSITY

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

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Fundamentals of Political Science

Course Code: B23PS01DC

Semester - I

Discipline Core Course
Postgraduate Programme in Economics
Self Learning Material
(With Model Question Paper Sets)



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BA Political Science



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Dear learner,

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The courses offered by the Sreenarayanaguru Open University aim to strike a quality balance, ensuring students are equipped for both personal growth and professional excellence. The University embraces the widely acclaimed "blended format," a practical framework that harmoniously integrates Self-Learning Materials, Classroom Counseling, and Virtual modes, fostering a dynamic and enriching experience for both learners and instructors.

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Rest assured, the university's student support services will be at your disposal throughout your academic journey, readily available to address any concerns or grievances you may encounter. We encourage you to reach out to us freely regarding any matter about your academic programme. It is our sincere wish that you achieve the utmost success.



Regards,
Dr. Jagathy Raj V. P.

01-09-2024

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BLOCK - 01

Introduction To Political Science

Unit 1

Political Science: Meaning, Nature and Scope

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of the unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Explore the origin and development of political science from ancient civilizations to modern times, including key milestones such as the Hammurabi Code and the contributions of Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle
- ▶ Comprehend the nature and scope of political science as a systematic study of politics, government, and power
- ▶ Analyse the essential concepts and theories in political science, such as the nature of the state, forms of government, and the relationship between individuals and the State
- ▶ Evaluate the significance of political institutions, associations, and international frameworks in shaping political systems and addressing national and global challenges
- ▶ Critically examine contemporary issues in political science, including the dynamics of power, political behavior, and the role of political ideologies and institutions in modern societies.

Prerequisites

Before delving into the fascinating realm of political science, imagine a journey through time, starting with the ancient code of Hammurabi around 1792 BC. This early legal framework laid the groundwork for governance, illustrating how societies structured themselves to maintain order and justice. Fast backward to ancient Greece, where philosophers like Plato and Aristotle pondered the nature of political life. Aristotle famously declared, “Man is by nature a political animal,” highlighting our intrinsic need for social organization. As you explore political science, you will uncover how these ancient insights evolved, influencing modern theories and practices. From understanding the etymology of “political science”—rooted in the Greek “polis” (city-state) and Latin “scire” (to know)—to studying the power dynamics and institutions that shape our world today, this journey will illuminate the profound ways in which political thought has developed. Engaging with the contributions of traditional and modern theorists, you will grasp how the study of political systems, behaviours and power continues to be vital in navigating contemporary challenges and ensuring social progress.

Keywords

Political Science, Hammurabi Code, Greek Philosophy, Plato, Aristotle, Social Science, State, Government, Political Behaviour, Political Institutions

Discussion

Political science is the systematic study of politics, government and power. The origin of political science can be traced from 1792 to 1750 BC through the ancient legal and administrative code of Hammurabi. This was known as the Hammurabi code. This code provided the legal and political framework for a stable government as justified by the existence of good rule in ancient times. However, the primary development of political science originated from the time of Plato (427-347 BC), a Greek philosopher who systematically analysed the political system of the ancient Greek city states that resulted in a political philosophy that goes beyond the Divine Right of the King.

The origin of political science comes from the terms political and science. Political is derived from the Greek word '*Polis*' which means city and science comes from the Latin term '*scire*.' Political Science is the part of Social Sciences. It deals with the analysis of political systems and the examination of political behaviour.

1.1.1 Nature of Political Science

Aristotle in his famous book *Politics*, writes: "Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state, is either above humanity or below it. He says that "He who is unable to live in society must be either a beast or God. There is no doubt about it that man is a social and political animal because he cannot live without society or state. By nature he desires to live in society and follows the rules and regulations of the state. If a person is left alone to live in a dense and terrible forest, he will certainly feel extremely fed up with it

and after some time he will earnestly desire to be in the company of his fellow beings. Man desires to live in society not only by nature but by compulsion also because without the help of society he is quite unable to meet his needs. By leading a lonely life he cannot make available to himself the countless commodities needed in everyday life. He can meet the needs of food, clothing and shelter with the help of others. Only a well-organized society can provide him with the facilities of daily life because human life is not safe and secure in a society that is not well-organised and is at conflict. Civilization and culture cannot make progress where human life is unsafe and insecure. The safety of man and the security of human life is possible only in a well-governed state. Hence, man is in urgent need of a well-governed state. Without it, anarchy will prevail in society and human progress will be constrained. Therefore, a well-governed state is a must for the progress of man.

There are many people in the world today who believe that man is not necessarily a political animal and he is also selfish, but man prefers to live in the state because it is more advantageous for him to live there than outside it where lawlessness prevails. The advantages of living in the state are obvious to every person. Therefore, the famous American writer Robert A. Dahl observes: "Nonetheless, though human beings must and do live in political systems and share the benefits of political life: they do not necessarily participate in political life; they are not necessarily interested in politics, nor do they always care what happens in politics: know much about political events or share in making decisions."

Robert A. Dahl further observes. “An individual is unlikely to get involved in politics if he places a low valuation on the rewards to be gained from political involvement relative to the rewards expected from other kinds of human activity. For many people political activity is a good deal gratifying than other outlets family, friends, recreation and the like. For many, political involvement yields far less affection, income, security, respect, excitement and other values than working at one’s job, watching television, reading, fishing, playing with the children, attending a football game. For many, the rewards of other activities are more immediate and concrete.” A man may take more or less participation, but it is certain that the destiny of man is linked with the state and government.

It has been stated earlier that Political Science is a scientific study of the state and the Government. We should keep in mind that there exists a number of political, social, economic, religious and cultural institutions in a society. State is also one of them. But it is a political institution of supreme importance. It maintains law and order in society, protects human life and enables human beings to make an all-round progress. No doubt the chief function of the state is to maintain peace in society but it is not all. Now-a-days it has become a welfare state and, therefore, it aims at promoting the welfare of the people. For example, these days the state provides its citizens with the facilities of higher education and better medical treatment. It gets the roads and bridges built for them. It chalks out the plans and programmes of agriculture and industry and controls the prices. There will hardly be any field of life where the state or the Government does not operate. Therefore, it is very necessary to study such an important institution. Before studying it in detail it will be better for us to cast a glance at the different definitions of Political Science, given by famous political thinkers.

1.1.2 Definitions

Conceptions regarding the nature and scope of political science have changed from time to time. Different scholars have given different definitions according to their orientations. Definitions of political science may be broadly divided into two categories - traditional definitions and modern definitions.

According to the traditionalists political science is the study of state and government. Some of such definitions are given below.

According to Prof: Garner political science begins and ends with the state, whereas to Prof: Gettel “Political Science is the historical investigation of what the state has been, what the state is, and what the state ought to be”. To Paul Janet “Political Science is that part of Social Science which treats the foundation of state and the principles of Government “.

From the above observations, it appears that government is one of the essential features of the state. Therefore, study of the state automatically includes the study of government. No state can exist without government. A full account of the state may include a description of the structure and functions of government, its various forms and types and a number of other problems connected with it. In this context the traditionalists define Political Science as the study of the phenomena of the state and government.

The modern approach condemned the traditional view point of political science. The approach was developed by American scholars like Charles Merriam, David Easton, Harold Lasswell, Gabriel Almond and others. The lasting feature of the modern approach is that the shift of focus from Institutions to structures and functions and processes. The approach considers politics as an activity and the Institutions as the framework. Thus,

the main thrust of the new view is towards the treatment of politics as an activity and process. Both as an activity and as a process, politics implies the possibility of the use of power. Some of the proponents of the new view observe political science as a conflict or struggle for power. In this context Harold Lasswell defined Political Science as the study of shaping and sharing of power. Robert A. Dahl says that political science deals with 'power, rule or authority.' Edward Banfield writes: "Politics is an activity by which an issue is agitated and settled." According to David Easton 'politics is an authoritative allocation of values.' He observes that allocation of values must be authoritative.

In the light of the above expressed views, it may be stated that political science is a social science concerned with the study and evaluation of political activities, political power, political process and institutions. It is concerned not only with political institutions but also with the political ideas.

1.1.3 Scope of political science

The scope of political science means the subject matter or content of political science. Various political thinkers are not in agreement about the exact scope of politics. The lack of precise definition and terminology have created confusion regarding the subject matter of political science. Despite the ambiguity and controversy in the field, various aspects included in the study of political science are as follows.

- a. study of state and Government
- b. study of association and institutions
- c. study of national and international problems
- d. study of the past, present, and future development of state
- e. study of political theories

- f. study of political parties, pressure groups and public opinion
- g. study of power and influence and
- h. study International Organisations and International Law.

1.1.3.1 Study of state and Government:

Political Science is the scientific study of the state and the Government. It deals with the nature and formation of the State and tries to understand various forms and functions of the Government. Just as the scholars differ with regard to the definition of Political Science, they differ in regard to its scope too.

1.1.3.2 Study of Association and Institutions:

The scope of Political Science also includes the study of associations and institutions

through which the state acts. In this connection Dr. Garner has very aptly observed: "In organized way the fundamental problems of Political Science include, first, an investigation of the origin and the nature of the State, second, an inquiry into nature, history and forms of political institutions and third, deduction there from, so far as possible, of laws of political growth and development." In other words, we study in Political Science the origin and the development of the State and many other political institutions and associations. There are many types of institutions in a country or in society and the State is the supreme institution of all. These institutions are useful to the nation and have their utility in society. This is why we study these institutions along with the State.

1.1.3.3 Study of National and International Problems

The term Political Science is intimately related to the English word "Politics" which itself has been derived from the Greek word "Polis." It stands for a city-state. In ancient

times Greece was divided into small city-states. But now the meaning of the word “Politics” is not considered to be so narrow. These days Political Science is not limited to the city-states only but it deals with the national and the international problems. Despite this it will not be wrong to say that the scope of Political Science includes the political study of man also, otherwise the study of Political Science will remain incomplete. Herman Heller has laid stress on this point in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. He writes: “It may be said that the character Political Science in all of its parts is determined by its basic pre-supposition regarding man.”

Explaining the scope of Political Science, Burgess has pointed out that the modern demands of land-extension, representative government and national unity have made Political Science not only the science of political independence but also of state sovereignty. According to Laski, “the study of Political Science concerns itself with the life of man in relation to organized states.”

1.1.3.4 Study of Past, Present, and Future Development of the State:

The scope of Political Science includes the study of the past, present and future developments of the State. Dealing with the scope of Political Science, Gettell writes: “In its historical aspects, Political Science deals with the origin of the state and the development of political theories in the past. In dealing with the present it attempts to describe and classify existing political institutions and ideas. Political Science also looks to the future, to the improving political organization and activities in the light of changing conditions and changing ethical standards.” It is thus a study of the State in the past, present and future; of political organization and political function; of political institutions and political

theories. In other words, Political Science attempts to explain the meaning and essential nature of the State and deals with the laws of its progress and development. It throws light on its origin, form, structure and its dealings with other States and international organizations. The study of Political Science also includes a historical survey of the origin of the State and its evolution. Its scope is not restricted to the study of the past and the present alone, but it directs the future course of the development of the State. It gives timely suggestions with a view to improving the political institution and modifying political activities to meet the new demands of the changing world.

1.1.3.5 Political Science is the Study of Political Theories:

Political scientists have concerned themselves with formulating political theories and political ideas. For example: Plato explained theory of ideal State and Theory of justice, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau explained theory of origin of the State. These theories enable us to organize their observations and offer a foundation on which future observations and analysis can be based.

A close and careful analysis of Political Science reveals to us that its scope embraces the study of both the State and the Government. But the existence of the State is not possible in the absence of Government. The State is imaginary and it is the Government that gives the State concrete shape. There can be no State without Government. Laski goes to extent of maintaining that the State in reality means the Government. Thus, it is quite clear that the agency which acts on behalf of the State is an integral part of the State. Therefore, the study of the State must include the study of the Government which forms an integrated part of the State. Political Science studies the Government, its form, structure and its

functions. The main subject of our study is to be the State round which the entire machinery of the Government revolves. Explaining the scope of Political Science, Professor R. N. Gilchrist writes: The scope of Political Science is determined by the inquiries that arise in connection with the State. These inquiries may broadly be classed under the State as it is, the State as it has been, the State as it ought to be. What the State is? - We study the present nature of the State. It throws light on the origin and the meaning of the State and its essential elements. It also includes the principles, the working and the classification of the modern forms of the Government. It deals with the essential nature of the State and its relation with the citizens. Under this heading we study the scope and nature of the State. For example, 'State,' according to Aristotle, "came into existence originating in the bare needs of life and continuing its existence for the sake of good life." It means that the State aims at doing maximum good to the common man. Our constitution deals in detail with this matter in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Now India has become a welfare State. It pays more attention to the education, health and other facilities given to the citizens. In the nineteenth century the Individualists thought that the chief functions of the State were three: to protect the country from foreign invasion; to maintain law and order; and to let mutual agreements come into being. State of this nature was known as the Police-State. But the concept of the State has completely changed today. It has become a welfare State. Consequently, its scope has widened and its functions have increased in number. With the increase in its functions, its power also has increased. There is hardly a field of life which it does not regulate.

What the State has been? - We study a historical survey of the workings of the government or the historical development of

the State and of ideas concerning the State. By this study we come to know what part religion, blood-relation and political consciousness have played in the development of the State. Under this heading we also study ancient political institutions and administrations so that we may have the knowledge of the systematic development of modern institutions. By studying ancient political history we also come to know the fact that the nature of the State, in the beginning, was like that of a tribe and its functions were limited. But step by step its simple nature underwent changes and it became a complex State. Now the complex laws of the State have started controlling every sphere of human life. Under this heading we also study how States in ancient times were formed out of small tribes and how they became big national states later.

The present national states of France, England, Germany and Italy started developing only after the fifteenth century. The present makes us wiser for the future and inspires us to reform the existing political institutions, so that they may bring happiness for the future generations. For example, the Statesmen of the world learnt from the defective working of the League of Nations and when they founded the U.N., they improved it considerably. We discuss the aims and obligations of an ideal state and consider those moral principles which help it to become a welfare State (not a Police-State) so that it may aim at doing maximum possible good to mankind. Under this heading we also study what will be the nature of the State in future. The political philosophers firmly believe that in order to save human civilization from annihilation in a Third World War, we have to change the present nature of the national State and transfer their sovereignty to the international associations like U. N. In future the ultimate nature of the States ought to be like that of a world federation. As such, it is applied in history."

Professor Willoughby believes that there are three great topics with which Political Science has to deal: State, government and law. In his book, *One World*, Mr. Bandal - Wilky has recognized the oneness of the entire human society. It confirms that Political Science is a deep study of all the political problems of the world. It is a dynamic study of the dynamic political nature of man. Its scope embraces all the political ideas and institutions. Every kind of political institution or association is relevant to the subject of Political Science.

Science has become the study of the power. According to the modern writers, power means the sum total of capacities with the help of which a person can manipulate things to his own advantage. Consequently, modern Political Scientists under the behavioural systems approach have widened the scope of Political Science to cover many more aspects like Political socialisation, Political culture, Political development and informal structures like pressure group, etc.

1.1.4 Study of the concept of power:

With the behavioural revolution in politics, the central topic of the latest study in Political

Recap

- ▶ Political Science is a Social Science like Economics, Sociology, Psychology etc.
- ▶ The term politics derived from the Greek word 'Polis' which means city state.
- ▶ Aristotle is regarded as the father of Political Science. He says that man is, by nature, a political animal'.
- ▶ Definition of Political Science may be divided in to two – Traditional and modern. According to the traditionalists Political Science is the study of state and government. The modern approach states that political science is a social science concerned with the study and evaluation of political activities, political power, political processes and institutions.
- ▶ Politics is a universal phenomenon and a continuing process. In a sense, politics is a struggle for power.
- ▶ Political Science is a Social Science. It seeks political knowledge that can be tested and verified using scientific methods. However, it is not an exact science like physical and natural sciences.
- ▶ The scope of political science includes study of state, government political philosophy and theory, bureaucracy and its behaviour, judicial system and legal processes, political parties and pressure groups, election and voting behaviour, international organizations, political socialisation, political culture, political development and the like.

- Knowledge of political science has become indispensable because everyone is either directly or indirectly concerned with politics.

Objective Questions

1. Who is often considered as the father of political science?
2. What ancient legal code is credited with contributing to the development of political science?
3. Which Greek philosopher systematically analysed the political system of ancient Greece?
4. What term refers to the interdisciplinary study of politics, government, and power?
5. According to Aristotle, what is man's natural inclination towards society and politics?
6. What is the primary focus of political science?
7. What does the scope of political science encompass?
8. Which social science field deals with the analysis of political systems and behaviour?
9. According to Aristotle, what differentiates humans from beasts and Gods in terms of social and political life?
10. What is the significance of studying political institutions in political science?

Answers

1. Plato
2. Code of Hammurabi
3. Aristotle
4. Politics
5. Political
6. Politics
7. Analysis
8. Political
9. Society
10. Governance

Assignments

1. Discuss the evolution of political thought from ancient civilizations to modern times, highlighting key milestones and contributors.
2. Analyse the concept of power in political science, including its various dimensions and implications for governance.
3. Evaluate the role of political institutions in shaping modern societies, with examples from different regions of the world.
4. Critically assess the scope of political science, considering its interdisciplinary nature and relevance to contemporary challenges.
5. Compare and contrast different forms of government, discussing their advantages, disadvantages, and impact on society.

Suggested Readings

1. Gauba , O. P, *An Introduction to Political Theory* (New Delhi, Macmillan, 2013).
2. Mahajan, V. D., *Political Theory* (New Delhi, S. Chand,2010).
3. Laski, H. J., *A Grammar of Politics* (London, George Allen ,1930).

Unit 2

Interdisciplinary Study in Political Science

Learning Outcomes

After studying this topic, you will be able to:

- ▶ Understand the concept of interdisciplinarity and its significance in academic study;
- ▶ Analyse the relationship between Political science and other social sciences;
- ▶ Evaluate the impact of Interdisciplinary approaches on understanding complex social issues;
- ▶ Examine the origins and key concepts of geopolitics; and
- ▶ Critically assess contemporary challenges and future trends in geopolitics.

Prerequisites

Before delving into interdisciplinary studies and geopolitics, students should have a basic understanding of various social sciences such as political science, sociology, economics, and history. Moreover, familiarity with key geographical concepts and theories of international relations provide essential background knowledge. An interest in understanding global affairs and an open-minded approach to exploring diverse perspectives are crucial prerequisites for engaging with interdisciplinary studies and geopolitics.

Interdisciplinary study offers a holistic approach to understanding complex social issues by integrating insights from multiple disciplines. By bridging disciplinary boundaries, students can gain a deeper understanding of phenomena such as power dynamics, social structures, and geopolitical challenges. This unit explores the interconnections between Political Science, Sociology, Economics, History, and Geography, highlighting how each discipline contributes to our understanding of global affairs. Through the lens of Geopolitics, students will explore strategic locations, territorial disputes and contemporary challenges such as globalisation, resource competition, cybersecurity and climate change. By examining future trends in geopolitics, students will develop foresight into the evolving dynamics of international relations and the implications for global governance.

Keywords

Interdisciplinarity, Sociology, Economics, History, Geopolitics, Globalisation, Resource competition, Cyber security, Climate change and Transnational challenges.

Discussion

Human life has many aspects: political, social, religious, economic, ethics history etc. ,deal with the different aspects of human life, they are known as social sciences. Human knowledge is not limited to these social sciences only but includes in its scope the study of natural sciences like Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany etc. also. There is a close relationship between natural and social sciences.

Interdisciplinary study allows the student to learn by making connections between ideas and concepts across different disciplinary boundaries. Students learning in this way can apply the knowledge gained in one discipline to another different discipline as a way to deepen the learning experience. The most effective approach to interdisciplinary study enables students to build their own interdisciplinary pathway by choosing courses which make sense to them. For example, it is not too difficult to find a theme which crosses over disciplinary boundaries in literature, art and history or science and mathematics. Studying topics thematically is one way to bring ideas together resulting in more meaningful learning. This can occur by allowing students to choose their own subjects and their learning is deepened when they reflect on the connections between what they are learning in different disciplines.

One of the biggest barriers to achieving true Interdisciplinary study in education environments is the necessity for collaboration of educators. This can be difficult to achieve, but not impossible. Interdisciplinary teaching and learning is maximised when professionals

from different disciplines work together to serve a common purpose and to help students to make the connections between different disciplines or subject areas. Such interaction is in support of the constructivist paradigm which allows for new knowledge construction and deeper understanding of ideas compared to disciplinary study.

1.2.1 Need for Interdisciplinary approach

The meaning of interdisciplinary studies or interdisciplinarity continues to be contested by its practitioners and critics. Interdisciplinarity involves the combining of two or more disciplines into one activity. Originally, the term interdisciplinary was applied within education and training pedagogies to describe studies that use methods and insights of several established disciplines or traditional fields of study. The concept of interdisciplinarity involves researchers, students and teachers in the goals of connecting and integrating several academic schools of thought, professions or technologies – along with their specific perspectives - in the pursuit of a common task.

Interdisciplinary approach may be developed to facilitate the study of subjects which have some coherence, but which cannot be adequately understood from a single disciplinary perspective.

It is necessary to see the need for such an interdisciplinary approach especially among social sciences. There are two reasons for this.

First, the term denotes the activity of drawing on disciplinary expertise relevant to the problem at hand.

Second, the term denotes the need to recognize misfit among need, experience, information, and the prevailing structure of knowledge embodied in disciplinary organisation.

The natural sciences tell us what the world is made of, describe how it is structured into a complex network of interdependent systems and explain the behaviour of a given localized system.

The social sciences seek to explain the human world and figure out how to predict and improve it. The humanities express human aspirations, interpret and assess human achievements and experience and seek layers of meaning and richness of detail in written texts, artifacts and cultural practices.

By its very nature, social science is an interdisciplinary endeavour. A single course or activity incorporating many social science disciplines requires careful structuring. Maintaining coherence is a genuine challenge in the face of the centrifugal forces inherent in any discussion of space topics. A major premise of interdisciplinary studies is that the disciplines themselves are the necessary preconditions for and foundations of interdisciplinarity. The disciplines included in social sciences are closely related in one sense or another. For example, one cannot study economics without a basic knowledge about political science, history, sociology etc. Therefore, integrated forms of social studies widely emerge today. We have for instance, political economy today.

To ignore the disciplines and the wealth of knowledge they have generated would severely constrain the interdisciplinarian's ability to research almost any conceivable topic. The disciplines are foundational to interdisciplinary research because they provide the perspectives, epistemologies,

assumption, theories, concepts and methods that inform our ability as humans to understand our world. Even with the many shortcomings of the disciplines, interdisciplinarians still need to take them seriously.

1.2.2 Political science and its relationship with other subjects

Political science is related to other social sciences. Political Science, with its emphasis on political systems and the distribution of power, falls into this larger academic category. As a multidisciplinary field, political science draws from some other social science, including history, sociology, economics, psychology, ethics and anthropology.

1.2.2.1 Political Science and Sociology

Sociology is the science of society. It deals with the origin, development and structure of society and attempts to study its aims and achievements. It describes social traditions, customs and beliefs and deals with the origin and advancement of human culture and civilisation. According to Gettell, "Sociology is a general social science;" it deals with the social aggregate and attempts to discover the facts and laws of social life as a whole. Ratzenhofer believes that "the State is a sociological as well as a political phenomenon and during its early stages it is in fact really more of a social than a political institution. As has been well said, the political is embedded in the social and if Political Science remains distinct from sociology, it will be because the breadth of the field calls for the specialists and not because there are any well-defined boundaries making it off from sociology." Sociology deals with the principal religious and economic progress of man, while Political science is chiefly concerned with the political progress of man. Since political facts form only a part of social facts, the scope of political science is narrower

than that of sociology. In other words, we can say that sociology is the mother of all social sciences and Political Science is only a branch of sociology. "Sociology is a general social science," says Professor Gilchrist. "It deals with the fundamental facts of social life and as political life is only a part of the sum total of social life, Sociology is wider than Political Science".

Both these help each other in studying the activities of man, living in society. As has been stated earlier, Sociology deals with the origin, development, structure and functions of social groups. It deals with their forms, laws, traditions, customs, institutions, thoughts and actions and their contribution to the progress of human civilization and culture. As it deals with all this and other practices in the pre-historical stage, it helps Political Science in the sense that it presents those facts which help in knowing the origin of social laws and political institutions. Similarly, Political Science also help Sociology by furnishing the details about the state and government. Political Science and Sociology are so closely connected that "Political Science is embedded in the social and if Political Science remains distinct from Sociology, it will be because the breadth of the field calls for the specialists and not because there are any well defined boundaries marking it off from Sociology." Political Science thus remains indistinct from sociology. As Ratzenhofer has pointed out, in the initial stages the State was more of a social than a political institution: "Thus, sociology provides to the political investigator with the information regarding the origin of political authority and the laws of social control."

Though Political Science and Sociology are distinct in their approach, they are contributory in some respects. One is the complement of the other. It is true that their problems are different and their scope is in

no way the same; yet there is close affinity between the two social sciences. Sociology derives from Political Science the facts about the organization and functions of the State and Political Science derives from sociology the knowledge of the origin of political authority and laws which control society.

1.2.2.2 Political Science and History

The relationship between Political Science and History is very close and intimate. The two are contributory and complementary. The intimacy between Political Science and History is well brought out by Seeley, an eminent English author on History and Political Science. He observed:

"History without Political Science has no fruit,

Political Science without history has no root."

The affinity between History and Political Science is so intimate that Freeman goes to the extent of saying that "history is past politics and politics is present history." According to Professor Willoughby, "History provides us with the raw material of Political Science. It serves as a best kind of laboratory to Political Science. "In the treatise of Political Science," Professor Gilchrist says: "we must trace the history of various institutions, not for the sake of history but to enable us to form conclusions of our science. In so much as History not merely records events but analyses causes and points out tendencies, it overlaps political science. Political Science, however, goes further. It uses historical facts to discover general laws and principles; it selects, analyses and systematises the facts of history in order to extract the permanent principles of political life. Political Science, further, is teleological, that is to say, it deals with the state as it ought to be, whereas History deals with what it has

been.” The Political investigator goes back to past to explore the future. “So conceived”, says Burns, “history, will be made something more than the luxury of a scholar. It will be the inspiration of honest politician; it will be real basis for criticism of the present and modification of the future.”

It is true that Seeley and Freeman have described the relationship between history and political science in the most exaggerated terms, yet it cannot be denied that we have to seek the help of history, because the roots of political institutions have gone deep into the soil of history. For example, if we want to understand the nature of Monarchy in Britain and the working of the British Parliament, we shall have to study the history of Britain thoroughly. At first there was absolute monarchy in England but now there is limited monarchy. Now the question arises how all this happened in England. The answer to this question is written in the pages of British history. The history of Britain shows us that the English people continually protested and struggled against the despotic monarchy of their own rulers. In the end their constant struggle resulted in the Civil War and the Glorious Revolution and after that the people of England could be successful in preventing the tyranny of their rulers. This is why Jellinek has remarked that “it is almost a common place today to affirm the necessity of historical study as a basic for proper understanding of institutions, whether they be political, legal or social.”

Just as political science is dependent on History, History is dependent on Political Science. As a matter of fact, they are complementary to each other. Professor Seeley has rightly observed that “politics are vulgar when not liberated by history and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to politics. Throwing light on the close intimacy between both the sciences,

Burgess points out: “Separate them and the one becomes a cripple, if not corpse, the other a will-of-the wisp.” Our study of history is incomplete if we neglect the political events. For example, nineteenth century European history is incomplete without the study of Nationalism, Imperialism, Individualism, Democracy, Socialism and Communism. The French Revolution was a political incident but it influenced the history of France considerably. In twentieth century, the dawn of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany is of great political significance. These political incidents have considerably influenced not only the history of Italy and Germany but of the whole world. They proved to be so exciting that the Second World War broke out. Similarly, in India the political movement led by the great revolutionaries of India (Chandra Shekher Azad, Ramprasad Bismil, Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose etc.) have left their impact on Indian history. Non-co-operation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit India Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, the Simla Conference in 1945, Cabinet Mission Plan, Establishment of Interim Government, partition of India in 1947, Pakistan’s aggression on Kashmir in October 1947, Chinese aggression on India in 1962, Indo-Pak conflict in 1965 and 1971 and the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi are some of the important political happenings and without the study of which, Indian history remains incomplete and rather meaningless. All this clearly indicate that there is a close intimacy between history and political science. Lord Acton has rightly commented: “The science of politics is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history like the grains of gold in the sands of a river.” “Political Science stands midway,” says Lord Bryce, “between history and politics, between the past and present. It has drawn its material from the one, it has to apply it to the other.”

In modern times scholars like Dunning, Adams, Wilson and Sabine who were more conversant with history, have drawn considerably from history. However, Charles - Merriam successfully advocated against the historical approach. Historical approach, he pointed out, leads to historicism. However, modern history adopted scientific techniques and is using quantitative data and behavioral models. History can provide a proper knowledge of any crisis, origin of the institutions and background of political parties, pressure groups and legislature. In this context Karl Deutsch has rightly remarked: "We need History not as a handmaiden of social science, but as full-fledged partner, guide and friend."

1.2.2.3 Political Science And Economics

The Greek writers considered both the sciences one and called Economics as Political Economy. Economics was called Political Economy by the Greeks because they considered it as the art of providing revenue for the state.

In modern times, political scientists and economists have become almost one and are bent upon doing good to human society. "The new outlook of the welfare state," Says Professor B. K. Gokhale, "brings together political thinkers, administrators and economists, who plan in collaboration with the larger interests of the State. The welfare of the people in a state would not be raised if economic principles are divorced from political principles and if economic activities are not regulated by the State." In addition to this, production and distribution are greatly influenced by the scheme of the government. Economic problems are solved by the State with which Political Science deals in detail. The economic order is closely connected with the political order. Political order cannot run without the assistance of economic order

and the smooth running of economic order. The intimate affinity between political order and economic order comes into light when we study labour legislations, tariff laws, trade, currency and exchange problems. "The production and distribution of wealth," says Dr. Garner, "are to some extent determined by the existing forms of government." "All economic activities are carried within the State on conditions laid down by the State in laws and prevailing theories of state or government functions affect the economic life of country." "Political movements are influenced by economic causes," Says Professor Gilchrist, and "economic life is conditioned by political institutions and ideas".

Though the twentieth century economists regard Economics as a separate social science quite distinct from Political Science, it does not mean that there is no intimacy between both the sciences. As a matter of fact, in the twentieth century the dawn of the welfare state has made the inter-dependence of Political Science and Economics more clear than any other concept. The problems of the modern state are mainly economic problems. If we study ancient history, we shall come to know that the economic conditions had influenced political affairs. In ancient times when man was passing through Hunting and the Pastoral Age, the question of organising the state or forming the government did not arise because man used to go from one place to another. When he entered the age of civilised and cultured life, he started tilling the land and living in a particular part of the land. By and by the state and government came into being. But at that time only those people who possessed land ruled supreme. During the time of Industrial Revolution in Europe, industrialists and capitalists ruled supreme. Now-a-days we can see the influence of capitalists in the capitalistic countries. The capitalists give

wealth to the ruling party and after that they influence the policies of the government in their own way. Karl Marx has very frankly asserted that economic relationships offer the principal key to political relation-ship. The root cause of the French Revolution was economic disparity and this affected the government in a very great measure. The concepts of Individualism, Communism and Socialism are primarily based on economic principles. But they have brought about revolutionary change in the politics of the government. In the nineteenth century, Industrial Revolution led to the manufacture of big machines and to the increase in production. This is why European countries had to find out new markets to supply their product. In this way colonialism came into being. Later on, colonialists started ruling over those countries. Neville Chamberlain, the late Prime Minister of England, once remarked in this connection: "We shall find our markets in the new countries and shall develop old markets, hence it becomes our duty and a necessity to defend our present empire." Bismarck, the German Prime Minister from 1866 to 1890, had pointed out: "We were in need of commercial centers more than those new states." Adopting the policy of Bismarck the Germans preferred colonies in Africa and later ruled them. Trade in foreign countries can be successful only when we rule over those countries. The English came to India as traders but later trade interests compelled them to establish their kingdom in India. Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy came into being due to certain economic causes. The root cause of modern India - China conflict is economic. China cannot tolerate India's economic progress and wants to capture its markets in South-East Asia and Africa. Besides, it wants to root out capitalism from India and wishes to spread communism. This led to the India - China conflict. The root cause of the First Great War and the Second

World War, which influenced the politics of almost all the countries of the world were economic. Economic conditions influence the foreign policy of all the countries of the world. The Second World War is a glaring example. After the Second World War, most of the countries of Western Europe and Greece had to seek American economic aid and this is why their foreign policies were much influenced by the foreign policy of America. In the past American Economic Imperialism was very popular in some countries of the world and it considerably influenced world politics.

If economic conditions influence world politics, world politics also influence the economy of the world. The policies of the government of a country considerably influence the economic conditions of that country. Taxation policy of the government, Import and Export policy, Exchange rates, Banking system, Post and Telegraph facilities, Permit and Rationing system, Transportation of goods, Customs Duty *etc.* influence the economy of the nation. The governments control production, distribution, consumption, finance *etc.* The government runs its industries and imposes heavy surcharge on foreign goods so that indigenous goods sell cheap and sell like hot cakes. In this way national money will not go to foreign countries. The government controls currency, minting and the exchange of money. The government resolves the differences between the labour and the employers. If the government of a particular country is socialistic, its policy of private property and capital will be different from that of a capitalistic country. The nationalisation policy of a particular country considerably affects the economy of that country. Like-wise, the government adopts various measures to check the rising prices and take various steps for increasing production. After the Partition in 1947, Indian Government chalked out many plans and took many important steps

in various fields. The government took many important steps and adopted various measures for increasing agricultural production. It constructed dams, floated loans on easy terms and gave impetus to co-operative farming. For increasing the industrial production, the government ran a number of factories, mills and installed many plants.

In modern times with the growth of behaviouralism, the importance of economics has increased considerably because political scientists are making attempts in the application of models borrowed from economics which have been widely accepted. Secondly, a large number of political scientists are recording their findings in statistical terms. Therefore Otto Davis, an economist, has introduced a term political econometrics.

Political Science and Economics are dependent on each other to a very great extent, yet they are distinct and separate social sciences. In Political Science we study only the state and the government, whereas in Economics we deal with Production, Distribution, Consumption and Exchange. Likewise, in Economics we do not study the state and the government. They are two different social sciences as the subject-matter and the scope of both the sciences are different.

1.2.2.4 Political Science and Geopolitics

Halford John Mackinder (15 February 1861-6 March 1947) was a British geographer, academic and politician, who is regarded as one of the founding fathers of both geopolitics and geostrategy. What is geopolitics? He explains that geopolitics involves three qualities. First, it is concerned with questions of influence and power over space and territory. Second, it uses geographical frames to make sense of world affairs. Third, geopolitics is future-oriented. It offers insights into the likely behaviour of states because their interests are fundamentally

unchanging. States need to secure resources, protect their territory including borderlands, and manage their population.

Two fundamental ways of understanding the term geopolitics are offered: classical geopolitics that focuses on the interrelationship between the territorial interests and power of the state and geographical environments, and critical geopolitics, which tends to focus more on the role of discourse and ideology. Although geopolitics has its roots in geography, today its main area of focus is international relations and security.

Geopolitics is the study of how geography affects politics and international relations. Within the field of geopolitics, analysts study the players — the individuals, organizations, companies and national governments that carry out political, economic and financial activities — and how they interact with one another. These relations matter for investments because they contribute to important drivers of investment performance, including economic growth, business performance, market volatility and transaction costs.

Geopolitical risk is the risk associated with tensions or actions between players that affect the normal and peaceful course of international relations. Geopolitical risk tends to rise when the geographic and political factors underpinning country relations shift. A shift could arise from a change in policy, a natural disaster, a terrorist act, a theft or war.

Investors study geopolitical risk because it has a tangible impact on investment outcomes. On a macroeconomic level, these risks impact capital markets conditions, including economic growth, interest rates and market volatility. Changes in capital markets conditions can, in turn, have an important influence on asset allocation decisions, including an investor's choice of geographic exposure. On a portfolio

level, geopolitical risk can influence the appropriateness of an investment security or strategy for an investor's goals, risk tolerance and time horizon. A higher likelihood of geopolitical risk can raise or lower an asset class's expected returns or impact a sector or company's operating environment, affecting its attractiveness for an investment strategy.

There is no shortage of ways in which geopolitical risk can impact a portfolio, so identifying, assessing and tracking geopolitical risk can be difficult and time consuming. It is thus important for investors to map those potential risks to tangible investment outcomes. In this reading, we will build a framework by which investors can measure, assess, track and react to geopolitical risk, with a goal of improving investment outcomes.

Geographic factors play an important role in shaping a country's approach to national security and the extent to which it will choose a cooperative approach. Landlocked countries rely extensively on their neighbors for access to vital resources. Countries highly connected to trade routes or countries acting as a conduit for trade may use their geographic location as a level of power.

Generally, strong institutions contribute to more stable internal and external political forces. Countries with strong institutions, including organizations and structures promoting government accountability, rule of law and property rights allow them to act with more authority.

Geopolitics is the study of how geographical factors influence political decisions, international relations and the distribution of power in the global arena. It encompasses a complex interplay of geography, history, economics, politics and culture, shaping the behavior of states and the dynamics of conflict and cooperation. In this essay, we will delve into the multifaceted realm of geopolitics,

examining its key concepts, historical roots, contemporary challenges and future trends.

The term "geopolitics" was coined in the late 19th century by Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén and later popularized by British geographer Sir Halford Mackinder. Mackinder's famous Heartland Theory posited that control over the Eurasian "pivot area" (central Asia) would confer global hegemony. This idea laid the groundwork for geopolitical thinking in the 20th century, particularly during the Cold War, when the world was divided into spheres of influence dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Strategic Locations: Certain geographical locations hold significant strategic importance due to their access to trade routes, natural resources, or military advantages. Examples include the Persian Gulf, the Strait of Malacca, and the Arctic Circle.

Territorial Disputes: Conflicts often arise over territorial boundaries, maritime rights, and control of resources such as oil, gas, and water. The South China Sea, Kashmir and Crimea are emblematic of such disputes.

Power Dynamics: Geopolitical analysis examines the distribution of power among nations and how it shapes alliances, conflicts and international institutions. Superpowers like the United States, China, and Russia vie for influence, while regional powers assert their interests in their respective spheres.

Geopolitical Risk: Businesses and governments assess geopolitical risks to anticipate potential disruptions to trade, investment, and security. Factors such as political instability, terrorism and interstate conflicts can have profound implications for global stability.

Geopolitical Strategies: Nations formulate

foreign policies and military strategies based on geopolitical considerations to secure their interests and maintain influence in the international arena. This includes alliances, military deployments, and economic agreements designed to advance national objectives.

Contemporary Challenges

Globalisation: The increasing interconnectedness of economies and societies has added new dimensions to geopolitics. Events in one part of the world can have far-reaching consequences globally, as demonstrated by the 2008 financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic.

Resource Competition: The quest for energy, water and other finite resources fuels geopolitical competition. Growing demand, coupled with environmental concerns and technological advancements, exacerbates tensions over resource access and control.

Cybersecurity: The rise of cyber warfare poses new challenges to traditional notions of security. State-sponsored cyberattacks, espionage, and disinformation campaigns threaten the stability of governments and the integrity of democratic institutions.

Climate Change: Environmental degradation and climate change have profound geopolitical implications. Rising sea levels, extreme weather events, and resource scarcity exacerbate social and political instability, leading to displacement, conflict and humanitarian crises.

Future Trends

Multipolarity: The world is transitioning

from a unipolar to a multipolar order, characterized by the rise of new powers such as China, India and Brazil. This shift in power dynamics heralds a more complex geopolitical landscape with competing centers of influence.

Technological Innovation: Advances in technology, including artificial intelligence, biotechnology and space exploration, will reshape geopolitics in the 21st century. Access to and control over these technologies will be critical determinants of national power and competitiveness.

Goeconomics: Economic considerations will increasingly drive geopolitical competition, as states leverage trade, investment and financial tools to pursue strategic objectives. Goeconomic rivalries, particularly between the United States and China, will shape global economic governance and trade flows.

Transnational Challenges: Non-traditional security threats such as pandemics, terrorism and cyber attacks transcend national borders, necessitating collective action and cooperation among states. Addressing these challenges requires multilateral approaches and adaptive strategies.

In conclusion, geopolitics remains a dynamic and indispensable framework for understanding the complexities of global affairs. As the world confronts a myriad of challenges, from geopolitical rivalries to transnational threats, the interdisciplinary study of geopolitics provides valuable insights into the forces shaping our shared future. By navigating the terrain of geopolitics with

insight and foresight, policymakers, scholars and citizens alike can navigate the complexities of an increasingly interconnected world.

Recap

- ▶ Interdisciplinary study facilitates connections between different academic disciplines.
- ▶ Political science intersects with sociology, economics, history, and geography.
- ▶ Geopolitics explores strategic locations, territorial disputes and contemporary challenges.
- ▶ Contemporary challenges include globalisation, resource competition, cyber-security and climate change.
- ▶ Future trends in geopolitics include multipolarity, technological innovation, geoeconomics and transnational challenges.

Objective Questions

1. What field studies society?
2. What discipline deals with the production and distribution of goods?
3. Which area focuses on the strategic aspects of geography and politics?
4. What is the main area of concern?
5. What term describes challenges that extend beyond national borders?
6. What is the term for the increasing interconnectedness of economies and societies?
7. What describes the rivalry for limited resources?
8. What term refers to protecting computer systems from unauthorized access or damage?
9. What is the phenomenon of long - term shifts in weather patterns?
10. What are the dangers or potential harm?

Answers

1. Sociology
2. Economics
3. Geopolitics
4. Focus
5. Transnational
6. Globalisation
7. Competition
8. Cybersecurity
9. Climate change
10. Threats

Assignments

1. Discuss the significance of interdisciplinary studies in understanding complex social issues.
2. Analyse the relationship between political science and sociology, economics and history.
3. Evaluate the impact of globalisation on contemporary geopolitics.
4. Explore the role of technological innovation in shaping future geopolitical trends.
5. Critically assess the challenges faced by cybersecurity in international relations.
6. Discuss the concept of multipolarity and its implications for global governance.
7. Analyse the geopolitical significance of strategic locations such as the Persian Gulf and the South China Sea.
8. Examine the role of resource competition in fueling geopolitical tensions.
9. Assess the impact of climate change on geopolitical stability and security.
10. Explore the potential for collective action in addressing transnational challenges in geopolitics.

Suggested Readings

1. *David Easton, Political System: an Enquiry in to the State of Political Science (Longman, 1981)*
2. Easton, D. (1990). *The Analysis of Political Structure*. Routledge.
3. *Verma, S. P, Modern Political Theory (New Delhi, S. Chand, 2010)*

Unit 3

Relevance of Political Science as a Social Science

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ▶ Analyse the structures of different political systems world wide;
- ▶ Expose the functions and roles of key political institutions within various governmental frameworks;
- ▶ Evaluate the mechanisms of power distribution and governance within political systems;
- ▶ Critically assess the impact of political systems and institutions on social development and stability;
- ▶ Apply theoretical frameworks to analyse and compare different forms of governance and their implications.

Prerequisites

Before delving into the study of political systems and institutions, it is beneficial for learners to have a foundational understanding of political theory, history and socio-political dynamics. Familiarity with concepts such as sovereignty, democracy, authoritarianism and political ideologies provides a contextual framework for comprehending the complexities of political systems. Additionally, an awareness of global political trends and historical events, such as revolutions, transitions of power and constitutional reforms, offers insights into the evolution of political institutions and their impact on societies.

Furthermore, a basic understanding of comparative politics and international relations enhances learners' ability to analyse and contextualize the diverse range of political systems and institutions encountered throughout the unit. Knowledge of methodologies used in political science research, including qualitative and quantitative approaches, equips learners with the tools to critically evaluate political systems and institutions from various analytical perspectives.

Keywords

Sovereignty, Authoritarianism, Comparative politics, Political ideologies, Global political trends, Constitutional reforms, Methodologies, Socio-political dynamics, Qualitative analysis, Quantitative analysis.

Discussion

Political science, the study of power, governance, and political behaviour, occupies a crucial position within the broader field of social sciences. While its relevance might seem self-evident, considering its direct connection to the structures and systems that govern our lives, its importance extends beyond the surface. In a world facing complex challenges like globalisation, environmental degradation and rising inequality, an nuanced understanding of political dynamics becomes even more critical.

1.3.1 Origins

One of the primary contributions of political science lies in its ability to demystify power and its distribution. It delves into the complexities of political structures, revealing how power is acquired, wielded and contested within societies. This knowledge empowers citizens to engage critically with their government, fostering informed participation and holding those in power accountable. Examining the historical evolution of political institutions, ideologies and movements sheds light on the present and helps to anticipate potential future trajectories. Political science equips individuals with the tools to analyse policies, understand their potential implications and advocate change where necessary.

Political science plays a vital role in understanding relationships between politics and other social phenomena. It explores how political decisions and structures influence economic development, social inequalities, cultural practices and even environmental concerns. By examining the intersection

of these domains, political science fosters a holistic understanding of society and its various dynamics. For example, analysing the impact of political instability on economic growth or the influence of cultural norms on political participation reveals critical connections often overlooked in isolated studies. This comprehensive approach allows for the development of informed solutions to complex social problems that require collaboration across different sectors.

Political science serves as a vital tool for promoting responsible citizenship and navigating the complexities of a diverse and globalised world. With the rise of political polarisation and the increasing inter connectedness of societies, understanding different political systems, cultural values and international relations becomes paramount. Political science provides frameworks for analysing and comparing different political ideologies, enabling individuals to engage in constructive dialogue, foster intercultural understanding and promote peaceful coexistence in a world facing numerous global challenges. By learning about international institutions, foreign policy and the dynamics of global power struggles, individuals are better equipped to navigate the intricate tapestry of international relations and advocate cooperation on issues like climate change and global security.

Political science plays a crucial role in advancing social justice and promoting positive social transformations. It provides frameworks for critically scrutinising existing power structures and identifying potential avenues for reform. By studying historical

and contemporary social movements, political scientists contribute to the understanding of how political systems can be leveraged to address issues like poverty, discrimination, and human rights abuses. Political science offers tools for analysing the effectiveness of various policy interventions and advocating more equitable and just societies. Additionally, it encourages individuals to engage in critical reflection on their own role and responsibility within the political process, promoting informed decision-making and active participation in shaping a better future.

Political Science remains a crucially relevant social science in the 21st century. Its ability to demystify power, provide frameworks for understanding the interconnectedness of social phenomena, promote responsible citizenship in a globalised world, and contribute to advancements in social justice solidify its importance. By offering invaluable insights into the inner workings of power, governance, and political behaviour, political science empowers individuals to engage meaningfully with their communities, participate in the shaping of a better future and navigate the complexities of an ever-changing world.

At the core of Political Science lies the exploration of political systems and institutions. Through detailed analyses of various forms of governance, from democracies to autocracies, the discipline provides a framework for understanding how power is distributed, exercised and legitimized within a society. This knowledge is indispensable for citizens who seek to comprehend the rules that govern their lives and for policymakers aiming to design effective and responsive governance structures.

Political Science plays a crucial role in fostering engaged and informed citizenship. In modern democracies, where citizens are expected to actively participate in decision-

making processes, knowledge of political systems and processes becomes paramount. By delving into the intricacies of electoral systems, political parties and policymaking, Political Science empowers individuals to critically evaluate political developments, make informed choices during elections and advocate policies aligned with their values.

The discipline's relevance becomes even more pronounced when examining political behaviour. Understanding how individuals and groups interact within political systems sheds light on the dynamics of elections, public opinion and social movements. Political Science researches on topics like political psychology and sociology provides insights into the factors shaping political attitudes and actions, facilitating the development of strategies for effective civic engagement, political mobilization and the enhancement of democratic processes.

Moreover, the globalised nature of the contemporary world underscores the importance of Political Science in the study of international relations. Political scientists search into the complexities of interactions between states, international organizations and non-state actors. The discipline provides frameworks for analysing conflicts, diplomacy and global governance structures. In an era where global challenges such as climate change, pandemics and economic interdependence require collaborative solutions, Political Science plays a pivotal role in shaping informed policies and fostering international cooperation.

Beyond its practical applications, Political Science serves as a guide for policymakers and leaders. By examining political theories, institutions and policy outcomes, the discipline offers valuable insights into effective governance strategies. Policymakers equipped with knowledge of political science

can anticipate potential consequences of their decisions, navigate complex political landscapes and formulate policies that address the needs and aspirations of diverse populations.

Political Science contributes to the advancement of knowledge through rigorous research and theoretical development. Scholars within the field explore diverse topics, from political philosophy to public policy, generating new ideas and perspectives that enrich our understanding of the political phenomena. The ongoing intellectual inquiry within Political Science ensures its continual growth and evolution, allowing it to adapt to the changing dynamics of societies and politics.

1.3.2 The relevance of conceptual reflection

The real challenge is to justify the need for a political science approach to the problems. Put simply – why does society actually need, theoretically, conceptually and methodologically rigorous knowledge about politics rather than simply timely and helpful evidence about what works, which other providers, apart from political scientists, readily provide? This might seem a daunting question, but it is quite easily answered. As Gerring argues, ‘concepts are critical to the functioning and evolution of social science.’ Clarity of thought, intellectual willingness to define, delimit and defend one’s understanding of a word, a term or a theory, is a good thing in a democratic society that wants to solve complex problems. Managing the humanitarian crisis in the Mediterranean at the moment requires, for example, a reflective understanding of what it means to be a stateless asylum seeker. Tackling the challenges of climate change requires a cautious understanding of ‘the climate’ and how it reacts to human interventions.

Such caution can be brought out by

presenting our empirical findings accessibly, but also by encouraging reflection on concepts in public forums. In a recent appearance at a local public debate about devolution first and seemingly most well received intervention was to ask “what do we mean by devolution anyway?” As a concept, it is vague, and is used to often justify very different outcomes and policies. By simply asking what do we actually mean by the concept of devolution to get the audience into a more reflective mood, away from the to and fro of particular government policies, or the when, how and if of the government’s northern powerhouses devolution policy.

1.3.3 Advocating the relevance of political science

The Relevance of Political Science by Gery Stoker *et al* is a must read for any scholar interested in the disciplinary debate on relevance. It is a crucial intervention to move the relevance debate from the ‘why’ question to the ‘how’ question of relevance. Its most enlightening chapters highlight how different parts of the discipline can gain relevance, or can justify what relevance to the ‘real world’ they already have. In doing so, however, this collection also distracts from the essentially political project of justifying *to society at large* why the work we already do has value – because it is intimately valuable in any democratic society that values a deep and subtle understanding of the problems society faces. As Hay argues in his contribution, “relevance itself may not be the issue – since most of what we do has the potential to be deemed relevant or to become relevant at some latter point, if only we were willing to make the case for it.” Political science is profoundly critical to society, and we maximise its visibility by presenting research findings in accessible ways to a range of relevant audiences. But the theoretical developments made and the

conceptual advances attained cannot be given a backseat against the ‘headline findings.’ They deserve a prominent place in any agenda for advocating the relevance of the discipline because they give our work the distinctiveness that other organizations and individuals. The knowledge of political science is important in the present age because:

1. It helps in the emergence of good citizens and good leaders. It provides knowledge about the state’s constitution, laws and duties;
2. It helps people understand the significance of Political institutions like political parties, federations and local bodies in the state;
3. In the light of past and present activities, the government helps to establish a modern welfare state.

Thus, political science borrowed many theories and concepts, methods and techniques from other social sciences. For example decision making theory from

organizational field, structural functional approach from sociology and anthropology, action theory from sociology, system analysis from communication sciences etc. Even new concepts like political culture, political socialisation, political communication, political development etc. are being adopted and emphasis is being laid on the study of community power structure .

In conclusion it may be stated that Political Science’s relevance lies in its multifaceted contributions to social understanding, citizen empowerment, effective governance and global cooperation. As societies face complex challenges and navigate the intricacies of political life, the insights provided by Political Science remain indispensable for fostering informed citizenship, guiding policymakers and contributing to the ongoing development of our collective understanding of political systems.

Recap

- ▶ Political science helps analyse and understand the structures of various political systems worldwide, focusing on how power is distributed, exercised and legitimised within different governance frameworks.
- ▶ It examines the functions and roles of key political institutions, contributing to governance and social stability.
- ▶ The discipline assesses the impact of political systems on social development, economic growth, social inequalities and cultural practices, offering a comprehensive understanding of these interconnected domains.
- ▶ It promotes informed and engaged citizenship by educating individuals about electoral systems, political parties, policymaking processes and the importance of active participation in democratic decision-making.
- ▶ Political science provides frameworks for scrutinizing power structures and identifying reform pathways, advancing social justice by addressing issues like poverty, discrimination and human rights abuses.
- ▶ It emphasizes the importance of understanding international relations and global governance, fostering cooperation to tackle global challenges such as climate change and international security.

Objective Questions

1. What is the primary focus of political science?
2. Name one key learning outcome of studying political systems.
3. What is a prerequisite for understanding political institutions?
4. What enhances the analysis of diverse political systems?
5. Which methodology is used in political science research?
6. What concept denotes complete authority within a state?
7. What type of government concentrates power in the hands of a single individual or small group?
8. What term describes the study of political dynamics across different countries?
9. What influences the evolution of political institutions?
10. How can political systems be evaluated?

Answers

1. Power
2. Evaluation
3. Foundational
4. Comparative
5. Qualitative
6. Sovereignty
7. Authoritarianism
8. Comparative politics
9. Global trends
10. Critically

Assignments

1. Discuss the impact of political institutions on social stability, providing examples from different countries.
2. Compare and contrast the mechanisms of power distribution in democratic and authoritarian political systems.
3. Analyse the role of political ideologies in shaping governance structures throughout history.
4. Evaluate the effectiveness of different methodologies in political science research, citing advantages and limitations.
5. Explore the relationship between constitutional reforms and political development, using case studies to illustrate your points.
6. Assess the significance of comparative politics in understanding global political

dynamics, with reference to recent geopolitical events.

7. Discuss the implications of sovereignty in contemporary international relations, considering its relevance in the context of globalisation.
8. Investigate the impact of sociopolitical dynamics on the evolution of political institutions, drawing insights from historical and contemporary examples.
9. Critically analyse the role of political parties in representative democracies, examining their functions and influence on policymaking processes.
10. Examine the role of leadership within political systems, discussing the qualities and characteristics of effective political leaders.

Suggested Readings

1. Garner, J . W. *Political Science and Government* (Calcutta, the World Press, 1955)
2. Laski, H. J, *A Grammar of Politics* (London, Longman, 1938)
3. Dahl, R. A. (2005). *Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City*. Yale University Press.

Unit 4

Political Culture and Political Socialisation

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of the unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the concept of political culture and its significance in different political systems;
- ▶ Analyse the factors that shape political culture within a society;
- ▶ Examine the relationship between political culture and political system dynamics;
- ▶ Identify and differentiate between various types of political cultures and analyse the concept of political sub cultures ;
- ▶ Understand the concept of political socialisation;
- ▶ Identify different Agencies involved in the political socialisation process.

Prerequisites

Before discussing the concepts of political culture and political socialisation, it is crucial to grasp the concept of political systems and their functioning. Political culture and political socialisation are deeply intertwined with how political systems operate and evolve. One interesting prerequisite for understanding this unit is to explore the historical context and development of different political systems worldwide.

The evolution of political systems has been shaped by diverse factors such as historical experiences, social structures, economic conditions and cultural values. For instance, examining how parliamentary democracy succeeded in certain countries like Great Britain while facing challenges in others provides valuable insights into the role of political culture. Understanding the intricacies of political systems lays a foundation for comprehending how political culture and socialisation interact within specific contexts.

Moreover, exploring case studies of countries like India and Pakistan, which adopted similar political systems but experienced contrasting outcomes, offers a nuanced understanding of the influence of political culture. By studying the historical trajectories and socio-economic factors shaping these nations, learners can appreciate the complexity of political dynamics and the significance of cultural factors in shaping political behaviour.

In essence, an in-depth exploration of political systems sets the stage for examining the intricate relationship between political culture, political socialisation, and the functioning of governance structures worldwide.

Keywords

Political culture, political socialisation, democracy, authoritarianism, comparative politics, historical experiences, social structures, economic conditions, cultural values, political stability.

Discussion

1.4.1 Political Culture

In the 1960s the concept of Political Culture became a partly modern political analysis. This term has been popularised by the American political thinkers like Ulam, Beer and Almond. This concept has now enabled different political scientists to distinguish one system from the other not only in terms of its structure but also the political culture in which it grew. It is political culture which explains satisfactorily the phenomenon of the success of parliamentary democracy in Great Britain.

Political Culture defined and explained.

In many countries of Asia and Africa, democratic system was introduced but in some countries it succeeded while in other countries it did not succeed due to different reasons. For example, on 15th August, 1947 there was a partition and India and Pakistan were born. Both India and Pakistan adopted the same political system, *i.e.*, democracy. Democracy is flourishing in India, there has been no democratic system in Pakistan virtually from 1959 when Ayub Khan came into power. After the exit of Ayub Khan in 1969, Yahya Khan became the dictator of Pakistan. He was defeated in the Indo Pak war of 1971 and he had to hand over power to Zulfikar Ali Haq, who staged a military coup against him on July 5, 1977. Later, he was killed in an aeroplane crash. Then Mrs. Benazir Bhutto was in power. In many countries of Asia and Africa, the plant of democracy has not been able to grow-because of different political cultures.

According to Almond and Powell. “Political

culture is a pattern of individual attitudes and orientation towards politics from among the members of the political system.” To Ullan R. Ball, “a political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and political issues.”

In other words, political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, values and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those special possibilities and patterns which may be found within separate parts of the population. Political Culture is composed of attitudes and orientations which people in a given society develop towards objects within their political system. These orientations may have three distinct dimensions which are cognitive, affective and evaluative. The cognitive orientations imply the knowledge of people about political objects. Affective orientation means the feeling of attachment or rejection and the like about the political objects. Evaluative orientations indicate their judgements on them involving the use of values, information and feelings. The objects towards which these orientations are directed are the following: First is the political system as a whole. People have knowledge or feelings about the political system and it is these orientations that condition the development of national judgements and identity. Another object of the cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations is the input process of the political system through which demands made by society flows to the political system for their conversion into authoritative policies by means of the activities of political parties, pressure groups and media of communication. The third object is the output process that

involves the work of bureaucracy, courts and other political institutions concerned with applying and enforcing authoritative decisions. Fourthly, an individual's orientations are also towards his own self. As he plays a role in the political system, he certainly has knowledge of, attachment to, his own evaluation of this role. Political Culture "refers not to what is happening in the world of politics but what people believe about these happening." It means that collective beliefs in the society are not accidental but rather logical and inter-related.

1.4.1 .1 Factors Which Mould Political Culture

Politics is such an activity which is carried on in a human environment and is thus the product of the historical background, social set-up, physical location, climate etc. are such characteristics that shall affect the political activity that takes place in a given political unit. The economic conditions of a particular community also have its bearings on its politics. A particular economy will create particular possibilities. A community living in a highly industrialised economy, for example, will develop social relations which will, in their turn, provide a social setting for political activity. The society which comprises the individuals in which the political system is set, may be categorical according to race, wealth etc. The individual members of the society will have certain values, beliefs, propensities and emotional attitudes. These propensities and attitudes with a multiple of others, make up the culture of the community of which political attitudes are a part. Such a social behaviour has its basis in the culture of a society and similarly political behaviour has its basis in the political culture.

"Political Culture," according to Lucian Pye, "is shaped by the general historical experiences of a country as also by the private and personal experiences of the individuals."

It is because the individuals first became the members of society and then of the polity. Political culture is gradually built on the cumulative orientations of the people towards their political processes. Each generation inherits attitudes and beliefs towards politics partly from the earlier generation and partly it is formulated as a reaction to the on-going politics. In other words, political culture, is a product of the learning process and Party - competition during elections, role of pressure-groups, group - behaviour, changing social basis of the elite governmental performance, stability of Government and working of the political institutions. Consequently, the political culture studies the interaction between the beliefs, the political events and the governmental structure. If the Constitution of a country is not according to the political culture of a country, it has to be changed. For example, Fascism introduced in Germany and Spain was quite different from Italy. Even the communism as practiced in U. S. differs from Yugoslavia and China. Political culture provides controlling guidelines for effective political community. It gives a systematic structure of values and rational consideration for the individual. Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in the aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimension of politics. Political culture is to the political system what culture is to the social system. In essence thus, "Political culture," as Sidney Verba points out, "consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place." Thus, it covers both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity.

The objects of political orientation include the political system as a whole, particular political roles and specific public policies and issues. It cannot be denied that political culture touches levels of human awareness and sensitivity. Political culture thus can be examined with reference to the political system as a whole, its input objects, its output objects and itself as an object. Orientation to the political system as a whole will mean one's understanding of the governmental system, its working and also the historical development of the various political institutions. Orientation to input objects means the study of those institutions and structures which convey the demands and support of the people to the decision-makers. These institutions include the government, political parties, party elites and pressure groups. Orientation to output objects means the attitudes towards and understanding of the rule making, rule application and rule adjudication of the structure of the political system. It involves in a general sense bureaucracy.

1.4.1.2 Relation Between Political System and Political Culture

The working of the political system is very much affected by the political culture. Its functions can be illustrated by the fact that some developing countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan *etc.* adopted certain political institutions like democracy, party system and judicial system from the developed countries like England, France and the U. S. A. But they soon discovered that these institutions did not function in the same way as in original. They worked in those system of the developing countries differently from the developed countries. The political culture of one country differs from other countries. "Every political system," writes Almond, "is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political actions." According to Sidney Verba, Political

Culture "consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place."

The political sphere is also provided with political structures and meanings in the same manner as consistency and integration are provided to the social life by general culture. It relates to rational considerations, emotions and ethical values. It is hard to define political culture. In the words of Pye, "Political culture can be found only in men's minds, in the pattern of action, feeling and reflection which they have internalized and made part of their very existence." Every generation inherits attitudes and beliefs towards politics, partly from the earlier generation and partly it is formulated as a reaction to the on-going politics. As a result, political culture is a product of the learning process. General elections, party-politics, working of pressure-groups, changing social basis of the elites and governmental performance influence the political culture. Group behaviour also largely determines the political culture of a country. In simpler words, political culture studies the interaction between the beliefs, events and structure. Thus, political culture makes critical evaluation of the standards of political conduct. The way in which the political activities of a particular country are organised besides public statements, myths and legends, speeches and writings are the norms for the foundation of the foundation of a political culture of that country.

Study of a political culture is also a study of political dynamics. The process of interaction between the political system and the political actors is one of techniques to understand the change in political culture that happens through time. The social processes influence the individual at all stages of life. These individuals in return interact with the political system, thus introducing changes in the

character of the political system. The changing character of the political system influences the channels of political socialisation, on the one hand and the individual behaviour on the other. These things collectively form the political culture, which can be treated as a valuable method for the study of the behaviour of the individual in the context of the political system in which he / she is operating.

1.4.1.3 Different Kinds of Political Culture

It has also been observed that the political culture of one country fundamentally differs from other countries. There is no country in the world today which can boast of a uniform political culture. Almond and Verba have listed three ideal types of political culture:

1. **Parochial Political Culture:** Parochial political culture is one in which the individuals have no cognition about the political system. As a result, they do not have any affective and evaluative orientations. Here the individual is parochial in the sense that he is only involved in his family or his community and the least concerned with the central institutions of the political system. Such a type of political culture is called parochial political culture. African tribe Eskimos Some African tribes, the Eskimos etc. fall in this category. Such types of people have no role to play in the political culture.
2. **Subject political culture:** This type of political culture is found in the subject countries and monarchies. The people are aware of the governmental system, though they may or may not like it. They also know the role of the government regarding law making, enforcement of laws, tax collection etc. However, the individual position is a passive one. Subject political culture is

prominent in East European states and newly independent states of Africa and Asia.

3. **Participant political culture:** In this type of political culture people are quite keen to participate in the political system and influence its working. They are always busy making reasonable demands on the political system and are involved in the making of decisions. Participant political culture is clearly noticeable in British, American and Scandinavian political systems. These three types of political cultures are ideal types. None of them can find its pure form in any society. This led Almond and Verba to list out three mixed types of political culture They are:
 4. **Parochial – subject political culture:** In this type of political culture the individuals are aware of the governmental structures and their role in them. However, they are not aware of the way in which they can influence the political system. Here the sense of self as a political force is relatively weak.
 5. **Subject-participant political culture:** Here the citizens are divided in to two - politically aware and active and the rest who are relatively passive. Since the input institutions are relatively weak, the average citizens find it difficult to participate and this in turn affects their political actions.
 6. **Parochial participant political culture:** It is one in which the input institutions are relatively local like tribal or caste associations, while the national output institutions are fairly well developed. But both the input and output institutions are under the pressure of parochial interests.
- The Civic Culture: The final category of

political culture by Almond and Verba is called the civic culture. It combines all the characteristics of all the three ideal types of political cultures. Here the influence of the cognitive, affective and evaluative is very high with regard to the political system as a whole. Political culture of the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Mexico reveal the civic culture.

Political Sub-culture: In many countries of the world there are different ethnic groups. Differences in political culture amongst them develop due to the difference in education, political training and economic and social background. Therefore, the backward people develop a political sub-culture of their own. Sub-culture also develops when the political system is unable to advance rapidly according to the fast changing needs of the society. In this way different sections of the society may have different political orientations. So, when a particular section of the society is clearly distinguishable from others in the same political system, we find that it has developed a distinct political sub-culture of its own. France is the classic example of such sub cultures. Generally, the various groups do not make the same effective contribution in a political system but in times of grave national crisis, they do so. In the developing countries also political sub-cultures may grow on the basis of language, religion, class and caste. In India also, we find such sub-cultures among the tribal areas.

Moreover, there is always a fundamental difference between the political culture of the rulers (political leaders and bureaucrats) and the ruled. The ruled generally vote for a particular party at the time of general election. After the formation of a government, they do not exercise any control over it. They only read something about the working of the government in the newspapers. The rulers

develop a particular attitude or superiority complex towards the governed.

1.4.1.4 Contribution of Political Culture

Political culture is an important method to judge the development and modernisation of a country. Prof. S. P. Verma has highlighted the main contributions of this approach. First, it has made Political Science a more complete social science. Secondly, it has focused our attention on the study of political community or society as distinct from the individual and thus on the total political system. Thirdly, it has encouraged political scientists to take up the study of social and cultural factors which are responsible for giving a political culture of a country its broad shape. Fourthly, it has helped us to chalk out the most appropriate means of bringing progressive political changes in societies. Fifth, political culture also enables us to understand why similar political phenomena across the world produce dissimilar results. It also provides a useful tool for comparing different political systems. Sixth, the study of political culture inevitably leads to political socialisation. Finally, it is also helpful for understanding political change and modernisation.

Almond and Powell realized that the approach of political culture to the political system was insufficient. Critics have pointed out that the following difficulties come in the wake of this study.

1. The concept is merely a new label for an old idea;
2. Its definition is vague. Various political writers have given it meanings of their own. So, this concept conveys conflicting ideas.
3. It is difficult to distinguish those elements which contribute to political culture from the elements which are generally found in the political culture.

4. It is not clear whether political institutions and practices are parts of the political culture or are its products.

Therefore, Almond and Powell confirm that a careful analysis of political culture, “still provides no sure guide, perhaps at best an odd one, for the prediction of individual behaviour in a given case.” But at the same time it cannot be denied that the concept of political culture is a highly significant aspect of the political system.

1.4 .2 .1 Political Socialisation

Political Socialisation is one of the major concepts of political sociology. The study of political socialisation is also one of the promising approaches for understanding political stability and development. The process of acquiring social learning is known as socialisation. Whenever this process has clearly a political context, it is known as political socialisation.

Definition and Meaning of Political Socialisation

1. Political Socialisation,’ according to Almond and Verba, “is the process by which political culture is maintained and changed.”
2. Easton and Dennis define political socialisation as “those developments and processes by which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour.”
3. The most comprehensive definition of political socialisation has been given by Dr. S. Bhatnagar. He says, “political socialisation means all political learning, formal or informal, deliberate, unplanned, latent or manifest, diffuse or specific, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicit political learning but also apparently non-political learning but general culture which

affects political behaviour.”

Political socialisation thus means the process by which the individual “becomes informed with the political system and which determines his reactions to political phenomenon.”

While Political culture is a sociological aspect, political socialisation is a psychological concept. Political socialisation concerns itself with orientations of the individual towards political objects. Since the individual is continuously being influenced in his political attitude, orientations and values, the process of socialisation goes on throughout life. The process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level and at the community level and is passed on from generation to generation is called political socialisation. Indeed, one of the salient features of culture is its inter-generational continuity. Political socialisation is thus a learning process by which norms and behaviour acceptable to a well-running political system are transmitted from one generation to another.

Political socialisation aims at transmission of political values from one generation to another: It has been already made clear that the main emphasis of the concept of political socialisation is the transmission of political values from one generation to another. Political socialisation shapes and transmits a nation’s political culture or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that it maintains, transforms and sometimes creates the political culture of a people. It maintains a political culture by successfully transmitting it from an old generation to the new one. Political socialisation is the process by which individuals internalize and develop their political values, ideas, perceptions through the agents of socialisation. The task of the transformation and maintenance naturally receive added importance under

stable conditions in the modern world where many nations are struggling to transform the old order or replace it. For that purpose it will have to create a new political culture and afterwards maintain it. The process of maintaining, transforming and creating a political culture is almost going on in every newly independent nation of Africa and Asia.

The process of political socialisation goes on throughout the life of the individual. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in a younger age may undergo fundamental change at an older age due to the contact with new education, changing social environment, new experiences in life and performance of every political party. When a country, for example, is facing war unsuccessfully, political instability and inflation owing to the corrupt and inefficient political leadership, radical changes take place in the minds of individuals overnight. Incidents like the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in 1919 provoked millions of Indians to join the national movement. The Vietnam War nearly provoked a civil commotion in the U.S.A.

Agent of Political Socialisation.

Political socialisation, as has already been explained, is the process by which the values, beliefs and emotions of a political culture are passed on to succeeding generations. The process starts at an early age and continues throughout life. The institutions of family, the school, religious institutions, the Peer group, mass media, experiences gained during employment etc. serve as its agencies. Of these the family is the first in order of importance. The following agents help the process of political socialisation.

1. **Family.** Family plays a key role in moulding the character of the child and his attitude towards authority. In the family, mother and father play the lead-

ing role in influencing the child in his formative stage. The formative stage of the child is from 3 to 15 years. Brothers and sisters also exercise a hidden influence upon the child. The mother and father exercise not only the hidden influence but also the manifest influence. The hidden influences shape his entire attitude towards authority, while manifest influence plays a direct role in the development of his political opinion.

2. **Educational Institutions.** After the family, educational institutions exercise the strongest possible influence, both latent (hidden) and manifest upon the child. Children getting education in a particular institution may develop a particular kind of frame of mind. The fact that about twenty five percent of all British Conservative MPs went to Eton is an indication of this. As the educational institutions exercise considerable influence, the selection of courses has become important. Jawaharlal Nehru had said many a time about the antinational role of the Muslim League in the post-independence days and his words had become quotations in many textbooks of Kerala. Therefore, the Muslim League after forming an alliance with the ruling partners insisted on the expunction of these remarks from the text books.

3. **Peer group.** Peer groups also create a particular influence on the mind of individual more than in or outside the school. Peer group is a group of people of the same age sharing similar problems. Peer group is thus a friendly group. Changes in one's mental attitude from hostility and aggression to cooperation or vice versa are registered while in the company of friends. The courses of study, debates, discussions

and extra-curricular activities have their own impact upon the attitudes of the grown-up students. The socialising influence of parents and teachers begins to decrease in early adolescence and from then Peer groups exercise increasingly important influences on political attitudes and behaviour.” As the person grows older, some Peer groups that were highly influential in his adolescence are superseded as required by the circumstances of his new life, such as work associates, neighbours and above all, husband or wife.

4. **Mass Media.** Mass media plays a significant role in moulding the views of children. It is communication - whether written, broadcast or spoken - that reaches a large audience. A controlled mass media may bring out a sort of uniformity of views and a special like for the existing political system but free mass media (Television, radio, and free press) may create a special dislike and resentment in the mind of the individual against a dictatorial political system. According to Lucian Pye, “Socialisation through the mass media is the best short-run technique available and it is crucial to modernization.” It was perhaps on this account that mass media was controlled by the Congress Government during the Internal Emergency (1975-77), but it was extremely disliked by the people and they voted the congress out.
5. **Experience in employment.** Experiences which are gained while in employment are also very important. An individual brought up in a family given to co-operation by nature and believing in democratic principles, may develop a strong sense of resentment, even of violence, if he finds his employer be-

having meanly. In employment one learns about the attitude of dominance of employers towards the employees and a superiority complex of the officers towards the subordinates. It relates to the physical, digital and cultural environments of an organization. A general strike of the workers for the improvement of their wages and conditions of work and consequent collective bargaining by the workers may exercise strong political influence or powerful socialisation both for the workers and employers.

6. **Religious institutions.** Religious institutions play an important role in Political socialisation. Churches, temples, mosques and other places of worship and institutions exist to support and manage the practice of a specific set of religious beliefs. This agent is the most active in India as the people are readily swayed by their religious feelings. The effect of the Church on political attitudes, is less apparent when it reinforces other socialising agencies, but the role of Roman Catholicism in many European countries, whether liberal democratic or totalitarian, offers illustrations of its conflict with both State and education, and is possibly a vital factor in the political behaviour of women in some countries.
7. **Role of Government and party agencies.** Political parties disseminate political knowledge and values, mobilise political action and train political leaders. Individuals come directly into contact with the governmental functionaries. They come to know what purpose the government stands for and what the government is doing. If the government does something good, the idea of obedience is reinforced in the

individual. If the government develops vested interests and ignores the interests of the labour class, the individual is bound to resent such action. “No matter how positive the views of the political system which has been inculcated by family and school,” writes Almond and Verba, “when a citizen is ignored by his party, cheated by his police, starved in the breadline, and finally conscripted in the army, his views of the political realm are likely to be altered.” The corruption and inefficiency which prevailed in the government, made many people remark that the British Government was better than the present one.

8. **Symbols.** Symbols also play an effective role in political socialisation. These include birthdays or martyrdom days of national heroes such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bhagat Singh or the respected leaders of any country. The observance of these days inculcates a new spirit among the youth and the people begin to dedicate themselves for national causes again. Symbols such as gestures, signs, objects, signals, and words help people understand that world.

9. **Political crisis and discontinuities of socialisation.**

It has been observed by Dawson and Prewitt that there may arise discontinuities of socialisation also. Such discontinuities may be caused by migration from one country to

another or from country to village or *vice versa*. The migration from village to city leads to discontinuity because their earlier socialisation does not help them. When they come to the cities, they face many problems. In the new atmosphere they find a lack of traditions, a lot of tough competition and no personal love. Student unrest in many countries is also due to the gap in socialisation. In the schools and colleges, they are taught the merits of democracy, but when they find the democracy in actual work they find many defects.

Contribution of political socialisation.

Like political culture, political socialisation also helps a lot in comparative study of political systems. It “seems to be one of the most promising approaches to understanding political stability and development.” It cannot be denied that political culture depends largely upon political socialisation. Only political socialisation can make us understand thoroughly what type a political culture a country possesses. Secondly, from

Political socialisation, we can also know when particular qualities and elements of a political culture grew. Thirdly, political socialisation helps us to understand who the leaders of a particular country are, what qualities they possess and how they are involved in politics in different countries. Fourthly, class wise and regional discontinuities in a political socialisation throw light on the problems of a particular country.

Recap

- ▶ Political culture is a pattern of attitudes and orientations towards politics from among the members of the political system.
- ▶ The orientation involves several components including cognitive orientations, affective orientation and evaluative orientation,
- ▶ The nature and extent of these orientations change from society to society.

This led Almond and Verba to classify the political culture in to pure forms and mixed forms.

- ▶ Political culture is not always homogeneous, but may be heterogeneous. Sub-cultures may grow on the basis of region, religion, social class, language, generation, occupation and the like .
- ▶ Political socialisation is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed.
- ▶ The process of political socialisation is universal which begins at early childhood and continues throughout the life span of individuals.
- ▶ Political socialisation maintains, transforms and creates political culture.
- ▶ The various elements of political socialisation are transmitted through a variety of agents like family, education, peer groups, mass media, employment, religious institutions, government symbols etc.
- ▶ Political crisis leads to discontinuities in socialisation.

Objective Type Questions

1. What is the process by which political culture is maintained and changed?
2. Who are the main agents responsible for political socialisation?
3. What do individuals acquire through political socialisation?
4. What is the term for attitudes, beliefs and values prevalent in a society?
5. What shapes an individual's political attitudes and behaviors?
6. Which institutions play a significant role in shaping political attitudes from a young age?
7. What is the primary aim of political socialisation?
8. What is the study of attitudes, beliefs and values in a political system known as?
9. What is the process by which norms and behaviors acceptable to a political system are transmitted?
10. Which factor contributes to the inter-generational continuity of political culture?

Answers to Objective Type Questions

1. Socialisation
2. Institutions
3. Values
4. Culture
5. Socialisation
6. Family
7. Transmission
8. Political culture
9. Socialisation
10. Learning

Assignments

1. Discuss the significance of political culture in shaping the success or failure of political systems, using examples from different countries.
2. Analyse the role of family, education, and mass media in political socialisation, highlighting their impact on political attitudes and behaviors.
3. Compare and contrast different types of political culture, focusing on their characteristics and implications for governance.
4. Evaluate the influence of political crisis on socialisation processes, considering its effects on individual attitudes and collective behavior.
5. Explore the role of religious institutions and symbols in shaping political values, drawing examples from diverse cultural contexts.
6. Discuss the challenges of studying political culture and socialisation, addressing issues such as definition, measurement and interpretation.
7. Examine the impact of globalisation on political culture, considering its effects on cultural values and identities.
8. Assess the role of political leaders and government agencies in political socialisation, analyzing their strategies and objectives.
9. Investigate the relationship between political culture and socio-economic factors, exploring how economic conditions shape political attitudes.
10. Propose strategies for promoting civic engagement and political literacy among youth, considering the role of education and media in the process.

Suggested Readings

1. Finer, Herman, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government* (OUP,1980)
2. b. Gauba, O. P, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, (Macmillan,2013)
3. A. C. Kapur, *Principles of Political Science*, (Chand and Company LTD. 2008)

BLOCK - 02

Major Approaches to The Study of Political Science

Unit 1

Behavioural Approach and Post – Behavioural Approach

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of the unit will enable you to :

- ▶ Identify and differentiate between traditional and modern approaches in political science;
- ▶ Explain the characteristics and significance of modern approaches, particularly the behavioural approach;
- ▶ Analyse the criticisms and limitations of behaviouralism in political science;
- ▶ Understand the emergence and key features of post-behaviouralism as a paradigm shift in political science;
- ▶ Evaluate the contributions and relevance of post-behaviouralism to the study of political science.

Prerequisites

Prior knowledge of the historical development of political thought and the evolution of political institutions is crucial for understanding the shifts in the approaches in political science. A familiarity with basic principles of sociology, psychology and economics will provide a foundation for grasping the interdisciplinary nature of modern approaches in political science. Understanding the complexities of human behaviour and social structures is essential for comprehending the critiques and challenges faced by behaviouralism and the subsequent emergence of post-behaviouralism. Furthermore, a critical mindset that questions prevailing paradigms and explores alternative perspectives will enhance engagement with the unit content.

Keywords

Traditional approaches, modern approaches, behavioural approach, post-behaviouralism, empirical investigation, interdisciplinary study, scientific methods, normative concerns, practical relevance.

Discussion

An approach may be defined as a way of looking at and then explaining a particular phenomenon. An approach looks closely related to a theory because its character determines the way of generalization, explanation, prediction and prescription - all of which are the main functions of a theory. But a line of difference between the two may be drawn. The term 'theory' is so vague that its real meaning becomes interminable in some critical situations. It may be identified with anything like idea, thought, trend, tendency, conjecture, principle, doctrine, hypothesis, speculation, explanation, even interpretation of some kind. An approach is transformed into a theory if and when its function extends beyond the selection of problems and data about the subjects under study.

2.1.1 Approaches of Political Science:

To study of political science and in the process of search for political truth certain procedure must be followed. These procedures are defined as approaches, methods, techniques and strategies. Approaches to study political science are grouped as traditional and modern approaches and post- modern approach.

2.1.1.1 Behavioural Approach (Modern Approach)

Modern approach:

After studying politics with the help of traditional approaches, the political thinkers of the later stage felt the necessity to study politics from a new perspective. Thus, to minimize the deficiencies of the traditional approaches, various new approaches have been advocated by the new political thinkers. These new approaches are regarded as the "modern approaches" to the study of Political Science. Modern approaches are fact-based

approaches. They lay emphasis on factual study of political events and try to arrive at scientific and definite conclusions. The aim of modern approaches is to replace normativism with empiricism. Therefore, modern approaches are marked by empirical investigation of relevant data.

2.1.2.1 Characteristics of Modern Approaches:

1. These approaches try to draw conclusion from empirical data.
2. These approaches go beyond the study of political structures and its historical analysis.
3. Modern Approaches believe in inter-disciplinary study.
4. They emphasize scientific methods of study and attempt to draw scientific conclusions in Political Science.

Modern approaches include the sociological approach, the psychological approach, the economic approach, the quantitative approach, the simulation approach, the system approach, the behavioural approach and the Marxian approach.

Among the modern empirical approaches, the behavioural approach to study political science grabbed a notable place. The most eminent exponents of this approach are David Etson, Robert, A. Dahl, Harold Lasswell, E. M. Kirkpatrick and Heinz Eulau. The behavioural approach is a political theory which is the result of increasing attention given to behaviour of ordinary man. The theorist Kirkpatrick stated that traditional approaches accepted institution as the basic unit of research, but the behavioural approach considers the behaviour of individual in political situation as the basis.

2.1.2.2 Salient Features of Behaviourism:

David Easton has pointed out certain salient features of behaviouralism which are

regarded as its intellectual foundations. These are:

Regularities: This approach believes that there are certain uniformities in political behaviour of people which can be expressed in generalizations or theories in order to explain and predict political phenomena. In a particular situation the political behaviour of individuals may be more or less similar. Such regularities of behaviour may help the researcher to analyse a political situation as well as to predict the future political phenomena. Study of such regularities makes Political Science more scientific with some predictive value. Voting behaviour of people is an example.

Verification: The behaviouralists do not want to accept everything as granted. Therefore, they emphasize testing and verifying everything. According to them, knowledge, in order to be valid, should include only those propositions which have been empirically tested. All the evidence must be based on observation. It is subjected to checking and rechecking.

Techniques: The behaviouralists put emphasis on the use of correct techniques for collecting and interpreting data. They are of the view that a researcher must make use of sophisticated tools of study like sample surveys, mathematical models, simulation etc.

Quantification: After collecting data, the researcher should measure and quantify those data. Quantification and measurement are absolutely essential. All findings must be based on quantified data.

Values: The behaviouralists have put heavy emphasis on separation of facts from values. They believe that values and facts are two different things. They must be kept separate in an analytical investigation.

Systematization: According to the behaviouralists, research in Political Science must be systematic. It must be theory oriented and theory directed. Theory and research should go together.

Pure Science: Another characteristic of behaviouralism has been its aim to make Political Science a “pure science.” They believe that scientific knowledge of Political Science is absolutely essential. The research should be perfectly verifiable by evidence.

Integration: According to the behaviouralists, Political Science should not be separated from various other social sciences like history, sociology, economics etc. This approach believes that political events are shaped by various other factors in the society and therefore, it would be wrong to separate Political Science from other disciplines. Therefore, they advocate the integration of political science with other social sciences.

Behaviouralism --- A Critical analysis

1. According to Christian Bay, behaviouralism is not true or real politics, it is pseudo-politics.

He says that behaviouralism is not, in the real sense, politics. It is pseudo-politics because its aim is not the general welfare or development of society. What a person thinks or aims at forms the core of research. Personal behaviour or attitude constitutes the general assumptions.

2. The approach of the behaviouralists towards democracy is not clear and up to satisfaction. They talk about democracy but a very commonsense idea about democracy reveals that the concept of democracy is not separate from value judgment and ethical explanation. A critic observes: “It is paradoxical that some of the leading behavioural writers on democracy continue to

write as if they want to have it both ways: to be rigorously value neutral and at the same time be impeccable champions of conventional pluralist democracy.” This is a grave charge against behaviouralists.

3. Leo Strauss has levelled another charge against behaviouralism. He says that so far as the behaviouralist literature is concerned, it appears that the behaviouralists are supporters of Liberal democracy. It is because they pay maximum importance to the opinions of individuals. But in the ultimate analysis it will be found that they are profoundly conservative.

The American behaviouralists do not want any radical change in their political systems because change in political system means radical revision or abolition of the existing bourgeois structure: “Politics or at any rate American politics is and must always remain primarily a system of rules for peaceful battles between competing private interests and not an arena for struggle towards a more humane and more rationally organized society.”

4. Behaviouralism deliberately overlooks a very important aspect of capitalist society. The voting behaviour of an individual does not grow and exist in a vacuum; it is circumscribed by social, political and economic phenomena. In a capitalist society there are several classes and among them two are very important.

These two classes are the bourgeois and the proletariat and because of economic reasons, are at loggerheads. Moreover, the voting behaviour of a person is, to a large extent, determined by his position in society. The voting behaviour of a poor man is different from that of a rich man and if it is the case one cannot form any opinion about their political behaviour. By neglecting this aspect, the behaviouralists have committed a blunder.

5. A political scientist, including the behaviouralists, must start from the existing set-up or structure. The purpose of his analysis is to suggest a new model or structure, which will serve the needs of society. If a model or recommendation fails to meet the requirements of society it will prove its futility. Hence, a major conceptual and theoretical task is to develop a satisfactory theory of human needs and of the relationships between needs and wants.

To achieve this end the political scientist must make recommendations which are related with political development. Judging behaviouralism in politics by this criterion we can unhesitatingly say that the task of the behaviouralist has not fulfilled the criterion noted just now. It says nothing about political development or comparative politics.

It focuses its attention mainly on the political behaviour of individuals. But a comparative analysis of political behaviour of men in different political systems is required to form a balanced and acceptable conclusion. Behaviouralism does not throw light on this.

The lack of interest of behaviouralism in political development and comparative politics is regarded as the most pronounced drawback and this cannot be ignored. It is believed that a transition from one stage to a higher one can assure the fulfillment of human needs. It is true that all the needs of individuals will not be satisfied. But the process of political development will continue. Behaviouralism lacks this capacity.

6. Stephen Wasby contends that behaviouralism practically has said nothing new. Most of its arguments were stated in the twenties and thirties of the last century. Let us quote him: “While the behaviouralists appeared to be conveying new doctrine, many of their arguments about establishing the

scientific character of the study of politics were old.”

This objection of Wasby is not without validity. The two chief pillars of behaviouralism are the political behaviour of the voter and the application of empirical or scientific methods for the analysis of this behaviour.

If we look at the political literature published in the first two or three decades of the twentieth century, we shall find that many of them dealt with these two concepts. But the drawback of the earlier thinkers was that their views were not brought to the attention of larger segments of the academic circles with a great fanfare.

7. We generally criticise the traditionalists for their bias towards institutions and organisations. But the behaviouralists suffer from the same shortcoming, that is, bias. The behaviouralists have given undue and maximum importance to the political behaviour / opinion of the voter and showing coolness to the organizations and institutions which play crucial role in all democratic societies. Hence, for a balanced account of a political concept it is essential that both organizations and political behaviour are squarely dealt with.

8. The behaviouralists have already assumed that the individuals behave rationally. But there are a number of shortcomings for this assumption. All the individuals are not supposed to be rational. For a rational behaviour, sufficient education, consciousness and other preconditions are necessary.

But, all the individuals do not possess these qualities in total. If it is admitted, we cannot expect that all the individuals will be rational. The utilitarian philosophers also built up their doctrine on the concept of rationality and it faced the same criticism.

9. It has been maintained by critics that behaviouralism was propounded to meet the looming crises of capitalism. The propounders diluted (of course skilfully) the crises in capitalism with ideological pronouncements and this dilution is the cause of a lot of confusion. We find that behaviouralism has innocuously defended capitalism. Critics are of the opinion that the behaviouralists could have done it without propounding a high-sounding and complicated political theory.

10. Wasby has drawn our attention to another dark side of behaviouralism. The inordinate emphasis on the scientific methods by behaviouralists has faced criticism. The behaviouralists boastfully declare that their application of improved and sophisticated techniques has considerably enhanced the importance of the concept.

But the accuracy of the doctrine has never been judged properly. Let us see what Wasby says on this point: “Because of the heavy emphasis by behaviouralists on methods, the criticism that they are more interested in techniques than the results they obtain does strike home with certain accuracy.” The behaviouralists, it is observed, select topics / subjects which suit their interests and about which data and facts are available.

This policy has failed to make behaviouralism a comprehensive theory. Moreover, collection of data is not everything about a concept. Correct facts and data are to be collected, they are to be analysed properly and for this purpose good techniques are to be applied and the persons who apply them must be efficient and qualified.

All these conditions must be fulfilled for constructing a comprehensive theory. Critics are doubtful about the realization of all these conditions. The behaviour or opinion of the voters may change or is subject to change.

To meet this situation new techniques may be required. But the behaviouralists are silent on this issue.

2.1.3 Post Behavioural Approach

2.1.3.1 Post-Behaviouralism: A Paradigm Shift in Political Science

Post-Behaviouralism emerged as a significant shift in the field of Political Science during the mid-20th century, challenging the dominant paradigm of Behaviouralism. This movement marked a departure from the purely empirical and value-neutral approach of Behaviouralism, emphasizing instead the importance of normative concerns, qualitative analysis and interdisciplinary perspectives. In this essay, we will delve into the origins, characteristics, criticisms, and contributions of post-Behaviouralism, highlighting its impact on the study of politics.

2.1.3.2 Origins and Context

Towards the end of 1960s, there started a new and strong movement in political science called post-behaviouralism. It was a new revolution in the development of the discipline. It was a new challenge to behaviouralism. Teaching and research in American universities were scientific. The behaviouralists failed to propose any remedy for the problems faced by the society. Many behaviouralists turned to become post-behaviouralists. Scholars like David Easton, Gabriel Almond and David Truman played pivotal roles in shaping this new paradigm. They emphasized the need to reintroduce normative concerns, values and qualitative methodologies into Political Science, recognizing the inherent complexity and ambiguity of political phenomena.

2.1.3.3 Characteristics of Post-Behaviouralism:

David Easton summarises seven major tenets of post-behaviouralism. He calls them

as ‘credo of relevance.’ They are:

- Substance must have precedence over techniques;
- Emphasis on social change rather than social preservation.
- Political science should not lose touch with brute realities of politics.
- Political science should not be value free
- Political scientists must protect human values of civilization.
- Emphasis on action in the place of contemplative science.
- Need for politicisation of the profession.

Post-behaviouralism encouraged interdisciplinary approaches, drawing insights from fields such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology and history. It recognized that politics cannot be understood in isolation but requires insights from diverse disciplines to grasp its multifaceted nature.

Normative Concerns: Unlike behaviouralism, which focused primarily on empirical analysis, Post-behaviouralism reintroduced normative considerations into Political Science. It emphasized the importance of ethical principles, justice and values in shaping political inquiry and decision-making.

Qualitative Methods: While behaviouralism prioritised quantitative methods and statistical analysis, Post-behaviouralism advocated a more nuanced and qualitative approach. It highlighted the significance of case studies, textual analysis and interpretive methodologies to capture the complexity of political phenomena.

Critical Reflection: Post-behaviouralism encouraged critical reflection on the assumptions, biases and limitations inherent in political inquiry. It urged scholars to question

dominant paradigms, challenge existing power structures and explore alternative perspectives to enrich political discourse.

Relevance to Real-World Issues: Unlike behaviouralism, which was criticized for its detachment from real-world problems, Post-behaviouralism emphasized the practical relevance of Political Science. It sought to address pressing social issues, engage with policy debates and contribute to positive social change.

2.1.3.4 Criticism of Post-behaviouralism:

Despite its contributions, post-behaviouralism faced criticism from traditionalists and proponents of other paradigms within Political Science.

Lack of Methodological Rigour: Critics argued that the emphasis of post-behaviouralism on qualitative methods and normative concerns undermined the scientific rigour and objectivity of Political Science, leading to subjective interpretations and ideological biases.

Theoretical Fragmentation: Some scholars criticized post-behaviouralism for its theoretical pluralism and lack of a coherent framework. They argued that the eclectic nature of post-behaviouralism hindered cumulative progress and theoretical integration within the discipline.

Normative Bias: Critics raised concerns about the normative orientation of post-behaviouralism, suggesting that it risked politicising research and neglecting empirical evidence in favour of ideological agendas.

Limited Policy Relevance: Despite its emphasis on addressing real-world issues, critics contended that the focus of post-behaviouralism on theoretical debates and abstract concepts often resulted in a

disconnect from practical policy implications and implementation.

2.1.3.5 Contributions of Post-behaviouralism:

Enriched Methodological Toolbox: Post-behaviouralism expanded the methodological repertoire of Political Science, incorporating qualitative approaches, interpretive methodologies and interdisciplinary perspectives, thereby enhancing the analytical toolkit of the discipline.

Critical Engagement: Post-behaviouralism fostered critical engagement with existing paradigms, encouraging scholars to question dominant assumptions, challenge power structures and explore alternative perspectives, leading to greater intellectual diversity within the discipline.

Enhanced Relevance: By reintroducing normative concerns and emphasizing the practical relevance of Political Science, Post-behaviouralism contributed to a renewed focus on addressing real-world issues, engaging with policy debates and promoting positive social change.

Interdisciplinary Dialogue: Post-behaviouralism facilitated interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration, bridging the gap between Political Science and other disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology and history, enriching the study of politics with diverse insights and perspectives.

Epistemological Reflection: Post-behaviouralism prompted epistemological reflection on the nature and purpose of Political Science, encouraging scholars to critically examine the assumptions, biases and limitations inherent in political inquiry, thereby fostering greater self-awareness and methodological reflexivity.

In conclusion, Post-behaviouralism represents a significant paradigm shift in Political Science, challenging the dominant positivist and empiricist approach of behaviouralism and advocating a more holistic, normative and interdisciplinary understanding of politics. While facing criticisms and controversies, Post-behaviouralism has made substantial contributions to the discipline, enriching its methodological diversity, intellectual vitality, and practical relevance, thereby shaping the trajectory of Political Science in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Recap

- ▶ Behaviouralism is a protest movement within Political science associated with a number of political scientists, particularly Americans.
- ▶ It is a movement for inter-disciplinary approach. Its aim is to bring political science closer to other social sciences.
- ▶ The essential feature of behaviouralism is the shift of focus from institutions to structures, functions and processes.
- ▶ David Easton, the chief exponent of behaviouralism, has given certain characteristics of behaviouralism. He calls them as the 'Intellectual Foundation stones.'
- ▶ The Intellectual Foundation stones laid down by Easton are: Regularities, Techniques, Quantification, Values, Systematization, Pure science and integration.
- ▶ Towards the end of the sixties a powerful attack was made on the behaviouralist position by David Easton himself.
- ▶ There arose as a reaction against the kind of political research and teaching in American universities.
- ▶ Two basic motivations behind post-behaviouralism are relevance and action.

Objective Questions

1. What is the aim of modern approaches to political science?
2. Who are the proponents of the behavioural approach?
3. What does behaviouralism emphasize about political behaviour?
4. What does David Easton emphasize about behaviouralism?
5. What is Christian Bay's criticism of behaviouralism?
6. How does post-behaviouralism differ from behaviouralism?
7. What does post-behaviouralism encourage in research?
8. What does post-behaviouralism emphasize in political science?
9. What is one major contribution of post-behaviouralism?
10. What is a potential criticism of post-behaviouralism?

Answers

1. Empiricism.
2. Easton, Dahl, Kirkpatrick, Eulau.
3. Individual.
4. Regularities.
5. Pseudo-political.
6. Normative.
7. Interdisciplinarity.
8. Normative.
9. Methodological.
10. Disconnect.

Assignments

1. What are the key characteristics of the behavioural approach in political science and how do they differ from traditional approaches?
2. Discuss the criticisms raised against behaviouralism, focusing on its alleged neglect of social, political, and economic factors in explaining individual political behaviour.
3. Evaluate the argument put forth by Christian Bay that behaviouralism is pseudo-politics rather than real politics?
4. Explain Strauss's critique and assess its validity in the context of behaviouralist approach to political change.
5. Discuss the challenges and limitations in applying behaviouralism to the study of democratic systems.
6. Compare and contrast the traditionalist and behaviouralist perspectives on political science research.
7. How does post-behaviouralism differ from behaviouralism and what prompted the emergence of this new paradigm?
8. Do you think these criticisms undermine the significance of post-behaviouralism as a paradigm shift in political science?
9. Discuss the contributions of post-behaviouralism to the study of politics, particularly in terms of enriching the discipline's methodological diversity.
10. Compare the epistemological reflections prompted by behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism.

Suggested Readings

1. Gauba, O. P, An Introduction to Political Theory (New Delhi, Macmillan,2013)
2. Mahajan, V. D, Political Theory (New Delhi, S. Chand, 2010)
3. Verma.S. P. Modern Political Theory (Vikas,1985)

Unit 2

System Theory

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of the unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the basic principles of systems theory and its application to political systems;
- ▶ Identify and analyse the components of the political system according to structural - functional analysis;
- ▶ Evaluate the role of inputs, outputs and feedback loops in shaping political systems;
- ▶ Critically assess the strengths and weaknesses of systems analysis in understanding political phenomena; and
- ▶ Compare and contrast structural functionalism with other theoretical approaches in political science.

Prerequisites

A prerequisite for understanding political systems analysis is a comprehensive grasp of historical contexts and evolutionary trajectories of political structures. This prerequisite necessitates delving into the nuanced historical developments that have shaped modern political systems worldwide. By examining the historical foundations of political institutions, ideologies and power dynamics, students can appreciate the intricate interplay between continuity and change within political systems. Furthermore, understanding historical contingencies helps elucidate the underlying structural and functional adaptations that have occurred over time, providing valuable insights into the resilience and vulnerabilities of political systems in the face of internal and external pressures.

Moreover, an exploration of historical prerequisites unveils the multifaceted interactions between socio - cultural, economic and geopolitical factors that have influenced the emergence and evolution of political structures. For instance, studying the colonial legacies in post-colonial states unveils the enduring impacts of imperial rule on governance structures and political identities. Similarly, analyzing the dynamics of revolutionary movements sheds light on the catalytic role of socio - economic disparities in driving transformative political change. Thus, by integrating historical prerequisites into the study of political systems analysis, students can develop a nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between past contingencies and present realities shaping contemporary political landscapes.

Keywords

Systems theory, Political system, Structural functionalism, Power relations, Feedback loop, Environmental influences, Roles, Inputs, Outputs, Criticism.

Discussion

Although structural functionalism has its origins dating back to ancient Greek times and Aristotle's writings, systems theory emerged later, with Ludwig von Bertalanffy being a key figure in its development during the 20th century. Despite the chronological difference, today's researchers often incorporate systems theory into their study of functions within structures. For instance, the study of political systems has benefited from both structural-functional and systems approaches. David Easton and Karl W. Deutsch applied a communication model to analyse politics, while Gabriel A. Almond integrated structural functionalism into systems theory, demonstrating the value of both perspectives in understanding political systems.

2.2.1 System theory

According to Anatol Rapoport, a system is a group of things that are connected, and how they behave and their history. He said that for something to be a system, it needs to meet these criteria:

1. You can list out the parts of the system.
2. Some parts of the system have relationships with each other.
3. Some relationships in the system lead to others.
4. The way things are connected at one time affects how they will be connected later.

This definition can include lots of different things, like the solar system or language. Social systems, like economics and politics, also fit this definition. They are made of different parts, like people, families and institutions

and the relationships between them, like, how they communicate or influence each other. Systems are sorted by how they interact with their surroundings and by looking for rules that explain how each type behaves. Systems act on their own to keep things stable, like how living things use mechanisms like homeostasis to stay balanced. Social systems have similar ways of keeping balance.

In physical sciences, like studying the solar system or chemical reactions, systems are very exact. But in social sciences, like studying human behaviour, systems are less clear cut. It is harder to define the parts and relationships in social systems. Roles, which are the basic parts of social systems, can be especially tricky to figure out. This kind of uncertainty might be a problem in the "hard" sciences, but it is expected in social sciences.

2.2.2 Political system

Political system is one among the social systems. This means that outside 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 or control over other systems. The concept of political system is the combination of two words - political and system. The word political mainly refers to power or authority. The word system indicates a set of elements standing in interaction.

David Easton defines a political system "as in that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented". According to Lasswell, "political system is a process of collecting policies with the help

of server deprivation”. Robert A Dahl defines political system “as any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority”.

Thus, it appears that political system is a pattern of human relationship through which authority decisions are made and carried out for a society. The political system includes not only governmental institutions such as legislature, executive and judiciary, but all structures in the political aspects. It is also concerned with informal organizations like political parties, pressure groups and means of communication. In a sense all structures in the political aspect are included in the political system.

2.2.2.1 System Analysis of Gabriel A. Almond (Structural Functional Analysis)

The method of system analysis adopted by Almond is more representative in political science than that of David Easton. He defines a political system as “that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of interaction and adoption by means of employment or threat of employment, of more or less physical compulsions.”

2.2.2.2 Characteristics of Political System

A system, according to Almond, is characterised by: 1. Comprehensiveness, 2. Interdependence, and 3. Existence of boundary. A system is comprehensive in the sense that it includes all the interactions - inputs as well as outputs. Interdependence means that the various subsets of the political system are so closely connected with each other that change in one subset of the system produces a change in all other subsets. Almond defines boundary as the point where other system ends and the political system begins. In addition to these characteristics, he also lists another feature of the system, ie., equilibrium. It implies that

a variable should change its position or its relation with another variable; it means that the variables have adjusted themselves with each other and reached a stage where a condition of harmony, stability or balance exists.

The above said features of the political system are structural features. Besides these, Almond claims that he is more interested in process than in institution. Therefore, he prefers to study the structures within the political system which have certain common characteristics.

They are;

- a. **Universality of political structures:**
- According to Almond, all political systems, whether primitive or modern, have the same political structures.
- b. **Universality of political function:**
- Every political system performs the same functions though there may be differences in different political systems.
- c. **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 aspect 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 legislature, executive and judiciary.
- d. **Culturally mixed character of the political system:** All political systems are culturally mixed in the sense that they combine modern and primitive elements. Both traditional and modern political systems have a share of mixed cultures. In this connection it may be stated that no political system is abso-

lutely traditional or modern, western or non western, eastern or non eastern, developed or underdeveloped.

2.2.2.3 Functions of the political system

Almond divides the functions of the political system into two - Inputs functions and outputs functions.

Inputs functions:

a. Political socialization and Recruitment

The process of induction of political culture into the members is called political socialization. The process of political socialization brings change in the pattern of political culture.

Political recruitment is concerned with the recruitment of citizens into the specialized role of the political system. They are trained in appropriate skills and given political values, expectations and effects. Once the process of political socialization and recruitments are complete, interest articulation and interest aggregation begin to be organized.

b. Interest Articulation

Interest articulation means presentation of interest / demand upon the political decision makers. Political parties and pressure groups are involved in the process. They bring the demand of the members to the attention of the decision makers. According to Almond an effective articulation takes the form of simple expression of gratitude, anger or hope.

c. Interest Aggregation

The function of converting demands into policy alternatives is called interest aggregation. Political parties constitute the main instrument of interest aggregation. In some systems, the aggregation function may be performed by the legislature, the cabinet, the bureaucracy and the media.

d. Political Communication

According to Almond, political communication is the medium through which other functions in the political system are performed. It is compared by Almond to the circulation of blood which nourishes the system. All input and output function in a political system are carried out by communication, what Almond terms political communication. It is a process whereby components of the political system, such as individuals or groups, and institutions, transmit and receive information regarding the functioning of the political system, mass media or the organization. Controlling the media of communication is most suited to perform this function.

2.2.2.4 Output functions

Outputs functions are authoritative decisions and actions of the system leaders. These functions are performed by governmental organs. Almond has not given great attention on these output functions. However, the outputs functions are;

a. Rule making

It is legislation or the lawmaking process. Rule making goes in every type of government, whether it is democracy or not. Lawmaking function is exercised by the legislature in a democracy. However, the Executive and the Judiciary are also involved in the process in the form of delegated legislation and administrative adjudication.

b. Rule application

Rule application implies execution of the laws enacted by the legislature. The rule application department consists of all officers who are engaged in carrying out the function of the government. In this context the role of bureaucracy may be remembered. Max Weber says bureaucracy is the very essence of the political modernization process.

c. Rule adjudication

It means interpretation or adjudication of laws. It is the main function of judiciary. It resolves disputes between government and citizens as well as among the citizens themselves. Adjudication involves the process of making authoritative decisions to see whether the rules have been followed in a particular case or not.

In his later writings, Almond takes note of some recent developments in system analysis, mainly under the influence of David Easton. He introduced the concept of capabilities in order to understand the extent to which the system can cope with inputs effectively. The capabilities of the political system may be either extractive (of resources), or regulative (over individuals and goods), or distributive (of goods and services). Besides, the system should possess the symbolic and responsive capabilities, in terms of domestic and international affairs.

The structural functional analysis of Almond has been found useful for comparative politics. However, it suffers from many inadequacies. It has been criticised that Almond talks of functions, without referring to a system in which functions have a meaning. Secondly, his definition of the political system is not very sound. Another point is that his analysis is primarily concerned with a system survival. Hence it is ideologically inclined towards conservatism. Besides, it may be argued that it is not suited to the analysis of power relation in a society. However, in any case, structural functional analysis is a significant advance in the sphere of political analysis.

2.2.2.5 System Analysis of David Easton (Input output Analysis)

David Easton is the first major political scientist who has developed a systematic frame work of politics as the authoritative

allocation of values. He treats all political system as open and adoptive. According to Easton, the political system receives inputs from the environment in the form of demands and supports. It produces outputs in the form of policies and decisions. The outputs flow back to the environment through a 'feedback' process, giving rise to fresh demands.

Input, output Analysis of David Easton revolves round three concepts - Input, output and feedback.

Inputs

Easton says that demands are the raw material out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured. Demand may arise from any source – the people, politicians, administrators, opinion makers and soon. Easton classifies demand in to four categories.

- a. Demands for allocation of good and services, such as wages and working conditions, educational opportunities, roads and transportations etc.
- b. Demands for the regulation of behaviour, such as provision of public safety, controls over markets and rules pertaining to marriage, health and sanitation.
- c. Demands for participation in the political system, such as right to vote, right to be a candidate for elections, right to access to all public offices and to form associations.
- d. Demands for communication, such as affirmation of norms, the information regarding policy intent and display of the majesty and power of the political system in times of foreign threats as well as on ceremonial occasions.

According to Easton, demands are not the only inputs, supports are also there. A political system receives considerable support from the environment, without which it cannot survive.

The support may be overt when an action is clearly and manifestly supported or covert which refers to the supporting attitudes. Supports are also subclassified into four types.

- a. Material support, such as payment of taxes and other levies to the government and rendering service in public interest, such as social work or military service.
- b. Obedience to laws, rules and regulations.
- c. Participatory support, such as voting, political discussion and other forms of political activities.
- d. Attention paid to the governmental communications and display of respect to public authorities, symbols and ceremonies.

Outputs

Outputs consist of policies and decisions. They are again sub classified into four categories:

- a. Extractive outputs, which takes the form of tributes, taxes or personal services.
- b. Regulation of behaviour, which may cover a wide range of human activities
- c. Allocation or distribution of good and services, opportunities, honours.
- d. Symbolic outputs, which take the form of affirmation of values, display of po-

litical symbols and communication of policy intent.

2.2.2.6 Feedback

The input output functions involve feedback. It is a dynamic process. Easton says that demands and support in the form of inputs go through a conversion process within the system itself and take the form of outputs. The output is putback into the system as input and is described as feedback by him. In a sense it is the public reaction to the outputs.

The feedback has two aspects- negative and goal changing. While negative feedback deals with the regulation of an error, the goal changing feedback deals with the problem of purposive redirection. This is, therefore, a flow model of the political system.

No doubt, the system analysis developed by Easton is to be considered as a pioneering task. His method has been found useful for comparative analysis of diverse political units. It has extensively been used for an analysis of international political system. This model served as a basis of structural functional analysis developed by Almond and the Communication model framed by Karl Deutch. However, it has been criticised for its inability in understanding the structure and function of political power and analysing mass political behaviour.

Recap

- ▶ Political system is one among the social systems. It is distinguished from other systems by its exercise of authority control.
- ▶ According to Almond a political system has three main properties – comprehensiveness, interdependence and existence of boundaries.
- ▶ The political system has five essential characteristics - universality of political functions, multi-functionality of political structures and culturally mixed character of political systems.

- ▶ Political system performs two types of functions according to Almond – Input functions and output functions.
- ▶ Almond has given seven variables to functional categories. Four of these are input functions and the remaining three are output functions.
- ▶ Almond also introduced the concept of capabilities to understand the extent to which the system can cope with the inputs effectively.
- ▶ David Easton's system analysis revolves round three key concepts - Input, output and feedback. Inputs consist of demands and supports and output consist of policies and decision. The public reaction to the output is feedback according to Easton.

Objective Questions

1. Who proposed systems theory?
2. What are the criteria for defining a system?
3. Who introduced structural functionalism?
4. What is the unit of analysis for power relations?
5. What is transmitted across the boundary of a system?
6. How many types of systems did Easton distinguish?
7. What are the main focuses of analysis in Easton's framework?
8. What are the main concerns raised by critics of systems analysis?
9. What are the observable patterns or uniformities in a system called?
10. What are the two types of structures highlighted by Levy?

Answers

1. Rapoport.
2. Criteria.
3. Parsons.
4. Roles.
5. Outputs.
6. Two.
7. Goals.
8. Weaknesses.
9. Structures.
10. Concrete and analytic.

Assignments

1. Discuss the relevance of feedback loops in maintaining stability within political systems.
2. Compare and contrast the methodologies of systems theory and structural functionalism in political science.
3. Critically evaluate the utility of systems analysis in understanding complex political phenomena.
4. Examine the impact of external influences on the internal dynamics of political systems, using relevant examples.
5. Analyse the role of historical contingencies in shaping the structural and functional aspects of contemporary political systems.
6. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of structural-functional analysis in explaining power dynamics within political institutions.
7. Explore the implications of political bias in systems analysis for the objectivity of political research.
8. Investigate the challenges of defining boundaries and variables within political systems, providing possible solutions.
9. Propose alternative theoretical frameworks for analysing political systems and justify their applicability.
10. Reflect on the role of normative patterns and traditions in shaping institutional structures within political systems, drawing on relevant theoretical perspectives.

Suggested Readings

1. Guha, R. (2007). *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. Harper Collins.
2. Kaviraj, S. (2010). *The Imaginary Institution of India: Politics and Ideas*. Columbia University Press.
3. Kothari, R. (1970). *Politics in India*. Orient Blackswan.

Unit 3

The Marxian Approach

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of the unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the foundational concepts of the Marxian approach to socio-economic analysis of politics;
- ▶ Analyse and critique the development of capitalism through the lens of historical materialism;
- ▶ Evaluate the role of class struggle in systemic economic change within capitalist societies;
- ▶ Examine the principles of communism and socialism as outlined by Karl Marx;
- ▶ Critically assess the relevance and limitations of the Marxist theory in contemporary political analysis.

Prerequisites

Before delving into the Marxian approach, it is essential to have a basic understanding of classical economic theories, particularly those related to capitalism and socialism. Additionally, familiarity with key historical events that shaped socio-economic structures, such as the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the bourgeoisie, provides important context. Moreover, an appreciation for philosophical and sociological theories, including dialectical materialism and the concept of class struggle, lays a strong foundation for comprehending the Marxist perspectives on politics and society.

The Marxian approach offers a unique lens to view political and economic phenomena. Its emphasis on historical materialism underscores the interconnected nature of economic structures and social relations, illuminating how shifts in production relations drive social change. Through the theory of surplus value, Marx exposes the inherent exploitation within capitalist systems, shedding light on the unequal distribution of wealth and power. Moreover, the concept of class struggle elucidates the dynamics of power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, laying the groundwork for revolutionary change. Ultimately, Marx envisions a classless and stateless society where economic and social justice prevail, signaling the potential for transformative social shifts.

Keywords

Marxism, Capitalism, Communism, Class struggle, Dialectics, Historical materialism, Proletariat, Bourgeoisie, Surplus value, Revolution.

Discussion

The Marxian Approach is a popular approach. It stands for a socio-economic analysis of politics. Several political scientists all over the world use this approach for analysing, explaining and predicting the process of politics at work in various states of the world.

Many political scientists of the Third World countries have been using this approach. However, the Marxist political scientists regard it as the approach to the study of politics, other political scientists regard it as a very helpful sociological approach to the study of politics.

Marxism is a political and social theory that argues that social change comes about through economic class struggle. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed the theory in the 19th century

2.3.1 Marxism Formed the philosophical basis for the Rise of Communism in the early 20th century.

1. Historical materialism to analyse and critique the development of capitalism and the role of class struggle in systemic economic change.
2. Class conflict within capitalism arises due to intensifying contradictions between the highly productive mechanised production performed by the workers and the private ownership.
3. Appropriation of the profit (surplus product) by a small minority of the population who are private owners are called the bourgeoisie.

4. The eventual long term outcome of this revolution would be the establishment of socialism.
5. Marx hypothesised that socialism would eventually give way to a communist stage of social development, which would be a classless, stateless, society. The basic rule is, “from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs.”
6. As today, the unregulated race of technology to develop worker-less economy leads to a society which will be unemployed and served by robots and “equal” unemployment insurance (supported by a few billionaires owning those robots) to pay bills and buy food. It means that Marx was right in the big picture of economic development, but he was wrong in the small picture since he did not predict the role of technology in achieving his communist goal.

2.3.2 Marxism

Marxism is an economic and social system based upon the political and economic theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. While it would take veritable volumes to explain the full implications and ramifications of the Marxist social and economic ideology, Marxism is summed up in the Encarta Reference Library as “a theory in which class struggle is a central element in the analysis of social change in Western societies.” Marxism is the antithesis of capitalism, defined by Encarta as “an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods, characterized by a free competitive market and motivation by profit.” Marxism is the system of socialism of which

the dominant feature is public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

Communism and socialism are often confused with each other; Karl Marx was the father of communism. He also used the term scientific socialism to communism. They are, however, different concepts bearing different meanings and connotations, It is said that all communists are socialists, but all socialists are not communists. Hence, in a way, communism is a branch or form of socialism. Communism is a more radical, revolutionary and violent form of socialism.

“Communism means a political theory advocating a society in which all property is publicly owned and each person is paid and works according to his or her needs and abilities.”

Communism and Socialism share the same goal, i.e., economic justice, but differ in the means. Communists often position themselves against the ruling government and seek to achieve their programme through political confrontation. Socialist seek to achieve their goals by co - operating with the government.

2.3.3 Marx in his books The Communist Manifesto and Das Capital explained the basic principles of communism.

These principles are as follows:

1. Dialectical Materialism;
2. The Materialistic interpretation of history;
3. Theory of surplus value;
4. Theory of class war;
5. The Dictatorship of the proletariat; and
6. Classless and stateless society.

2.3.3.1 Dialectical Materialism

The philosophy of communism is known

as Dialectical Materialism.

The word ‘dialectic’ literally means discussion or logical argument.

The theory of Dialectical Materialism is based on Hegel’s theory of the dialectic, which explains the progress of civilization through thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Hegel says that human society progresses through gradual evolution. This evolution occurs with the process of dialectic, i.e., logical discussion, the acceptance of newer and better ideas and the rejection of older and outdated ideas. The process of acceptance of what is good and rejection of what is bad occurs as follows:

At any given point of time there exists one dominant idea in society, termed as thesis; over a period of time there emerges a new idea opposing the thesis, termed as antithesis. The thesis and antithesis clash, discussion and argument take place and a new idea emerges. It contains the good elements of both. With the passage of time, the synthesis becomes thesis which gives rise to its anti - thesis and eventually there emerges a new synthesis. This process of development continues throughout the evolution of nature and society.

Thesis X Antithesis = Synthesis.

Karl Marx applied the theory of dialectic to communism. According to him capitalism is the thesis, Proletariat class is the antithesis and communism is the synthesis.

Capitalism X Proletariat class = Communism. Thus, Dialectics is a theory of development. It is the soul of Marxism. Karl Marx applied the theory of dialectic to materialism.

Features of Dialectical Materialism-

- Dialectics regard nature as a connected and integral whole.
- Nature is not stable. It is subject to change and change is continu-

- ous.
- There is constant conflict and contradictions between the Negative and positive forces - Thesis X Antithesis
- Changes in dialectics are rapid.
- Quantitative change (rise in the number of property less proletariat class) will bring qualitative change (communist society)

2.3.3.2 The Materialistic interpretation of history

Marxian interpretation of history is based on materialism. According to him economic structure of society decides the other structures of society. All the social, political, intellectual relations, legal systems and outlooks which emerge in the course of history are derived from the material conditions of life.

A particular class which gets control on the means of production dominates the rest. It will use political power along with its economic might to oppress the others and thus create a revolutionary situation. Thus the whole 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 economic forces of that stage.

Principles of historical materialism are as follows:

- Change and development of society take place according to the objective laws, not according to divine law. (objective laws relate to the material world)
- Progress and development are determined by the material conditions of social life.
- Change in production relations

call forth a change in the whole social system and political order. Example: Masters and slaves, Feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and workers.

2.3.3.3 Theory of surplus value

Marx was of the opinion that it is the labourer and his work that gives a commodity its value, For instance, it is the carpenter who turns a piece of wood into a chair and enhances the value of the chair. A piece of wood costing Rs 300/-, Carpenters get Rs 200/-, a piece of wood turns into chair- Rs 2000/-.

Theory of surplus value is an extension of his theory of the labour theory of value. The difference between the value of goods produced by the workers and the actual wages paid to them means our surplus value. Value to the commodity is created by the worker but profit (surplus value) is pocketed by the capitalist. (Profit in the above case Rs 1500/-) The capitalist keeps the maximum share of profit (Rs 1500/-) and gives the carpenter a much smaller share (Rs 200/-) This difference between the selling price of the commodity and the amount paid to the labourer is termed as “surplus value”

The capitalist can exploit the workers because they own the means of production and the workers are forced to sell their labour to them. While employing them, they pay them minimum wages and get more work done by them.

To expose the injustice and exploitation under the capitalist system Marx explained the theory of surplus value.

According to Marx, labour is the real productive factor but the worker does not receive a just share of the value. This exploitation will serve as one of the reasons that motivates the proletariat to revolt against

the Bourgeoisie, leading to a class war.

2.3.3.4 Theory of class struggle

The Communist Manifesto, the Bible of the working class, starts with the statement: “The history of all existing society is the history of the class struggles.” The struggle is between the two opposing classes: the class of oppressors and the class of the oppressed. At every stage of social development, a particular class got control on the means of production and exploited the rest. The dominant class alone enjoyed freedom and used the state also as an instrument to preserve its economic power.

Causes of class struggle

In the Capitalist system working class are subjected to exploitation. They will feel capitalism is the source of their misery and suffering. In the capitalist order the interest of the capitalist class is to maximize profit, whereas the interest of the working class lies in the enhancement of wages. They are opposed to each other and this produces class struggle.

Marx believed that the class struggle and destruction of capitalism were inevitable because capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction. When the proletariat takes class consciousness, the class struggle will take the form of revolution. In this struggle on the one side is the labour or poor class and on the other the capitalist class, who are few in number. When the struggle is mounted between the two, the middle class will give leadership to the labour class. Marx called upon the working class to unite and overthrow the capitalist order. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Thus, through a socialistic revolution the establishment of working class will overthrow the capitalists 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.

2.3.3.5 The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Marx believed that when the class war takes place, the proletariat will emerge victorious. Although the purpose of the class war is to establish a stateless and classless society, this objective cannot be achieved until all state institutions such as the bureaucracy; judiciary, legislature, executive etc. are abolished. Hence before the abolition of the state, society would have to undergo a transitional period in which the proletariat assumed control over all aspects of the state.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat means power in the hands of the working people for building up a communist society.

- In this period proletariat will gradually take over all natural resources and means of production under its control.
- The proletariat will discard all institutions that were associated with the capitalist state and set up a new legislature, a new judiciary, a new code of law and a new police force.
- The workers will set up their own centralized apparatus and force the total defeat of the capitalist class.
- The goods and services will be distributed according to the principle: “to each according to his need and from each according to his ability.”

2.3.3.6 Classless and Stateless society

Marx says that during the phase of dictatorship of the proletariat, the labour class would control the state’s institutions and use them to destroy capitalism. The proletariat

would then use the state institutions to establish a society based on economic and social justice. Once this is achieved, the proletariat would renounce its dictatorship and all institutions of state would gradually cease to exist. This would eventually lead to the withering away

of the state itself. According to Marx state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another. State is used as a weapon by the bourgeoisie to exploit the proletarians. Hence in the classless society there will be no need of state. It will wither away.

Recap

- ▶ The theory of socialism developed by Karl Marx is known as communism or scientific socialism.
- ▶ The basic principles of communism are: Dialectical materialism, 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. He borrowed it from Hegel, a German philosopher.
- ▶ 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 people into different classes. The Two dominant classes were the haves and have not . These classes opposed each other and class struggle ensued.
- ▶ According to Marx, labour is the sole creator of value. He says that the difference between value produced by the labour and value given to the labourer is surplus value.
- ▶ Revolution is inevitable because capitalism contains the seed of its own destruction.
- ▶ The proletariats will violently revolt. Thus, by a socialistic revolution the working class will over throw the bourgeois. After the revolution all the upper classes will be eliminated and there will be a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Objective Questions

1. Who developed the theory of Marxism?
2. What economic system is characterized by private ownership of the means of production?
3. What is the ultimate goal of communism?
4. What term describes the conflict between social classes?
5. What philosophical concept involves the interplay of opposing forces?

6. What theory suggests that social change is driven by economic factors?
7. What term refers to the working class in Marxist theory?
8. Who are the owners of the means of production in capitalist societies?
9. What term describes the excess value created by workers' labour ?
10. What process does Marx see as necessary for achieving social change?

Answers

1. Karl Marx.
2. Capitalism.
3. Classlessness.
4. Struggle.
5. Dialectics.
6. Materialism.
7. Proletariat.
8. Bourgeoisie.
9. Surplus.
10. Revolution.

Assignments

1. Discuss the role of historical materialism in Marxist analysis.
2. Evaluate the concept of class struggle in contemporary capitalist societies.
3. Compare and contrast communism and socialism according to Marx.
4. Analyse the relevance of Marxist theory in understanding global socio-economic dynamics.
5. Critically assess the limitations of the Marxian approach in explaining political phenomena.
6. Explain the theory of surplus value and its implications for capitalist economies.
7. Discuss the potential challenges in transitioning from capitalism to communism according to Marxist theory.
8. Evaluate the role of technology in shaping the dynamics of class struggle in modern societies.
9. Explore the concept of dialectical materialism and its significance in Marxist thought.
10. Assess the feasibility of achieving a classless and stateless society in the contemporary world.

Suggested Readings

1. Ralph Miliband, *Marxism and Politics*, Aakar Books.
2. Chattopadhyay, Paresh. (1985). *Marxian Economics*:
3. Sharma, Anuradha. (2017). *Karl Marx: Philosopher and Revolutionary*. New Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan.

Unit 4

The Feminist Approach

Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, you will be able to:

- ▶ Understand the historical development and key concepts of feminist theory across different waves;
- ▶ Analyse the significance of intersectionality in feminist thought and its implications for addressing multiple forms of oppression;
- ▶ Evaluate the contributions and limitations of liberal, radical, and postcolonial feminisms in advancing gender equality;
- ▶ Critically assess the impact of neoliberalism and post-feminism on feminist activism and social change;
- ▶ Apply feminist approaches to analyse contemporary social issues and develop strategies for promoting gender justice.

Prerequisites

Before delving into the unit on feminist theory, it is essential to grasp the historical and social contexts that gave rise to feminist movements. Understanding the broader dynamics of gender oppression, as well as the intersecting forms of discrimination based on race, class, sexuality and other social identities, provides crucial background knowledge for engaging with feminist theory effectively. Additionally, familiarity with key feminist texts and thinkers, such as Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, bell hook's *Ain't I a Woman?* and Audre Lorde's "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," can offer valuable insights into the diverse perspectives within feminist discourse.

Furthermore, exploring the connections between feminist theory and other critical frameworks, such as critical race theory, queer theory, and postcolonial theory, can deepen one's understanding of the complexities of gender inequality and social justice. Recognizing the intersections between various systems of oppression is essential for addressing the diverse experiences and struggles of marginalized communities. By engaging with interdisciplinary perspectives and challenging conventional wisdom, students can develop a more nuanced understanding of feminist theory and its relevance to contemporary social issues.

Keywords

Feminist theory, Intersectionality, Neoliberalism, Post-feminism, Social justice, Oppression, Critical analysis, Gender equality, Activism, Patriarchy.

Discussion

A feminist approach is a perspective or framework through which various phenomena, issues and systems are analysed, understood, and critiqued from the standpoint of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Feminism, as a social and political movement, seeks to address and rectify the systemic inequalities and injustices that women and marginalized genders face in society. A feminist approach often involves examining power dynamics, social norms, cultural practices and institutional structures to identify and challenge gender based discrimination, oppression and violence.

2.4.1 Key components of a feminist approach include:

Intersectionality: Recognizing that gender intersects with other social identities such as race, class, sexuality, ability and nationality and understanding how these intersections compound experiences of oppression and privilege.

1. **Critique of Patriarchy:** Analysing and critiquing patriarchal systems that privilege men and subordinate women, while also acknowledging that patriarchy harms people of all genders.
2. **Promotion of Gender Equity:** Advocating policies, practices and social change that promote gender equality and dismantle barriers to women's advancement and empowerment.
3. **Centering Women's Voices:** Prioritising the perspectives, experiences and voices of women, especially those from marginalized communities, in

discussions and the decision-making processes.

4. **Challenging Gender Norms and Stereotypes:** Questioning and challenging social expectations and stereotypes associated with gender roles, and advocating more inclusive and flexible understandings of gender identities and expressions.
5. **Solidarity and Collective Action:** Building solidarity among people of all genders to work together towards gender justice and liberation, recognizing that everyone benefits from a more equitable and just society.

Feminist approaches can be applied across various disciplines and contexts, including politics, economics, literature, media, education, healthcare and law, among others. They aim to create a more equitable and just world where all individuals have the opportunity to thrive, regardless of their gender.

2.4.2 First Wave Feminism

The first wave of feminism emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, primarily in Europe and the United States, focusing on securing legal rights and political recognition for women. The central issues included suffrage, property rights and access to education. The First-wave feminists, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Emmeline Pankhurst, challenged patriarchal structures and demanded equal rights under the law. The movement culminated in significant victories, such as the passage of the 19th Amendment in the United States, granting women the right to vote.

Key theories of first-wave feminism include:

1. **Liberal Feminism:** Emphasizes equality before the law and equal opportunities for women within existing social structures. Liberal feminists seek legal and policy reforms to address gender discrimination and promote women's rights.
2. **Social Feminism:** Focuses on the social and economic aspects of women's oppression, advocating labour rights, welfare reforms and social justice. Social feminists argue that women's liberation requires structural changes to address economic inequalities and social injustices.

Critics of first-wave feminism argue that it primarily benefited privileged white women and failed to address the intersecting forms of oppression faced by women of color, working-class women and other marginalized groups.

2.4.3 Second Wave Feminism

The second wave of feminism emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, building on the achievements of the first wave while expanding its focus to encompass a wider range of issues, including reproductive rights, sexuality and workplace discrimination. Second-wave feminists challenged traditional gender roles and norms, calling for greater autonomy and self-determination for women. Influential figures of this era include Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem and Audre Lorde.

Key theories of second-wave feminism include:

1. **Radical Feminism:** Critiques the root causes of women's oppression, particularly patriarchy and male dominance. Radical feminists advocate revolutionary changes to dismantle existing

power structures and create alternative forms of social organization based on equality and cooperation.

2. **Marxist Feminism:** Analyses the intersections of gender, class and capitalism, arguing that women's subordination is linked to the exploitation of labour within capitalist societies. Marxist feminists seek to integrate feminist principles into broader socialist movements and challenge both gender and economic inequalities.

Critics of second-wave feminism highlight its historical limitations, particularly its exclusion of women of color, lesbians and transgender individuals. The movement focused on white, middle-class women's experiences led to tensions and divisions within feminist circles.

2.4.4 Third Wave Feminism

The third wave of feminism emerged in the 1990s and continues to the present day, responding to the critiques and shortcomings of previous waves while addressing new challenges and opportunities. Third wave feminists embrace diversity and intersectionality, recognizing the interconnected nature of gender, race, sexuality and other social identities. This wave encompasses a wide range of perspectives and approaches, from cyber feminism to eco feminism.

Key theories of third-wave feminism include:

1. **Intersectionality:** Builds on the concept of intersectionality developed by Black feminists such as Kimberley Crenshaw, highlighting the ways in which multiple forms of oppression intersect and compound each other. Intersectional feminists advocate inclusive and intersectional analyses of social

issues and prioritise the voices and experiences of marginalized groups.

- 2. Postcolonial Feminism:** Examines the intersections of gender, race, colonialism and imperialism, particularly in non-Western contexts. Postcolonial feminists challenge Western centric narratives and seek to decolonize feminist theory and practice by centering the experiences and perspectives of women of color in the Global South.

Critics of third-wave feminism argue that its emphasis on individualism and personal empowerment has led to the depoliticization of the movement, undermining collective action and structural change. Additionally, tensions between different feminist generations and waves persist, reflecting ongoing debates over priorities, strategies and goals.

2.4.5 Post Feminism

Post-feminism emerged in the late 20th and early 21st centuries as a critical response to second wave feminism, questioning its assumptions and methods while engaging with broader cultural shifts. Post feminist discourse often emphasizes individualism, choice and empowerment, suggesting that feminism's goals have been largely achieved and that women are now free to pursue their desires without constraint.

Key theories of post-feminism include:

- 1. Neoliberal Feminism:** Aligns with neoliberal ideology, emphasizing personal responsibility, self-entrepreneurship and market-based solutions to gender inequality. Neoliberal feminists argue that women can achieve equality through individual success and consumer choice, rather than collective ac-

tion or social transformation.

- 2. Girl Power Feminism:** Celebrates female empowerment and agency, often through consumer culture and media representations. Girl power feminists embrace notions of femininity and sexuality while challenging traditional gender roles and stereotypes. However, critics argue that girl power feminism often prioritizes superficial forms of empowerment and overlooks structural barriers to equality.

Critics of post-feminism argue that it tends to depoliticize feminism, obscuring systemic forms of oppression and inequality. By focusing on individual achievement and market-based solutions, post-feminism may undermine collective efforts to address gender injustice and social change.

Conclusion

In summary, feminism has undergone significant transformations across its different waves, from the legal and political struggles of the first wave to the intersectional and diverse perspectives of the third wave. Each wave has contributed valuable insights and critiques to feminist theory and activism, shaping contemporary understandings of gender inequality and social justice. Post feminism, as a critical response to second-wave feminism, highlights broader cultural shifts and challenges within the feminist discourse, raising important questions about the future direction of the movement. Ultimately, feminism remains a vital and evolving force for social change, challenging power structures and advocating equality and justice for all genders.

Recap

- ▶ Feminist theory evolved through waves: the first focused on legal rights, the second on reproductive rights and workplace discrimination and the third embraced intersectionality and diversity.
- ▶ Intersectionality is key to understanding how race, class and sexuality intersect with gender oppression.
- ▶ Liberal, radical, and postcolonial feminisms each contributed to gender equality but faced criticism for not addressing all women's needs.
- ▶ Neoliberalism and post feminism emphasize individualism and personal empowerment, often neglecting collective action and structural change.
- ▶ Feminist approaches can analyse and address issues like gender based violence, workplace inequality and reproductive rights, promoting gender justice.
- ▶ Each wave of feminism built on and responded to the limitations of the previous ones, making the movement more inclusive and comprehensive.

Objective Questions

1. What ideology emerged as a critical response to second-wave feminism?
2. Which wave of feminism challenged traditional gender roles and norms in the 1960s and 1970s?
3. What is the central concept of post feminism?
4. Who is known for critiquing the root causes of women's oppression in radical feminism?
5. What term refers to the interconnected nature of gender, race, sexuality and other social identities?
6. Which feminism examines the intersections of gender, race, colonialism and imperialism?
7. What theory advocates personal responsibility and market-based solutions to gender inequality?
8. Who were some influential figures in the first wave of feminism?
9. What movement culminated in significant victories such as the passage of the 19th Amendment in the United States?
10. Which feminist wave embraces diversity and intersectionality?

Answers

1. Post-feminism
2. Second wave feminism
3. Individualism and empowerment
4. Radical feminists
5. Intersectionality
6. Post-colonial feminism
7. Neoliberal feminism
8. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Emmeline Pankhurst
9. First wave feminism
10. Third wave feminism

Assignments

1. Compare and contrast liberal feminism and radical feminism in terms of their approaches to gender equality.
2. Discuss the concept of intersectionality and its significance for feminist theory and activism.
3. Evaluate the impact of neoliberalism on feminist movements and gender politics.
4. Analyse the criticism of post feminism and its implications for contemporary feminist discourse.
5. How can feminist approaches be applied to address gender based violence in diverse cultural contexts?
6. Explore the role of social media in shaping feminist activism and community building.
7. Investigate the connections between feminist theory and environmental justice movements.
8. Discuss the challenges and opportunities of feminist organising in the digital age.
9. Examine the representation of women in mainstream media and its impact on gender perceptions.
10. Reflect on your own experiences with gender inequality and consider how feminist theory can inform personal and collective strategies for change.

Suggested Readings

1. Valerie Bryson (2003), *Feminist Political Theory*, Palgrave, Macmillan
2. M. J. Vinod and Meena Deshpande, *Contemporary Political Theory*, (PHI Learning private Limited Delhi, (2013)
3. Menon, N. (2004). *Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*. University of Illinois Press.

BLOCK - 03

Basic Concepts in Political Science

Unit 1

Liberty – Meaning and Significance – Types of Liberty

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of this chapter will enable you to:

- ▶ Be familiar with the concept of liberty and explain its significance in a democratic society;
- ▶ Understand and differentiate between various types of liberty, such as civil liberties, political liberties, economic liberties and personal liberties;
- ▶ Analyse the interplay and potential conflicts between different types of liberties; and
- ▶ Explore historical and contemporary issues, laws and policies through the lens of liberty.

Prerequisites

Imagine a vast meadow where people roam freely, each pursuing their own path. This meadow represents Liberty, the essence of individual freedom. In one corner, you meet philosophers discussing Negative Liberty, the freedom from interference, like walking without barriers. In another, they explore Positive Liberty, the freedom to achieve one's potential, like having the tools to build a dream house. In the end, these discussions highlight the significance of liberty: empowering individuals to make choices and reach their goals. Understanding these types of liberty helps us appreciate the balance between personal freedom and the structures that enable true independence.

Keywords

Freedom, Rights, Civil Liberties, Political Liberties, Economic Liberties, Personal Liberties, Human Rights

Discussion

3.1.1 Liberty: The Concept

Liberty or Freedom, a cornerstone of modern democracy, evolved alongside the rise of **civil society** and **government**. The right to liberty is considered as one of the most

fundamental rights that are necessary for the development of an individual's personality. This right is of utmost importance because, without it, individuals are unable to exercise their other rights freely.

Liberty is so highly valued that it is often seen as the cornerstone of all other rights.

The ability to act and make choices without undue influence or coercion is essential for individuals to live a fulfilled and meaningful life.

3.1.1.1 Meaning

The term “Liberty” originates from the Latin word ‘Liber,’ signifying ‘free.’ In this context, liberty denotes freedom from constraints and the ability to act according to one’s preferences. Liberty in civic life connotes freedom from unjustified restrictions rather than an absolute lack of constraints.

Liberty means being free to act and make choices without others getting in the way. Usually, it is governments and powerful people who create these interferences that limit freedom. Some examples are being put in prison, kept in slavery or forced to follow strict laws. These situations show a lack of liberty.

3.1.1.2 Definitions

“Liberty is the freedom of the individual to express, without external hindrances, his personality.” -G.D.H Cole

“Liberty is the positive power of doing and enjoying those things which are worthy of enjoyment and work”- Gettel.

3.1.2 Significance of Liberty

In the early days of modern Europe, a new perspective on liberty emerged as a central principle. It was understood as an “absence of restraints”, allowing individuals, viewed as rational decision makers, to flourish and make choices about their lives. This self determination required freedom from various social, political and economic constraints.

However, coexisting with others necessitated recognizing an equal claim to autonomy for everyone. To prevent

conflicting freedoms, a system of regulation and limitations had to be established.

This balancing act formed the basis of social contract theories proposed by thinkers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. They envisioned liberty not as absolute freedom, but as a space for individual growth within a framework of shared rules and responsibilities.

Liberty, commonly understood as freedom from restrictions on individual action, is seen as a democratic ideal. However, liberty has always been envisioned within certain constraints arising from social relationships. There are boundaries to what types of liberty are deemed permissible in modern democratic societies.

In everyday terms, liberty means the absence of obstacles or barriers to what one can do. This freedom is considered a core democratic principle. But in practice, notions of liberty acknowledge that some limitations are necessary for functioning societies. So, while liberty suggests minimal constraints, democracies recognise that unrestricted liberty cannot be accepted.

3.1.3 Negative and Positive Liberty: Conceptual Analysis

Negative Liberty implies the absence of restrictions, granting individuals the freedom to act however they choose. In modern times, the negative concept of liberty is widely dismissed. J. S. Mill and Friedman are the important advocates of Negative Liberty.

Positive Liberty does not mean absence of restrictions. It means freedom with certain restrictions, that is the right of a person to do or enjoy what is worthy of doing and enjoying. In a civil society, only positive liberty is deemed accessible to the people. Prof. Seeley and Barker are the chief exponents of Positive

Liberty.

3.1.4 Contribution of J. S. Mill

J. S. Mill's "On Liberty" played a significant role in academic discussions during the 1960s. His work is recognized for presenting the negative concept of liberty. Mill's arguments for individual freedom were grounded in a strong disdain for customs, legal rules and norms that lacked rational justification.

Mill believed that the purpose of liberty was to encourage 'individuality,' the unique character of each person. Freedom, according to Mill, is about realising individuality, personal growth, and self-determination. Mill's idea of freedom is not just about being unrestrained but actively cultivating positive attitudes.

In Mill's view, freedom is closely connected to choice. He argued that those who let others decide their life plans lack the quality of 'individuality' and only imitate. On the other hand, those who plan for themselves engage all their faculties. To achieve true freedom and individuality, individuals must resist forces, norms and customs that hinder self-determination.

Mill acknowledged that very few individuals can resist and make free choices, while most are content to imitate like apes, existing in a state of 'unfreedom.' This aspect of Mill's view may be seen as elitist since he believed that only a minority could enjoy individuality, not the masses.

Mill, like some other liberal thinkers, drew a line between the individual and society. He believed that there should be a clear division between personal freedom and social control. Mill said society could only limit someone's liberty to stop them from directly harming others.

He called these as "other-regarding actions." Actions only affecting oneself were "self-regarding." Those should not be interfered with. In this context, he observes, "over himself, over his own body and mind the individual is sovereign"

This means a state should not unnecessarily intervene to promote a person's own "best interests." He said persuasion to discourage harmful self-regarding behaviours was acceptable, though not force. He also valued liberty's benefits for progress. For example, a free debate brings good policies.

3.1.5 Contribution of Isaiah Berlin

In 1958, Isaiah Berlin compared negative and positive liberty. Negative liberty means lack of external constraints. Positive liberty is about self-mastery and moral direction. Negative liberty asks what area people can act freely inside without interference. Positive liberty asks what controls influence choices instead.

Positive liberty is not just about being left alone; it is about 'self-mastery.' This means there are two parts to a person - a higher self with long term goals and a lower self with short lived and impulsive desires. Someone is considered free when their higher self is in control. This concept is linked to what ways of life are considered good. It also has a unique view of the self, assuming that there are activities individuals should aim for.

3.1.6 Marxist Criticism of the Concept of Liberty

Marxists see freedom differently from the liberals. They believe that in a capitalist society, where everyone is focused on their interests, real freedom is hard to achieve. According to the Marxists, individuals are not separate and free to choose; instead, they are all connected and depend on each other.

The idea of being an individual is seen as being part of a larger community. Marxists think true freedom comes when everyone can develop their skills and be creative, something that is not possible in a capitalist society where people are limited by self interest.

Friedrich Engels' "Anti-Duhring" and Karl Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" talk about these ideas. Engels says freedom is moving from needing things to being free. Engels thinks that scientific socialism is the way to move from needing things to being free. Marx and Engels believe that real freedom can only happen in a communist society, as they explained in the Communist Manifesto.

In Karl Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," he argues that capitalist society dehumanizes individuals, disconnecting them from their true selves and the creative influences of society. Marx believes that to bring back real freedom, we need to change the conditions that cause this disconnection.

For Marx, freedom means finding yourself and reaching your full potential. He thinks that this kind of freedom comes from working creatively with others to meet our needs. Marx's idea connects to 'alienation' in capitalism, where work becomes just a thing to sell, controlled by market forces.

He argues that workers in a capitalist system feel alienated from their true selves, their work, other people and their nature. According to Marx, real freedom is tied to personal fulfilment, and that comes when people can work without feeling alienated.

3.1.7 Types of Liberty

3.1.7.1 Natural liberty

Natural liberty is understood as the unrestricted enjoyment of innate freedom. It is justified on the premise that as humans are inherently born free, they should have

the liberty to enjoy their freedom without any constraints. Any restrictions are seen as a contradiction to this inherent freedom.

The social contract theorists, including Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, advocated the concept of natural liberty. Rousseau's famous assertion, "Man is born free, but is in chains everywhere," reiterates this sentiment.

Nevertheless, the idea of natural liberty is now viewed as an imaginary one. Unrestrained freedom has the potential to breed anarchy. Only within an orderly society, characterized by necessary constraints based on laws and regulations, can genuine liberty flourish.

3.1.7.2 Civil Liberty

The concept of civil liberty refers to the personal freedoms and rights afforded to all citizens living under the authority of an organized political system or government. Unlike unrestricted "natural" liberty, civil freedom depend on a rule based social order that codifies and protects individuals' shared autonomy.

Civil liberty means personal freedom within the law. Laws create the conditions for people to enjoy liberty. Good laws protect liberty rather than limit it. They shield freedom from threats by individuals or groups. The state puts reasonable limits deemed necessary so that all people can exercise liberty. Laws balance personal rights and social order so that liberties are preserved.

3.1.7.3 Political Liberty

Political liberty is defined as the provision of sufficient and effective opportunities for individuals to exercise their political rights. When people are free to actively participate in the political process, it is considered an expression of political liberty.

Political liberty encompasses various aspects, including the freedom to vote,

contest elections, hold public office, criticize and oppose government policies, establish political parties, interest groups and pressure groups, as well as the right to bring about government change through constitutional means.

According to Laski, “Political liberty means the power to be active in the affairs of the state,” and this form of liberty finds its true realisation in a democratic system. The genuine exercise of political rights by the people serves as a clear indicator of the presence of political liberty and democracy.

3.1.7.4 Personal Liberty

Individual liberty refers to the freedom of individual in his own personal life. This includes the freedom of speech and expression, the right to reside where one chooses, freedom of movement, freedom of conscience, the liberty to explore various tastes and pursuits, the right to choose any profession or trade, the freedom to enjoy the benefits of one’s labour, the right to personal property and the liberty to profess or not profess any religion or ideology. It is essential to exercise these freedoms in a manner that does not impede the equal freedom of others and does not violate public order, health or morality.

3.1.7.5 Economic Liberty

Economic liberty, according to Laski, is the absence of concerns about future needs and having ample opportunities to earn a livelihood. It signifies freedom from poverty and unemployment, ensuring access to at least the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Laski articulates this as “Economic Liberty,” being the assurance and opportunity to find significance in earning one’s daily bread.

For economic liberty to be realized, there must be freedom from hunger, starvation,

destitution and unemployment. In a positive sense, it involves the right to work and sufficient opportunities for livelihood. Without freedom from the fear of hunger, starvation, and destitution, people cannot truly enjoy their rights and freedom.

Providing economic liberty to common man entails granting the right to employment, the right to fair wages, sufficient opportunities for earning a livelihood, the right to rest and leisure and the right to economic security in old age.

3.1.7.6 Religious Liberty

Religious liberty entails the freedom to embrace or abstain from any religious belief, allowing individuals the freedom of faith and worship while ensuring the non-interference of the state in religious matters. It emphasizes equal status for all religions, enabling them to freely practice their activities in society. This aligns with the principles of secularism, advocating religious freedom.

3.1.7.7 Safeguards of Liberty

Certain conditions are necessary for protecting and promoting liberty. They are:

1. Absence of special privileges;
2. Democratic government;
3. Fundamental Rights;
4. Independence of Judiciary;
5. Separation of Powers;
6. Rule of Law;
7. Public Opinion;
8. Freedom of Press;
9. Healthy Party System;
10. Strong Opposition etc.

Recap

- ▶ Liberty refers to the state of being free from excessive control or restriction and the ability to exercise fundamental rights and freedoms.
- ▶ Liberty is a foundational principle in democratic societies and is considered essential for human dignity, self-determination and social progress.
- ▶ Civil liberties encompass freedoms such as freedom of speech, religion, press, assembly and due process protections.
- ▶ Political liberties include the right to vote, freedom of association and the ability to participate in the political process.
- ▶ Economic liberties involve the freedom to own property, engage in free markets and pursue economic opportunities.
- ▶ Personal liberties cover areas like freedom of movement, privacy rights and individual autonomy over personal decisions.
- ▶ The various types of liberty are interconnected but can sometimes conflict, necessitating a careful balance and prioritization.
- ▶ Throughout history, social movements and philosophical works have shaped and expanded our understanding of liberty.
- ▶ Excessive government control, censorship and surveillance can pose threats to individual liberties.
- ▶ Upholding liberty requires vigilance, robust legal protections and a commitment to human rights and democratic principles.

Objective Questions

1. Who is known as the “Father of Liberalism”?
2. Which philosopher wrote “On Liberty”?
3. What term refers to the absence of external constraints on the individual?
4. Which concept of liberty emphasizes self-mastery and self-realization?
5. Which document, adopted in 1948, includes articles on liberty and human rights?
6. Who introduced the concept of “Two Concepts of Liberty”?
7. Which form of liberty involves freedom from oppressive structures and social norms?
8. What is the term for the freedom to participate in the political process?
9. Which ideology primarily emphasizes individual liberty and free markets?
10. In which country did the Magna Carta, a historic document of liberty, originate?

Answers

1. John Locke
2. J. S. Mill
3. Negative Liberty
4. Positive Liberty
5. UDHR
6. Isaiah Berlin
7. Social
8. Political
9. Liberalism
10. England

Assignments

1. Explore the historical evolution of the concept of liberty from ancient philosophies through the Enlightenment era thinkers up to modern human rights frameworks.
2. Select a contemporary issue or debate that involves questions of liberty (e.g. censorship, surveillance, reproductive rights, LGBTQ+ rights, economic regulations).
3. Analyse the tensions and potential conflicts that can arise between different types of liberties and provide specific examples where one type of liberty may need to be limited or balanced against another to uphold social values like security, equality, or public good.
4. “Over himself and over his mind and body, the individual is sovereign” (J S Mill). Do you agree with the statement? Give reasons for your answer.

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Unit 2

Equality – Meaning and Significance – Types of Equality

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of this unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the concept of equality and explain its significance in creating a just and equitable society;
- ▶ Evaluate the difference between various types of equality, such as formal equality, equality of opportunity and substantive equality;
- ▶ Explore the potential tensions between different types of equality; and
- ▶ Analyse the historical and contemporary issues, laws and policies through the lens of equality.

Prerequisites

Think of a grand banquet where everyone is invited to the table. This banquet symbolizes Equality, where each guest has an equal seat and share. In one part of the hall, you hear about Equality of Opportunity, ensuring everyone has the same starting point, like fair access to education and jobs. In another, they discuss Equality of Outcome, where efforts are made to ensure everyone enjoys similar living standards. As the banquet unfolds, you realize Equality's significance - creating a just society where everyone's potential is recognized and nurtured. Understanding these types of Equality helps you strive for fairness and inclusion in all aspects of life.

Keywords

Equity, Non-discrimination, Equal opportunities, Social justice, Equality before the law, Equality of outcome, Marginalized groups, Affirmative action, Gender equality.

Discussion

3.2.1 The Concept of Equality

When we talk about equality in everyday language, it often means treating everyone the same and giving them the same rewards, which is called natural equality. The idea is that all people are born free and equal. But the problem is, people are different in how

they look and how smart they are. Some are stronger, some are not as strong, and some are smarter than others. So, ensuring everyone gets the same treatment and rewards is impossible.

Equality means giving everyone a fair chance to grow and do well. When we say equality for all, we are talking about fair and

general equality, not everyone getting the same rewards. It is more about making sure everyone has a fair shot at opportunities and rewards, not making everything the same for everyone.

3.2.1.1 Definitions

“Equality means that no man shall be so placed in society that he can over-reach his neighbour to the extent which constitutes a denial of latter’s citizenship.” -Laski

“Equality means equal rights for all the people and the abolition of all special rights and privileges.” -Barker

Thus, negatively, equality means getting rid of any special privileges or advantages that certain groups or individuals might have in society. It also calls for doing away with any unfair inequalities and discrimination created by humans.

On the positive side, equality stands for everyone having the same rights, resources being shared fairly and everyone getting equal chances to grow. It is about making things more equal while also recognizing people’s skills and abilities. Positive equality values fairness and acknowledges the merit and capacity of different individuals.

3.2.2 Kinds of Equality

There are two kinds of inequality in society: **Natural inequalities and human-created inequalities.**

Natural inequalities come from normal differences between people. For example, people have different abilities and talents. However, some social conditions create unfair gaps. Prejudices around caste, colour, gender, religion etc. block opportunities for groups. These discriminations impose unjust hardships.

Equality does not mean eliminating all differences. It means ending unfair treatment that keeps some people down based on their background. Society cannot erase natural variations in interests or strengths. But it can guarantee fair chances and resources so people can develop their potential.

3.2.3 Significance

The concept of equality assumes a paramount role in shaping equitable and just societies, operating as a foundational principle across social, political and economic domains. Equality, within an academic framework, denotes the equitable treatment of individuals, irrespective of their demographic attributes, fostering fairness and impartiality. This principle serves as a moral and ethical compass, advocating uniform opportunities, rights and impartial treatment for every member within a society.

In democratic societies, equality is integral to the very essence of citizenship, ensuring that each individual possesses the right to participate in the democratic decision-making processes. Equality functions as a potent tool for achieving social justice by challenging systemic inequalities based on factors such as race, gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status.

The concept of equality extends its significance to the economic sphere, in addressing wealth disparities and advocating a just distribution of resources. It calls for policies and practices that prevent the concentration of wealth, thereby promoting economic systems that uplift the entire social framework.

The global relevance of equality is underscored by international movements that aim to bridge disparities between affluent and marginalized nations, emphasizing the

interconnectedness of humanity. The profound significance of the concept of equality lies in its transformative potential to create just, inclusive and flourishing societies.

Upholding the principles of equality fosters environments where every individual enjoys the same opportunities, rights and dignity, contributing to the establishment of harmonious and equitable coexistence. In short, equality implies absence of special privileges, provisions for adequate opportunity for development and provision for minimum standard of living for every individual.

3.2.4 Dimensions of Equality

Equality is a concept that spans various dimensions, reflecting its multifaceted nature. The call for equality has been evident in diverse aspects of social life and historically, different dimensions of equality were not simultaneously or uniformly emphasized. Liberalism, for instance, placed greater emphasis on the legal - political dimensions of equality, while socialists leaned towards standing for socio-economic equality. The various dimensions encompassed by the concept of equality include:

- Legal Equality
- Political Equality
- Economic Equality
- Social Equality

3.2.4.1 Legal Equality

Classical liberalism, in its struggle against feudal and religious privileges, believed that ensuring equal opportunities required the fair allocation of basic rights like life, liberty and property. This entails the following key principles: the Rule of Law, Equality before Law and Equal Protection of the Law.

Rule of Law: This means that the law is supreme and no individual, regardless of their status, can claim to be above the law. It

emphasizes that everyone should be subject to the same ordinary laws administered by regular courts. It signifies that the law should treat equals equally without making distinctions based on wealth, social class or other factors.

It also implies equal protection of life and limb for everyone, as well as equal penalties for those who violate the law. However, in specific situations where the law creates classes with distinct rights and duties, such as landlords vs. tenants or police vs. citizens, differences in rights may be inevitable.

1. **Equality before Law:** This principle emphasizes that, despite any distinctions created by the law, individuals should be equal before it. It implies equal rights and duties in law, ensuring that judges are free from corruption, bias and political pressures. Even though people may be equal before the law, there can be inequalities in its application, especially if poor individuals are unable to bear the costs of legal action.
2. **Equal Protection of Law:** While equality before the law does not mean absolute equality, equal protection of the law allows for rational discrimination in certain reasonable circumstances. This concept suggests that there can be “equal laws for equals and unequal laws for unequals.”

In the context of the Indian constitution, this is evident in reservations, special queues for certain groups and concessions for students, which are considered rational discriminations based on factors like backwardness, sex or ability. In such cases, the law protects people through unequal rather than equal application.

3.2.4.2 Political Equality

The concept of political equality implies the right of individuals to participate in the political

process. According to Prof. Laski, political equality means equal access of everyone to the avenue of authority. All citizens should get equal political rights: the right to vote, right to contest for any public office, right to freedom of speech and expression, right to form political parties, associations or unions. It also involves universal adult franchise.

However, in the contemporary era where real political power is concentrated in entities like the bureaucracy, police and army beyond the control of the general public, there are challenges to the notion of political equality. Despite constraints, the significance of political equality lies in recognizing the fundamental truth that if individuals are considered equal under the law, they should also have equal rights in governance.

3.2.4.3 Economic Equality

The concept of economic equality does not mean equal income for all. This is neither possible nor desirable. Economic equality implies that there should be a minimum standard of living for all before surplus for a few. Absolute economic equality is not possible in the world.

Economic equality can exist when all people have reasonable economic opportunity to develop themselves. Adequate scope for employment, reasonable wages, adequate leisure and other economic rights create economic equality. In the same sense, gap in the minimum and maximum income should be reduced as much as possible to achieve economic equality.

The accumulation of private property in a few hands increases inequality. This has come as a result of the industrial revolution. That is why Marx and Engels asked the workers of the world to revolt against the existing economic system in the world which was

responsible for economic inequality. They demanded the abolition of private property and nationalisation all means of production.

3.2.4.4 Social Equality

Social equality is about giving everyone an equal chance to grow. It means getting rid of discrimination based on things like caste, religion, race or gender. It also includes making sure women have equal rights in property, voting and admission to educational institutions. Social equality also needs equal chances for education to allow social mobility

3.2.5 Types of Equality

3.2.5.1 Formal Equality

Championed by philosophers like John Locke and Kant, formal equality is based on the idea of the natural equality of men, including women. It emphasizes that all individuals, due to their common humanity, should be treated equally. This concept is embodied in the principle of legal equality, asserting that the law should treat everyone the same, regardless of factors like caste, race, gender, religion or social background.

While legal equality was a positive step against special privileges, it has limitations. It overlooks the overwhelming handicaps imposed by factors like caste, gender or social background, preventing individuals from benefiting fully.

3.2.5.2 Equality of Opportunity

Equality of opportunity means making sure everyone can develop themselves without hindrances, with careers open to talent and promotions based on abilities rather than factors like status or connections.

Egalitarians, while not dismissing equality of opportunity, speak for a broader definition ensuring everyone has the means for a satisfying and fulfilling life. They aim to

create social conditions giving all individuals the opportunity to lead worthwhile lives.

3.2.5.3 Equality of Outcomes

Equality of outcomes focused on equitable end results rather than procedural means alone. Advocates of equality of outcome argue that guaranteeing other equalities is insufficient if the ultimate outcomes are not equal. Karl Marx believed that true equality involves everyone ending up in the same place, even if it requires drastic measures like abolishing private property.

Economists like Friedrich Hayek fear this approach leads to stagnation, unfairness and

even tyranny. They point out that different people have different goals and forcing them into one mould creates a new kind of inequality. They also argue that striving for equal outcomes restricts individual freedom, restricting their own choices. The push for equality, they argued, comes at the expense of individual liberty.

This debate between “equality of opportunity” (a fair starting point) and “equality of outcomes” (everyone ending up equally) continues to encourage discussions about justice and fairness.

Recap

- ▶ The term equality means identity of treatments and identity of rewards
- ▶ Equality is a fundamental human right and a cornerstone of just and democratic societies, promoting social cohesion and human dignity.
- ▶ Formal equality involves equality before the law, without discrimination based on religion, race caste, sex or gender.
- ▶ Equality of opportunity aims to provide equal access to opportunities in areas such as education, employment and social services.
- ▶ Substantive equality goes beyond formal equality, seeking to address systemic barriers and achieve equitable outcomes for marginalized groups.
- ▶ Different types of equality, including formal, opportunity and substantive equality, can sometimes conflict or necessitate different policy approaches.
- ▶ Achieving equality may require balancing it with other social values like individual liberty, merit-based rewards, and economic efficiency.
- ▶ Historical and ongoing struggles for equality have shaped our understanding of this concept, from the abolitionist movement to gender equality and disability rights.
- ▶ Inequality can manifest in various domains, such as economic inequality, political underrepresentation and unequal access to healthcare or education.
- ▶ Promoting equality often involves anti - discrimination laws, affirmative action policies and efforts to increase diversity, inclusion and equal participation in all spheres of life

Objective Questions

1. The principle of treating everyone fairly and without discrimination is known as?
2. Equality contributes to creating a just and equitable society by providing -----.
3. What does Formal equality mean?
4. The principle of equal pay for equal work is an example of.....
5. What type of equality ensures all individuals have the same voting rights?
6. Which term describes equality of treatment and access in public services?
7. The concept of “equality before the law” is an aspect of.....
8. Which Revolution slogan includes the concept of equality ?
9. The ethical principle of treating equals equally and unequals unequally is called.....
10. The concept of “substantive equality” goes beyond.....

Answers

1. Equality
2. Equality of Opportunity
3. Equality before the law.
4. Fairness
5. Political
6. Egalitarian
7. Equity
8. French Revolution
9. Justice
10. Formal Equality

Assignments

1. Explore the differences and similarities between formal equality, equality of opportunity and substantive equality.
2. Examine the historical journey of a marginalized group, such as racial minorities, women, LGBTQIA+ individuals or persons with disabilities, detailing key events, movements and legal changes that have shaped their fight for equality.
3. Evaluate arguments for and against prioritising equality over other social values, considering the principles, historical context and potential outcomes of each approach.

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Unit 3

Justice – Meaning and Significance – Types of Justice

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of this unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the concept of justice and explain its significance in establishing a fair, equitable and well-ordered society;
- ▶ Analyse the difference between various types of justice, such as distributive, procedural justice, retributive justice and restorative justice;
- ▶ Explore the potential conflicts between different types of justice; and
- ▶ Evaluate historical and contemporary issues, laws, and policies through the lens of justice.

Prerequisites

Imagine a grand courtroom where people seek fairness and truth. This courtroom symbolizes Justice, the foundation of a fair society. As you enter, you hear discussions on Distributive Justice, which ensures fair allocation of resources, like sharing a pie so everyone gets a fair slice. In another corner, they talk about Retributive Justice, focusing on fair punishment for wrongdoings, ensuring accountability. There is also Procedural Justice, ensuring fair processes and equal treatment in legal proceedings. The significance of Justice lies in upholding rights and maintaining harmony. Understanding the concept of Justice helps us build a society where fairness prevails and everyone is treated equitably.

Keywords

Fairness, Equity, Impartiality, Rule of law, Due process, Distributive Justice, Procedural Justice, Retributive Justice, Restorative Justice, Social Justice.

Discussion

3.3.1 The Concept of Justice

Justice is of central importance in political practice and theory. Justice is also invoked in social and political movements, civil disobedience and satyagraha campaigns. The civil rights or civil liberties movements are essentially justice movements. So are the

Dalit, feminist and environmental movements.

According to John Rawls of Harvard University, “Justice is the first virtue of social institutions.” He made the statement in his book, *A Theory of Justice*, published in 1971. It was proclaimed in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution that the Democratic Republic of India stood committed to securing to all

its citizens “Justice, social, economic and political”. The Preamble lists justice above the other moral, political values of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Rawls’s book paved the way for a golden age in theorising about justice. According to Tom Campbell, justice is today “the central and commanding concept of current mainstream normative political philosophy.”

3.3.1.1 Meaning

Justice is a complex concept with different viewpoints. Figuring out “what is justice” involves looking at values that people associate with it, and these ideas change over time. In the past, what seemed fair might not be seen that way today and vice versa. There are various views on justice, like the egalitarian one that focuses on equality or the libertarian perspective that values liberty.

Some connect justice to divine will, while others link it to the greatest good for the greatest number, and some see it as balancing different elements for a satisfactory result. People may view justice in terms of duty, maintaining peace or even as an elitist function. Overall, justice covers individual rights, and social organization, and is both a legal and moral idea, representing an ethical concept.

3.3.1.2 Definitions

- “Justice protects the rights of the individual as well as the order of society.” Dr. Raphael
- “Justice consists in a system of understandings and a procedure through which each is accorded what is agreed upon as fair.” C. E. Merriam
- “Justice means to give every individual his due share” Salmond

3.3.2 Significance

Justice is the most important goal for any state or society. Ideas of an ideal state are

based on concepts of justice. When people defend or oppose a law or policy, they make appeals about justice. Civil rights movements are always about fighting for more justice.

Justice and order are key for any legal and political system to work properly. Without fair justice, laws lose legitimacy. Ideas of what justice means have expanded over time. Earlier it just meant no discrimination. Now it also means taking active steps to make society equal and fair for all groups of people.

People see justice as essential for a good quality of life. Justice means dismantling unfair biases in institutions that exclude marginalized communities based on race, caste gender etc. It is about ensuring freedom from discrimination and building an equal society.

Justice protects the well-being of all citizens. It safeguards them from discrimination. No state or society can function without trying to deliver justice.

3.3.3 Types of Justice

3.3.3.1 Social Justice

“Social justice is another name for equal social rights;” “Social Justice aims to provide equal opportunities to every individual to develop his inherent qualities.” Barker

Social justice means that all members of society are equal, regardless of religion, caste, creed, colour, gender or status. However, scholars define social justice differently. One view holds that social justice involves allotting each person their fair share of social rights and opportunities. Another view suggests that the distribution of social facilities, rights and privileges based on laws and principles of justice makes up social justice.

The concept of social justice refers to making society fair and equitable for all its

members. Since society stands for the welfare of all sections of the people, some sort of protective discrimination in favour of less privileged section is highly warranted.

Social justice stands for a system of distributing social rewards and obligations in a morally justifiable manner, without discrimination against any individual or community based on identities like caste, religion or gender.

The Indian Constitution outlines provisions for promoting social, economic and political justice as crucial to achieving this ideal of an inclusive society. For example, untouchability has been abolished and equal access has been granted to all public places.

Equality is a cornerstone of social justice, as enshrined in many constitutions. This means the state has no right to treat citizens differently based on factors like birth, caste, race, religion, gender or social status. Achieving social justice also requires dismantling systems that create privileged classes, ensuring everyone has equal opportunities and rights regardless of their background.

3.3.3.2 Economic Justice

Economic justice is closely linked to social justice since a society's economic system shapes the society. It aims at establishing economic democracy and a welfare state. Economic justice implies that all citizens can earn a livelihood, obtain fair wages to meet basic needs, and receive state assistance in the event of illness, disability or old age.

No individual or group should be able to exploit others or be exploited themselves. Wealth and resources ought to be distributed equitably, without major gaps between the rich and the poor. Prosperity must reach all sections rather than concentrate at the top.

There are divergent views on what constitutes economic justice. Liberals favour open competition and private property rights. Socialists advocate social control and collective ownership of all economic assets. But most schools of thought agree that providing citizens' necessities like food, clothing, shelter, education and healthcare is vital, irrespective of the approach. Guaranteeing minimum material conditions for human flourishing through fair allocation of economic rights and resources is central to economic justice in practice.

3.3.3.3 Political Justice

Political justice involves providing all citizens with equal political rights and opportunities to participate in the country's governance. This means that people should be allowed to take part in the law making and decision making process of the country. For ensuring political justice, every person who has the right to vote should also be eligible to contest for and hold an elected office. There should be no discrimination in this regard.

Political justice also requires Fundamental rights. These rights should include freedom of speech and expression and the like. Political Justice also demands that recruitment to public services be made without any discrimination. Merit alone should be the criteria for recruitment. In the same manner, the recruiting agency should also be independent and impartial and autonomous. The idea of political justice has been taken from the Russian Revolution.

3.3.3.4 Legal Justice

Legal justice comprises two aspects: the creation of just laws and the administration of justice by those laws. When formulating laws, it is crucial not to impose the rulers' will on the ruled; instead, laws should be based on public opinion, social needs and considerations of

morality, values, conventions and notions of justice and fair play.

For laws to be effective, they must align with social values and moral principles. Citizens will only genuinely accept and follow laws when they believe in their goodness, fairness and reasonableness, not merely out of fear of external authority. Legal justice emphasizes the rule of law rather than the rule of any individual, ensuring equality for all before the law and its uniform application. This concept offers legal security to everyone, irrespective of their wealth or status.

In short, good laws come from social values, not government power. They give everyone security without bias. The goal is preventing injustice – not rulers imposing unjust laws just because they can. People truly accept only morally just laws aligned with social thinking of right and wrong.

Thus, Justice encompasses four essential dimensions: Social Justice, Economic Justice, Political Justice and Legal Justice. These dimensions are interconnected and rely on each other. True justice exists only when all these aspects are present. Social and Economic Justice are prerequisites for genuine Political and Legal Justice.

When there are social and economic inequalities, achieving political and equal justice becomes challenging. Individuals who are oppressed or economically disadvantaged often struggle to participate in the political process or seek protection through legal avenues.

Similarly, without political rights and equal legal protection, individuals cannot effectively secure their social and economic rights and freedoms. For justice to prevail, society must uphold rights, liberty and equality, forming the foundation that defines life in a just society.

3.3.4 The Concept of Distributive Justice

The concept of distributive justice, which focuses on what constitutes a fair allocation of resources, benefits and burdens in society, has its roots in Aristotle's seminal work. He said justice can be 'distributive' (sharing equally) or 'corrective' (fixing wrongs). Marx's memorable principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" also spoke of distribution in a future socialist state based on individual contributions. Some modern political economists like J. W. Chapman have furthered ideas of distributive justice.

Chapman connects justice with economic rationality of man and consumer's sovereignty, saying that the first principle is about distributing benefits equally based on what people want. The second principle says that a system is unfair if a few benefit at the cost of the many, meaning justice requires that no one should gain unfairly. Fundamentally, one party's profits should not directly produce another's loss.

3.3.5 The Concept of Procedural Justice

Procedural justice is a more specific concept that focuses on the rules and procedures governing individual actions rather than recommending wealth redistribution. Its main aim is to eliminate randomness in human actions and promote the rule of law. This perspective deals with individuals, emphasizing the importance of following rules and procedures to ensure fairness.

Proponents, like Hayek, argue that setting the criteria for redistributing wealth could lead to totalitarianism and a loss of liberty. They believe that constant state intervention for equality goes against justice, even if the

state follows a welfare policy. Critics say that following rules alone does not guarantee fairness, as the rules may favour certain groups. They point out that free competition might not be fair, especially for those without economic power, for whom the liberty of a free market might be meaningless.

3.3.6 John Rawl's Theory of Justice

Differing political theories have varying conceptualisations of what constitutes a just social order. Two influential perspectives are the utilitarian theory that defines justice in terms of maximizing aggregate satisfaction, and John Rawls' highly regarded "Theory of Justice as Fairness."

The Utilitarian theory suggests that a just social order is one where the largest number of people experience the highest satisfaction of their utility. In response, Rawls's theory provides an alternative perspective. Rawls, in his book "A Theory of Justice," presents his concept, rooted in the contractarian tradition of social philosophy.

Unlike others in this tradition, Rawls believes that the conclusions of moral reasoning should always be checked against intuitive moral notions. He introduces the "**veil of ignorance**," placing individuals in a hypothetical "**original position**" where they lack basic knowledge about their wants, interests, skills and conflicts that exist in actual societies. Despite this, they possess what Rawls terms a 'sense of justice.'

Rawls argues people in this position would agree to two principles of justice. The first is the **equality principle**, ensuring everyone has equal rights to liberty, including political participation, freedom of expression, religious liberty and equality before the law. The second is the **difference principle**, saying inequalities are tolerable only if they benefit

the least advantaged.

Rawls believes in two things for a just society: a government of laws that is restrained and accountable (a "constitutional democracy"), and regulating the free economy in a way that ensures fair competition, full employment, widespread property ownership and a social minimum. If the government maintains these conditions, along with equal opportunities through education, Rawls thinks the resulting distribution of resources will be just.

3.3.7 Conclusion

Justice is mainly an ethical concept that links social, political and legal values. Impartiality matters but equal treatment for unequal groups may be unfair. Justice requires prioritizing fairly - not uniformly. Social justice focuses on people's needs. In India, it demands policies to promote equity. Procedural justice seeks standardized processes to prevent arbitrary actions.

Justice connects other key values. For example, equality enables meaningful freedom. Rights depend on fair legal systems. The presence of justice ties together liberty, equality, rights and the rule of law into a sustainable whole.

The philosopher John Rawls said behind a "veil of ignorance," people would choose an egalitarian society with equal liberties limited only to prevent infringing on others' rights. Inequalities must benefit the disadvantaged.

Thus, justice balances competing interests through fair reconciliation that upholds society's morals. It integrates political ideals into an ethical system grounded in people's well being. The core role of justice is synthesizing key values into a sustainable social order focused on human dignity.

Recap

- ▶ Justice refers to the principle of upholding fairness, impartiality and moral rightness in society's structures, processes and outcomes.
- ▶ Justice is a fundamental value essential for social cohesion, conflict resolution and the protection of human rights and dignity.
- ▶ Distributive justice concerns the fair and equitable allocation of benefits, resources, and burdens within a society.
- ▶ Procedural justice focuses on ensuring fair and unbiased processes, decision-making mechanisms and due process protections.
- ▶ Retributive justice aims to hold wrongdoers accountable and impose proportionate punishments for their transgressions.
- ▶ Restorative justice emphasizes rehabilitation, addressing harm and reintegrating offenders through reconciliation and reparations.
- ▶ Different conceptions of justice, like utilitarian, deontological, and virtue-based, offer distinct perspectives on what constitutes just actions.
- ▶ Tensions can arise between various types of justice, as well as between justice and other social values like liberty, equality and efficiency.
- ▶ Historically, struggles for justice have driven major social movements and legal reforms related to civil rights, labour rights, and equal protection.
- ▶ Achieving comprehensive justice requires addressing systemic barriers, power imbalances and structural inequalities within societies.

Objective Questions

1. Who wrote "*The Republic*," which discusses the concept of justice?
2. Which philosopher is known for the theory of "Justice as Fairness"?
3. What term describes the fair distribution of wealth, opportunities and privileges in society?
4. Which concept of justice focuses on restoring relationships and community harmony?
5. What type of justice is concerned with fair punishment and treatment of lawbreakers?
6. What type of justice is concerned with Fair distribution of wealth, opportunities and privileges?
7. Which principle involves treating like cases alike and different cases differently?
8. What term refers to justice achieved through legal processes and courts?
9. Which type of Justice focuses on the fairness and integrity of individual transactions and contracts, ensuring that agreements are honoured and parties are treated fairly?

Answers

1. Plato
2. John Rawls
3. Distributive Justice
4. Restorative Justice
5. Retributive Justice
6. Corrective Justice
7. Social Justice
8. Equity
9. Procedural Justice
10. Commutative justice

Assignments

1. Compare and contrast the principles and goals of distributive justice, procedural justice, retributive justice and restorative justice and provide specific examples to illustrate how these different types of justice might be applied to address a particular issue or conflict scenario.
2. Select a historical or contemporary example of a significant injustice (e.g., apartheid, genocide, systemic discrimination, environmental injustice). Examine this injustice through the lens of various philosophical theories of justice
3. Select a specific law, court case or judicial ruling that has had a significant impact on the understanding or application of justice (e.g., landmark civil rights cases, international human rights laws, truth and reconciliation commissions).

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Suggested Readings

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Unit 4

Rights and Duties – Meaning and Importance

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of the unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the concepts of rights and duties and explain their significance in establishing a just, ethical and well-functioning society;
- ▶ Analyse various types of rights and corresponding duties and realise how they are interdependent and interrelated;
- ▶ Explore the philosophical foundations, legal frameworks and ethical principles that underpin the notion of rights and duties; and
- ▶ Evaluate contemporary issues, policies and social structures through the lens of rights and duties.

Prerequisites

Imagine a bustling village where every villager has a voice and a role. Their voice and role represent the concept of Rights and Duties. Rights are like the privileges each villager enjoys, such as freedom of speech, fair treatment and the right to education. Duties are the responsibilities each villager has, like respecting others, obeying laws and contributing to the community. As the villagers fulfil their duties, they protect and enhance each other's rights. The harmony of this village shows the importance of balancing rights with duties to create a just and thriving community. Understanding this balance is the key to fostering responsibility and respect in society. This unit will help you analyse and understand the above concepts in detail.

Keywords

Rights, Duties, Moral Philosophy, Human Rights, Legal Systems, Common law, Civil law, International law, Legal frameworks, Legal remedies, Social Justice, Human rights abuses, Social justice movements, Legal reforms.

Discussion

3.4.1 The Concept of Rights

Rights are social claims that help people reach their full potential. In a democracy, the government must serve the people. The best way to do this is to have a system of rights. Rights emerge from society and social conditions. They belong to individuals but have a social purpose. Rights help individuals to develop themselves fully. They also balance personal interests with larger social good. They enable people to fulfil their potential within the social fabric. Rights-based frameworks uphold dignity. They make democracies meaningful.

3.4.1.1 Meaning

Political theorists have long been debating the relationship between individuals and the state, exploring who holds more importance and what obligations each has. Some philosophers like Plato (called Idealists) argue that only the state can ensure justice and individuals must focus on fulfilling their duties. Others, like John Locke, believe that the state exists for the individual, emphasizing the sacrosanct nature of individual rights.

The idea of individual rights emerged in 15th and 16th centuries in Europe as a response to state absolutism, acting as protections against excessive state power. These rights are essential for individual development and stem from our social nature as members of society.

Rights are important social claims necessary for personal development, distinct from individual entitlements. In ancient times, some had privileges, but they were not considered rights. The key difference is that rights are universal and apply to everyone, while privileges are exclusive to a few.

Rights do not discriminate and are acquired

as a natural part of being human, especially in democratic societies. Definitions of rights vary, but they generally emphasize the individual's influence through society's strength.

3.4.1.2 Definitions

According to Holland, Rights are “one man's capacity of influencing the act of others, not by his strength but by the strength of society.”

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

To Bosanquet, “A right is a claim recognized by society and enforced by the state”.

According to Laski, “Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best.”

Any definition of rights must include some key aspects:

1. Social origins: Rights emerge from society and social needs. They do not exist separately from community living.
2. Role in individual growth: Rights help the individual to develop fully. But this personal growth happens within social relationships and duties.
3. State's duty: Rights are enforced by the State. It does not ‘grant’ rights through law. Its legitimacy depends on protecting emerging claims seeking to expand freedoms.
4. Link with duties: Rights and duties go together. Rights are limited by ethical duties of responsibility towards each other.
5. Liberties and claims: Rights include freedoms from external obstruction and positive claims on others to provide resources.

So, rights are socially rooted, shaped by duties and they enable individual growth

interdependently. The state upholds claims furthering human dignity that arise from evolving social conditions.

3.4.2 Nature of Rights

Understanding the foundation of rights is essential. Rights are essentially claims, but not all claims qualify as rights unless they are recognized by society. Hobhouse emphasizes that rights are expectations between individuals, tied to social welfare and responsibilities.

They are inherently social, arising from society and dependent on social well-being. As social claims, rights create conditions for personal development, provided and protected by the state. If it fails to maintain these conditions, it loses its claim to allegiance.

Rights are dynamic, changing with social customs. They differ from powers, which individuals have inherently; but as members of society, they have rights. Isolated individuals lack rights and social beings lack individual powers.

Rights are responses to actions, serving as returns or rewards for contributing to society. They correspond to performed duties and are not absolute. A balanced compromise between individual rights and social interests is crucial for overall welfare, as absolute and uncontrolled rights could lead to chaos.

3.4.3 Types of Rights

Rights are not just privileges, they're the building blocks of who we are. Different societies offer different tools (rights) to help people to develop. The important Rights are given below:

- **Right to life:** This is the foundation, without it other rights are meaningless. Think of it as the

right to simply exist and be safe.

- **Right to equality:** Everyone deserves fair treatment, no matter their background. This includes equal protection under the law and freedom from discrimination.
- **Right to freedom:** This opens doors to express ourselves, gather, choose our jobs and even believe what we want (within reason).
- **Right to education:** Learning lets us reach our full potential and live meaningful lives.
- **Economic rights:** Work, rest and some level of financial security ensure basic needs are met and other rights can be enjoyed.
- **Right to property:** Owning and inheriting things adds stability and a sense of belonging.
- **Political rights:** Participating in government through voting, running for office and forming groups empower citizens.

India's constitution guarantees these rights as fundamental rights in Part III, ensuring everyone has a fair shot at building their best selves. Different systems prioritise these rights differently: For a Liberal democracy, Political rights like voting come first, followed by social rights like education and lastly economic rights like work.

In Socialist societies, Economic rights like right to work are top priority, followed by social rights and lastly, political rights. No matter the order, rights are essential tools for everyone to thrive in a fair and just society.

3.4.4 Theories of Rights

Rights are explained by various theories focusing on their nature, origin and meaning. Natural rights theory sees them as inherent to

humans, legal rights theory relates them to the law, historical theory links them to traditions and the idealistic theory associates them with the state.

Social welfare theory regards rights as tools benefiting both individuals and society. The evolution of rights includes civil rights, shaped by traditions, legal rights ordained by law, political rights in democracies, social rights in sociology, socio-economic rights in socialism, Marxism and human rights supported by the United Nations.

3.4.4.1 Theory of Natural Rights

The theory of natural rights was championed by Thomas Hobbes (Leviathan, 1651), John Locke (Two Treatises on Government, 1690), and J. J. Rousseau (The Social Contract, 1762), popularly known as the contractualists. According to the contractualists, these rights are inalienable and essential to human nature. Critics like Bentham and Laski dismiss the idea of natural rights, emphasizing that rights are not fixed but recognized based on the demands of civilized life. The assumption of having rights independently of society is flawed.

3.4.4.2 Legal Theory of Rights

The theory of legal rights, synonymous with the idealist theory of rights, is championed by thinkers like Laski, Bentham, Hegel and Austin. According to this perspective, rights are granted by the state and derive from legal frameworks defined by the state.

The key features of these theories include the state being the source of rights, the legal system guaranteeing and enforcing rights and the dynamic nature of rights that change with alterations in the law. Laski, a prominent political scientist, views rights as social conditions essential for an individual's best self and emphasizes their connection with duties.

He suggests an order of rights starting with economic rights like the right to work and adequate wages, followed by political rights and education rights. Laski argues that economic and social rights are foundational, making political liberty meaningful.

3.4.4.3 Historical Theory of Rights

Also known as the prescriptive theory, it posits that rights emerge from a lengthy historical evolution shaped by traditions and customs. Advocates, such as Edmund Burke, argue that rights are rooted in practices that people consistently exercise or enjoy over an extended period.

This theory challenges the legal and natural theories of rights. Unlike legal theorists, who assert that the state grants rights, historical theorists claim that the state recognizes rights based on enduring usage.

However, it has limitations, as not all customs lead to rights. Practices like the Sati system or infanticide are not considered rights. While the historical theory sheds light on the evolution of rights, it does not cover all contemporary rights, such as the right to social security, which may not be rooted in traditional customs.

3.4.4.4 Social Welfare Theory of Rights

The social welfare theory of rights posits that rights should align with the conditions of social welfare. Advocates like Roscoe Pound, Chafee, and Bentham argue that the state should only recognize rights that contribute to social welfare.

According to this theory, rights are created by society and are contingent on considerations of the common good. Claims that do not align with the general welfare and lack recognition from the community do not qualify as rights.

3.4.4.5 Marxist Theory of Rights



The Marxist theory of rights links to the economic system of a specific era. In each socio-economic structure, certain rights emerge. Marx asserts that the state, serving the dominant economic class, is a class-specific institution, and its laws reflect the interests of that class.

Feudal laws protect feudal privileges, and in capitalism, laws favour capitalist interests. Marx contends that the ruling class shapes political power to serve its interests, not society as a whole. In a post-capitalist socialist society, proletarian laws would protect workers' rights.

In a classless socialist society, laws safeguard the rights of all citizens. Marx envisions establishing socialism with a focus on economic rights (work, social security), followed by social rights (education) and political rights (franchise rights).

3.4.5 The Concept of Human Rights

Human rights are inherent entitlements crucial for our existence as humans, supporting the use and enhancement of our abilities. They are fundamental to a life that protects and respects the dignity of every individual, deeply embedded in various organizations, notably the UN charter.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, is a cornerstone, celebrating Human Rights Day on December 10. The declaration encompasses 30 articles covering traditional rights, additional rights, and economic rights. Traditional rights include life, liberty, security, a fair trial, equal protection, freedom of movement, nationality and asylum.

Additional rights encompass equality, marriage, family, property, freedom of thought, expression, assembly, association and political participation. Economic

rights cover work, protection against unemployment, fair remuneration, forming trade unions, rest, leisure, standard of living, education and cultural participation. The declaration concludes with an emphasis on social and international order, duties toward the community and guarantees of these rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitutes the initial segment of the International Bill of Human Rights, followed by the International Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol, all adopted in 1966.

3.4.6 Duties

3.4.6.1 Meaning

Closely allied with the concept of rights are the concept of duties. Simply defined, Duty means an obligation. A man is said to have duty in any matter if he is under an obligation to do or not to do something. In fact, rights and duties go side by side and are the two faces of the same coin.

If we wish to enjoy the civil and political rights, we must perform certain duties towards the state. It is the duties which create the essential qualities of sacrifice, courage and discipline among the citizens. In this context, Prof. Salmond observes: 'A duty is an act which every citizen is obliged to perform in furtherance of protecting the rights of other people'.

3.4.6.2 Kinds of Duties

Duties are of two types- Legal and Moral.

An act or forbearance recognized as duty by rule of morality is moral duty. Defying moral duty would not be a legal wrong. It is demanded by the public opinion of the society and moral wrongs bring consequences such as social exclusion and boycott. The moral

obligation of the community demands of us the performance of certain duties towards the poor, the sick and the suffering people.

An act or forbearance recognized as duty by rules of laws is legal duty. Defying legal duty is a legal wrong. Legal wrong brings the consequences of legal action by police and courts. In a sense, moral duties are not enforced by courts of law but enforced by public opinion whereas legal duties are enforced by the court of law.

3.4.6.3 Duties of Citizens

The citizens are concerned both with the state and the society. They cannot do anything in the absence of state and society. Therefore, individuals have to perform both the moral and legal duties.

Moral Duties of citizens

The important moral duties which a citizen has to observe are summarized as follows;

1. Duties towards oneself

Of all the important moral duties which a citizen has to follow, the most important one is towards his own self. Since man is a social being and as a member of the society, it is necessary that the individual who constitutes the society should be energetic and strong in mind and body. A citizen should develop to the full of his moral, spiritual and intellectual capabilities to be able to serve the society.

2. Duties towards Family

A citizen has a duty towards the family as well. In case all the members of a family do not honestly perform their allotted duties, the whole family would bound to suffer. It is the moral duty of the parents to bring up, educate and support their children and if they fail in their duties the children cannot develop their best selves. The children are the citizens of tomorrow. A country's future depends upon

enlightened citizens.

3. Duty towards neighbours

A citizen should extend full degree of help, assistance and co-operation to his neighbours in all walks of life. He should be sympathetic, kind and useful to his neighbours. It is said that 'love begets love.' Love your neighbours and they will love you in return. If your neighbour is weak, sick poor and needy you cannot feel safe. The undesirable character of a neighbour may spoil your children. A poor neighbour may become a thief. Therefore, it is the moral duty of the citizen to see to the all round progress of his neighbours.

4. Duties towards humanity

Modern age is an age of internationalism. Every citizen should live in co-operation and harmony with the poor of the other countries. Every citizen should help in the establishment of world peace. The citizen should not develop hatred and distrust for the people of other countries. The citizen should strongly oppose imperialism.

Legal duties of citizens

There are several important legal duties which a citizen should perform. They are given below:

1. Loyalty and Allegiance

The most important legal duty is loyalty and allegiance to the state to which he belongs. It is the duty of a citizen to defend the state against all enemies and dangers and render public service. The state can call upon any citizen to take up arms in defence. The defence of the country is a sacred duty.

2. Obedience

It is the duty of the citizen to obey the laws. Obedience to Law is a general mark of good citizenship. Laws are made for the welfare of the community. Respect for the laws and the institutions of the state makes one as a good

citizen. Disobedience and neglect of laws would hamper the progress and realization of the common welfare.

3. Payment of Taxes

Another important duty of the citizen is the payment of taxes to the government. The administration of the government cannot be run without public funds. There is no other sources for the government except the taxes. All these taxes are utilized for the payment of salaries to the public servants who exist for the welfare of the people. Therefore, the State has the right to tax its citizens who should pay all these taxes without any hesitation.

4. Protection of Public Property

It is the duty of the citizen to protect public property.

5. Duty to Vote

In a democratic State, citizens should exercise the duty to vote to elect their representatives. It is the fundamental and essential part of a citizen's duty to the government.

6. Duty to co-operate with the Government

Every citizen should extend fullest degree of co-operation to the government. It is his duty to help the government officials in the proper discharge of their duties. A citizen should not give shelter or to defend the criminals. He should rather help the government in getting the law breakers punished.

3.4.6.4 Relationship between Rights and Duties

Rights are defined as claims of individual that are essential for his best self, whereas a duty is something that someone is expected or required to do. Rights and duties are interdependent. They are the two sides of

the same coin. The following points makes it clear:

1. One's right is another's duty

A right to belonging to one person imposes a corresponding duty on others to respect his right. For instance, an individual right to property implies that it is the duty of others not to take away or steal his property. In this sense, rights and duties are the two side of the same coin.

2. One's right is one's duty also

A right is a same thing as duty. If an individual enjoys a right, it must be remembered that the same right belongs to all other individuals. According to Prof: Laski, one man's right is also his duty. For instance, if the state gives the right to life to a citizen, it also imposes an obligation on him to not to expose his life to dangers as well as to respect the life of others.

Thus, rights and duties go hand in hand. Gandhiji observed: 'Real rights are a result of a performance of duty.' Rights and duties are closely related. One cannot be separated from the other. For every right, there is a corresponding duty. The state protects and enforces the rights and it is the duty of all citizens to be loyal to the state. Thus, a citizen has both rights and duties.

Recap

- ▶ Rights are entitlements that individuals possess, such as the right to life, liberty and property, which are often protected by law.
- ▶ Duties are obligations or responsibilities that individuals have towards others or society, often corresponding to the rights of others.
- ▶ The concept of rights and duties is foundational in moral and legal philosophy, addressing questions of what individuals are entitled to and what they owe to others.
- ▶ Rights and duties are interconnected; the exercise of one's rights should not infringe upon the rights of others and duties often arise from respecting the rights of others.
- ▶ Rights can be classified into different categories, such as legal rights, moral rights, human rights and civil rights, each with its own set of corresponding duties.
- ▶ The importance of rights lies in their role in protecting individuals from harm, ensuring their freedoms and liberties and promoting fairness and justice in society.
- ▶ Duties are equally important as they uphold the social order, promote the common good, and contribute to the well-being of society as a whole.
- ▶ Balancing rights and duties is essential for maintaining harmony and justice in society, as excessive focus on rights without regard for duties can lead to conflicts and inequalities.
- ▶ The relationship between rights and duties is often guided by ethical principles, legal frameworks, cultural norms and social expectations.
- ▶ Understanding the meaning and importance of rights and duties is crucial for individuals to navigate ethical dilemmas, engage in responsible citizenship and contribute positively to society.

Objective Questions

1.are entitlements that individuals possess, which are often protected by law and allow individuals to act or be treated in a certain way.
2.are obligations or responsibilities that individuals have towards others or society, often corresponding to the rights of others.
3. Who is known as the “Father of Natural Rights”?
4. What type of rights are considered inherent and inalienable?
5. Which document outlines fundamental human rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948?
6. Who wrote Leviathan?
7. Name the book written by John Locke?

8. 'The Social Contract' was written by?
9. An act or forbearance recognized as duty by rule of morality is called?
10. Which part of the Indian Constitution guarantees Fundamental Rights?

Answers

1. Rights
2. Duties
3. John Locke
4. Natural Rights
5. Universal Declaration of Human Rights
6. Thomas Hobbes
7. Two Treatises on Civil Government
8. Rousseau
9. Moral duty
10. Part III

Assignments

1. How do international human rights agreements influence the rights and duties of individuals within a nation-state?
2. Analyse a historical event or movement where the balance between rights and duties was a central issue. What were the outcomes of this balance?
3. In what ways do social norms and cultural values influence the perception of rights and duties?

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BLOCK - 04

Political Ideologies

Unit 1

Liberalism – Classical, Modern and Neo - Classical

Learning Outcomes

After studying the unit, you will be able to:

- ▶ Understand the core principles and values of liberalism;
- ▶ Analyse the evolution of liberal thought from classical to modern liberalism;
- ▶ Explore the key tenets of neoclassical liberalism;
- ▶ Evaluate the strengths, limitations, and contemporary relevance of classical, modern and neoclassical liberal philosophies.

Prerequisites

Imagine a busy marketplace where various ideas compete for attention, each promising a better way to organize society. Among them, three distinct voices stand out: Classical Liberalism, Modern Liberalism and Neo - Classical Liberalism. Classical Liberalism, emerged during the Enlightenment era, stood for individual freedom and minimal government intervention. John Locke and Adam Smith were the prominent figures who advocated this through demands for free markets. As society evolved, Modern Liberalism emerged, with thinkers like John Maynard Keynes, emphasizing the need for government to play a role in ensuring social welfare and economic stability. Neo - Classical Liberalism, commonly called Libertarianism, had taken a revisit to Classical Liberalist idea, insisting on market efficiency while recognizing some benefits of state intervention. These perspectives form the foundation of liberal thought, balancing freedom and social responsibility.

Keywords

Individual liberty, Limited Government, Free market, Natural rights, Laissez-faire, Utilitarianism, Positive liberty, Negative liberty, Welfare state, Privatization, Globalization, Property rights, Free trade.

Discussion

4.1.1 The Concept of Liberalism

From its roots in the Renaissance and Reformation, liberalism has shaped the Western world for over three centuries. Initially driven by the aspirations of the rising middle class, it challenged the absolute power of monarchs and championed individual freedom in various spheres: intellectual, social, religious and economic.

Early liberalism focused on dismantling barriers to individual development, promoting negative liberties such as freedom from arbitrary authority and freedom of expression. It played a progressive role in combating cruelty, intolerance and oppressive governments, advocating human rights and national self-determination.

However, the 20th century brought new challenges. Liberalism faced competition from ideologies like democracy, socialism, and fascism. It absorbed aspects of democracy and social welfare to create the 'welfare state', but clashed with fascism and struggled against communism.

In the face of the apparent dominance of communism, mid 20th century liberalism became more defensive and conservative, often opposing radical movements. This shift away from its progressive roots left it vulnerable to criticism.

With the fall of Soviet communism, however, a resurgence of classical liberalism (often in the form of libertarianism) is observable. As the dominant ideology of the past fades, liberalism seeks to adapt and redefine itself in the contemporary world.

The collapse of communist governments in Eastern Europe and the U. S. S. R., and the decline of socialist ideology made the obvious

resurgence of classical liberalism, particularly in its modern form of libertarianism, as the dominant ideology of the world.

4.1.1.1 Meaning

Liberalism is a principle of politics which insists on the 'Liberty of Individuals.' Liberty in this sense implies liberation from restraints - particularly from the restraint imposed by an authoritarian state.

The word Liberalism originated from the Latin word '*Liberalis*' which means free man. The principle basically believes in the freedom of an individual. Freedom is the very essence of liberalism. It is the voice of 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 W. H. Mc Grover, Liberalism as a political creed is a compound of two separate elements - democracy and individualism. It is against all forms of dictatorship. It is the product of 16th century. It arose as a reaction against the authority of feudal barons, government by aristocrats and the power of clergy. The rise and growth of liberalism is the product of Renaissance, Reformation and Industrial Revolution.

Liberalism envisages both narrow and broad perspectives. As a political doctrine, it stands for individual liberty and limited government. In its social viewpoint, it involves self-expression, conscience and personality development. Economically, it favours free trade and open markets.

At its core, liberalism is a mindset analysing various aspects of human life, advocating secularism, freedom of religion and the unrestrained development of individual personalities. It spans social, economic, and political dimensions, promoting a society based on liberty, constitutionalism and

opposition to authoritarianism.

4.1.2 Rise of Liberalism

Liberalism, a major movement across Western Europe and America, found its appearance in England. From England, it also started spreading to other countries. Unlike in England, where it became a national philosophy and policy, French liberalism leaned towards a specific class and held critical views of the masses. Notably, in England, the leading industrial power of the time, liberalism became both a national philosophy and policy. It facilitated a smooth transition, granting freedom and rights first to the middle class and then to the working class, even offering them protection from harsh industrial conditions.

To understand its evolution, scholars divide liberalism into two eras: **classical (negative)** and **welfare (positive)**. This division reflects a shift in focus. Initially, it served as the champion of the rising middle class against powerful monarchs and aristocrats. This early phase, focused on individual rights, saw a conflict between individual and social interests.

In contrast, welfare liberalism acknowledged the importance of both individual and community interests. It aimed not only to preserve the early phase's freedoms but also to adapt them to the changing world shaped by industrialization and nationalism.

4.1.3 Characteristics

John Hallowell outlines the key features of liberalism as follows:

1. **Individual Dignity and Equality:** This principle emphasizes the inherent worth and spiritual equality of all individuals.

2. **Individual Autonomy:** Classical liberalism champions the freedom of individuals to make their own choices and pursue their own goals.
3. **Human Potential:** It views humans as fundamentally rational and capable of making sound decisions.
4. **Fundamental Rights:** Certain rights, such as life, liberty and property are considered inherent and inviolable.
5. **Limited Government:** The state exists through the consent of the governed, solely for the purpose of protecting individual rights.
6. **Social Contract:** The relationship between individuals and the state is seen as a contractual agreement.
7. **Rule of Law:** Law, rather than arbitrary authority, should be the primary means of regulating society.
8. **Individual Freedom in All Spheres:** This principle advocates individual liberty across various aspects of life, including political, economic, social, intellectual and religious spheres.
9. **Limited and constitutional Government:** The effectiveness of a government is inversely proportional to its size and scope; ideally, it should govern as little as possible. This is to oppose arbitrary rule.
10. **Rationality and Truth:** Classical liberalism believes that truth can be discovered through the application of human reason.

4.1.4 Classical Liberalism

Classical liberalism, known by various names like negative liberalism or *laissez-faire* liberalism, emerged during the modern period from the 16th century. It opposed medieval structures, advocating individual freedom and autonomy. The Reformation Movement challenged church authority, leading to

a breakdown of traditional hierarchies. Liberalism opposed kings' arbitrary power, questioned privileges for the nobles and favoured a society where individuals could rise on merit.

Liberalism believes in a competitive, contractual society and a free-market economy. It emphasized individual autonomy and rationalism. Liberty, in this context, meant freedom from various restraints and the purpose of law was seen as regulation rather than restriction. Society was viewed as artificial, comprising individuals pursuing their self-interests. It was considered a means to enrich individual ends, lacking separate existence or interests.

Classical liberalism focused on individual liberty, emphasizing freedom from arbitrary authority in all aspects of life. Society was seen as a free-market arrangement, where self-interested individuals interacted based on free will, competition and contracts. A good society, according to this perspective, ensures individual liberty for maximizing self-interest and freedom of action. Society, in this view, was a means with individuals as the end, reflecting an open and free arrangement.

Classical liberalism, popularized by thinkers like Adam Smith, emerged alongside the rise of the middle class. This ideology championed economic freedom, stood for minimal government involvement, allowing individuals to pursue their self-interest through free markets. They believed this would naturally lead to prosperity.

Politically, they emphasized the importance of individual rights, proposing that the state exists solely to protect these rights and is legitimate only with the consent of the governed. This meant keeping government intervention minimal and establishing checks and balances to prevent abuse of power.

Overall, classical liberalism aimed to empower individuals through both economic and political freedom, reflecting the aspirations of the new middle class.

Classical liberalism saw the State as both necessary for providing order and security and potentially harmful to individual freedom. The philosophy emphasized that too much government involvement could threaten personal liberties. Liberal thinkers like Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer believed in a minimal government role in socio-economic affairs.

The political roots of liberalism can be traced back to thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jeremy Bentham. Locke's theory stressed natural rights like life, liberty and property, suggesting that individuals form a state through a contract for protection. The state's role, according to liberalism, should be limited to maintaining law and order and safeguarding rights and property.

Liberal ideas significantly influenced revolutions, such as the American and French revolutions. In the nineteenth century, philosophers like Bentham and Mill introduced Utilitarianism, which provided a theoretical basis for liberalism. Utilitarianism, rooted in hedonism, argues that individuals seek pleasure and avoid pain. Bentham applied this idea to law, politics and the state, considering the state a means to promote individual happiness through regulating self-interest.

Bentham viewed the state as a negative institution, focusing on security and freedom. He believed in removing institutional restrictions to maximize individual happiness. Despite recognizing the state's importance, Bentham called for limiting its functions to ensure security and freedom, promoting the concept of a minimal state.

The legacy of Classical liberalism continued with J. S. Mill, especially in his influential essay “On Liberty” (1859). Mill passionately argued for freedom of thought, expression and action, not just against state interference but social pressures too. He championed individual liberty for personal development, stating that people should be free to pursue their interests as long as they did not harm others. Mill saw liberty as pursuing personal good without infringing on others, emphasizing that the only valid use of power against an individual was to prevent harm to others.

Mill divided individual activities into self-regarding and other-regarding. He advocated maximum freedom in self-regarding actions, focusing on consciousness, tastes, pursuits and col labour labourations among individuals. Mill’s concept of freedom was defined by what it opposed — social control over self-regarding activities. He believed individuals were not answerable to society for actions that concerned only themselves. Mill asserted that social and political progress relied on individual potential and free choices.

While later liberal writers challenged Mill’s self-regarding and other-regarding functions, his emphasis on individual potential and freedom remained crucial. Mill vehemently opposed any increase in state power, arguing that it restricted individual liberty. His advocacy for freedom of speech and expression became fundamental tenets of liberal philosophy.

L.T. Hobhouse outlined essential liberal principles, evolving from the struggles of the rising middle class against feudalism. These principles included personal liberty, civil liberty, economic liberty (embracing *laissez-faire* policies), political liberty, popular sovereignty and domestic, administrative,

racial and international liberty. Hobhouse stressed that liberalism sought equality of opportunity and opposed discrimination based on various factors. Classical liberalism rejected militarism and supported international cooperation for the global free flow of goods.

Conclusion

Born from the ideas of the Renaissance, Reformation and Industrial Revolution, classical liberalism became a powerful ideology. It emphasizes the individual’s worth and freedom in all aspects of life - political, social, cultural and economic. Central to this are inherent “natural rights” like life, liberty and property, not granted by the state but belonging to everyone. It champions free markets driven by trade, contracts and competition, with minimal government involvement in the economy.

Classical liberalism sees the state as a necessary but limited partner. Created by a social contract to protect rights, its role is primarily to maintain law and order while leaving individuals free to pursue their own goals. This limited role sometimes leads to the view of the state as potentially restrictive, but the core focus remains on empowering individuals through freedom and limited government.

4.1.5 Positive Liberalism

The late 19th century saw a critique of classical liberalism, which emphasized individual freedom with minimal state intervention. Critics argued that this “*laissez-faire*” approach failed to achieve social and economic goals. They pointed to issues like wealth concentration, monopolies, harsh working conditions and widespread poverty.

This critique led to the rise of positive liberalism, which aimed to address these shortcomings. While still valuing individual

liberty, positive liberalism recognized the need for a more active state role in promoting social good. This included ensuring basic rights for all, creating a level playing field through measures like education and healthcare and regulating the economy to prevent exploitation and promote fairer distribution of wealth.

Thinkers like John Stuart Mill and T. H. Green emphasized the importance of individual self-realization, achievable only within a just and equitable society. They argued that freedom was not just about the absence of restraints, but also the presence of opportunities and conditions necessary for individuals to flourish. This meant not only political freedom but also the social and economic ones.

Positive liberalism also acknowledged the limitations of negative liberty and the need for a broader definition. It recognized that true freedom often requires positive action from the state, such as ensuring access to education and healthcare to empower individuals and create a more just society.

In the early twentieth century, classical liberalism faced challenges due to the development of capitalism. Writers like Laski, Keynes and Barker sought theoretical justifications for continued state intervention in social welfare and integrating socialism into liberalism.

John Maynard Keynes, in particular, spoke for state intervention to regulate the economy and address issues like unemployment. Positive liberalism continues to evolve, seeking solutions to contemporary challenges while balancing individual liberty with the responsibility to create a society that allows everyone to thrive.

4.1.5.1 Concept of Liberal Democratic Welfare State

The term “welfare state” refers to a system where the government provides essential

services like healthcare and education, often funded through taxes. It represents a state offering extensive social services, protecting vulnerable groups, ensuring economic and social security and working to reduce inequality in wealth.

This system is based on the principles of positive liberalism, where the state actively works towards social good. This involves laws to regulate the economy, nationalise industries, protect the weaker sections, manage the supply of essential goods and address income disparities through progressive taxation and redistribution.

The 20th century saw positive liberalism merging with the idea of the democratic welfare state. This marked a significant shift from the *laissez-faire* approach of 19th-century capitalism. The welfare state expanded the scope of government intervention, redefined its role and altered its underlying assumptions about human nature and social well-being.

This system aimed to reconcile individual and social interests, preserving the core of the capitalist system while mitigating its negative effects. The state’s role went beyond maintaining order and justice; it became an active participant in the social process, serving the common good and providing services for all members of society.

The welfare state’s main principles are simple. It recognizes everyone’s entitlement to a minimum standard of living, commits to economic stability and prioritises full employment. Supporters believe it can strengthen free enterprise through measures like proper taxation and investment incentives without extreme steps like nationalisation.

In social security, the welfare state addresses needs like protection against want, sickness and old age. It guarantees a minimum

income, reduces insecurity and ensures access to social services for all citizens. The defining feature is the community, through the state, taking responsibility to provide means for everyone to achieve a minimum standard of living and participate in the social and cultural contexts based on their capacity.

4.1.5.2 Conclusion

The concept of the welfare state emerged as a challenge to the idea that public assistance weakens individuals and the market is the source of freedom. Instead, it argued that the unpredictable nature of the market left many without control over their fate. The widespread unemployment during the inter war period further highlighted this need for an alternative approach.

The welfare state aimed not to replace the market, but to address its shortcomings linked to social justice. This included providing for basic needs like food, healthcare and education, often funded through taxes. This shift also involved redefining core principles like liberty and justice, emphasizing the importance of social bonds and community.

While there was broad agreement on the need for the welfare state after World War II, different justifications existed within liberalism. These ranged from correcting capitalism's flaws to achieving equality, social justice and fulfilling citizenship rights, with even moral and altruistic motivations playing a role.

4.1.5.3 Criticism

The welfare state is often seen as a compromise between market model of classical liberalism and contemporary libertarianism. It attempts to blend capitalist freedom and inequalities with socialist equalities, aiming for practical realisation of liberty, equality and justice. The welfare

state retains essential aspects of the capitalist system while addressing its abuses.

The theory initially proposed a mixed economy generating income for welfare services, justified ethically for redistributive purposes. Critics argue that welfare state expansion overlooked market-enhancing aspects, leading to an unintended transformation.

Libertarian philosophers, like Nozick, oppose the welfare state, defending the market economy and asserting that state distributive policies violate individual rights. Concerns include potential bureaucratic growth, declining freedom and inefficiency. Post-war welfare experiences sparked doubts about entrusting collective institutions with the delivery of welfare services, both ethically and efficiently.

Doubts arise about the welfare state's ability to deliver social justice, as redistribution often benefits middle income groups. Excessive welfare may create dependency cultures, contrary to good citizenship ideals. Critics of citizenship theory acknowledge the need for social support but emphasize the importance of corresponding social duties. They argue that individuals should contribute to society through work, not just receive benefits as entitlements.

The growing consensus is that individual wellbeing goes beyond just material resources and includes personal responsibility and autonomy. Critics argue that over reliance on the state can foster dependency and discourage work ethics. They propose alternative solutions like empowering individuals through voucher systems and decentralizing welfare services to encourage greater responsibility and community involvement.

4.1.6 Neo-Classical Liberalism

The 20th century witnessed a significant transformation in political philosophy. While welfare state liberalism gained prominence, leading to the expansion of state functions and its wide acceptance, a counter-movement emerged. This movement, rooted in classical liberalism, aimed to revive its core principles and is known as Neo-Classical Liberalism or Libertarianism.

The publication of Robert Nozick's "Anarchy, State, and Utopia" in 1974 propelled the movement into mainstream academic discourse. As a political philosophy, this influential work, compared to John Rawls's "*A Theory of Justice*," provided a strong intellectual foundation for the movement and influenced the policies of leaders like Thatcher and Reagan in the 1980s.

Emerging in the 1960s, particularly in the U. S. A. and in England, Neo-Classical Liberalism, popularly known as Libertarianism, challenged the growing role of the State and championed individual liberty as the cornerstone of a just society. Libertarians believe in strong individual freedom and see a pure market system, where people buy and sell freely, as the best way to protect it.

Etymologically rooted in "free will," libertarianism represents the most radical form of individualism. It advocates a pure capitalist economy as the ultimate safeguard of individual liberty.

Neo-Classical ideas are not completely new; some of the basic concepts have existed for thousands of years. Ancient thinkers in China, Greece and Israel explored early ideas about personal freedom and limiting government power.

Later, Enlightenment thinkers like Locke, Smith and Jefferson advanced ideas about

individual rights and constraining government that influenced libertarian thinking. In the 1900s, Hayek, Friedman and others revived these classical liberal ideas about free markets and minimal government.

The growing modern emphasis on personal independence and autonomy has also made libertarian ideas more popular politically. People are more concerned with making their own choices without government interference.

The core concepts behind today's libertarianism are:

- ▶ Individual freedom as the highest political value;
- ▶ Strict limits on government power over personal choices and market decisions;
- ▶ Strong private property rights;
- ▶ Individual rights are more important than group demands or wealth redistribution.

So, while modern libertarianism has gained steam recently, its central values have evolved over centuries: personal liberty, property protections, free market and constrained government. Current thinkers have renewed attention on this long developing political philosophy.

Some of the important concepts of libertarian theory are as follows:

1. Individualism

Libertarian individualism is an extreme form of belief in personal independence - there is almost no external authority allowed over the individual and their choices. This largely grew from opposing authoritarian governments and expanded welfare states.

For libertarians, the individual comes first, politically and morally. Empowering more people with autonomy is progressive. Libertarians view capitalist free market as

the best way to enable individual economic freedom with the least coercion, famously known as “anarcho-capitalism”.

Ayn Rand epitomizes libertarian individualism in her writings. She wholly rejects putting community above the self. Rand argues that the ethics of altruism – self-sacrifice for others – destroys individual value. Unlike earning money, which rewards an individual’s merits, altruism creates guilt and dependence, according to her. “Selfishness” for Rand requires taking responsibility for your own life and choices. Anything infringing individual self-reliance violates human dignity in this view.

In essence, libertarian individualism envisages personal liberty from almost any external constraint. Voluntary cooperation is ideal, not mandatory redistribution of wealth or sacrifice for others. This makes individual sovereignty and self-interest supreme political values. The community only has value insofar as it empowers personal autonomy.

2. Individual Rights and Liberty

Libertarianism centres on the principle that individuals should be free from interference, with personal liberty considered the supreme moral good. The philosophy emphasises the idea of natural negative rights, such as life, liberty and property, which are inherent to all individuals. Libertarians argue that these rights act as constraints against actions that could harm or restrict an individual’s freedom without their consent.

Libertarianism often intertwines the concepts of negative rights and liberty, viewing them as equivalent or grounded in personal liberty. The focus is on preventing the government from coercively imposing actions on people. Liberty, in this context, is seen as the absence of external impediments

caused by intentional actions of others.

Negative liberty, as emphasised by libertarians, involves refraining from actions that would harm or interfere with others. Coercion is considered incompatible with liberty. The baseline for liberty is one’s body, and libertarians assert the right to self-ownership, where individuals can do as they wish with themselves but not with others without their consent.

Libertarians distinguish between negative and positive rights, contending that individuals have no basic positive rights. Positive obligations, according to libertarians, must be voluntarily undertaken by the obliged individual, emphasizing a commitment to perform the indicated action.

Two essential features of libertarianism are:

(a) the primary purpose of negative general rights is to safeguard individual liberty, ensuring that no one’s life is restricted without consent.

(b) libertarians reject moral rules or principles of distributive justice that limit individual freedom without consent.

The philosophy contends that any expansion of governmental roles undermining individual liberty should be rejected.

3. Civil Society

Libertarians believe societies can function well without central control. They argue things like language, money, and even social groups form naturally, without being planned by a higher power. People come together voluntarily to form civil society, driven by their own needs and interests, not by government orders. This allows individuals to be part of groups while still maintaining

their autonomy, as long as joining remains a choice, not a requirement.

In this view, order emerges naturally as people freely interact and cooperate, not through government control. So, libertarians believe the government should not try to force people into specific groups or dictate how society should be organized. Instead, they see complex social structures arise organically when free individuals come together voluntarily.

4. Political Economy and the Problem of Redistribution

Libertarians think free markets where people voluntarily trade are the best way to respect freedom and fairly distribute goods. They believe prices that come from many private choices show more useful information than any expert could. Competition drives innovation that makes everyone better off.

Markets let complex cooperation happen through freedom, not commands. Any trade both sides agree to willingly is just in the libertarian view. It does not break consent or property rights. So, there is no need for redistribution taxes or welfare - those interfere with natural liberty.

According to Hayek, efficient rules develop over time if exchange stays free. Markets promote good ethics through built-in rewards and feedback, without top-down direction. Libertarians say trading risks and rewards among different people, treating each other with respect, are morally better than government redistributing resources without input from personal preferences.

In a nutshell, libertarians praise markets for showing how spontaneous order can rise from individuals making choices based on personal wisdom and agreement - not state coercion. Free trade lets decentralised knowledge be

used cooperatively for mutual gain and result in respect for self-ownership.

5. Rule of Law and Limited Government

Libertarianism is not about doing whatever you want without consequences. It is about having a society where people are free to follow their interests, but they have to respect the equal rights of others. The idea is to have fair rules that protect everyone's freedom instead of telling people what to do.

Libertarians agree that we need governments to protect our rights, but they also warn that governments can become too powerful. They worry that if we adopt too many welfare or socialist policies, it might lead to a government that controls everything. They believe that having competitive markets, where economic and political power are separate, is the best way to keep our freedom.

Robert Nozick talks about a "minimal state" that only focuses on protecting against things like force and fraud. Nozick thinks individual freedom is more important than making everyone equal. He does not like the idea of taking money from some people and giving it to others, which he sees as going against our natural rights.

Nozick suggests that a minimal state could form without violating anyone's rights, as long as people voluntarily agree to a protective agency. The state should not use its power to favour some people or limit their choices.

Critics argue that Nozick's view favours the wealthy and ignores the advantages they already have. Most libertarians accept some level of taxation, as long as the rules are clear and fair, and the government does not use the money to control people's lives or impose their own moral views on the economy.

While libertarians accept some government,

their main concern is protecting individual freedom. They believe the government should focus on protecting people's rights, not trying to create a specific kind of society or achieve a certain level of equality. The biggest danger

they see is the government becoming too powerful, not people making their own choices or the existence of economic inequality.

Feature	Classical Liberalism	Modern Liberalism	Libertarianism
Historical Context	Emerged in the 17th-18th centuries during the Enlightenment	Developed in the late 19th-20th centuries	Emerged in the mid-20th century, influenced by classical liberalism
Foundational Thinkers	John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill	J. M. Keynes, John Rawls	Murray Rothbard, Robert Nozick, Ayn Rand
View on Government	Minimal state intervention (laissez-faire)	Support for a more active role of government in society	Extremely minimal state (night-watchman state)
Economic Policy	Free markets, private property, minimal regulation	Mixed economy, welfare state, regulation to correct market failures	Absolute free markets, minimal to no regulation
Individual Rights	Emphasis on negative rights (freedom from interference)	Emphasis on positive rights (access to education, healthcare)	Strong emphasis on negative rights, individual sovereignty
Equality	Equality of opportunity	Equality of outcome and social justice	Equality before the law, no enforced equality of outcome
Role of the State	Protector of individual liberties and property rights	Provider of public goods and services, regulator of economy	Protect individual rights, property, and contracts
Welfare	Minimal welfare provisions	Extensive welfare state, social safety nets	Opposed to state welfare, promotes private charity
Liberty	Negative liberty (freedom from external constraints)	Positive liberty (capability to achieve personal potential)	Negative liberty, strong emphasis on personal freedom
Social Policy	Limited role in social issues	Active role in addressing social inequalities	Minimal state intervention in social issues

Public Services	Limited provision by the state	State provision of essential services like education and healthcare	Private provision of all services
Taxation	Low taxes to encourage individual entrepreneurship	Progressive taxation to fund public services and reduce inequality	Minimal taxation, ideally only for defence and justice
Market Regulation	Minimal, to ensure free competition	Necessary to prevent monopolies, protect consumers, and ensure fair labour practices	Opposes market regulation, believes in self-regulation by market

Recap

- ▶ Classical liberalism emerged during the Enlightenment era, emphasizing individual liberty, natural rights, limited government and free market capitalism.
- ▶ Key thinkers of classical liberalism include John Locke, Adam Smith, and Montesquieu, who believed in protecting individual freedoms from excessive state control.
- ▶ Modern liberalism expanded on classical liberal ideas, incorporating concerns for social justice, positive liberty and the State's role in providing public goods and welfare.
- ▶ Influential modern liberal thinkers like John Stuart Mill, Isaiah Berlin, and John Rawls addressed issues of equality, minority rights and redistributive policies.
- ▶ Neoclassical liberalism arose in the late 20th century, advocating for economic liberalization, deregulation, privatization and responding to globalization's challenges.
- ▶ Neoliberals emphasize free market economics, reduced government intervention and individual responsibility over state-provided social welfare.
- ▶ Different liberal strands prioritize varying conceptions of liberty, either negative (freedom from interference) or positive (freedom to act).
- ▶ Tensions exist between liberal values like individualism and equality, necessitating a balanced approach to rights and social responsibilities.
- ▶ Liberal thought has significantly influenced the development of modern democracies, constitutional governments and capitalist economic systems.
- ▶ Contemporary debates around liberalism include its compatibility with environmentalism, multiculturalism and addressing socioeconomic inequalities.

Objective Questions

1. The central tenets of classical liberalism are.....
2. Who was a key thinker associated with modern liberalism, incorporating concerns for social justice?
3. Which form of liberalism is associated with economic liberalization, deregulation and privatization.
4. The concept of negative liberty, or freedom from interference, was emphasized by which classical liberal thinker?
5. Whose work on positive and negative liberty influenced the development of modern liberal thought?
6. Which philosophical framework, aiming to maximise overall social well-being, is associated with classical liberalism?
7. Which modern liberal thinker is known for the theory of justice as fairness, including the difference principle?
8. Neoliberal policies gained prominence in the late 20th century under the leaders.....
9. Which era provided the intellectual foundation for classical liberal ideals with its emphasis on reason and individualism?
10. Addressing the socio-economic inequalities and multiculturalism, contemporary debates within liberalism include.....

Answers

1. Natural rights, limited government, and free markets.
2. John Stuart Mill
3. Neo-classical liberalism
4. John Locke.
5. Isaiah Berlin
6. Utilitarianism
7. John Rawls
8. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.
9. The Enlightenment era
10. Environmentalism.

Assignments

1. Analyse the key differences between classical liberalism, modern liberalism and neoclassical liberalism in terms of their core principles, economic philosophies and views on the role of the state.
2. Evaluate the strengths and limitations of liberal thought in addressing contemporary issues such as income inequality, environmental protection and the challenges posed by globalization.
3. Develop a framework that reconciles liberal ideals with the pursuit of social justice, inclusive representation and the protection of vulnerable groups.

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Unit 2

Marxism – Classical and Neo-Marxism

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of this unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the key principles and concepts of classical Marxism;
- ▶ Analyse the classical Marxist thought evolved into various neo-Marxist perspectives in the 20th century;
- ▶ Explore the contributions of neo-Marxist thinkers in expanding Marxist analysis;
- ▶ Evaluate the contemporary relevance, strengths and limitations of both classical and neo-Marxist theories.

Prerequisites

Think of a grand library where two key authors' voices echo through time: Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci. Classical Marxism, propounded by Marx envisions a society where the working class overcomes capitalist exploitation. As the world evolved, Neo-Marxism emerged, with thinkers like Gramsci adding depth to Marx's ideas. Gramsci explored cultural hegemony, showing how the ruling class maintains power through culture and ideology. These two perspectives together offer a rich, evolving narrative of struggle and transformation, guiding us in understanding the dynamics of power and society.

Keywords

Historical Materialism, Dialectical Materialism, Class Struggle, Surplus Value, Alienation, Means of Production, Proletariat, Base and Superstructure, Hegemony, Western Marxism, Frankfurt School, Neoliberalism.

Discussion

4.2.1 Karl Marx: An Introduction

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a German philosopher and revolutionary thinker. He studied law but was drawn to radical anti-government movements like the Young

Hegelians, which limited his career options. He became a journalist and editor, writing critiques of the Prussian government's economic policies. This led to his newspapers being shut down and his expulsion from Germany to France in 1843.

During his stay in Paris, he came into

contact with French socialists and began organizing German migrant workers. He wrote his early major work *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* published in 1844, on the concept of alienation. He met his lifelong friend Friedrich Engels there.

Expelled again, they moved to Belgium 1845-1848. Marx developed his theory of historical materialism during this time, outlined in works like *The German Ideology*. In 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned by the Communist League to write the *Communist Manifesto*. Published in 1848, it helped spark revolutions across Europe.

After returning to France in 1848 and then Germany, Marx faced continued challenges due to his critical stand against the Prussian Government. In 1849, he moved to England. There from 1849 until he died in 1883, Marx devoted his efforts to organizing workers internationally. In 1864, he co-founded the International Working Men's Association (Communist International), the first major organization for European workers' movements. Its high point was supporting the Paris Commune in 1871, when workers briefly took control of the city. Marx analyzed and supported the Commune's aims in his work "The Civil War in France."

4.2.2 Classical Marxism: Emergence

For the past two centuries, liberalism has been a dominant force in political thought. Initially, it focused on individual freedom and limited government intervention (classical liberalism). This philosophy aligned with the interests of the capitalist class, leading to economic prosperity for some but also to the exploitation of the working class.

Karl Marx emerged as a major critic of this system. He argued that the working class could achieve true freedom only through a

revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. This sparked a heated debate between liberalism and Marxism, which became the two main contending ideologies for the past 150 years.

Both ideologies have undergone significant changes over time. Post-Marxist thinkers like Lenin and Mao adapted and modified Marx's ideas to fit the specific contexts of their countries (the Soviet Union and China, respectively). These leaders not only put Marxist theory into practice but also added their own interpretations and contributions to the overall body of Marxist thought.

4.2.2.1 Theoretical Contributions of Classical Marxism

1. Alienation

Karl Marx, in his early years, was influenced by Hegel's idealist philosophy, but later embraced a humanistic form of communism under the guidance of Feuerbach. This humanistic communist perspective was expounded in his work titled "*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*" (EPM). A core aspect of Marx's critique of capitalism was that it led to the alienation of labour.

In the capitalist system, workers perform tasks mechanically without fulfilment, selling their labour as a mere commodity in order to live. They become estranged from their work itself, the products of their labour which belong to capitalists. Essentially, the worker becomes estranged from their inherent creative potential, which is a fundamental aspect of their human nature.

Marx believed that this alienation could be overcome only by abolishing private property and establishment of a communist society where individuals could reclaim their freedom and creativity through non-alienating labour labour.

2. Historical Materialism

Marx's theory of historical materialism is rooted in a dialectical approach, influenced by Hegel. Hegel explained historical changes through a process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis in the realm of ideas. According to Hegel, ideas generate counter-ideas, and their contradiction is resolved in a synthesis, creating a cycle.

Marx adapted this dialectical method to analyze the material world, forming dialectical materialism. Unlike Hegel's focus on ideas, Marx's approach emphasizes material conditions and economic factors driving historical changes. Instead of ideological progression, Marx's dialectical materialism highlights material forces and class struggles shaping society.

For Marx, the dialectical process occurs through contradictions within economic and social structures, leading to temporary synthesis. This synthesis becomes the basis for new contradictions and struggles, perpetuating the cycle of historical development. Marx envisioned a future society where individuals could regain freedom and creativity through non-alienating labour, moving beyond the alienation caused by capitalist production methods.

3. Class War

Marx's theory argues that the way a society organizes its production (mode of production) determines its social, political, legal, and ideological aspects. As the forces of production (capabilities for producing goods and services) advance beyond existing relations of production (social and economic relationships in the production process), conflicts arise between the class which owns the means of production and the class possessing labour power.

According to Marx, history is marked by recurring class struggles, famously expressed

in the Communist Manifesto as "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." These conflicts lead to social revolutions that establish new relations of production aligned with the forces of production. However, as forces of production grow, new contradictions emerge, requiring further social revolutions.

In capitalism, Marx argued that the state serves class interests. If a classless society emerges, the state would diminish as its role in maintaining class dominance becomes unnecessary, leading to eventual withering away of the State.

4. Surplus Value

Marx introduced the theory of surplus value to explain how exploitation occurs in capitalist societies. Surplus value is the profit made by capitalists when they sell goods produced by workers for more than the workers' wages. Marx argued that workers are not fully compensated for their labour, as a portion of it is taken by capitalists.

This theory is based on the labour theory of value, stating that a commodity's value depends on the labour needed to make it. Surplus value emerges because workers are not paid the full value of their labour. According to Marx, this exploitation happens in class based societies, where the bourgeoisie (who owns production) exploits the proletariat (who only possess labour power).

As surplus value increases, workers get a smaller share of the value they create, intensifying the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Marx believed this conflict would be resolved through a proletarian revolution overthrowing capitalism and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this transitional period, Marx envisioned a socialist society where people work based

on their abilities and receive based on their labour. Ultimately, this would lead to a communist society, classless and free from exploitation.

Communism, for Marx, meant abolishing private property, with the proletariat

controlling the means of production. In this society, the State would become unnecessary and fade away, as its role in maintaining class dominance would vanish. Marx saw communism as a return to a harmonious, non-exploitative state, similar to ancient tribal communities.

Features	Description
Foundational Thinkers	Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels
Historical Context	Developed in the 19th century during the Industrial Revolution
Economic Determinism	Emphasizes that economic factors are the primary drivers of social change
Class Struggle	Central concept where society is divided into classes with conflicting interests (proletariat vs. bourgeoisie)
Means of Production	Focuses on who controls the means of production (land, labour, capital)
Historical Materialism	The theory that material conditions of a society's mode of production fundamentally determine society's organization and development
Revolution	Advocates a proletarian revolution to overthrow capitalist systems and establish a classless society
Surplus Value	Concept that the value produced by labour exceeds the wages paid to workers, generating profit for capitalists
Alienation	The process by which workers become disconnected from the products of their labour, their own humanity and other workers
Dictatorship of the Proletariat	Transitional state where the working class holds political power, leading to the eventual establishment of a classless society
Communism	The final stage of social development according to Marxist theory, characterised by the absence of classes, state and private property
Critique of Capitalism	Argues that capitalism inherently leads to exploitation, inequality and economic crises

4.2.3 V. I. Lenin (1870-1924)

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, or Lenin, born on April 22, 1870, in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk). After his schooling, Lenin attended Kazan University only to be expelled soon for his involvement in student protest. This marked the beginning of his full time revolutionary activities.

He became the leader of the Marxist group in St. Petersburg. He got arrested and was exiled to Siberia in 1895, where he wrote his first major work, “*The Development of Capitalism in Russia*” (1899).

In 1902, he published “What Is to Be Done?” focusing on party organisation. During World War I, Lenin produced his influential work “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,” in 1916, offering a critical analysis of imperialism.

In 1917, Lenin led a successful Marxist revolution in Russia, marking the first in a relatively underdeveloped country with deep-rooted feudalism. After the revolution, Lenin laid the groundwork for a socialist state in Soviet Union.

Lenin gradually withdrew from active governance of the Soviet Union due to health issues. Despite his brief tenure, Lenin’s legacy had a lasting impact on the establishment of the world’s first socialist state.

4.2.3.1 Party as Vanguard of the Proletariat

Lenin made significant contributions to Marxist theory and practice, particularly in his efforts to apply Marxist principles to Tsarist Russia. In his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, he examined the country through a Marxist lens.

Lenin argued that, despite having a significant wage-labour class, this class lacked

awareness of its exploitation. He believed that only the industrial proletariat, specifically factory workers, could lead a revolutionary movement.

To achieve this, Lenin emphasized the need for a national level political organization that could raise the political consciousness of workers, turning them into a revolutionary force capable of staging a successful uprising. Creating a conscious working class in Russia became Lenin’s main goal.

Operating in the repressive conditions of the Tsarist regime, Lenin advocated an underground communist organization. In his influential work “What Is to Be Done?” he argued for the establishment of a Communist Party acting as the vanguard of the proletariat. According to Lenin, this vanguard party should consist of or be led by committed professional revolutionaries capable of orchestrating a successful revolution.

This “vanguard thesis” differed from the original Marxian position, shifting the leadership of the revolution from the proletariat class to the Communist Party. This idea faced criticism from contemporary Marxists like Rosa Luxemburg, who believed it could undermine the self-emancipatory efforts of the working class, making them tools of the party.

4.2.3.2 Democratic Centralism

Lenin promoted a specific organizational structure within the Communist Party called “democratic centralism,” consisting of two key elements: democracy and centralism.

The democratic aspect allowed open discussions and debates on party matters at all levels, ensuring internal democracy. Higher party organs were elected by lower ones, maintaining a democratic process.

But, once the highest organ made a decision, the centralism aspect required strict adherence

from all lower organs. In theory, democratic centralism aimed to balance democracy and centralised authority.

Critics argued that over time, the party became less democratic and more centralised. The centralism element tended to overshadow democratic principles, concentrating power at higher party levels.

4.2.3.3 Imperialism

Marx had predicted that the growth of capitalism would lead to proletarian socialist revolutions. Contrary to this forecast, such revolutions did not occur in Europe. Lenin explained this deviation and the prolonged life of capitalism.

In his important work “Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism,” Lenin argued that capitalism had expanded so much that domestic markets and resources were insufficient for further growth. To sustain itself, capitalist countries turned to new markets and resources in Asia, Africa and South America, essentially exporting capitalism.

Lenin believed capitalism had become monopolistic and reactionary, assuming a parasitic role through the colonization of other regions. In his view, capitalism had reached its pinnacle (imperialism) and fulfilled its historical role of setting the stage for proletarian revolutions within individual countries.

However, this imperialist form of capitalism created conditions for a global socialist revolution. Lenin thought that although capitalism prolonged its existence, its imperialist tendencies paved the way for a worldwide socialist revolution.

4.2.4 Mao Zedong (1893-1976)

Mao Zedong was born on December 26, 1893, in Hunan province, China. He is known for leading a successful revolution in a

predominantly agrarian country like China – a remarkable achievement considering Marx’s belief that the peasantry lacked revolutionary potential.

Mao, unlike many revolutionaries, was both a practitioner and theorist of Marxism. After formal education, he joined the Hunan army during the 1911 Kuomintang (KMT) revolution. Following the success of the revolution, Mao became actively involved with the Communist Party of China (C. P. C.). Between 1921 and 1925, he organized mine workers and witnessed the harsh conditions of the Chinese peasantry.

Tensions arose between the C. P. C. and the KMT, leading to a split in 1927, prompting Mao to organize a peasant rebellion in Hunan. Mao argued that, unlike Tsarist Russia, where the proletariat led the revolution, in China, the peasantry would be the vanguard.

Mao initiated the Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1928, but it failed. He and followers began training in guerrilla warfare, making Mao the pioneer of guerrilla tactics in the Marxist revolutionary context. Despite the Communist International’s call for an urban-centred revolution, Mao persisted with rural guerrilla warfare, capturing parts of south-eastern China and establishing peasant Soviets.

Mao Zedong’s leadership and ideas had a profound impact on the Chinese revolution and its subsequent trajectory. After the Kuomintang (KMT) forced out the revolutionaries from the northwest hills of China, Mao led the famous Long March, solidifying his leadership of the Communist Party of China (C. P. C.).

Mao’s time in Yan’an Province during the Long March was productive, allowing him to study Marxist philosophy extensively. This resulted in influential works like “On Practice” and “On Contradiction.” In 1945, he outlined

his vision for China's future government in "New Democracy."

From 1942 to 1943, Mao strengthened his position within the C. P. C. by eliminating potential rivals through a rectification campaign. He promoted mass mobilization of peasants, known as Mao's Mass-line, and took a nationalist stance against the Japanese invasion.

Despite temporary cooperation during World War II, the KMT and C. P. C. split again in 1949, and Mao became the head of the newly established People's Republic of China (P. R. C.). During the social reconstruction, Mao proposed a model distinct from Marx's or Lenin's attempts.

In the early 1950s, Mao's call for "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" allowed diverse viewpoints within the C. P. C.. He later tried to collectivise agriculture and initiated the Great Leap Forward to hasten China's move to communism.

Although these efforts faced challenges and opposition, Mao ideologically addressed this through the Cultural Revolution in 1966, aiming to revive the revolutionary spirit among C. P. C. members. Mao remained dedicated to these ideas until his death on September 9, 1976.

4.2.4.1 Peasant Revolution

Mao Zedong, while influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas, distinguished himself as an innovator by redefining key aspects. A notable departure was his strong reliance on the revolutionary potential of the peasantry.

Mao's prominent contribution lies in achieving a successful revolution in China primarily with the support of the peasantry, challenging classical Marxist views. This revolutionary model became particularly

relevant for many Afro-Asian peasant societies, marking a departure from traditional Marxist thought.

Again, during the Cultural Revolution, Mao drew lessons from the Soviet Union's post-revolutionary reconstruction, cautioning against the rise of a new bourgeois class during transitional periods. He was wary of the party's upper echelon evolving into a new privileged class and used this concern to sideline rivals within the Communist Party of China (C. P. C.).

4.2.4.2 Contradictions

Mao Zedong significantly contributed to Marxist theory by expanding on the concept of contradiction, viewed as the primary driver of social change. According to Marxist thought, contradictions, representing the unity of opposites (thesis and antithesis), lead to a higher level, (synthesis) – a fundamental law of historical development.

In his renowned essay "On Contradiction" (1937), Mao introduced the concepts of "antagonistic contradictions" and "non-antagonistic contradictions." Antagonistic contradictions cannot be peacefully resolved, while non-antagonistic contradictions can be resolved through peaceful means.

In "On Correct Handling of Contradictions" (1957), Mao further clarified this view. He identified contradictions between:

- (a) the peasantry and the proletariat;
- (b) the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie;
- (c) the peasantry, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie with the national bourgeoisie as non-antagonistic.

On the other hand, contradictions between the Chinese people and the bourgeoisie, socialist and capitalist camps and colonial countries and imperialism were deemed antagonistic.

Mao introduced the concept of the “principal contradiction,” asserting that at any given time, one contradiction becomes principal, with others being minor. Even a principal contradiction has a principal aspect and minor aspects. However, Mao emphasized that determining which contradiction is antagonistic or principal and which is minor or non-antagonistic, depends on historical and tactical considerations.

4.2.4.3 On Practice

Mao Zedong’s exploration of contradictions led him to develop his theory of knowledge, as outlined in his renowned essay “On Practice” (1937). Mao asserted that understanding the real world requires concrete investigation and empirical analysis.

Mao identified two stages in comprehending empirical reality: the perceptual stage and the conceptual stage. At the perceptual stage, impressions of reality are acquired through the senses. However, in the conceptual stage, this sense perception needs to be synthesized into conceptual knowledge.

For example, in understanding Chinese society, Mao emphasised the study of its class structure, land ownership patterns and the impact of imperialism on the local economy. He cautioned against theory detached from empirical reality, stressing that without continuous reference to reality, it would become mere dogma.

Using rural China as an example, Mao clarified that observing the empirical reality of the countryside represents the perceptual stage. To reach the conceptual stage, one must understand this reality in terms of various peasantry strata, including landless, marginal, small, middle and large farmers.

4.2.4.4 United Front and New Democracy

Recognizing that the peasantry alone was not strong enough to win the revolutionary

struggle against imperialism and feudalism in China, Mao Zedong emphasized the concept of a United Front. It was an alliance between different groups, including the peasantry, proletariat, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, to address the principal contradiction and oppose imperialism.

In 1940, he called for a new democratic republic, and in 1945, he proposed a state system called “New Democracy,” aiming for a joint dictatorship of several classes. This approach deviated from the classical Marxist notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, combining Marxism and nationalism to build a broad-based alliance in the specific context of China.

4.2.5 Conclusion

Marxism, a powerful strain of political and economic thought, has undergone a fascinating evolution. The unit discusses contributions of three key figures – Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, and Mao Zedong – who shaped its development and adapted its core ideas to their specific historical contexts.

At the foundation lies the work of Karl Marx. He unveiled the concept of alienation, highlighting the dehumanizing effects of capitalism on workers. He argued for a class struggle, culminating in a revolution led by the proletariat (working class) to establish a socialist society. Marx envisioned a state where workers would control the means of production, overcoming exploitation and achieving true human liberation.

Lenin built upon this framework, focusing on the practicalities of revolution. He emphasised the need for a strong, disciplined party to guide the working class and navigate the complexities of seizing power. Recognising the limitations of Marx’s vision of a universal revolution, Lenin developed his theory of imperialism.

He argued that capitalism, in its final stage, would exploit colonies and hinder development in non-industrialized nations. This provided a justification for revolution in countries like Russia, where a strong working class was not yet the dominant force.

Mao Zedong, further adapted Marxism to the unique circumstances of China. Recognizing the vast rural population, he saw the peasantry, not the urban proletariat, as the driving force for revolution.

He also developed the concept of “contradictions,” differentiating between those within a system that could be resolved (non-antagonistic) and those leading to its inevitable collapse (antagonistic). Mao’s ideas, like the “Great Leap Forward” and the “Hundred Flowers Campaign,” aimed to rapidly modernise China while maintaining communist principles.

In a nutshell, the contributions of Marx, Lenin and Mao provided the foundational critique of capitalism and envisioned a socialist future. Their adaptations demonstrate the dynamism of Marxism and its enduring influence on political and economic discourse.

4.2.6 Neo-Marxism (Critical Theory) - (Lukacs, Gramsci and the Frankfurt School)

The three major streams that have enriched Marxist theory in the post-Marxist phase include the contributions of Lukács (a Hungarian), Gramsci (an Italian) and the Frankfurt School (Germany). It is important to note that their contributions are more significant in the realm of theory than in revolutionary practice. Besides these, Trotsky, Althusser, Poulantzas, Che Guevara, Regis Debray and Frantz Fanon, have made significant contributions to both Marxist theory and revolutionary practice.

4.2.7 Georg Lukacs (1885-1971)

Georg Lukács, born on April 13, 1885, in Budapest, Hungary, was a notable figure who made substantial contributions to Marxist theory. After completing his studies at the University of Budapest, he pursued further education at the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, reflecting his diverse intellectual interests.

During his early years, Lukács dedicated much of his time to literary criticism, producing works such as “Soul and Form” (1910), “History of the Development of Modern Drama” (1911), “Aesthetic Culture” (1913), and “The Theory of the Novel” (1916). Initially inclined towards ethical idealism, influenced by thinkers like Plato and Hegel, Lukács later shifted his focus to Marxist philosophy, becoming deeply involved in the communist movement in Hungary.

Joining the Communist Party of Hungary, Lukács served as the Education Minister in the short-lived Communist government of 1919. After the regime’s downfall, he faced trial, received a death sentence, and had to flee the country.

Living in exile for nearly two decades across Austria, Germany and the Soviet Union, Lukács wrote his influential work, “History and Class Consciousness,” during his time in Austria. This work had a significant impact on Marxist thought, influencing student movements in Europe during the 1960s and leaving a lasting impression on the Frankfurt School.

In 1945, Lukács returned to Hungary and became a professor of Aesthetics at the University of Budapest. Despite facing criticism and controversy due to his political activities, he continued writing philosophical and literary works. In 1956, during the period of de-Stalinization, Lukács briefly served as

the Minister of Culture in the Communist government of Imray Nagi in Hungary. After the government's fall, he was deported to Romania but returned in 1957. Until his passing on June 4, 1971, Lukács remained active in his intellectual pursuits.

4.2.7.1 Rejection of Dialectical Materialism

Lukács provided alternative perspectives on capitalism and challenged the Marxian view of its ruin by the proletariat.

According to Lukács, the mere existence of the proletariat was insufficient for toppling capitalism. He stressed the necessity for the proletariat to develop revolutionary consciousness.

Lukács criticized the application of dialectics to the social world, arguing that human behaviour is distinct from the natural world. Lukács engaged in philosophical revisionism, challenging key aspects of Marxism-Leninism.

He rejected historical materialism, arguing against the claim that economic laws determine revolutionary conditions. Lukács proposed that revolutionary change occurs only when a class becomes conscious of contradictions, highlighting the creative role of human consciousness.

4.2.7.2 Denial of Lenin's Vanguard Thesis

Lukács diverged from Lenin's perspective on the Communist Party's role as the vanguard of the proletariat. Unlike Lenin, Lukács contended that revolutionary consciousness would emerge directly from the proletariat's experience of alienation and exploitation, without the need for an intermediary.

Contrary to Lenin, Lukács asserted that the proletariat should independently acquire revolutionary consciousness without external

assistance. Lukács proposed that Workers' Councils, rather than party organizations, would be the means through which the proletariat develops this consciousness.

This challenged Lenin's vanguard thesis, advocating for a direct development of revolutionary consciousness through the proletariat's experiences of alienation and exploitation, bypassing the need for an external vanguard party.

4.2.7.3 Relation of Subject and Object

According to Lukács, when the proletariat realizes its commodification and objectification under capitalism, it transforms from a mere commodity to a subject, becoming an agent of change.

In Lukács' view, the relationship between object and subject is not hierarchical but exists within a unified dialectic. While Marx highlighted the role of material conditions in shaping history, Lukács contended that consciousness is not merely a reflection but an active force capable of transforming history.

Lukács argued that the proletariat's consciousness could be the driving force to change their conditions of existence. He proposed a shift from the idea that the proletariat's conditions determine their consciousness to the notion that their consciousness can alter their conditions. This perspective positions consciousness as a crucial factor in the self-liberation of the proletariat.

Through the acquisition of revolutionary consciousness, the proletariat evolves from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself," transitioning from a historical object to a historical subject. This transformation occurs as the proletariat recognizes its oppressed state in capitalism and actively engages as an agent of revolutionary change.

4.2.8 Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937)

Antonio Gramsci, born in Sardinia, Italy, faced early challenges, including family hardship due to his father's imprisonment. His struggles contributed to physical difficulties, making him a hunch back. Despite these adversities, Gramsci secured a scholarship to the University of Turin in 1911, where he observed the stark disparities between rural and urban living conditions in Italy.

During his university years, Gramsci aligned with the Italian Socialist Party and developed an interest in Marxist ideas. Actively involved in the workers' movement, Gramsci played a key role in founding the Italian Communist Party in 1921, subsequently becoming its General Secretary and a member of the Italian Parliament.

Amidst the ascent of fascism in 1926, Gramsci was arrested and imprisoned until his death. During this period, he wrote extensively, producing the renowned "Prison Notebooks," which solidified Gramsci as a significant figure in Hegelian Marxism. Another major work, "Modern Prince and other writings," added to Gramsci's theoretical legacy.

4.2.8.1 Notion of Hegemony

Gramsci's notable contributions, particularly his concept of hegemony, challenge traditional Marxist views on the capitalist state. In contrast to the idea that the state primarily serves as the bourgeoisie's managing committee, Gramsci argued that the ruling class maintains control through a combination of force, economic power and the consent of the governed.

Hegemony, according to Gramsci, involves more than coercion; it encompasses the ruling class's ability to shape values and beliefs, employing various socialization processes to subtly impose its culture on society. Cultural

hegemony, in this perspective, forms the foundation of the ruling class's power.

Gramsci further contended that the ruling class does not always act solely in its narrow interests. To sustain its dominance, it forges compromises and alliances with other social groups, forming a historic bloc. This strategic collaboration allows the ruling class to secure the consent of the governed.

This departure from orthodox Marxism, which places economic control at the core of class rule, underscores Gramsci's emphasis on the centrality of ideas and culture. His argument challenges the traditional Marxist notion of the state as merely serving the bourgeoisie's interests. Moreover, Gramsci proposed a system of alliances for the working class, stressing the importance of creating a historic bloc to overthrow bourgeois rule.

4.2.8.2 Role of Intellectuals

Gramsci analysed the role of intellectuals in shaping social hegemony, contending that the ruling class utilises intellectuals to establish and maintain its dominance. Yet, he also saw the potential for intellectuals to contribute to revolutionary change.

Gramsci distinguished two types of intellectuals: "traditional" intellectuals and "organic" intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals see themselves as independent from any specific class affiliation. In contrast, organic intellectuals are closely associated with either the ruling class or the masses.

Organic intellectuals aligned with the ruling class produce ideas that legitimize one class's rule over another, providing a philosophy that discourages the masses from questioning the bourgeoisie's dominance. They aligned with the masses aim to offer leadership and drive revolutionary change. These intellectuals typically emerge from within the working class itself.

Gramsci acknowledged that the ruling class employs both traditional and organic intellectuals aligned with its interests to secure hegemony. He also recognized the transformative potential of organic intellectuals emerging from the working class, capable of challenging hegemony and spearheading revolutionary change by presenting alternative philosophies and leading the masses.

4.2.8.3 Philosophy of Praxis

In his Prison Notebooks, Gramsci discussed his philosophy of praxis, which he saw as an evolved form of Hegelianism and a fusion of theory and practice.

Marx's concept of praxis, as outlined in his Theses on Feuerbach, pertains to the creative human activity that shapes both the historical universe and individuals themselves. It distinguishes humans from other beings and involves an interactive relationship between theory and practice, each enriching the other.

Gramsci considered Marxism as the philosophy of praxis, aligning with his active involvement in revolutionary activities. He argued that individuals could influence their development and surroundings by having a clear understanding of potential actions.

For Gramsci, the true philosopher is an individual of action, and conversely, a philosopher must engage in action. He emphasized that individuals do not merely exist within the natural world but actively interact with it through work and technique.

Gramsci's philosophy of praxis underscores the inseparable connection between theory and practice. Theory guides practical action and practical experience, in turn, refines theory, empowering individuals to actively mould their historical circumstances and personal development.

4.2.8.4 Relations between the Base and the Super-Structure and the Notion of Historic Bloc

In 1914-15, Gramsci developed the dynamics between the base and the superstructure through lectures on Marxism. Diverging from Marx's notion that social transformation occurs only when specific conditions are met, Gramsci introduced the concept of a historic bloc.

According to him, a revolutionary scenario emerges when objective and subjective forces align. This situation unfolds as the old order collapses and individuals with the will and historical insight to seize the moment come forward.

The historic bloc, in Gramsci's perspective, signifies the fusion of the base and superstructure, where material conditions and ideologies unite to create a revolutionary context. Even when material forces reach a revolutionary threshold, the necessity for correct intellectual analysis becomes paramount for a rational understanding of structural contradictions.

Gramsci's understanding of dialectics encompasses three key elements:

- the interaction between intellectuals (party leaders) and the masses;
- the explanation of historical developments through thesis, antithesis and synthesis and
- the intricate relationship between substructure and superstructure.

In contrast to Marxism, which asserts that the superstructure is directly shaped by the economic system, Gramsci and Lukacs argued that revolutionary changes and their preparations require profound shifts in mass consciousness.

Lukács and Gramsci share common ground in highlighting the significance of cultural and philosophical factors in understanding Marx's historical materialism. Both identify Hegelian idealism in Marx's work and prioritize consciousness over material forces, presenting a fresh perspective on the relationship between the base and the superstructure.

4.2.9 Frankfurt School (or Critical Theory)

The Frankfurt School was a gathering of philosophers linked with the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research in the 1920s and 30s. Key members included Horkheimer, Adorno, Pollock, Eric Fromm, Neumann, and Herbert Marcuse. While they held diverse perspectives on various matters, their contributions converged under the umbrella of Marxist theory, collectively known as Critical Theory.

Despite disagreements, they shared a critical stance towards all forms of social domination and exploitation, including a critical view of Stalinist socialism. Emphasizing that Marxism is not a rigid system, they placed a greater emphasis on cultural and ideological issues rather than the political economy, which is central to orthodox Marxism.

4.2.9.1 Opposition to all Forms of Domination

The Frankfurt School was active during a time when Nazism rose in Germany, Fascism gained prominence in Italy and Stalinism emerged with totalitarian tendencies in the Soviet Union, causing considerable distress. The failure of communist movements in Western Europe also weighed on their minds.

Their critique extended to all ideologies, particularly those attempting to disguise and legitimize systems of exploitation and domination. Through their critical examination

of such ideologies, their goal was to uncover the concealed roots of domination. In doing so, they aimed to cultivate genuine awareness among the masses and prepare them for revolutionary action.

4.2.9.2 Critique of Orthodox Marxism

The Frankfurt School aimed to critique certain aspects of orthodox Marxism that had taken on repressive and authoritarian characteristics in the Soviet Union. They asserted that Marxism was insufficient in explaining phenomena like bureaucratisation. As Lukacs and Gramsci, they challenged the Marxist concept of historical materialism, which seeks to interpret all stages of historical development solely in economic terms.

They argued that focusing only on economics in history (historical materialism) ignored the importance of human ideas and actions. They believed that Marx relied too much on a scientific approach, assuming economic forces always determine everything. In contrast, they thought the outcome of economic struggles depended on how people understood and reacted to them.

They saw history as shaped by people's limited knowledge and actions within their specific situations. To understand history, they argued, we need to consider both social structures and how people behave within them.

4.2.9.3 In Search of Emancipation

The primary focus of the Frankfurt School's writings revolves around the concepts of domination and authority. They argued that both capitalist and socialist societies use reason, which they called "instrumental rationality," to justify control over people. This approach, they felt, borrowed too heavily from the methods of natural sciences, where the goal is to understand and manipulate the physical world.

In human societies, the Frankfurt School believed the goal should be to understand people and free them from various forms of oppression, and not to control them. According to the Frankfurt School, all socio-cultural practices in both the Western and Eastern societies work to uphold the system of domination. In this context, the Frankfurt School can be seen as advocating a counter culture.

They also express criticism towards authoritarian family structures and the socialisation processes in education and promote ideas like sexual liberation. They were also critical of how governments and businesses manipulate public opinion.

Aspect	Marxism	Neo-Marxism
Foundational Thinkers	Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels	Various theorists, including Antonio Gramsci, Lukacs, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Frankfurt School
Historical Context	Developed in the 19th century during the Industrial Revolution	Developed in the 20th century, particularly post-World War II
Focus	Class struggle, economic determinism	Cultural hegemony, ideology, super-structure
View of Capitalism	Focuses on the economic exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie	Considers cultural and ideological aspects of capitalist society
Key Concepts	Historical materialism, means of production, class struggle	Cultural hegemony, critical theory, ideology critique
Role of the State	Instrument of the bourgeoisie used to maintain class dominance	State can also act as a site of ideological struggle and can be influenced by various social forces
Revolution	Emphasises proletarian revolution to overthrow capitalist system	Advocates for gradual change and recognizes the complexity of social transformation

Aspect	Marxism	Neo-Marxism
Cultural Analysis	Less emphasis on culture, focusing more on economic base and superstructure	Greater emphasis on cultural and ideological institutions in maintaining capitalism
Economic Determinism	Strong emphasis on economic factors as the primary drivers of social change	Acknowledges the interplay of economic, political, and cultural factors
Methodology	Historical and dialectical materialism	Incorporates critical theory, psychoanalysis, and interdisciplinary approaches

4.2.10 Conclusion

Throughout the 20th century, Marxism evolved through the works of Lukacs, Gramsci and the Frankfurt School. While they had some disagreements, they shared key ideas. All three challenged the strict Marxist concept of historical materialism and instead, emphasised the importance of human factors like consciousness (Lukacs) and cultural influences (Gramsci and Frankfurt School).

All three of these streams aim to address the question of the persistence of bourgeois rule and capitalism despite Marx's predictions of their overthrow. They explore why, despite the presence of a sizable proletariat class in

various societies, revolutionary change has not materialized as anticipated. Through their inquiries, they conclude that the mere existence of the proletariat class is insufficient for a revolution; revolutionary consciousness must be acquired by this class.

They argued that ruling classes maintained power through subtle methods like cultural control, imposing their beliefs and values on the masses. Here, intellectuals had a role to play in guiding the masses towards awareness. The Frankfurt School further explored how authority structures use justification and manipulation to maintain stability within the system.

Recap

- ▶ Classical Marxism, developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, provided a critique of capitalism based on concepts like historical materialism, class struggle, alienation and surplus value.
- ▶ It advocated for the eventual overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the establishment of a classless, communist society.
- ▶ Dialectical materialism, which views social progress as the result of conflicts between opposing forces, underpinned Marx's theories.

- ▶ Neo-Marxist perspectives emerged in the 20th century, expanding and re-interpreting classical Marxist ideas in the light of new economic, political and social realities.
- ▶ The Frankfurt School and critical theory applied Marxist analysis to cultural and ideological dimensions of capitalist societies.
- ▶ Thinkers like Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser offered alternative interpretations of Marxism, focusing on concepts such as hegemony and ideological state apparatuses.
- ▶ Neo-Marxists critiqued both the capitalist and Soviet models, exploring alternative paths to socialism and rejecting economic determinism.
- ▶ They analysed how forces like globalisation, neoliberalism and identity politics intersect with traditional class based power structures.
- ▶ Contemporary neo-Marxist thought examines the cultural and social reproduction of capitalist relations and the role of ideology in sustaining hegemonic systems.
- ▶ Both classical and neo-Marxian perspectives continue to inform analyses of economic exploitation, social inequalities and the relationship between political-economic structures and social dynamics.

Objective Questions

1. According to Marxist theory, what is the primary contradiction that drives historical progress?
2. What concept refers to the disconnect or estrangement experienced by workers from the products of their labour under capitalism?
3. Which Marxist thinker developed the theory of cultural hegemony and explored how the ruling class maintains its dominant position?
4. What is the name given to the economic value created by workers in excess of their wages, which is appropriated by capitalists?
5. Which neo-Marxist perspective that applies Marxist analysis to cultural and ideological aspects of capitalist societies is the Frankfurt School associated with?
6. According to Marx, what are the two major classes in capitalist societies whose conflict drives historical change?
7. Which neo-Marxist thinker emphasized the role of ideological state apparatuses in reproducing capitalist relations?
8. Which Marxist concept refers to the ideological belief systems that prevent the proletariat from recognizing their true class interests?
9. Which Marxist perspective rejected economic determinism and explored alternative paths to socialism beyond the Soviet model?
10. According to Neo-Marxists, which are the contemporary forces that intersect with traditional class based power structures?

Answers

1. Class Struggle
2. Alienation
3. Antonio Gramsci
4. Surplus Value.
5. Critical Theory
6. Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.
7. Louis Althusser
8. False Consciousness
9. Western Marxism
10. Globalisation, Neoliberalism, and Identity Politics

Assignments

1. The industrial conditions and class dynamics of 19th century Europe heavily influenced Karl Marx's critique of capitalism. Analyse how the core tenets of classical Marxism manifest in the context of contemporary global capitalism.
2. Neo-Marxist thinkers like Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and the Frankfurt School expanded Marxist analysis beyond economic factors to include cultural, ideological and social dimensions. Critically examine how these non-economic forces shape and reinforce existing power structures.
3. Both classical and neo-Marxist thought have been criticised for their perceived economic determinism, class reductionism and failure to adequately address issues of race, gender etc. Develop a theoretical framework that incorporates Marxist analyses of economic exploitation and power dynamics while addressing their limitations.

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Unit 3

Gandhism – Relevance of Gandhism

Learning Outcomes

A careful study of this unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the basic principles of Gandhism;
- ▶ Analyse the ethical foundations of Gandhism, such as truth, nonviolence, satyagraha, ends and means and consider their applicability in modern contexts;
- ▶ Explore how Gandhian ideals can address contemporary global challenges, including social justice, environmental sustainability and peace-building;
- ▶ Evaluate the relevance of Gandhism in the contemporary world situations.

Prerequisites

Imagine a vast, peaceful village where the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi still lingers. Gandhism, rooted in nonviolence and truth, guides the villagers in their daily lives. Picture Gandhi speaking for simple living, self-reliance and equality. As modern challenges arise, the villagers find the Gandhian principles of nonviolent resistance, sustainable living and social justice more relevant than ever. They learn that true progress means uplifting everyone, respecting nature and resolving conflicts peacefully. This timeless wisdom from Gandhi's life and teachings offers valuable lessons for understanding and addressing contemporary social and political issues, making Gandhism ever relevant.

Keywords

Satyagraha, Ahimsa, Swaraj, Sarvodaya, Truth, Self-discipline, Constructive programme, Khadi

Discussion

4.3.1 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948)

Mahatma Gandhi emerged as a pivotal figure in Indian history, embodying the essence of Indian traditions and wisdom. He played a crucial role as a social reformer,

economist, political thinker and a champion of truth, earning him the title of 'yugapurusha,' a pioneer of a new era.

His philosophy offered a critical perspective on modernity, emphasizing self-reliance (swadeshi), the importance of the individual and ethical stewardship in response to the

challenges of industrialization, materialism and individualism.

Gandhiji advocated a form of democracy known as *swaraj* (self-rule), characterized by grassroots empowerment and decision making from the bottom up, supported by a minimal, coordinating state that promotes decentralization.

Gandhiji's life and work were deeply spiritual, with a strong foundation in moral and ethical principles. His guiding principles were truth and non-violence, which influenced his political strategies, economic theories and social campaigns.

His major works include *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, among others, and he was the editor of *Young India* and *Harijan*, through which he communicated his ideas.

Influenced by figures such as Tolstoy, Thoreau and Swami Vivekananda, as well as his family and the Indian freedom struggle, Gandhiji was well-versed in world religions and literature. He translated notable texts, like Plato's *Republic* into Gujarati.

4.3.1.1 Philosophical Foundations

Gandhiji was deeply spiritual and this spirituality was the cornerstone of his approach to politics, economics and society. Unlike others who were religious in a more traditional sense, Gandhiji saw his political involvement as an extension of his religious beliefs. Gandhiji believed in the unity of all existence within a divine spirit, viewing every living being as a manifestation of this eternal reality.

For Gandhiji, the ultimate purpose of life was to achieve self-realization, which he equated with experiencing God directly or understanding absolute Truth. He argued

that this goal could not be attained without connecting deeply with humanity at large, necessitating involvement in politics as a form of service. He believed that true understanding of God comes from serving others.

He emphasized that seeking God did not mean withdrawing from the world or performing rituals but actively engaging in the service of others, especially those in need. He believed that service to humanity was the path to finding God.

According to Gandhij, Self-purification was essential to achieving self-realization. His practices of fasting, prayer and service were all aimed at this purpose. He argued in his autobiography that self-realization required an ethical foundation of self-purification. This inward search and moral discipline were expressed outwardly through compassion and service to others.

Gandhiji advocated five core moral principles: truth, non-violence, non-stealing, non-possession and celibacy. Adhering to these principles, he believed, would purify an individual and enable them to pursue self-realization earnestly.

4.3.1.2 Views on Human Nature

Gandhiji's views on human nature and society were deeply rooted in his philosophical beliefs, emphasizing morality and ethical living. While he recognised human imperfections, he believed that everyone, including those considered holy, had faults. What mattered to him was one's willingness to acknowledge and correct these faults, viewing self-awareness and self-improvement as signs of spiritual growth.

He believed that every individual, even the most brutal, possessed a spiritual element that harboured the potential for goodness. While he recognized human imperfection, he had

great faith in human nature, believing that it would respond positively to noble and friendly actions. He believed that by appealing to the spiritual aspect of individuals, one could bring out the best in them.

Gandhiji argued that what differentiates humans from animals is their self-conscious impulse to realize the divinity within themselves. He believed that every person had the capacity to change and transform themselves, emphasizing that humans, as spiritual beings, are inherently non-violent. He believed that the innate nature of humans leans towards moral qualities and social virtues such as love, cooperation and tolerance, rather than violence, selfishness and brutality.

In Gandhiji's view, human nature is fundamentally the same for everyone, with each individual having the capacity for the highest possible development. He believed that the soul is universal and that every person has the potential for spiritual growth, distinguishing humans from the rest of the creation.

4.3.1.3 Relationship between Religion and Politics

Gandhiji believed that politics and religion were closely intertwined. To him there is no politics devoid of religion. He considered politics without religion to be worthless. He believed that political activities should enable individuals to pursue self-realization, which he saw as the fundamental objective of life.

He viewed politics as a means for people to rule themselves without violence and religion as a guide for ethical and moral behaviour. He emphasized the need for politics and religion to be closely connected, with political activities serving the welfare of all.

By religion, Gandhiji did not mean Hinduism or any other particular creed. He

said that all religions are equal. The essence of all religion is identical. The God of Hindu is not different from the God of Muslim or the God of Christians. All religions teach piety and charity towards fellow beings.

No religion is superior or inferior to any other religion. He says religious tolerance is the keynote of social harmony. He was fully convinced that no civilisation can endure for a long time unless it had adopted the higher values of life which are essentially spiritual in character.

4.3.1.4 Relationship between Means and Ends

Gandhiji believed that the means used to achieve a goal are as important as the goal itself, viewing them as integral and constitutive. He stated, "Means and ends are convertible terms in my philosophy of life." He says that the means determine the end result.

He argued that good ends must be pursued, but since they are often beyond our control, it is the means that we can control. He believed that realizing the goal is directly linked to the means employed, stating, "if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself."

Gandhiji criticized those who believed that seeking good ends justified using immoral means, asserting that impure means lead to impure ends. He emphasized that only truthful conduct could lead to the truth.

He says that means and ends may be compared to the seed and the tree respectively. The nature of a tree is determined by the nature of the seed. The right type of seed will grow into right type of tree. As you sow, so shall you reap.

Again, means and ends may be compared to action (karma) and consequences (phala). Man has full control over his action, not over

its consequences. He says that means and ends are the two sides of the same coin. They cannot be separated. Immoral means cannot be used to achieve moral ends. Wrong way can never lead to the right destination.

4.3.1.5 Truth, Satyagraha and Ahimsa

Gandhiji placed utmost importance on Truth, equating it with God. He evolved his understanding from “God is Truth” to “Truth is God,” emphasizing this as a key insight from his life’s experiences. He saw Truth as the essence of existence. For him, life was a quest for Truth or God. He believed that truth is what resonates with one’s inner conscience and moral compass, asserting that knowledge guides us towards truth, whereas ignorance leads us astray.

Satyagraha, for Gandhiji, was the force of truth. It was not just about insisting on truth but adhering to it through ethical and peaceful methods. It meant persuading others without force, aiming for understanding rather than conquest.

He described satyagraha as a noble struggle, free from animosity towards opponents; it is about winning them over with love and moral strength. A true satyagrahi embodies truthfulness, ethical integrity, non-violence and a spirit of service. It is twice blessed, it blesses those who practise it, and against whom it is practised.

Gandhiji says that satyagraha is based on suffering. Suffering serves three purposes: it purifies the sufferer; it intensifies favourable public opinion and it makes an appeal to the soul of the opponent.

The concept of satyagraha is of two types - Constructive and Aggressive. The former includes negotiation, arbitration, padayatra, swadeshi, prayer, self-purification and the publication and distribution of the ultimatum.

The latter consists of civil disobedience, non-co-operation, no-tax campaign, hartals and strikes, boycott, picketing, fasting *etc.*

4.3.1.6 Concept of Swaraj

Gandhiji’s concept of Swaraj went beyond merely freeing India from British rule. He desired such freedom but did not want to replace one form of oppression with another. Swaraj was not just a transfer of political power or mere political self-determination. For him, there was no true Swaraj in Europe.

Swaraj involves a process of liberating oneself from all internal and external bondages, a movement of self-purification. It was not about replacing one authority with another but about people acquiring the capacity to resist authority when abused.

Swaraj meant the power of people to determine their destiny through their own efforts and shape it as they desired. It was about educating the masses to understand and control authority. Gandhiji saw Swaraj as freedom for all, coupled with self-control by all.

It was related to the inner strength and capacity of a people to understand and control their social world. True outward freedom could only be attained in proportion to the inner freedom achieved.

Swaraj meant control over oneself, which required understanding one’s own self. Gandhiji saw non-violence as the key to attaining such freedom and self-control, imbuing non-violence in thought, speech and action. With non-violence as love, a sense of duty prevailed over rights, leading one to act for others without expecting returns.

Swaraj recognized no race, religion or community; it was for all, including the maimed, blind, starving and toiling millions.

It necessarily included the poor and toiling masses, implying their economic freedom and deliverance from exploitation. Swaraj did not mean the rule of the majority community but equal standing for all communities.

Swaraj, implying government by the consent of the people, was not a gift from above but something that emerged from within. True democracy was not just about voting, holding office or criticizing the government but about people developing their inner freedom to regulate their desires and impulses through reason.

Gandhiji's Swaraj had economic, social, political and international connotations – promoting social justice, equality, enabling people to better their condition in all spheres and emphasising interdependence beyond state made frontiers.

4.3.1.7 Sarvodaya

Gandhiji criticised the paths taken by both the capitalist and socialist economies. He believed that despite America's immense industrialization and wealth, it had failed to banish poverty and degradation because it neglected universal manpower and concentrated power in the hands of a few who amassed fortunes at the expense of many.

Regarding socialist economies, Gandhiji felt they had put the cart before the horse. He found the life in industrialized Russia unappealing, stating that gaining the whole world at the cost of losing one's soul was beneath human dignity. He wanted every individual to become a fully developed member of society without losing their individuality and becoming a mere cog in the machine.

He believed that socialism had only one aim: material progress, which did not allow for individual freedom. He wanted freedom

for the full expression of his personality, which was not possible under socialism, where individuals owned nothing, not even their bodies.

Against capitalism and socialism, Gandhiji proposed the concept of Sarvodaya, based on three basic principles:

1. The good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. The work of a lawyer and a barber have equal value, as everyone has the same right to earn a livelihood from their work.
3. A life of labour, such as that of a farmer or a craftsman, is the life worth living.

4.3.1.8 Theory of Trusteeship

One of Gandhiji's most original contributions in economics was the concept of trusteeship. He wanted complete equality in meeting the basic needs of all people. However, he also wanted people to have incentives to remain economically active and produce more. This would naturally lead to some people having more than their basic needs. They would be rich, but there would be no poor because everyone's basic needs would be satisfied.

To ensure that the rich did not use their property for selfish purposes or to control others, Gandhiji derived the term "Trusteeship." He explained that everything belonged to God and was meant for all people, not just individuals. When an individual had more than their proportionate share, they became a trustee of that portion for the benefit of all.

Gandhiji wished for the idea of trusteeship to become India's gift to the world, eliminating exploitation and disparity, which he believed were the seeds of war and conflict.

The concept of trusteeship was based on two principles:

All humans are born equal and have a right to equal opportunity, which means all must have their basic needs fully satisfied.

Humans are not endowed with equal intellectual and physical capacities. Those with greater capacity to produce must treat the produce beyond their basic needs as a trust for the benefit of others.

Gandhiji says that no one should have property more than what one needs. The surplus property should be placed under a trustee. The trustee should manage the property for and on behalf of those without property. If the trustee fails to observe the principles of trusteeship, the state should take away the property from them. It should be managed with the help of farmers and workers.

4.3.1.9 Concept of Swadeshi

For Gandhiji, Swaraj meant much more than just political freedom. It had a deeper meaning of self control. Swaraj and Swadeshi (self-reliance) were interconnected concepts. Swadeshi was the spirit of using services and products from one's immediate surroundings, excluding more remote ones.

He believed that the deep poverty of the masses was due to deviating from Swadeshi in economic and industrial life. Swadeshi would not only reinforce autonomous local units but

also build cooperative relations with others when needed.

Swadeshi and self-sufficiency went hand in hand. Each individual, family, village and region would be economically self-reliant. However, self-sufficiency did not mean narrowness or complete self-containment. The aim was complete self-sufficiency, but external trade would still be necessary for items that could not be locally produced.

Swadeshi also involved decentralization and cooperation. Interdependence was an ideal, as humans are social beings. Complete independence would breed arrogance, while dependence on society teaches humility. Self-sufficiency had its limits, and cooperation was necessary, just as drops together form an ocean.

The concept of Swadeshi was all encompassing for Gandhiji. In religion, it meant being faithful to ancestral religion; in politics, using indigenous institutions; in economics, using locally produced goods, even if relatively inferior or costly. It did not mean hating foreign made products, especially medicines and life-saving drugs if not produced locally.

Principle	Description
Satyagraha (Truth and Nonviolence)	Advocacy for nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience to achieve social and political goals.
Ahimsa (Nonviolence)	Commitment to nonviolence in thought, word and action.
Sarvodaya (Welfare of All)	The idea that true progress is measured by the welfare of all not just a few.
Swaraj (Self-rule)	Emphasis on self-governance and self-reliance at both the individual and community levels.

Principle	Description
Swadeshi (Self-sufficiency)	Promotion of local goods and self-sufficiency, rejecting dependency on foreign goods.
Trusteeship	The belief that wealthy individuals should act as trustees, using their resources for the benefit of society.
Simple Living	Advocacy for a simple, minimalist lifestyle to reduce unnecessary consumption and focus on spiritual growth.
Equality	Commitment to social equality and opposition to caste discrimination and untouchability.
Decentralization	Support for decentralized governance and local self-administration
Environmental Sustainability	Emphasis on sustainable living practices that respect the environment and natural resources

4.3.2 Relevance

Mahatma Gandhi was a man of greatness. His unique and towering personality has many facets. He was a great thinker, teacher, preacher, leader, fighter, humanist, nationalist, internationalist and above all, an enlightened soul.

He challenged most of his ideas and beliefs of his time and evolved his own ideas and techniques for solving national and international problems, which constitute the essence of Gandhian philosophy. However, he was not a political dreamer. He gave practical shape to the ideas which he had preached.

Although Gandhian ideology may be called utopian according to the present standard, its importance cannot be underestimated. His philosophy may prove relevant in the present

day world. He was a world teacher. His teachings evoked the attention and admiration of the world. His principles of conduct for man and nation 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 of ends and means is equally pure and noble; it is a principle which can stop the deteriorating human behaviour.

His insistence that men should perform their duties unmindful of rewards or result is a good message to the modern society where there is demand only for rights without obligation towards others.

His stress on vocational education, cottage industries, prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs and agriculture and animal husbandry are being followed by many states. His views that 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 adalats.

His dreams of decentralization of power and authority became a reality with the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. Moreover, his preachings to the humanity like

forgiveness rather than punishment, enemies should be loved, people should lead a simple life *etc.* carry much weight and are relevant in the current world.

Above all, the concept of satyagraha as developed and practiced by Gandhiji has become the strongest and bravest democratic weapon, which is being practiced by democratic forces all over the world for protecting and promoting their valid democratic rights of the people and opposing evil practices of the government even today.

But his concepts of a stateless society, private property, socialism and trusteeship seem to be difficult to be put into practice. However, His concept actually opens a new area of thinking and if adopted as ideals, it will be relevant for all time 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 leading light of contemporary India.

4.3.3 Conclusion

Gandhi was a prominent activist-theoretician of the 20th century. His writings emerged primarily from his involvement in social, economic and political actions. His writings contained inconsistencies as a result of his habit of thinking out loud. His philosophical formulations aimed to solve immediate problems rather than present a definitive theory or master plan.

Throughout his life, Gandhi wrote three substantial works. The most important was his Autobiography, initially serialised in one of his Gujarati journals. The other two were Satyagraha in South Africa and *Hind Swaraj* (1909). Gandhi acknowledged the inadequacies of his writings at the theoretical and scholarly levels, considering his life as his true message.

The aim of *Hind Swaraj* was to present an alternative to violence for anarchists, derived from Gandhi's early experiments with Satyagraha. The book also significantly explored the concept of *Swaraj* (self-rule), with Gandhi's ideas on it forming the basis for his future thinking on the meaning of freedom. Thus, *Hind Swaraj* was a statement on both the method (Satyagraha) and the goal (*Swaraj*) of Gandhi's thought.

In an era marked by rapid technological advancements, political turmoil and environmental crises, Gandhism provides a beacon of hope and a call to action. It reminds us that change begins with the individual, that personal integrity and moral courage can inspire collective transformation and that a commitment to peace, justice and equity is the foundation of a resilient and harmonious society.

As we reflect on Gandhi's legacy, it becomes clear that Gandhism is not a relic of the past but a living philosophy that challenges us to live with purpose, to act with compassion and to lead with love.

Recap

- ▶ Gandhism emphasizes nonviolent resistance, known as Satyagraha, as a means of achieving social and political change.
- ▶ Central to Gandhian philosophy is the principle of Ahimsa or nonviolence to-

wards all living beings.

- ▶ Gandhi promoted the idea of Swaraj or self-rule, advocating for individual and community autonomy.
- ▶ The concept of Sarvodaya, the welfare of all, reflects Gandhi's vision of a society based on equality and social justice.
- ▶ Truth, both in personal conduct and in public life, was a fundamental value for Gandhi.
- ▶ Self-discipline, including control over one's desires and actions, was seen by Gandhi as essential for spiritual and moral growth.
- ▶ Gandhi believed in the importance of constructive programmes, such as education and sanitation, for social reform.
- ▶ The use of Khadi, or homespun cloth, symbolised self-reliance and resistance to British economic exploitation.
- ▶ Gandhi advocated a form of economic organization based on the principles of decentralization and village self-sufficiency.
- ▶ The concept of Trusteeship, where wealth is held and used for the benefit of society, reflects Gandhi's economic ideals.
- ▶ Gandhiji is a philosophical anarchist. He was hostile to the state. He preached for a classless and stateless society.

Objective Questions

1. What is the central principle of Gandhism?
2. What term did Gandhi use to describe his philosophy of nonviolent resistance?
3. What does the term "Swaraj" mean in the context of Gandhian philosophy?
4. What is the goal of Sarvodaya in Gandhian thought?
5. What according to Gandhiji is the fundamental moral and spiritual principle.
6. What is essential for spiritual and moral growth in Gandhism?
- 7.
8. In the context of Gandhian philosophy, which activity aims to bring about social reform through activities like education and sanitation.?
- 9.
10. What symbolises self-reliance and resistance to British economic exploitation?
11. What is the apparatus that Gandhi envisioned for economic organization in India to achieve village self-sufficiency?
12. What is the Gandhian concept that requires wealthy individuals to hold and use their wealth for the benefit of society?

Answers

1. Nonviolence.
2. Satyagraha.
3. Self-rule
4. The welfare of all.
5. Truth
6. Self discipline
7. Constructive Programme
8. Khadi
9. Decentralisation
10. Trusteeship

Assignments

1. Discuss the concept of Satyagraha in Gandhian philosophy, highlighting its principles, methods and effectiveness in achieving social and political change.
2. Investigate the role of nonviolence in contemporary social movements and analyse its relevance and effectiveness in today's world.
3. Choose a current social or political issue and propose a Gandhian-inspired action plan to address it.

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Unit 4

Democracy and Multiculturalism

Learning Outcomes

A detailed study of this unit will enable you to:

- ▶ Understand the concepts of democracy and multiculturalism, and explain their significance in promoting inclusive societies;
- ▶ Analyse the challenges and opportunities that arise when reconciling democratic ideals with the recognition and accommodation of cultural pluralism within a society;
- ▶ Explore various models and theories of multiculturalism, such as liberal multiculturalism, pluralist multiculturalism and critical multiculturalism;
- ▶ Evaluate contemporary debates, policies and practices related to the management of cultural diversity in democratic societies, such as immigration and integration policies.

Prerequisites

Think of a metropolitan city where people from all walks of life come together to make decisions. This is the essence of democracy - a system where everyone has a voice. But as the city grows, it welcomes newcomers from different cultures, each bringing unique traditions and beliefs. This is where multiculturalism enters to the forefront.

Now, our democratic city faces a challenge: How to ensure everyone feels heard and respected while maintaining unity? It is like organizing a grand festival where each community shares its music, food and customs, but everyone dances to the same rhythm of mutual respect and equal rights.

This delicate balance between celebrating diversity and upholding democratic values becomes the ongoing adventure of our city, reflecting the real-world struggle of modern nations to embrace both democracy and multiculturalism.

Keywords

Democracy, Pluralism, Diversity, Minority rights, Cultural identity, Multiculturalism, Cultural exchange, Migration, Ethno-nationalism

Discussion

4.4.1 The Concept of Democracy

The word “democracy” originates from the Greek words “*demos*” (meaning people) and “*kratos*” (meaning rule). Therefore, democracy means power of the people. The main difference between ancient and modern democracies lies in the definition of “the people.”

In ancient Greek city-states, the “*demos*” was restrictively defined, excluding slaves, women and foreigners (metics), meaning only a quarter of the total population were considered citizens. The Webster's New Encyclopaedic Dictionary defines democracy as a “form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representatives”.

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. According to Abraham Lincoln, ‘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. It is said that in a democracy *VOX POPULI* (voice of the people) should be *VOX DEI* (Voice of God).

4.4.1.1 Historical background

Britain is considered the first modern democracy because after the 17th century Civil War, royal absolutism ended and power shifted from the crown to the elected House of Commons. Although franchise was initially highly restricted based on property ownership, political conflict was peacefully conducted between competing elites.

In France, the more radical democratic

tradition began with the 1789 Revolution's call for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, emphasizing popular sovereignty. The Declaration of the Rights of Man proclaimed rights like personal liberty, freedom of thought and political equality for all.

The 1776 American Declaration of Independence legally created the United States and introduced democracy, overthrowing hereditary power and establishing a republican government with notionally equal citizens.

Early democratic theory emphasized liberty over equality, as seen in the writings of John Locke and the American and French Declarations. These documents expressed principles like individual rights, popular sovereignty and limited government, underpinning modern democracy.

While liberalism aided democracy's rise, the two are not necessarily linked. Liberal democracy combines liberalism's theory of the state with democracy's form of government. Societies valuing community over individuality can adopt democratic elements like free elections without liberalism.

The 20th century saw an unprecedented expansion of democracy in terms of inclusiveness and spatial reach, with waves of democratisation extending suffrage to women, dismantling apartheid and establishing democracies in decolonized nations and post-Communist states.

Conditions for the success of Democracy

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

1. First among these is faith in democracy. People should have faith in democratic principles. No system can function successfully

unless and until people believe that it is the best system of government. If the people have sufficient faith in democracy, they will resist any attempt to destroy it.

2. Another condition is political awakening among people. It implies that the people should be fully conscious of their rights and duties. Eternal vigilance is a price of democracy too.

3. Another point to be discussed in this direction is that the people should have high level of intelligence and a sound system of reasonableness.

4. Another necessary condition is that there should be a strong and vigorous public opinion. An enlightened public opinion holds the government in check.

5. Democracy demands a spirit of tolerance from the people. The majority has the right to put its policies and programmes into effect. While doing so, it is their duty to ensure that the interests of the minorities are not hurt. The minority must recognise the right of majority to rule the country.

6. Existence of good leadership is another condition. Leadership is often provided by political parties. Leaders should have personality to lead the country. Great leaders like Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill and Jawaharlal Nehru helped democracy to work successfully.

7. Another condition is the presence of a good party system. Political parties are the life blood of democracy. Without political parties there can be no democracy. But parties may be organised in such a manner that the people have full say in the policy making process of government.

8. Existence of effective and strong opposition is very essential for the success of democracy. In a democracy, 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 put a check on it or expose the government in its true colours. 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 decentralised so that there can be scope for appeal. The officers 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.

4.4.1.2 Types of Democracy

1. Representative Democracy

In modern complex societies, direct democracy is impractical; so, people participate indirectly by electing representatives to act on their behalf. Early social contract philosophers like Hobbes and Locke saw representative government as authorised by the people to act in their interest.

However, Rousseau believed that the ultimate power should lie with the citizenry and their “general will,” as representatives’ opinions and interests may not align with those of the electorate. Today, representative government, based on the majority principle, is seen as the best way to express democratic values.

However, it faces criticism from two camps: those who find it unrealistic (like Schumpeter and elite theorists) and those who find it insufficient (like participatory democrats). Schumpeter critiqued the classical theory of democracy, which assumes that the people,

by electing representatives, are sovereign. He argued that democracy is more about selecting leaders who compete for votes, with leadership being the driving force rather than popular sovereignty. This view is known as the “realist” theory of democracy.

2. Participatory Democracy

The classical theory of participatory democracy, advocated by Rousseau and John Stuart Mill, emphasizes the active involvement of every citizen in political decision making. Rousseau’s theory stresses the interdependence among citizens, where each person relies equally on others collectively as sovereign.

Participation is not only about decision making but also about safeguarding private interests and ensuring good governance. Mill believed that participation has an educative role, shaping citizens’ understanding of public affairs and promoting a public spirited character.

In the large, modern societies, direct participatory democracy is impractical. However, contemporary theorists like Carole Pateman and Benjamin Barber advocate a form of “strong” democracy, where citizens are more deeply engaged in decision making than in representative democracy. This might involve strengthening local democracy, allowing citizens to participate in community affairs and social movements.

Advocates of participatory democracy, following Mill, emphasise civic education as a means of creating more active and politically aware citizens. They believe that political participation is crucial for a fulfilling life and helps prevent the abuse of power by public officials.

3. Deliberative Democracy

Deliberative democracy emphasizes open and public deliberation on matters of common

interest. It begins with the idea that individuals are autonomous but do not see their social relationships as conflicts of interest. Instead, it views people as engaging with each other through reasoned arguments and persuasion.

Advocates believe that persuasion, rather than coercion, should be the basis of political power, as it respects individual autonomy and their ability to govern themselves. It also ensures that individuals have control over important aspects of their lives and leads to greater and ongoing accountability of political power.

Unlike participatory democracy, which requires constant engagement from individuals in decision making, deliberative democracy allows for a division of political labour between citizens and professional politicians. While citizens are involved in deliberating public issues, they do not have to be continuously engaged in decision-making.

4. Social Democracy

Social democracy is a democratic ideology that strongly emphasizes equality. Social democrats advocate a welfare state based on redistribution, combining liberal democratic institutions with a focus on social justice.

Compared to liberalism, which often leans towards right-wing libertarianism favouring individual freedom and free markets, social democracy is more egalitarian. However, it is less radical than Marxist socialism, positioning itself between these two ideologies.

The core belief of social democrats is that all individuals should have a fair share of society’s resources to pursue their life goals. They argue that if obstacles like poverty, disability or minority status hinder this, the state has a duty to remove such barriers.

Social democracy focuses on providing conditions for the well-being of various groups such as workers, women, the disabled,

the elderly and cultural minorities. Its primary goal is to create conditions for equality, ensuring that all citizens can equally enjoy their democratic rights. Social democracy sees democracy not just as a form of government but also as a guiding principle for society in general.

5. Cosmopolitan Democracy

Cosmopolitan democracy is a concept proposed by political theorists in response to globalisation. Since international organisations like the European Union have emerged and global economic and cultural integration has become more prominent, there is a belief that democracy should extend beyond national borders.

While there is not a single global governance institution replacing the nation state, the idea of cosmopolitan democracy highlights the emergence of a global civil society through “globalisation from below.” This concept envisions a cosmopolitan citizenship based on new solidarities formed across national boundaries, such as seen in the environmental and women’s movements.

6. Direct Democracy

It is a system of government in which all public decisions are taken by a general body of citizen at their regular meetings. It is feasible only in small communities. Some examples of direct democracies are found in ancient Greek city states.

It is practicable in small states with small population. It is not practicable in a large state of modern times. In modern times, direct democracy exists in some cantons of Switzerland. The direct democratic devices are: Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite and Recall. These devices affirm the ultimate sovereignty of the people. To get a clear understanding of the direct democracy, a brief discussion of the devices is highly warranted.

1. Referendum

The term referendum means ‘refer to.’ It is a device by which some important issues such as amendment of the constitution, may be referred to the people for obtaining their verdict. Rendering opinion to the people can either be compulsory or optional.

When referendum is compulsory for all laws of specific type, it is termed as compulsory referendum. In Switzerland and France, referendum is compulsory for all constitutional amendments. When the law passed by the legislature is submitted to the people for their decisions, only on demand of a specific number of voters, it is known as optional referendum.

2. Initiative

Initiative enables people to initiate or propose a legislation themselves. They can send the proposal to the legislature which may enact it. In Switzerland, any 50,000 citizens may sign a petition outlining a measure which they want. The proposal is submitted to the vote of the people, and if approved becomes a duly enacted law. In Switzerland, Initiative is practised both for ordinary and constitutional measures.

3. Plebiscite

By this type, the people are directly consulted on questions of political importance. It is not concerned with any legal matter of public importance. In modern times, it was first made use of by Napoleon. After him, it has frequently been made use of by many leaders. In 1935, the people of Saar were asked to express their opinion whether they wanted to remain in Germany or not. The people of Junagarh (Saurashtra) were asked to give opinion whether they wanted to remain to India or in Pakistan.

4. Re-call

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

4.4.2 Multi-Culturalism

4.4.2.1 Concept

In many countries today, there is a mix of people from different backgrounds, including various religions, races and cultures. This diversity can be challenging when trying to ensure that everyone is treated equally in a democratic system.

Multiculturalism tries to tackle this challenge by recognizing that while giving everyone the same civil and political rights is important, it has not fully addressed the discrimination that some groups still face. Even in advanced democracies, cultural minorities often experience disadvantages.

Multiculturalism suggests that simply giving everyone the same rights is not enough to address this. Instead, it argues for special measures to support minority cultures so they can thrive in society.

In essence, multiculturalism acknowledges that diversity requires more than just equal rights. It calls for active steps to protect and promote the cultural identities of minority groups, allowing them to fully participate in society without discrimination or losing their cultural heritage.

Multiculturalism seeks to address discrimination against minority cultural groups and promote non-discrimination. As countries have embraced democracy, they

have worked to eliminate discrimination based on religion, gender, caste and race.

Multiculturalism contributes to democratization by highlighting discrimination based on cultural identity. It recognizes that cultural identities can marginalize people, even in liberal states.

Multiculturalism stands out for shedding light on the discrimination faced by minority cultural groups. It emphasizes the need to re-examine the dominant liberal tradition, which often overlooks or underestimates the significance of cultural identity.

Multiculturalism argues that achieving true equality requires actively supporting and protecting the cultural identities of minority groups. This goes beyond treating all citizens as individuals, considering their cultural backgrounds essential.

4.4.2.2 Promoting Cultural Diversity

Multiculturalism stands for policies that promote cultural diversity in society to combat discrimination against minority cultures in liberal democratic settings. It values cultural diversity for two main reasons:

Reducing Discrimination: By creating environments where minority cultures can flourish, discrimination against them can be minimized.

Preserving Cultural Plurality: Multiculturalism aims to maintain the rich tapestry of cultural diversity found in diverse societies.

Multiculturalists argue that the policies of liberal nation-states often pressure minority communities to assimilate into the dominant culture, leading to their marginalization. Policies that promote diversity are seen as measures to counter this assimilationist tendency driven by the nation state.

However, the value of cultural diversity goes beyond just addressing discrimination. Multiculturalism also emphasises the importance of maintaining and celebrating the existing diversity of cultures in society.

Multiculturalists believe that having many different cultures enriches our lives and helps us to understand ourselves better. They argue that no single culture can fully represent human potential and each culture only captures one aspect of it. Therefore, having multiple cultures enriches society by exposing us to different ways of life and perspectives.

This awareness of the limitations of our own cultural perspectives encourages us to critically evaluate our beliefs and social structures. Additionally, diverse cultures offer individuals alternative choices and perspectives as they determine what is valuable and meaningful to them.

Overall, multiculturalists highly value cultural diversity and see it as crucial to safeguarding and promoting diverse cultures, especially those under pressure to assimilate or disappear. Their focus is on preserving the vitality and status of diverse cultural communities, not just on promoting individual diversity of thoughts and beliefs.

4.4.2.3 Multiculturalism, Pluralism and Diversity

Multiculturalism recognizes that cultural communities are not chosen associations but are based on shared language, history and institutions. People are born into these communities, and cultural membership is not a matter of choice like selecting goods in a market.

Each culture is seen as a unique entity with its own identity, practices and values, which cannot be judged by the standards of another culture. For example, one culture

might prioritise technological progress while another values harmony with nature – neither is considered superior or inferior, but just different ways of life.

Multiculturalism goes beyond acknowledging the existence of diverse values in society; it asserts that each culture has its own distinct value system that shapes its members' lives. The goal of multiculturalism is to preserve the cultural contexts that give meaning to people's lives.

Multiculturalism advocates policies that protect minority cultures, including their languages, customs and institutions, ensuring that they can thrive and receive equal treatment in society. Simply having a variety of religions, races and languages present is not enough; true multiculturalism requires that all cultural communities are respected and treated as equals.

What sets multiculturalism distinct is its focus on equality among diverse cultures. It argues that even in societies where differences are tolerated, there may still be discrimination against minority cultures. Multiculturalism calls for policies that actively promote diversity in the public sphere to address these patterns of cultural disadvantage and discrimination.

4.4.2.4 Multiculturalism and Liberalism

Multiculturalism challenges the liberal notion that individuals enter the public sphere without social identities, arguing that cultural community membership is integral to personal identity. It provides a framework for understanding individual experiences and relationships with others in society.

Unlike liberalism, which sees individuals as autonomous and separate from their cultural backgrounds in the public sphere, multiculturalism asserts that community

identities play a role in public life. People often bring issues related to their cultural communities into political discussions.

Multiculturalism suggests that democratic institutions must recognize individuals' dual memberships in political and cultural communities. Ignoring or misrepresenting cultural communities in public life can harm individuals, leading to low self-esteem and difficulties in social integration.

For multiculturalists, a secure cultural context is crucial for individual autonomy and the ability to make choices. When cultures are not respected, their members resist change and lose the freedom to express internal differences.

Multiculturalism argues that public recognition and a secure cultural context are essential for minority groups to exercise autonomy, contradicting the liberal view that such identities should be kept private. This challenges the liberal idea of a separate, identity-free public self and a private self-based on cultural identity.

Multiculturalism challenges liberalism by emphasizing the importance of cultural community membership to personal identity and autonomy. It calls for accommodating minority cultural identities in the public sphere, rejecting the dichotomy between public and private identities in liberal thought.

4.4.2.5 Critique of Liberal Democracies

Multiculturalism challenges the notion that liberal democracies ensure equal citizenship for all. While civil and political rights are granted universally, minority cultural communities often face discrimination due to state policies that endorse the majority culture. These policies, such as language choices, educational practices and cultural symbols, promote assimilation into the

dominant culture, disadvantaging minority communities.

For example, making English the official language in Canada disadvantages Francophones, who must learn English to compete in society, even though it is not their native language. This effort to assimilate into the dominant culture diminishes the prestige and support for the French-speaking community, leading to its marginalization.

Multiculturalism argues that seemingly neutral state laws and policies actually favour the majority community, as seen in the declaration of Sunday as a public holiday, which accommodates Christian practices but not those of other religions. These practices pressure minority communities to assimilate into the dominant culture or face marginalization.

Multiculturalism criticizes liberal democracies for promoting formal equality and neutrality while disadvantaging minority cultures. It advocates group-differentiated rights and citizenship, which would grant special rights to minority cultural communities to ensure their survival and equal treatment in the liberal state.

4.4.2.6 Multiculturalism as a Liberal 'Theory of Minority Rights'

Multiculturalism challenges the liberal idea of the individual as autonomous and the state as neutral between competing conceptions of the good life. It argues that states, even those claiming neutrality, endorse specific views through laws on marriage, property, and other social activities.

These laws reflect the State's conception of the good, which may conflict with practices of other cultural communities. Multiculturalism proposes "even handedness," instead of neutrality, where the state treats diverse communities fairly.

This concept challenges liberal notions of individualism, state neutrality, community and justice, but it is not inherently anti-liberal. Multiculturalists seek to align liberal democracies with the ideal of equality for all by arguing for special rights to protect minority cultures from discrimination.

Will Kymlicka adds that liberalism values autonomy and freedom because they allow individuals to reflect on and revise their cultural inheritances. However, when cultures are threatened, individuals have limited opportunities to reshape their cultural context according to their understanding.

Kymlicka argues that liberals should be concerned about the fate of minority cultures and supplement individual-based rights with special arrangements to ensure their survival and flourishing in society. Multiculturalism, therefore, seeks to realise the liberal ideal by means not supported in classical liberalism.

4.4.2.7 The Idea of Differentiated Citizenship

Liberalism tackled social discrimination by offering equal rights to all individuals regardless of their background. In contrast, multiculturalism argues that equal rights alone are insufficient to combat discrimination based on culture.

It suggests that specific rights should be granted to recognized minority groups. This concept, known as differentiated citizenship, is a key aspect of multiculturalism. Differentiated citizenship challenges the liberal notion of universal citizenship, which assumes that all individuals are the same.

Multiculturalism argues that this assumption overlooks group differences and forces individuals to abandon their unique identities to align with the dominant group, typically the majority community. This approach allows

the dominant group to maintain its privileged position while expecting minority groups to assimilate.

Multiculturalism speaks for group-differentiated citizenship to prevent this assimilation process. It proposes granting minority cultural communities rights to protect their culture from pressures to conform to the majority.

Multiculturalism acknowledges that societies consist of diverse cultural communities, but often the state favours the culture of one community, leading to marginalization of minority cultures. By offering special rights based on cultural identity, multiculturalism aims to ensure equal treatment for all citizens.

4.4.2.8 Different Kinds of Special Rights

Multiculturalism advocates three types of special rights for minority communities:

1. cultural rights;
2. self-government rights and
3. special representation rights.

Cultural rights involve exemptions from certain laws and support for cultural institutions and practices. For example, Sikhs in Canada were granted exemption from helmet wearing laws, and Asian women were exempted from wearing certain uniforms based on cultural practices.

Self-government rights are tied to territorial claims and are granted to communities concentrated in specific regions with a long history in that area. These rights aim to give communities political autonomy to protect and promote their cultural identity.

Special representation rights aim to give minority communities a voice in the political process. This includes the right to participate in setting agendas and expressing their

perspectives. This representation is seen as enriching public discourse and ensuring that marginalised groups have a say in policy-making.

These special rights are intended to empower minority communities, ensure their cultural survival and enrich democratic processes by including diverse perspectives.

4.4.2.9 Differentiating Between Minorities

In multiculturalism, the question arises whether all minorities should receive the same special rights. Generally, multiculturalism supports special rights for minorities but does not suggest that all minorities should receive all three types of rights. These rights are typically reserved for historically oppressed minorities and the specific rights granted depend on the context of each case.

Will Kymlicka distinguishes between national minorities and immigrant communities. He argues that self-government rights should only be granted to communities that consider themselves as nations with a distinct social culture and historical claims over a territory. Immigrants, on the other hand, come to a country knowing they must abide by its norms and thus cannot claim rights to protect and promote their culture.

The issue of whether immigrants can seek public recognition for their culture and practices is debated within the multiculturalist framework. In essence, not all communities or minorities are expected to receive the same rights, as the granting of rights depends on the specific circumstances of each group.

4.4.2.10 Criticism

Multiculturalism has faced criticism on several fronts. Critics argue that it can empower traditional structures of authority within communities, leading to the suppression of internal differences and disadvantaging

individuals, especially marginalized groups like women. While multiculturalism aims to promote equality between groups, it may overlook the importance of equality within a group.

Another criticism is that multiculturalism assumes that communities are homogeneous entities with clear membership, which may not reflect the complex identities individuals hold today. People often identify with multiple communities simultaneously, each with its own set of concerns, sometimes conflicting. This complexity challenges the idea of neatly categorizing individuals into single cultural communities.

Critics also worry that multiculturalism could weaken the nation-state by potentially undermining a shared national culture. The system of special rights may create dual jurisdictions and loyalties, which could lead to the fragmentation of the state.

Lastly, some critics, especially from a Marxist perspective, argue that multiculturalism focuses too narrowly on cultural issues and overlooks broader issues of redistribution. By emphasizing cultural recognition and protection, multiculturalism may divert attention from the need to address broader inequalities in access to resources and opportunities in society.

4.4.2.11 Conclusion

Critics of multiculturalism raise important questions that proponents have addressed. One key point is that multiculturalism aims to strengthen states by addressing ethnic conflicts internally. It seeks to include marginalized communities in the political sphere through special rights, fostering a sense of commitment and attachment to the state among minorities.

The primary challenge for multiculturalism is to protect cultural diversity while ensuring individual freedom and equality for all.

Advocates suggest the development of democratic institutions within communities to accommodate the voices of marginalized groups.

They also propose a framework of minimum rights set by the state, allowing communities to govern themselves within that framework. While these solutions may not fully address the complexity of these issues, they demonstrate that multiculturalism is not solely about community rights but also about considering equality within communities.

Multicultural political theory highlights cultural discrimination in liberal democracies, prompting a re-evaluation of cherished liberal ideals. It doubts whether individual rights, state sovereignty and uniform citizenship can guarantee equality in diverse societies. By raising these questions, multiculturalism has become a significant force in democratic theory.

Recap

- ▶ Democracy is based on principles of popular sovereignty, political equality and majority rule, while also protecting minority rights and individual liberties.
- ▶ Multiculturalism recognizes and respects the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious groups within a society.
- ▶ Managing cultural diversity poses challenges for democracies in terms of balancing group rights, national unity and equal citizenship.
- ▶ Liberal multiculturalism advocates the accommodation of cultural differences within a framework of individual rights and a shared civic identity.
- ▶ Pluralist multiculturalism emphasizes the recognition and empowerment of distinct cultural communities within a society.
- ▶ Critical multiculturalism views culture as fluid, contests power imbalances and advocates for transformative social change.
- ▶ Debates surrounding multiculturalism in democracies include issues such as language policies, religious accommodations and the representation of minorities in political institutions.
- ▶ Immigration and integration policies are crucial for managing cultural diversity and fostering social cohesion in democratic, multicultural societies.
- ▶ Tensions can arise between the collective rights of cultural groups and the principles of individual freedom and equality enshrined in liberal democracies.
- ▶ Effective multicultural policies in democracies require balancing respect for diversity with common democratic values, promoting cross-cultural dialogue and addressing systemic inequalities.

Objective Questions

1. What is the principle that forms the basis of democracy, where political power is vested in the people?
2. Which model of multiculturalism advocates the accommodation of cultural differences within a framework of individual rights and civic identity?
3. What type of multiculturalism emphasizes the recognition and empowerment of distinct cultural communities within a society?
4. Which perspective views culture as fluid, contests power imbalances and advocates for transformative social change?
5. What are crucial for managing cultural diversity and fostering social cohesion in democratic, multicultural societies?
6. What does multiculturalism recognize and respect within a society?
7. Which principle of democracy grants political power to the population and rejects hereditary monarchies or dictatorships?
8. In addition to language and religion, which other policy domain is significant for managing cultural diversity?

Answers

1. Popular Sovereignty
2. Liberal Multiculturalism
3. Pluralist Multiculturalism
4. Critical Multiculturalism
5. Immigration and Integration
6. Coexistence of Diversity.
7. Popular Sovereignty
8. Education Policy

Assignments

1. Liberal democracies are founded on principles of individual rights, equality before the law, and a shared civic identity. Critically analyse these principles.
2. Compare and contrast the different models of multiculturalism, such as liberal multiculturalism, pluralist multiculturalism and critical multiculturalism.
3. Select a specific policy domain (e.g., education, language, religion, media representation) and examine how it intersects with issues of cultural diversity in democratic societies.

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BLOCK - 05

State – Elements, Civil Society

Unit 1

State – Elements, Civil Society

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- ▶ Understand the concept of the state and its essential elements: population, territory, government and sovereignty;
- ▶ Analyze the origin, evolution and different definitions of the state by political theorists;
- ▶ Comprehend the concept of civil society and its relationship with the state and democracy;
- ▶ Identify the various forms and roles of civil society organisations in promoting social change and human rights.

Prerequisites

In the 15th century, Europeans began to feel a kind of kinship with their fellow countrymen. As feudalism was phased out, the nation state began to emerge. What is a State? What conditions made the State possible? What are the elements that constitute a State? What is the significance of civil society? How does a State differ from civil society? These and other allied questions are very important. Let us dive in and explain the significance of both the State and the civil society.

Keywords

State, Civil Society, Population, Territory, Government, Sovereignty, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

Discussion

The concept of 'State' is central to the study of Political Science. Without discussing and analyzing the State, Political Science as a discipline will struggle to exist. This is evident from definitions of Political Science given by R. G. Gettel and J. W. Garner that emphasize the importance of the State. Gettel defined

Political Science as “the science of the State” while Garner said “Political Science begins and ends with the State.” The term ‘State’ is often used confusingly and inaccurately in Political Science. For example, we use ‘State’ to refer to a country as a whole, especially in federal systems, as well as its constituent units. We use ‘State’ for the United States of America

as well as its constituent states like California, New York, Hawaii etc. Similarly, we use 'State' for India as well as its constituent states like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh etc. However, a detailed analysis of the essential elements of a State - population, territory, government and sovereignty - reveals the appropriate and inappropriate uses of the term. Before analyzing the elements, it is important to understand the origin and evolution of the term 'State.'

5.1.1 Origin and Evolution of the term State

The word 'State' is derived from the Latin word "status" which means the power status of rulers or princes. The term state was first used by Nicolo Machiavelli, an Italian political philosopher, in his book 'The Prince.' The Greek did not use the term state. They used the term 'polis' instead of state, which means city state.

5.1.2 Definitions

Political thinkers have defined 'State' differently according to their own points of view.

Aristotle, the father of Political Science, defined the State in his work 'Politics' as "a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficient life by which we mean a happy and honorable life."

French jurist Jean Bodin defined the State as "an association of families and their common possessions, governed by supreme power and by reason."

Bluntschli defined the State as "the politically organized people of a definite territory."

Woodrow Wilson defined the State as "a people organized for law within a definite territory."

Harold J. Laski defined the State as "a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions."

R. M. MacIver defined the State as "an association which acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order."

G.D.H. Cole defined the State as "the whole community of its members regarded as an organized social unit."

Garner defined the State as "a concept of political science and public law, . . . a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so, of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience."

Max Weber defined the State as "a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."

5.1.3 Essential Elements of the State

The modern states have four essential elements. There are:

5.1.3.1 Population

State is a human institution. People or population is a physical element of the State, comprising both the rulers and the ruled. For an association of humans like the State to exist, there must be a significant number of people. Population of a state is constituted by a large number of citizens and a small number of residents and aliens. However, political theorists have expressed differing views on the ideal population size for a State: Plato proposed 5,050 citizens for his ideal city-

state. This small size would enable everyone to know each other personally and promote unity. Aristotle disagreed with Plato's fixed number. He argued that population size depends on capabilities to attain the good life. A very large population would make this difficult. Rousseau favored small States of around 10,000 people for active participation in government. He felt that large populations make administration complex. Hegel believed large populations enable greater division of labour and economic self-sufficiency. But he cautioned against excessive size.

Most modern States prefer larger populations as it provides benefits like: (a) Larger pools of human resources and talent (b) Greater production capabilities and economic growth. (c) Increased military strength and power. (d) Enhanced influence on the global stage. However, very large populations also pose challenges like income disparities, resource scarcity, ethnic tension and governance issues. Overall, while theorists prescribe ideal sizes, modern States are pragmatic - their actual population depends on factors like territory, resources, immigration policies and growth rates. There is no fixed optimum number. Population of a state should not be very large or very small. But the strength of a country does not depend on the number of people alone. Much depends upon the quality of the people.

5.1.3.2 Territory

Another essential element of state is territory. Territory is defined as geographic area or physical space occupied by the population of the State. It includes the land, water and air-space within its boundary. Bluntschli in his book *Theory of the State* clearly says that "as the state has its personal basis in the people, so it has its material basis in the land. The people do not become state until they have acquired a territory." Territory

is very essential for the existence of a modern state because the population of the State is settled in a fixed territory. It also denotes the area of state sovereignty.

Territory is vital to the state as it: (1) Provides living space for the population and scope for settlements to emerge (2) Enables access to resources like water and land for economic activities (3) Allows people to establish emotional ties with their homeland (4) Symbolizes the spatial jurisdiction and sovereignty of the State (5) Gives a State its distinct identity based on its geographical characteristics.

However, theorists have questioned the relevance of territory in the modern interconnected world for various reasons: (1) Technological advancements enable virtual connectivity transcending physical borders (2) Globalisation has diminished the economic relevance of national territories (3) Transnational identities and Diaspora communities are now common. So, in a globalized world, the territory retains relevance for States as an anchor giving citizens a sense of belonging and providing strategic benefits. But its significance is now shared with virtual space and global interconnectedness.

5.1.3.3 Government

Government is an indispensable element of State. No state can exist without the government. Government refers to the political organisation and administrative machinery through which the State exercises power and authority. J. W. Garner in his famous book "Political Science and Government" observed that "government is the agency or machinery through which the common policies are determined and by which common affairs are regulated and common interests promoted." That means state operates its power through the government or governmental machinery.

Without government, there would be no established authority or apparatus to exercise the powers of the State. Legislature, executive and judiciary are the three organs through which the government exercised its functions. The legislature makes laws, the executive implements them and the interpretation of law is carried out by the judiciary. The government provides stability and structure for the political system.

Key Functions Performed by Government in the State include:

1. Maintaining law and order through police, courts and defence forces.
2. Formulating policies, laws and regulations for orderly functioning of society.
3. Providing public services and infrastructure like healthcare, education, transportation etc.
4. Managing fiscal matters like taxation, public borrowing and spending.
5. Conducting foreign affairs like diplomacy and trade agreements with other States.
6. Addressing issues like unemployment, poverty and development.

There are different forms of government – democratic, authoritarian, monarchy *etc.*

5.1.3.4 Sovereignty

Sovereignty is one of the essential characteristics of the state. It distinguishes the state from other associations or organisations. Sovereignty refers to the supreme and absolute power of the State to govern itself and its subjects. Implying authority within its borders and independence externally, sovereignty is the defining element of the State. The word sovereignty is derived from the Latin term ‘*Superanus*,’ meaning supreme. It denotes the State’s absolute control over people and institutions within its jurisdiction. It signifies its freedom from

external domination in political affairs. It establishes the State as the highest legal power and authority. Sovereignty enables the State to impose laws and policies without external interference. It gives the State the power to enter in to relations with other sovereign States. Sovereignty is manifested internally and externally. Internal sovereignty means supremacy of the state over all associations within a state. External sovereignty of the state implies that it is free from the control of any other state or political authority. For example, before 1947, Britain exercised external sovereignty over India. Internal and external sovereignty together constitute the State’s absolute and independent authority to exist and act as a ‘sovereign’ entity in its own right. This elevates the State above all associations and institutions within its borders and equates it legally with other sovereign States in the international system. In this context, Prof. Laski says: sovereignty of the state issues orders to all men and all associations within its area, it receives orders from none of them. Its will is not subject to legal limitations of any kind. Sovereignty expresses the supreme power and self-governing authority of the state. It is the vital element that makes the state the highest institution capable of exercising absolute control over its subjects internally and freedom from external control in its activities within its jurisdiction. Sovereignty is embodied in the independent existence of the state.

Every state must have its population, a definite territory, a duly established government and sovereignty. The absence of any one of these elements denies to it the status of statehood. All the elements must exist in combination. The first three are its visible and physical elements. The last one is its spirit of being.

5.1.4 Civil Society

Civil society has been one of political theory's key and debatable concepts. As a contested concept the term civil society is used in contradictory dimensions in political theory. Civil society is a means for citizens to advance their interests through collective strategies and action. It involves people's contribution to their country's governance through community participation. Now various terms have been used to denote the phenomena like non-state actors, non-governmental organisations, transnational advocacy networks and transnational or global civil society. Theoretically, the concept of civil society has been placed in three contexts: (a) as an association posited between family and state, (b) as an agency that interrogated tyrannical states and (c) as the space between the state and the market.

In the contemporary world, the word civil society is applied in two different dimensions. Firstly, the civil society includes social institutions like school, church and peer groups of citizens. These institutions mainly provide support to the state. This dimension of civil society adheres to Gramsci's view. Secondly, the civil society stands for a set of public interest organisations formed by some intelligent people which make various demands on the state. The present day concept of civil society is close to Alexis de Tocqueville's view. Alexis de Tocqueville in his book *Democracy in America* analyzed the civil society as 'intermediate voluntary associations.'

5.1.4.1. Definitions of Civil Society

According to Jurgen Kocka, "Civil society is a societal sphere between state, economy and private life populated by voluntary associations, networks and non-governmental organisations."

According to Jurgen Habermas, "Civil society's core is formed by a system of associations which institutionalize problem-solving discourses on questions of general interest within the public framework."

5.1.4.2 Civil Society and State

In the beginning, the terms 'civil society' and 'political society' were treated as synonymous. Therefore, the term 'civil society' was used interchangeably with 'state'. Initially, Marcus Tullius Cicero, an ancient Roman thinker, employed the term 'civil society' to denote the state in the first century B. C. But for him, it was not merely the state's external structure. It represented a society where members lived together as citizens, followed civil laws, and led a civilised, cultured and dignified existence.

Then, the social contract philosophers such as John Locke and Jean Jaques Rousseau used the term civil society in connection with political society. Locke observed that civil society is a means to establish order, discipline and security for the human community. But Rousseau's view is that the civil society provides legal equality for all citizens who thus become equal before the law despite their natural differences.

G.W.F.Hegel, German political philosopher, attempted to differentiate 'civil society' from the state. For Hegel, civil society represented an organisation where an individual dealt with all other individuals (apart from family) as means to serve self-interest. Karl Marx accepted Hegel's interpretation of civil society, but did not agree to the distinction between civil society and state. Marx believed that civil society embodied the state itself.

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist, clearly differentiated civil society and political society in his own manner. He identified two

levels of capitalist society's superstructure: (a) civil society which was closer to the base and (b) political society which wielded overall control. The civil society includes family, school and church which transmit capitalist values to the new generation. The political society encompasses police, judiciary, prisons *etc.* The Neo-Marxist thinker Herbert Marcuse observed the significance of Hegel's differentiation between civil society and political society. He argued that Hegel's contribution was very significant for analyzing of contemporary society's problems.

In the light of the above observations, a distinction is to be made between state and civil society.

A state is identified by its unified formal structure. It has different organs of power, particularly legislative, executive and judiciary. On the other hand, civil society comprised of loose organisations of citizens pursuing public interest.

The state is armed with supreme legal authority, i.e. sovereignty, whereas a civil society does not enjoy a formal legal authority. It enjoys moral authority over its citizens.

The state is empowered to exercise a compulsory jurisdiction over its citizens and its territory whereas the civil society does not exercise compulsory jurisdiction.

The state is responsible for the maintenance of law and order as well as protection of life and property of citizens, whereas civil society undertakes the protection of interests of citizens and exerting influence over the government.

Moreover, the state has huge recourses at its disposal. But civil society has no definite assets or source of income. It has to create its own resources.

Finally, the existence of state is always universal. However, civil society comes into existence only in advanced societies.

However, it may be noted that we cannot rigidly draw the boundaries between the two. This is 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 or action for the civil society. Since the political, economic and social reforms of 1990, NGO's have been recognized as special sectors that play an important role in the development of a country's economy. As the state withdrew from the social services sector, because of constraints, civil society organisations have come to fill the gap. They filled the space untouched by the government and the private sector.

In conclusion, we may say that civil society cannot replace the state. It accepts the utility and role of the state in the society. It simply opposes an over powerful, over active and authoritarian state. The state and civil society can and must work together. Each can supplement the other.

5.1.4.3. Civil Society and Democracy

The concept of civil society is the key subject in democratic debate. Ernest Gellner observed: "no civil society, no democracy". Civil society consists a wide variety of associations and social movements which provide opportunities to the people to develop their capacities, interests and identities. It also gives motivation to the people to participate in civic issues. It helps the process of democratic transition. It is a device of democratic action against the non-democratic regimes. In different ways civil society can provide democratic transition.

1. It can provide a foundation for the overthrow of non-democratic states.

2. Civil society organisation can provide people new information about non-democratic regimes.
3. Civil society organisation's capacity to mobilize people is crucial in effecting democratic transition.
4. Civil society structures multiple channels for articulating, aggregating and representing the interests of the people.

5.1.4.4 Forms of Civil Society

Civil society is a diverse and vast arrangement of organisations and people who work outside of governmental frameworks to encourage social reform and support human rights. These groups come in various manifestations, each having novel aims, strategies and impact. Here are some of the primary forms of civil society groups:

5.1.4.4.1 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

NGOs are self-governing, non-profit organisations not linked with any administration. They work on an extensive range of subjects, comprising human rights, ecological protection, poverty relief and financial development. NGOs can be international, domestic or local and they can function in a number of ways, like providing direct services, leading research and advocating policy reforms.

5.1.4.4.2 Community Based Organisations (CBOs)

CBOs are grass roots organisations formed by and for the affiliates of a specific community. They work on subjects that are applicable to their communities, like education, healthcare, housing and economic development. CBOs are frequently small and local and they are typically described by their comprehension of their communities and their capacity to mobilize and empower residents.

5.1.4.4.3 Interest Groups

Interest groups are organisations that represent the concerns of a specific group of individuals, like labour unions, business associations and environmental groups. Interest groups lobby the administration to impact policies that affect their associates and they also work to raise public awareness of their subjects.

5.1.4.4.4 Charitable Organisations

Charitable organisations are non-profit organisations that provide charitable services, like food relief, shelter and medical care. Charitable organisations are frequently funded by donations from people, foundations and corporations.

5.1.4.4.5 Professional Associations

Professional associations are organisations that represent the concerns of a specific profession such as doctors, lawyers or engineers. Professional associations provide a forum for professionals to network and share information and they also work to encourage professional standards and ethics.

5.1.4.4.6 Advocacy Groups

Advocacy groups are organisations that work to encourage a specific cause or subject, like human rights, ecological protection animal welfare *etc.* Advocacy groups utilise a mixture of strategies to accomplish their goals, like lobbying the administration, raising public awareness and organizing protests.

5.1.4.4.7 Foundations

Foundations are non-profit organisations typically funded by wealthy people or families. Foundations provide grants to support a mixture of causes, like education, healthcare and research.

5.1.4.4.8 Think Tanks

Think tanks are research institutions that produce and disseminate policy analysis. Think tanks are typically autonomous of any specific political party or ideology and they aim to provide objective and evidence based research.

5.1.4.4.9 Social Movements

Social movements are large scale groups of people who come together to advocate social reform. Social movements frequently utilise unconventional tactics, like protests and civil disobedience, to accomplish their goals.

Recap

- ▶ The state is a political organisation with four essential elements: population, territory, government, and sovereignty.
- ▶ Civil society refers to the sphere of voluntary associations, networks and organisations distinct from the state and market.
- ▶ The concept of the state originated from the Greek word ‘polis,’ meaning ‘city’ and evolved over time.
- ▶ Political theorists have defined the state differently, emphasizing elements like territory, population, government and sovereignty.
- ▶ Population is the physical element of the state, comprising both the rulers and the ruled.
- ▶ Territory is the geographic area or physical space occupied by the population of the state.
- ▶ Government is the administrative machinery through which the state exercises power and authority.
- ▶ Sovereignty refers to the supreme and absolute power of the state to govern itself and its subjects.
- ▶ The term civil society is used to describe ‘intermediate’ association between individuals and the state.
- ▶ Civil society organisations include NGOs, community-based organisations, interest groups, charitable organisations and advocacy groups.
- ▶ Civil society plays a crucial role in promoting democracy, social reform and human rights.
- ▶ Forms of civil society include NGOs, community-based organisations, interest groups, charitable organisations, professional associations, advocacy groups, foundations, think tanks and social movements.

Objective Questions

1. Which of the following is NOT an essential element of the state?
2. The term 'State' originated from the Greek word:
3. Which political theorist defined the state as “an association which acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order”?
4. Sovereignty refers to the supreme power of the state to.....
5. What is the term used to denote the authority of the state within its borders?
6. Which philosopher attempted to differentiate 'civil society' from the state?
7. Civil society is often referred to as the space between.....and.....
8. Which of the following is NOT a form of civil society organisation?
9. NGOs stand for.....
10. Social movements often utilise tactics such as.....

Answers

1. (1) Civil society (2) Polis (3) R. M. MacIver (4) Answer: Govern itself (5) Answer: Internal sovereignty (6) G.W.F. Hegel (7) State and market (8) Political parties (9) Non Governmental Organisations (10) Protests

Assignments

1. Discuss the essential elements of the state and their significance in the context of modern nation-states.
2. Analyse the different definitions of the state provided by political theorists, highlighting the similarities and differences in their perspectives.
3. Explain the relationship between civil society and the state, drawing upon the views of various thinkers like Hegel, Gramsci and Tocqueville.
4. Evaluate the role of civil society organisations in promoting democracy and social change, citing specific examples from different parts of the world.
5. Examine the forms and functions of civil society organisations, focusing on their strategies, challenges and potential impact.
6. Critically analyse the relevance and limitations of the concept of sovereignty in the contemporary globalized world.

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Unit 2

Theories of State: Liberal and Marxian

Learning Outcomes

After studying the unit, you will be able to:

- ▶ Understand the key principles and assumptions of liberal and Marxian theories of the state.
- ▶ Analyse the contributions of thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Bentham and Mill to liberal theory.
- ▶ Examine the Marxian view of the state as an instrument of class oppression.
- ▶ Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of both the liberal and Marxian theories.

Prerequisites

To fully comprehend the liberal and Marxian theories of the state, it is essential to have a foundational understanding of the historical and philosophical contexts in which these theories emerged. The liberal theory of the state evolved during the Enlightenment period, characterised by a shift towards rationalism, individualism, and the promotion of natural rights and liberties.

The social contract theory, propounded by thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, formed the bedrock of liberal thought. This theory posited that the state arose from a voluntary agreement among individuals, who surrendered some of their natural rights in exchange for protection, security and the establishment of a civil society governed by laws.

Furthermore, an understanding of the intellectual climate during the rise of capitalism and industrialization is crucial for grasping the Marxian critique of the state. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed their theory of the state in the context of the 19th century, witnessing the exploitation of the working class and the consolidation of power by the *bourgeoisie*.

The Marxian theory of the state is deeply rooted in the concept of historical materialism, which views social development as a product of economic forces and class struggles. According to this theory, the state is not a neutral arbiter but rather an instrument of oppression wielded by the dominant class to exploit and subjugate the working class.

Moreover, a grasp of the political and economic ideologies of liberalism and Marxism is essential for comprehending the respective theories of the state. Liberalism championed individual freedoms, private property rights and limited government intervention, while Marxism stood for the abolition of private property, the overthrow of the *bourgeois* state and the establishment of a classless, stateless society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By understanding these historical and philosophical contexts, one can better appreciate the nuances, assumptions and critiques put forth by the liberal and Marxian theorists, ultimately enabling a more informed analysis and evaluation of their respective theories of the state.

Keywords

Social Contract, Utilitarianism, Historical Materialism, Class Struggle, *Bourgeoisie*, Proletariat, Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Discussion

5.2.1. Liberal Theory of State

Liberal theory of state is based on the mechanistic view of the state. It is developed from two perspectives: (a) social contract and (b) *laissez-faire* individualism.

5.2.1.1 Social Contract Theory

The Social Contract theory is one of the oldest theories regarding the origin and evolution of State. In the 18th century it was very popular in European political Thought. It comes into being as a reaction against the Divine Origin theory of State, propounded by Robert Filmer. In other words, this theory believed that the State was not created by God. According to this theory, State is an outcome of the contract on the part of the people. This theory believed that state was the product of the mutual agreement of men, created with a definite purpose, to serve certain social needs. It treats state as the product of the will of society. The Social Contract theory is based on two fundamental assumptions - 'state of nature' (the period before the formation of state) and state of society (the period after the

formation of the state). Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jaques Rousseau are the chief exponents of this theory. These three exponents establish their theory from the beginning of human habitation. But the opinion and ideas of these exponents are different.

5.2.1.1.1 Contributions of Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes was a great English Philosopher. He was born in 1588. Hobbes was a tutor to Charles II of England. In his famous book *Leviathan* he sought to justify the absolute power of the sovereign. He was the first English philosopher to present "a logical system of political philosophy."

5.2.1.1.1.1 Views on State of Nature

As has been stated, the social contract theory starts with two conceptions - state of nature and state of society. In the state of nature, according to Hobbes, man's condition was deplorable. "Might is right" was the guiding principle in the state of nature. According to Hobbes, the life of man in the state of nature was 'solitary poor, nasty, brutish and short'; 'everyman is enemy to every man'. In the state nature everybody

was self-centered and nobody bothered about others and their interests. Hobbes also states that man is selfish by nature; self-interest is the mainspring of human action. There was no distinction between justice and injustice. Due to the absence of law and justice, the state of nature is characterised by struggle, conflict and constant warfare. According to Hobbes the state of nature was a state of war; a war of all against all; a state in which nothing could be just; force and fraud were two cardinal virtues.

5.2.1.1.1.2 Views on Social Contract

Hobbes suggests that a contract was the only way to get out of the state of nature. According to Hobbes, people entered into a contract in order to protect their life, liberty and for the maintenance of peace. (Hobbes says that the sovereign is not a party to the contract because he comes into existence as a result of the contract). In this contract people gave up their natural rights and powers to one man or the assembly of men and authorized him or the assembly to rule over them. In the words of Hobbes “I authorize and give up the right of governing myself to this man or this assembly of men on this condition that thou give up the right to him and authorize all his actions in this manner.” However, Hobbes says that the created sovereign is not a party to the contract. He is the by-product of the contract.

5.2.1.1.1.3 Features of Hobbes’ Social Contract

1. Sovereign is not a party to the social contract. His authority in the state is an artificial creation of the contract.
2. People cannot break the ties of the contract according to their will because they entered into the contract based on the sentiment of fear.
3. The commands of sovereign are also

laws.

4. The contract is both social and political because the society and government were established by the result of the contract.
5. The contract establishes both social and political institutions i.e. the society and the government.
6. The authority of Sovereign is absolute and unlimited.

5.2.1.1.1.4 Criticism

1. Hobbes does not describe the rights of men.
2. Hobbes’ state of nature is absolutely wrong because it is quite imaginary and far away from reality.
3. The unlimited power of the sovereign is against the spirit of democracy. It restricts individual liberty.
4. Hobbes failed to differentiate between state and government.
5. Hobbes’ doctrine of Social Contract is one-sided and only a single party contract. Only the people entered into the contract, not the ruler.
6. In the state of nature, according to Hobbes, the people were selfish. Hobbes also states that the people authorise and give up their rights to the sovereign. The main controversy is how selfish people could give up their natural rights to one man or the assembly of men.

5.2.1.1.2 Contributions of Views of John Locke

John Locke was an English Philosopher of the 17th century. He was an advocate of constitutional monarchy. He was an opponent of absolute monarchy in England. He was considered the apostle of the Revolution of 1688. He wrote his famous book *Two Treatises of Civil Government* in 1689. John Locke was the first political thinker who propounded the theory of the consent of the people in Political

Science. He was the founder of empiricism. It means that all our knowledge is derived from experience.

5.2.1.1.2.1 Views on State of Nature

According to Locke the state of nature is not a state of constant warfare. It is a state of "peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation.". It is a state of liberty and it is not a state of license. In other words, it was a state of equality and freedom. In the state of nature people willingly obeyed the laws of nature and lived peacefully. But there were no fixed laws and no judge to interpret the laws and import justice. In the state of nature everybody interpreted the laws of nature in their own ways. In the state of nature there was no government or any other body of persons who could administer those laws. Therefore, after a certain period of time due to the absence of any established authority some difficulties arose in the state of nature. It created trouble, anarchy and disorder in the state of nature. To solve this situation people entered into the civil and political society by the means of a contract.

5.2.1.1.2.2 Views on Contract

John Locke's view is different from Hobbes'. In his contract the individuals need not surrender all their rights as in the case of Hobbes. Here the individual authorised to give up only certain rights for permitting himself to be governed. The individuals preserved the natural rights with them. Thus, Locke's contract does not involve any absolute and unlimited sovereign as in the case of Hobbes. The other features are as follows:

1. The right given up is not to any particular person or to a group of persons, but to the community as a whole;
2. There are two contracts - social contract and governmental contract;
3. Sovereign is a party to the contract;

4. It is a contract in which all must consent;
5. It is an irrevocable contract;
6. It is a first step towards drawing up of a trust.
7. Thus, unlike Hobbes, "Lock's contract is not a bond of slavery, rather, a character of freedom."

5.2.1.1.2.3 Criticism

1. Locke's concept of state of nature is unreal and unhistorical.
2. Locke gives no importance to legal sovereignty.

5.2.1.1.3 Contributions of Views of Jean Jaques Rousseau

Rousseau was a renowned French philosopher. He was born in Geneva in 1712. He was one of the exponents of the theory of Social Contract. In his famous book *Social Contract* Rousseau had elaborated the theory of Social Contract. He was an advocate of the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. His theory of sovereignty gained great popularity among political thinkers and philosophers. Rousseau is regarded as the herald of the French Revolution in 1789 because his ideas became very popular and they led to the outbreak of French Revolution.

5.2.1.1.3.1 Views on State of Nature

Rousseau's description of the state of nature is quite different from those of Hobbes and Locke. In his work "Discourse on Inequality" he draws a fascinating picture of the state of nature. According to Rousseau, the state of nature was an ideal and men in the state of nature were equal, self-sufficient and contented. Rousseau also believed that in the states of nature man led a happy life and enjoyed divine pleasure. He states that in the state of nature man was a "noble savage," who led a simple life and enjoyed "idyllic happiness." Hunting was the main activity of the people.

The people in the state nature were not at all aware of agricultural activities and techniques of industry. Everyone was his own master and no authority or no body controlled anybody's action. But this golden age in the state of nature could not continue for long time. Due to the increase of population, introduction of agricultural activities and the development of social institutions, some mutual dispute arose in the state of nature. The institution of private property and its consequent division of labour created a sense of jealousy and struggle. Gradually the simplicity and idyllic happiness of the primitive life in the state of nature disappeared. This led to the establishment of civil society. This means that in order to escape this state of affairs the people entered into a contract through collective action.

5.2.1.1.3.2 Views on Contract

Rousseau's contract is a mixture of the views of Hobbes and Locke. He postulates a single contract like Hobbes. To get out of the state of nature, he suggests that the individual needed to surrender not to a single person or to a body of persons, but to the community as a whole of which the individual is a part. This is a moral collection of body which Rousseau calls "the General Will." Here the individuals became a complete zero. They merge their will in the will of the society. In a passive sense it is called the state and in an active sense it is called the sovereign. Therefore, the contract not only created

5.2.1.1.3.3 Rousseau's Theory of General Will

The concept of General Will was one of the very important contributions of Rousseau. It is the central theme of Rousseau's political philosophy. Rousseau's concept of contract was both social and political. But it was a single contract. It was the result of collective effort of individuals. The individuals

themselves surrendered their natural rights to the contract unconditionally because they also become its part or members of the contract. This contract Rousseau called the General Will. It represented the collective good of the individuals and not private interests. It deals with the common affairs of the individual and not with the private ends. Rousseau also says that it is inalienable and indivisible.

According to Rousseau, man possesses two kinds of wills: (a) Actual Will and (b) Real Will. Actual Will is the irrational will of the individual. It makes the individual self-confined and self-centered. Therefore, the welfare of the society was not the concern of it. On the other hand, Real Will is the rational will of the individual. Its aim was to the general welfare of the society. It was based on reason and rationality. General Will was the sum total of the individual will. In his own words, the General will is the collective consciousness of the community, the common consciousness for common good. It is considered as a group mind, superior to individual mind, he observes.

5.2.1.1.3.4 Criticism

1. Rousseau's concept of General Will is vague because he failed to give a clear distinction between the general will and the will of all.
2. Rousseau's theory of General Will is unhistorical because history does not confirm his concept of social contract. Therefore, theory of General Will is an imaginary concept of Rousseau.
3. Rousseau's description of state of nature is quite unrealistic because he has described man in the state of nature as a "divine savage."
4. The concept of General Will encourages absolutism as he assigns absolute power to the General Will which nobody can disobey.

5.2.1.2 Utilitarian Theory of State

Utilitarianism was an ethical philosophy based on Hedonism. Utilitarianism says that the government should promote “the greatest good of the greatest number.” Jeremy Bentham and J. S. Mill were the main advocates of this school of thought. Utilitarian theory developed as a reaction against the principle of natural rights and the theory of social contract. The supporters of this theory states that the state was created by the people for their own benefit and they strongly opposed the divine origin theory of the state. According to this theory, the state is a useful institution because the existence of the state depends upon its utility. In other words, the state is not a natural necessity and it is a product of man’s desire to satisfy his needs. The state performed its functions based on the “maximum welfare of the maximum number.” This theory believes that the maximum welfare of the individual is possible only when the individual is left free, especially in the economic field. Utilitarian theory supported private enterprise. Utilitarian thinkers supported individualism because they were liberals. They give more importance to moral values.

David Hume, an English Philosopher, explained Utilitarian view of the state for the first time in the history of political philosophy. According to him, the basis of the state is utility. The state should perform its functions on the criterion of the maximum welfare of the maximum people. Thinkers like Helvetius and d’Holbach supported David Hume’s views. Then Jeremy Bentham developed the Utilitarian theory in a systematic manner. In his book *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* he gives clear and detailed views regarding the Utilitarian philosophy. According to him, “Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure.” The

only criterion to measure virtue and vice is pleasure and pain. The theory of utility is the direct result of pleasure and pain.

According to Bentham, the state is primarily a law-making body and the source of law. It is organized by a group of people for the promotion and maintenance of their happiness. In his philosophy he gives special emphasis to the maximum welfare of the maximum people. He believed that it was possible only through the superiority of democratic rule. According to him, the basis of the state was not a contract, but the utility. Utility is the basic and fundamental criterion for testing the functions of the state. His concept of state is a sovereign state and he did not impose any type of control over the powers of state. That means the powers of the sovereign were not limited through any agreement or rule. Therefore, Bentham supported the unlimited power of the sovereign.

John Stuart Mill, another exponent of Utilitarianism, made some modifications to Bentham’s philosophy. Bentham said: “all pleasure are equal and there is only a difference of degree and not of quality.” But Mill disagrees with this opinion and clarifies: “there is a difference of degree as well as quality in pleasure.” Mill gives more explanation to this point though his famous lines, i.e., “it is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied. It is better to be a Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.” Besides, Mill supported public interest. But Bentham supported individual interest. He was a great supporter of individual liberty. In his famous book *On Liberty*, Mill expressed his views about the concept of liberty elaborately.

Mill was a strong supporter of democracy. For protecting the minority interest in democracy Mill supported the system of Proportional Representation and Plural Voting.

He believed that character and education were the base of democracy. In his political philosophy Mill has not used the word “state.” He used the ‘society’ or ‘government’ instead of state. He said that an ideal government was one in which the sovereignty lay in the entire society. According to him, if the government expanded its activities in the public interest, it was not objectionable. As a political liberal, Mill wanted to protect the individual’s interest and encourage the social interest to the maximum. He believed that pleasure was the final criterion of human behavior.

5.2.1.2.1 Criticism

1. Utilitarianism laid more emphasis upon physical comforts only and ignored the spiritual happiness of the individual.
2. Bentham failed to explain the qualitative difference of pleasure. He stressed only upon the quantity of pleasure. Mill’s explanation to the qualitative difference of pleasure is inappropriate.
3. Maximum welfare of the maximum number is a complicated doctrine. Sometimes it may suppress minority interests.

5.2.1.3 The Marxian Theory of State

Karl Marx, Frederic Engles and V. I. Lenin are the major exponents of the Marxian theory of the State. Karl Marx explores the nature of the state in his renowned work *Das Capital*. Karl Marx and Engles believed that State is not a natural and necessary institution as there have been societies without a State. The Marxian views is that State is a product of society at a certain stage of economic development. Therefore, they rejected the traditional views of the origin of the State, i.e., “State is a natural institution and slowly and gradually arose because of the needs.” Lenin, the founder of Communist Party in Russia, later further developed the Marxian theory of the state. Lenin said: “State is an organ for

the oppression of one class by another and it creates order which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collision between the classes.” For Lenin, State is an instrument of the powerful class in society.

According to the Marxist theory, at every stage of development of the State, a single class controls the State and uses its machinery to further its exploitation of the exploited class. For example, in the ancient times there were two classes in Greece: the Masters and Slaves. The Masters (the property owners) were the dominant class and exploited the slaves. In Rome there were two classes - the land owning classes were known as Patricians and the Plebians were the exploited classes. In Medieval Europe, there were two classes - the feudal Landlords and the serfs. The landlords were the dominant class and exploited the serfs (the landless labourers). Under capitalism there were two classes - the capitalist and the proletariat (the poor working class). The capitalist were the dominant class and they exploited the poor working class. Therefore, the Marxist theorists believed that during each period the State existed as an instrument of exploitation and coercion.

However, the Marxist theory believed that after the communist revolution, the capitalist class will disappear and a classless and stateless society, headed by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will be established.

5.2.1.3.1 Criticism

1. Marxian theory completely ignores the role of non-economic factors that gave to the development of the State, especially the religious and economic factors.
2. Marxian theory believed in force or revolution.
3. Marxist theory failed to explain the true nature of the State.

Recap

- ▶ Liberal theory based on social contract and *laissez-faire* individualism.
- ▶ Hobbes: State formed to escape “state of nature,” absolute sovereign power.
- ▶ Locke: Dual contract (social and governmental), limited government, natural rights.
- ▶ Rousseau: General Will, popular sovereignty, noble savage in a state of nature.
- ▶ Utilitarianism: Greatest good for the greatest number, state based on utility.
- ▶ Bentham: State as law-making body, maximum welfare of the maximum people.
- ▶ Mill: Qualitative difference in pleasures, individual liberty, representative democracy.
- ▶ Marxian theory: State as instrument of class oppression by dominant class.
- ▶ Historical materialism: Economic forces and class struggles shape society.
- ▶ *Bourgeoisie* state oppresses and exploits the proletariat (working class).
- ▶ Goal: Classless, stateless society through proletarian revolution.
- ▶ Dictatorship of the proletariat after the fall of the *bourgeois* state.

Objective Questions

1. Who propounded the concept of the “state of nature”?
2. Who introduced the idea of the “social contract”?
3. Who proposed the theory of “dual contract” (social and governmental)?
4. Who advocated the concept of “General Will”?
5. Who is the founder of utilitarianism?
6. Who proposed the qualitative difference in pleasures?
7. Who developed the theory of historical materialism?
8. What is the term used for the ruling class in Marxian theory?
9. What is the term used for the working class in Marxian theory?
10. What is the Marxian goal after the overthrow of the *bourgeois* state?

Answers

1. (1) Thomas Hobbes (2) Thomas Hobbes (3) John Locke (4) Jean-Jacques Rousseau (5) Answer: Jeremy Bentham (6) John Stuart Mill (7) Karl Marx (8) *Bourgeoisie* (9) Proletariat (10) Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Assignments

1. Critically analyse the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, highlighting their similarities and differences.
2. Evaluate the contributions of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill to the utilitarian theory of the state.
3. Explain the Marxian view of the state as an instrument of class oppression and its relationship with historical materialism.
4. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the liberal theory of the state, considering its emphasis on individual rights and limited government.
5. Assess the relevance and applicability of Marxian theory in contemporary times, given the changing dynamics of class structures and economic systems.
6. Compare and contrast the liberal and Marxian theories of the state, highlighting their contrasting perspectives on the role, nature and purpose of the state.

Reference

1. R. C. Agarwal (2012), *Political Theory (Principles of Political Science)*, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi
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Suggested Readings

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Unit 3

Organs of Government

Learning Outcomes

After studying the unit, you will be able to:

- ▶ Understand the three organs of government: legislature, executive and judiciary;
- ▶ Analyse the functions and powers of each organ of government;
- ▶ Differentiate between various types of legislatures, executives and judiciary systems;
- ▶ Evaluate the importance of the separation of powers and checks and balances in a democratic system.

Prerequisites

To comprehend the concepts discussed in this unit, it is essential to have a fundamental understanding of the principles of democracy and the concept of the separation of powers. Democracy is a form of government where power is vested in the people, either directly or through elected representatives. The separation of powers is a crucial principle in democratic governance, which ensures that the three branches of government (legislative, executive and judicial) are distinct and independent from one another.

The legislature, variously known as the parliament, congress *etc.*, is the branch responsible for enacting laws and representing the interests of the people. It is typically composed of elected representatives from various constituencies. The executive branch is responsible for implementing and enforcing the laws enacted by the legislature. This branch includes the head of state (president or monarch) and the head of government (prime minister or cabinet). The judiciary is an independent branch that interprets and applies the laws through courts and judicial systems.

The separation of powers is designed to prevent the concentration of power in a single individual or group, thereby safeguarding against tyranny and promoting accountability. Each branch of government has specific roles and responsibilities as well as checks and balances on the other branches, ensuring that no single branch becomes too powerful.

Understanding the principles of democracy and the separation of powers is crucial for comprehending the intricate relationships and power dynamics among the three organs of government. This knowledge will provide a solid foundation for grasping the nuances and complexities discussed in this unit.

Keywords

Legislature, Executive, Judiciary, Separation of Powers, Checks and Balances, Democracy, Accountability.

Discussion

Generally, there are three organs of government: (1) Legislature (2) Executive and (3) Judiciary. These three organs are closely associated with one another. The legislature makes law, the executive implements it and the judiciary interprets it. But the above mentioned functions of all the three organs are inter-related and inter-connected. For example, in a parliamentary form of government the executive is responsible to the legislature (Parliament). The legislature has the power to remove the executive by a non-confidence motion. The executive is answerable to the questions raised by the members of the parliament. Similarly, the executive as the leader of the majority party in the Lower House of the Parliament is also the leader of the Lower House. Likewise, the judiciary has the power to declare the laws made by the parliament as null and void, especially if the law violates the basic structure of the constitution. The Parliament can remove the judges from their office due to incapacity and misbehavior. However, in any form of government, the Constitution clearly and specifically mentions each organ's structure and functions. This unit discusses the functions of each organ of the state in a detailed manner.

5.3.1 Legislature

As a representative body, the legislature plays a superior position in the government. Countries such as India, America, France, Britain, England, Australia, Canada and Switzerland have Bicameral Legislature. That means the Legislature consist two houses: (1) the Upper House and (2) the Lower House.

But a few countries such as Bangladesh, China, Portugal and Turkey have Unicameral Legislature.

5.3.1.1 Major Functions of the Legislature

The functions of the legislature differ from state to state because it mainly depends upon the form of government.. For example, in a monarchical form of government, the legislature acts purely as a consultative body subordinate to the executive. In a Parliamentary system, the legislature is superior to the executive because, the latter is responsible to the legislature for all its actions. In a Presidential form of government, the legislature is co-extensive with the executive. The main functions of the legislature are:

5.3.1.1.1 Legislative Functions

The primary and the most important function of the legislature is law making. Legislation is considered as the direct source of law. Law is considered as the will of the people and people express this through their representatives. The proposals for legislations are introduced in the legislature in the form of bills. Every bill has to go through many stages before it becomes law. Some of the stages are: first reading, second reading, committee stage, report stage and third reading. If it is passed in the House, it is sent to the other House. If the other House passes it, the same is sent to the head of the state for his approval. The bill becomes law only after getting the approval of the Head of the state.

5.3.1.1.2 Financial Functions

This is a very important function performed by the legislature from year to year. That

means the legislature has control over the budget of government. Without the approval of the legislature the executive cannot spend any money. Through budget discussion the legislature provides an opportunity to the opposition parties to raise their grievances and also to the executive branch to explain and defend their proposals.

5.3.1.1.3 Administrative Functions

In a parliamentary system the legislature exercises control over the executive through various ways. The members of the legislature have the right to raise questions to the Council of Ministers. The legislature can remove the Council of Ministers by a No-Confidence Motion. The legislature has the right to appoint committees to investigate the conduct of the ministers.

5.3.1.1.4 Judicial Functions

In some countries the legislature has to perform judicial functions. For example, in India the Parliament can remove the Head of the State (President) by the process of impeachment. Similarly, in the U. S. A., the Congress can remove the president by the process of impeachment. In England, the House of Lords is the highest court of appeal.

5.3.1.1.5 Electoral Functions

In several countries, the legislature elects some executive officials. In India, the Parliament and State Legislatures make up the Electoral College for the election of the President. Similarly, in China, the President was elected by the members of the Parliament. In certain countries the legislature not only elects the executive officials but also elects judicial officials. In Russia, the Judges of the Supreme Court are elected by the members of the Parliament.

5.3.1.1.6 Constituent Functions

In a democracy, the legislatures have

performed constituent functions also. In some countries, the legislature played a significant role to amend the constitution, as in India and England. In some countries, a similar procedure is adopted to amend the Constitution and the amendment of ordinary laws. But in some countries a special procedure is adopted for the amendment of the Constitution.

5.3.1.1.7 Miscellaneous Functions

In certain countries the legislature has the power to remove the Judges. In India, the Parliament has the power to remove the Judges of the Supreme Court and High Court on the ground of proved misbehavior and incapacity. Similarly, in the U. S. A. the Parliament has the power to remove the judges of Federal Court by the process of impeachment. In Britain, the Parliament played significant roles to remove the judges. The judges can be removed by a joint sitting of both Houses of the Parliament with the Crown.

5.3.2 Executive

Another important organ of the government is the executive. In ancient times the executive only consisted the Monarch and Council of Ministers. The executive carried out functions such as making the laws, implementing the laws and punishing the law-breakers. But due to the abolishment of monarchy to a great extent and the introduction of democratic forms of governments world wide, the power of the executive is concentrated mainly on the execution of laws. Thus, now laws are made by the legislature, the laws are implemented by the executive branch and the laws are interpreted by the judiciary.

Generally, the word executive is used to designate all those officers of the government whose prime responsibility it is to execute the laws. The term executive is used in two senses - narrow and broad. In its broad sense, the

executive includes all the officials engaged in carrying out the governmental functions. In the narrow sense, it denotes only the chief executive head of the government. The officials are not included in it.

5.3.2.1 Types of Executive

In modern times there are different types of executive. They are:

5.3.2.1.1 Nominal and Real Executive

Based on the nature of power, the executive can be divided into two: nominal and real. The nominal executive is also known as titular executive. In Britain and India, the Head of the State performs ceremonial duties. The whole administration is carried out in its name. But it does not exercise these powers in a real sense. These powers are exercised by the Prime Minister and colleagues on behalf of the nominal executive (Queen in Britain and President in India). Countries such as Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium and Norway also have nominal executive. The agency or person that actually exercises the executive power is known as the real executive. In a presidential form of government, there is no distinction to be made between titular executive and real executive. In America both the titular executive and the real executive is one and the same person, the President of America.

5.3.2.1.2 Singular and Plural Executive

Depending on the number of persons who handle power, the executive can be divided into two: singular and plural. If the executive power is vested in a single person, it is called singular executive. The President of the U. S. A. is the best example of a singular executive. The Cabinet systems in Britain and India are also considered singular executive because the executive carries out its power on the principles of collective responsibility. On the other hand, if the executive power is not

exercised by only one individual, it is called a plural executive, as for example, the Federal Council of Switzerland. It is a plural body of seven persons elected by the legislature of Switzerland. All the seven enjoy equal status and powers. One of the seven is nominally known as the President of the Swiss Republic.

5.3.2.1.3 Parliamentary and Presidential Executive

Based on the relationship between the two important organs of the government (legislature and executive), the executive can be divided into two: parliamentary and presidential. If the two organs of the government (legislature and executive) work in harmony with each other by the unification and coordination of the same person (Prime Minister), it is called parliamentary executive. This type executive is always responsible to the legislature for all its actions. Parliamentary executive is functioning in Britain, France, Japan, India, West Germany, Italy, Sweden, Denmark and Norway. But the presidential or non-parliamentary executive is not responsible to the legislature for its actions. In this system, the head of the executive (President) is constitutionally independent of the legislature. Countries such as the U. S. A. and Brazil are best examples of this type of executive.

5.3.2.1.4 Hereditary and Elective Executive

Depending on the mode of appointment, the executive can be divided into two: hereditary and elective. If the head of the executive is appointed on the principle of heredity, it is called hereditary executive. This type of executive prevailed in monarchical systems of government, especially when a king or queen is the head of the state. Now this type of executive is functioning Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Japan and

Nepal. If the head of the executive is elected directly by the people or indirectly by their representatives for a fixed tenure, it is called elective executive. Most of the democratic countries follow this type of executive. For example, countries such as India, France, West Germany, Italy, U. S. A. and Australia.

5.3.2.2 Functions of the Executive

Depending up on the form of government, the functions of the executive varies from state to state. The functions of the executive in a democratic form of government are quite different from those in a dictatorship. Similarly, functions of the executive in a presidential form of government are different from those in a parliamentary form of government. Generally, the major functions of the executive are:

5.3.2.2.1 Administrative Functions

Law making is the function the legislature, but its execution is the primary function of the executive. With the help of civil servants, the executive implements public policies and directs the execution of laws. With the help of force, the executive ensures the maintenance of peace within the country. The executive also coordinates the business of the government. The executive appoints top officials and head of various departments. For example, in the U. S. A. the Secretaries are appointed by the President with the consent of Senate.

5.3.2.2.2 Legislative Functions

The executive also plays a decisive role in legislation. In a parliamentary form of government, the executive, especially the Prime Minister acts as the leader in the representative house. It plays a significant role to summon, prorogue and adjourn the sessions of the Parliament. Similarly, in a parliamentary system, the executive has the power to dissolve the Lower House and orders

fresh elections. In the Parliamentary form of government, the Council of Ministers, headed by the Prime Minister, controls the time schedule of the legislation. Another important legislative function of the executive is the power of issuing Ordinances. In India, the President has the power to issue Ordinances, when both houses of the Parliament are not in session.

5.3.2.2.3 Foreign Relations

In the contemporary world no state can lead an isolated life because the modern states are sovereign and independent. Therefore, maintenance of diplomatic relations with other countries is considered a very essential function of executive. In every state, the executive performs this function with the view to protecting and promoting national interests. The executive appoints ambassadors and high commissioners and send diplomatic representatives to other countries for this purpose. The executive also negotiates and concludes treaties and agreements through its representatives.

5.3.2.2.4 Military Functions

Securing territorial integrity of the state and protecting the country from external attack is another important function of the executive. In most of the countries, the Head of the State or the President is considered the supreme commander of the armed forces. For example, the President of India is the Commander in-Chief of the armed forces. Similarly, in some countries, the right to declare war and conclude peace constitutionally rests with the executive. For example, in the U. S. A., with the consent of the Congress, the President can declare war or peace.

5.3.2.2.5 Financial Functions

In a democracy, it is the duty of the executive to manage the national finances.

Executive controls the financial matters with the approval of the legislature. Generally, in all countries the Legislature passes the Annual Financial Statement (popularly known as Budget). But the preparation of the Budget is the duty of the executive.

5.3.2.2.6 Judicial Functions

The executive, especially the chief executive, has the right to grant pardon or clemency to persons punished by the court. In most of the countries the chief executive appoints the judges of various courts. For example, in India, the judges of the High Courts and Supreme Court are appointed by the President.

5.3.3 Judiciary

As one of the essential organs of government the judiciary plays a significant role in the modern state. Interpretation of laws is its main function. Judiciary acts as the guardian of the Constitution. In a democracy, it protects the fundamental rights and freedom of the people. Therefore, independence of judiciary is very necessary for democracy. In other words, if the judiciary is not free, there is no democracy. In such countries the fundamental rights of the citizen are not protected. According to Bryce, “there is no better test of excellence of a Government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches the welfare and security of the average citizen than his knowledge that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice”.

Independence of Judiciary

The judges play an important role in a society. Their functions are important and many. They cannot perform these functions unless they are independent. The term independence of judiciary means that the judges are independent in the interpretation of law. The judges must be free from the

influence of the executive and the legislative branches of the government. In short, integrity, independence, impartiality and fearlessness should characterize the judicial mind.

Factors for Ensuring the Independence of the Judiciary

1. Method of Appointment

Method of appointment ensures judicial independence. There are three different methods of appointing judges: (1) Election by the Legislature; (2) Election by the people; (3) Appointment of judges by the executive. The first two methods are not desirable since they have the defects and limitation of their own. However, the third method, i.e. appointment judges by the executive is the best method of all and is followed in most countries of the world.

2. Higher Qualification

The interpretation of laws needs technical skills and legal qualification. It is preferable if judges are selected from the lawyers who have shown their merit at the bar. The independence of judiciary demands high qualification for the judges.

3. Security of Tenure

The judges should be given security of tenure for their impartiality and independence. A judge must feel that he is secure in his job if he works honestly and impartially. Independence of judges is best secured by long tenures. They should hold office due to good behavior and not due to the pleasure of the executive, i.e. the appointing authority. That is, they should not be removed arbitrarily.

4. High Salaries

Honesty and independence of the judges also depends on good salaries or prospects that the office carries. A judge needs sufficient

salary so as to maintain his social position and style of living. This salary enables him and his family to lead a good social life. Qualified, skilled and competent persons will not be attracted to the bench unless they are provided a handsome salary. Further, an ill paid judge may be susceptible to corrupt practices.

5. Separation of Powers

To ensure judicial independence, it is necessary that the judicial functions are separated from the legislative and administrative functions. As we know, one of the chief functions of the judiciary is to protect the citizens from executive encroachments. It underlines the fact that the judicial and executive functions should be distinct and separate from each other.

6. Ban on Appointment after Retirement

The principle of judicial independence requires that the judges should be made ineligible for further appointments even in judicial positions after having left the bench.

In conclusion, we can say that the conditions mentioned above are not enough to make judicial independence. Much depends up on the conscience of a judge. Justice is one of the divine attributes and the last resort of an ordinary person. If the judges lack integrity and freedom of conscience there will be an end of everything.

5.3.3.1 Major Functions of the Judiciary

The major functions carried out by the judiciary are as follows:

5.3.3.1.1 Administration of Justice

Administration of justice is the most important function of the judiciary. Generally, judiciary is an agency which decides disputes between citizens and between citizens and the state. The judiciary tries to take decision in the disputes in accordance with the existing

laws. In this process the courts conduct investigations and determine the facts. The judiciary has the power to decide the conflict of jurisdiction between the Centre and State and the State governments, especially in countries that have the federal system.

5.3.3.1.2 Protects the Rights and Liberties of the People

In a democracy, the constitution guarantees certain rights and liberties to the citizens. It is the duty of the courts to protect these rights. In the modern times, many states grant fundamental rights to the citizens in the Constitution. Therefore, the judiciary there acts as the custodian of these rights. For example, the Constitution of India guarantees six fundamental rights to its citizens. If anyone violates these rights, a writ can be filed in the High Court or the Supreme Court for its protection.

5.3.3.1.3 Guardian of the Constitution

The Judiciary acts as the guardian and interpreter of the Constitution. Most of the countries, especially the countries that have written constitutions, specifically provide authority to interpret the constitution to the judiciary. That means if the law passed by the legislature violates any provisions of the constitution it can be declared null and void. In *Marbury vs. Madison* case (1803) the Chief Justice Marshall of the U. S. A., clearly expressed the view that ‘if the law passed by the Congress violates the Constitution, that law shall be declared as void because the Constitution is the highest law of the land and it is the duty of the courts to protect it.’ This power of the judiciary which was invented by Chief Justice Marshall is called ‘Judicial Review.’

5.3.3.1.4 Advisory Functions

In many countries judiciary acts as an advisor to the executive. For example, in

India, the President can ask advice to the Supreme Court on legal matters. But on the contrary, the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. does not enjoy such advisory powers.

Recap

- ▶ Three organs of government: legislature, executive, and judiciary.
- ▶ Legislature makes laws, executive implements laws, judiciary interprets laws.
- ▶ Legislative functions: law-making, financial control, administrative oversight, electoral roles.
- ▶ Executive functions: administration, legislation, foreign relations, military command, financial management.
- ▶ Judiciary functions: administration of justice, protection of rights, constitutional guardianship, advisory roles.
- ▶ Types of legislatures: bicameral (two houses) and unicameral (one house).
- ▶ Types of executives: nominal / real, singular / plural, parliamentary / presidential, hereditary / elective.
- ▶ Importance of separation of powers and checks and balances for accountability and balance of power.
- ▶ Roles and relationships among the three organs vary by the form of government (parliamentary, presidential etc.).
- ▶ Judiciary acts as the guardian of the constitution and interpreter of laws.
- ▶ Independence of judiciary is crucial for protecting rights and upholding the rule of law.

Objective Questions

1. What are the three organs of government?
2. Which organ of government is responsible for making laws?
3. Which organ of government is responsible for implementing laws?
4. Which organ of government is responsible for interpreting laws?
5. What is the term used for a legislature with two houses?
6. What is the term used for a legislature with one house?
7. What is the name given to the head of the executive branch in a presidential system?
8. What is the name given to the head of the executive branch in a parliamentary system?
9. What is the term used for the power of the judiciary to review the constitutionality of laws?
10. Which organ of government is responsible for protecting the rights and liberties of citizens?

Answers

1. (1) Legislature, Executive, Judiciary (2) Legislature (3) Executive (4) Judiciary (5) Bicameral (6) Unicameral (7) President (8) Prime Minister (9) Judicial Review (10) Judiciary

Assignments

1. Explain the concept of the separation of powers and its importance in a democratic system of government.
2. Discuss the various functions of the legislature, highlighting the differences between bicameral and unicameral systems.
3. Analyse the different types of executive systems (parliamentary, presidential, hereditary and elective) and their respective advantages and disadvantages.
4. Critically evaluate the role of the judiciary as the guardian of the constitution and the protector of individual rights.
5. Examine the concept of checks and balances among the three organs of government, providing examples from different countries.
6. Assess the challenges faced in maintaining the independence of the judiciary and suggest measures to ensure its impartiality and integrity.

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Unit 4

Role of the State in the Era of Globalisation

Learning Outcomes

- ▶ Analyse how globalisation affects the role and sovereignty of the state.
- ▶ Recognize the shift in power from national political institutions to international economic actors.
- ▶ Evaluate the transformation of state functions and governance structures in the globalised era.
- ▶ Articulate the political, economic, and cultural implications of globalisation on nation-states.

Prerequisites

To fully grasp the changes globalisation has brought to the role of the state, it is essential to understand the historical context of globalisation. The roots of globalisation can be traced back to the early modern period with European exploration and colonisation. This era marked the beginning of global empires, which significantly altered international trade and political dynamics. The 19th and 20th centuries saw the rise of industrialisation and technological advancements, further accelerating globalisation. The end of the Cold War marked a new phase where globalisation became an undeniable international reality, facilitated by advancements in communication technologies such as computer networks, electronic mass media and telephony. These historical developments provide a foundation for understanding the contemporary impacts of globalisation on state sovereignty and governance.

Theoretical perspectives on globalisation provide crucial insights into its multifaceted impacts. Martin Albrow's definition emphasizes the incorporation of peoples into a single global society, highlighting the social dimension of globalisation. Anthony Giddens focuses on the intensification of worldwide social relations, where local and distant events are interconnected. Ronald Robertson adds that globalisation involves both the objective interconnectedness and the subjective consciousness of the world as a single place. Understanding these perspectives allows students to appreciate the complexities of globalisation beyond just economic transactions. It includes cultural exchanges, political changes and the reshaping of social relations. This theoretical knowledge is vital for analysing how globalisation challenges the traditional functions and authority of the state.

Keywords

Globalisation, Sovereignty, Non-State Actors, Interdependence, Cultural Homogenization, Multinational Corporations, Nation-State System.

Discussion

Today we live not only in our state but also in the world as a single place, *i.e.*, a global society. The idea of globalisation has been an everyday thinking process in the last four decades because it created far-reaching changes in the world order. Globalisation creates a drastic shift in the legislative and political power of the state from political institutions to international economic actors. Globalisation transforms the structures of governance in every state. Globalisation has changed the role of the state politically because of the interrelationship and interdependence between the nation-states.

5.4.1 Globalisation as Political Reality

Globalisation means the free flow of goods and services across the world. Multinational and transnational corporations are considered the driving force of globalisation. The roots of globalisation can be traced back to the early modern period when European powers began to establish global empires through exploration and colonisation. The rise of industrialisation and advancement in technologies in the 19th and 20th centuries further accelerated the process of globalisation. After the end of the Cold War, globalisation became an international reality. Globalisation has been occurring through computer networks, electronic mass media and telephones. Communication technology permits people to have nearly immediate contact with each other irrespective of state borders.

5.4.1.1 Definitions

Martin Albrow says: “Globalisation refers to all those processes by which the peoples of

the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society”.

According to Anthony Giddens, “Globalisation is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.”

Ronald Robertson states: “Globalisation does not simply refer to the objectiveness of increasing interconnectedness. It also refers to cultural and subjective matters (namely, the scope and depth of consciousness of the world as a single place”).

5.4.1.2 Globalisation and the State

Before globalisation, world politics was organized on the so-called Westphalian system. Globalisation affects the functions of the state in a variety of ways. Globalisation has posed serious challenges to the nation-states. They are:

5.4.1.2.1 Shrinking of State Sovereignty

Sovereignty is considered the cornerstone of the state system. The origin of the concept of sovereignty is closely associated with the development of the modern state. In modern times, the sovereign state is the basic unit of international relations. The root of the thought of state sovereignty in political theory is traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which resulted in the formation of the state system (Westphalian System) in Europe. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the states attained the form of nation-states. Sovereignty generally means the capacity of a state to assert and successfully exert exclusive control over a

territory and its population. However, in the globalized era, states faced certain limitations in terms of their ability to regulate the flow of people, especially capital and ideas. Increasing international interdependence has been compelling each state to accept limitations to its external sovereignty.

The Westphalian concept of sovereignty implies that the state has a monopoly over authoritative decision-making, especially within its boundaries. The expansion of transnational linkage between economic units due to globalisation created collective decision-making. Therefore, the regional political alliances also affect the sovereignty of the state. As part of the regional political alliance, the state compromised its sovereignty. In the contemporary age the international belief system also creates challenges to state sovereignty. Religions like Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Jainism exercise its influence effectively in the form of political authority.

Globalisation loosened some cultural and psychological underpinnings of sovereignty. With the growth of trans-border networks, many people have acquired loyalties and they even override feelings of solidarity. With the help of global conferences, global communications and so on, significant supra-territorial bonds have been cemented in the women's movement, amongst transnational managerial classes etc. Besides, thousands of computer-mediated communities formed through the new groups on the internet as a by-product of globalisation.

5.4.1.2.2 Reduce the Capacity of the State

In a globalized world, the states are central but the authority of the state is eroding for a variety of reasons. Globalisation adversely affects the sovereignty of the state. It leads to increased interdependence among countries. It becomes difficult for nation-states to exercise

complete control over their economy, politics and society. The state began to withdraw from welfare activities and the service sector. The place of the welfare state is now taken by the market. Multinational companies play a prominent role here. The entry of multinational companies reduced the capacity of the state to make their own decisions. Interdependence of the sovereignty refers to the capacity of the state. In a globalized world, the state has certain limitations and constraints to effectively regulate the flow of people, capital and ideas in particular. Within the boundaries, the state has a monopoly over authoritative decision-making. In the present scenario, this situation has changed.

5.4.1.2.3 Create Economic Inequality

Globalisation created economic inequality within society. They created winners and losers in the international economy. The developed countries have benefited from increased trade and investment and others have been left behind. It paved the way for widening the gap between rich and poor countries. The transnational corporations and multinational corporations exploit the local conditions of developing nations to their advantage. Foreign companies invariably violate labour laws, and ignore the working conditions, safety and salary. Multinational companies produce goods in their home country. Increased competition among the economies has compelled nation-states to make decisions that strengthen their economies. With the increasing disinvestment of the public sector, privatisation was encouraged and state ownership of industries came to be rejected.

5.4.1.2.4 Cultural Homogenisation

Globalisation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. It is not only an economic phenomenon, but also a cultural phenomenon. Here Cultural homogenisation means

worldwide homogenisation of culture. It refers to the transmission of ideas, meanings and values around the world in such a way as to extend and intensify social relations. Societies have changed, people are more mobile and social norms have changed. Almost all the states now find it essential to follow the rules and norms laid down by the international conventions. For protecting the environment and Human Rights all the states accept the rules and regulations of such conventions.

5.4.1.2.5 Role of Non-State Actors

Non-state actors such as multinational corporations and NGOs played a major role in the international system. Modern policies, economic policies and even national policies are sometimes formed in the interest of non-state actors. This regulating body pressures the weaker countries of the world, especially third world countries. To protect their interests, nuclear weapon owners create institutions in the world. It has encroached upon the jurisdiction of nation-states. Interstate organisations have grabbed the decision-making power of the nation-states in respect of finance, commerce and international politics. The emergence of multinational corporations, free trade, international financial organisations and trading blocs [Association of Southeast Asian Nations(ASEAN),Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and European Union(EU)] limited the scope of the role of the state in the sphere of the international economy.

5.4.1.2.6 Increasing Anti-National Activities

Terrorist activities destabilise the normal and stable political situations of the state. The states spends huge funds and time to protect themselves. This invariably hinders its progress. The state cannot ignore these forms of destabilising forces.

5.4.1.2. 7 Creating Threat to National Identity

Globalisation creates a threat to the national identity of the nation-state system. The nation-states are compelled to work under the new world order due to globalisation. As the by-product of globalisation, the non-state actors played a significant role in it. The non-state actors develop into more prominence than the state actors.

In the era of globalisation, several changes have been taking place in the functions of the state. Globalisation is connected to several potentially drastic changes in world order. It has brought the demise of sovereignty; it is by no means dissolving the state. Globalisation indeed brings in its wake great inequalities, mass impoverishment and misery. It invariably widens the gap between the developed and developing nations. We learn from the process of globalisation that it is more harmful to the developing and underdeveloped countries. During the time of globalisation, most governments enlarged their payroll, budget, scope activities and surveillance capacities. Globalisation helps the state to reduce the chances of major inter-state war. However, the contemporary state is quite unable to control phenomena like global companies, satellite remote sensing, global ecological problems and stock and bond trading.

Recap

- ▶ Globalisation refers to the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of nations, economies and cultures worldwide.
- ▶ Globalisation has challenged the traditional concept of state sovereignty, as nation-states face limitations in regulating the flow of people, capital and ideas.
- ▶ Economic globalisation has led to the rise of multinational corporations, which can challenge the decision-making power of nation-states.
- ▶ Cultural homogenization, facilitated by globalisation, has led to the transmission of ideas, values and social norms across borders.
- ▶ Non-state actors, such as multinational corporations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), have gained significant influence in the globalised world.
- ▶ Globalisation has increased economic inequality and widened the gap between developed and developing nations.
- ▶ Anti-national activities, like terrorism, have emerged as a threat to the stability and security of nation-states.
- ▶ National identities and cultural traditions are challenged by the homogenising forces of globalisation.
- ▶ Globalisation has reduced the capacity of the state to exercise complete control over its economy, politics and society.
- ▶ Regional political alliances and international organisations have compelled nation-states to compromise their sovereignty.
- ▶ The state's role has evolved from a welfare provider to a facilitator of market forces in the globalized economy.
- ▶ Globalisation has reduced the chances of major inter-state wars but has also created new global challenges like environmental issues and financial crises.

Objective Questions

1. Which of the following is NOT a challenge posed by globalisation to the nation-state?
2. The concept of state sovereignty emerged from the.....
3. Non-state actors that have gained influence in the globalized world include.....
4. Globalisation has led to increased.....
5. Cultural homogenisation refers to the.....
6. is not a consequence of globalisation.
7. The role of the state has shifted from a welfare provider to a.....

8. Regional political alliances have compelled nation-states to.....
9. Globalisation has been facilitated by advancements in.....
10. The end of the Cold War contributed to the intensification of.....

Answers

1. (1) Strengthening of national identity (2) Treaty of Westphalia (3) Multinational corporations and NGOs (4) Economic inequality (5) Worldwide transmission of ideas and values (6) Increased chances of inter-state wars (7) Facilitator of market forces (8) Compromise their sovereignty (9) Technology (10) Global interconnectedness.

Assignments

1. Analyse the impact of globalisation on the concept of state sovereignty, highlighting the challenges posed by economic interdependence and the rise of non-state actors.
2. Discuss the economic implications of globalisation for nation-states, focusing on issues such as inequality, the role of multinational corporations and the shift towards market-oriented policies.
3. Examine the cultural homogenisation brought about by globalisation and its effects on national identities and cultural traditions.
4. Evaluate the role of non-state actors, such as multinational corporations and NGOs, in the globalized world and their influence on state functions and decision-making processes.
5. Analyse the changing role of the state in the era of globalisation, considering its transition from a welfare provider to a facilitator of market forces and its diminished capacity in certain areas.
6. Critically assess the arguments for and against the preservation of state sovereignty in the globalised world, considering the challenges posed by global interconnectedness and the need for international cooperation.

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BLOCK - 06

Post Cold War Issues

Unit 1

Globalisation, Identity Politics, Populism, Terrorism

Learning Outcomes

After studying this material, students should be able to:

- ▶ 1. Explain the concept and impact of globalisation
- ▶ 2. Analyse the role of identity politics in modern societies
- ▶ 3. Understand the characteristics and implications of populism
- ▶ 4. Describe the nature and consequences of terrorism in the post-Cold War era

Prerequisites

In 2001, the world witnessed a major turning point when terrorist group al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden, attacked the United States. On September 11, four airplanes were hijacked. Two planes were crashed into the World Trade Center towers in New York City, causing both towers to collapse. Another plane hit the Pentagon, the headquarters of the U.S. military. The fourth plane crashed into a field after passengers tried to overpower the hijackers. This event, known as 9 / 11, killed nearly 3,000 people and shocked the world.

The 9 / 11 attacks were fuelled by identity politics and extremism, where a small group of radical extremists believed they were defending their religious identity. This marked a global rise in terrorism. The U. S. responded by declaring a “War on Terror,” invading Afghanistan to remove the Taliban regime, which had harbored al-Qaeda, and later Iraq, creating long lasting impacts on global politics.

At the same time, globalisation—through economic interdependence, technology and communication — made the world more connected. However, this also allowed extremist ideologies to spread faster. Populist leaders began to emerge, especially in Europe and the U. S., who argued for stronger national borders and against immigration, often linking their campaigns to the fear of terrorism and cultural identity.

Keywords

Globalisation, Identity Politics, Populism, Terrorism, Multinational Corporations, Cultural Homogenisation, Economic Integration, Radicalisation, Anti - establishment, Cyber terrorism.

Discussion

6.1.1 Globalisation

Globalisation represents one of the aspects of the new economic policy launched in the decades of 1980s and 1990s. The term globalisation has no commonly accepted meaning and definition. Although, globalisation is generally understood to mean integration of the economy of the country with the world economy. It is a multi dimensional and complex phenomenon. It has political, economic and cultural manifestations. As a concept, globalisation fundamentally deals with flows, i.e., flow of ideas, capital, commodities and people across different parts of the world. The crucial element is world wide inter-connectedness. It involves the intensification of flows across the globe.

In contemporary times the process of globalisation has become one of the most important issues of politico-economic discussions. In the first half of the 20th century, the process of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation were considered to be significant while in the end of the twentieth century the process of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation became the most fashionable ones. Especially since 1990s the process of globalisation has become very crucial.

6.1.1.2 Definitions

United Nations' definition of globalisation: "refers to the reduction and removal of barriers between national borders in order to facilitate the flow of goods, capital and service and labour . . . although considerable barriers remain to the flow of labour."

According to the International Monetary Fund (I. M. F.), "globalisation stands for the growing economic interdependence of countries world wide through increasing

volume and variety of cross border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows and also through the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology."

S. K. Misra and V. K. Puri stated: "Globalisation means integrating the economy of a country with the world economy."

Dr. C. Rangarajan defines: "globalisation means integration of economies and societies though cross country flows of information, ideas, technologies, goods, services, capital, finance and people."

6.1.1.3 Causes of Globalisation

1. The main reason for the emergence of globalisation is the rapid advancement in technology. The technological advancement like telephone, telegraph, microchip, television, internet and satellite based communications brought revolutionary changes in the communication field.
2. Development of transport, free trade agreement, benefits of foreign investment and removal of trade barriers are the major reasons for globalisation.
3. Increasing capital mobility has also acted as a stimulus to globalisation.
4. 4. The new liberal capitalism also contributed to the rise of globalisation. The collapse of the Soviet Union created an atmosphere for the global expansion of capitalism.
5. The rapid growth of Multi-National Companies (MNCs) and the rise in the significance of global brands like Microsoft, Sony and McDonalds have been central to the emergence of globalisation.

Apart from all these, improved mobility of capital, increased mobility of labour and the introduction of internet have contributed their share in the process of globalisation.

6.1.1.4 Features of Globalisation

1. All societies have become inter-connected
2. International economic integration with global production.
3. Transnational media system creating a global culture and global consumerism to create a global village.
4. Global Tourism
5. Media Imperialism.

6.1.1.5 Objectives of Globalisation

1. It aims at bringing the market closer than before
2. To create a strong civil society by protecting civil rights
3. To increase international trade
4. To improve the status of underdeveloped nations
5. To provide markets for all products

6.1.1.6 Types of Globalisation

1. **Economic Globalisation:** Economic globalisation focuses on the integration of financial matters and co-ordination of financial exchange. Free Trade Agreement plays a larger role in economic globalisation.
2. **Social Globalisation:** A measure of how easily information and ideas pass between people in their own country and between different countries (includes access to internet and social media networks).
3. **Political Globalisation:** Political globalisation involves national policies that bring countries together politically, economically and culturally. Organizations such as NATO and UNO are part of political globalisation.
4. **Cultural Globalisation:** Cultural globalisation means worldwide homogenisation of culture. It refers to the transmission of ideas, meaning and values around the world in such a way as to

extend and intensify social relations.

6.1.1.7. Effects of Globalisation

The differential roles, dimensions and effects of the process of globalisation created much discussion and debate. Some of the advocates defend the process very strongly, at the same time a few others criticise very severely. They believe that globalisation has more negative consequences than positive. The effects of globalisation could be classified into two categories. They are positive effects and negative effects.

6.1.1.7.1 Positive Effects of Globalisation

1. Size of the World has Shrunk:

The size of the world has shrunk through the process of globalisation. It broke the changing boundaries between the states. Nations actively participate and take part in the global economic affairs. The changing world led to the development of the concept of a “global community” or “global village.” The whole world appears like a village.

2. Advantages of Healthy Competition:

Due to competition, business becomes more energetic. The presence of a global market creates a healthy competition and it compels businesses to improve the quality of the products and minimise the prices. People have the opportunity to select a commodity of their choice. Goods can be produced and supplied to any corner of the world at competitive prices. The removal of restrictions and regulations brought a great leap in the trade between countries.

3. Higher Standard of Living:

Globalisation accelerates higher standard of living of peoples all over the world. It created greater employment opportunities and helped employees to get greater income. Globalisation affects the minds and thoughts of the people and it decides what we eat, drink, wear and think.

4. Globalisation gives Impetus to Consumption:

Due to the application of modern technology goods can be produced and supplied in very attractive styles. The aim of global producers is to offer products of superior quality at lower costs.

5. Flow of Capital and Technology:

The integrating role of technology reduced cost and increased impacts of products have made them accessible to more global consumers. Technical knowledge and capital movement also get facilitated. With the entry of foreign capital, the aggregate gross and net investment proportions to GDP will go up and with a reduced capital output ratio the growth rate will go up.

6. Increased Production Facilities:

Globalisation will help to restructure the production and trade pattern in a capital scarce, labour abundant economy in favour of labour intensive goods and labour intensive techniques. As a result, the over-all resource productivity will go up.

6.1.1.7.2 Negative Effects of Globalisation

1. Globalisation Widens the Gap Between the Richer and Poorer Nations:

Due to the process of globalisation the richer nations or developed nations have become richer and developing nations and the poorer nations are on the verge of becoming bankrupt. With the help of sophisticated technology the rich nations establish their hold over the market. The developing countries are not able to face the competition at the hands of these developed countries.

2. Disadvantages of the Developing Nations:

Globalisation destroyed the economy of the third world countries. The International

Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organizations compelled the developing nations to keep open their national markets. Many of them took loans from these international financial institutions and they fell in huge debt trap. Gradually, the Developing Nations became the servile markets of the multinational companies.

3. Globalisation adversely affected Labourers:

Most of the Foreign companies located in the developing countries invariably violate the labour laws. They ignore workplace safety and health issues of labourers. They want maximum decrease in the number of workers. They pleaded for the destruction of the organized power of the workers, ending permanent appointments by promoting temporary appointments. Many developing countries are unable to resist this exploitation.

4. Environmental Damages:

Multinational companies establish their manufacturing facilities in developing countries to exploit their natural resources and sell the products of other countries. Natural resources of developing countries are transferred to other countries.

5. Cultural Invasion through Globalisation:

Globalisation adversely affected the cultures of the world. Commercial culture is the hall mark of globalisation. Television and other media played the most prominent role in this. The magic world of advertisement and cinemas influenced the mind and thoughts of the people. It decides what we think, eat and drink.

It may be also pointed out that globalisation has been critical on political, economic and cultural grounds. Politically, it weakened the states by reducing their sovereignty. Economically, it has made the rich richer; the

poor, poorer. Culturally, it has named tradition and values of old ages.

6.1.2 Identity Politics

Identity politics has become a prominent subject in Indian Politics in the past few years. Identity politics refers to a political approach where people who have certain identities in common such as race, religion, culture, nationality, socio economic status, gender, social background, social class or other forms of identity develop political agendas, philosophy or ideologies based upon these identities. It aims to reclaim greater self-determination and political freedom of marginalised peoples through understanding particular paradigms and life style factors. It includes the ways in which people's politics may be shaped by aspects of their identity through loosely correlated social organizations. Desire for justice, equality, special attention, recognition, accommodation and legal status has manifested in the political and social movements all over the world. Modernisation, political ideologies, democratisation, emergence of mass societies that threatened the personal and collective identities and the advancement in communication technology have motivated and given fillip to and sustained these identity-based struggles.

6.1.2.1 Understanding Identity

The term 'identity' became very popular in the 1960s. By the 1970s, over use of the term identity by the journalists took away its spirit and it was reduced to a cliché. By the 1980s with the coming of race, class and gender as the "holy trinity" of literary criticism and cultural studies, the debate on identity became wide spread. Charles Taylor in his article "The Politics of Recognition" published in 1994 discusses many issues related to identity, identity formation and the politics that ensues from it. The notions of the 'politics of equal

dignity' and 'the politics of difference' have led to the demand for non discrimination and differential treatment respectively. The core principle of politics of equality is that all human beings are equal in dignity, whereas, in the politics of difference, the demand is for the recognition of the difference. In the words of Willim E. Connolly, an identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized.

Anspach is the first person to use the term "identity politics" to refer to activism by people with disabilities to transform both self conception and social conception of people with disabilities. Now the field of vision has widened and it was extended to include ethnic, racial, gender cultural, linguistic and national identities. According to Zygmunt Bauman the concept of identity building and of culture were and could only be born together. Identity politics is closely related to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism refers to a plural society where incessant efforts are made to create congenial atmosphere for the collective identities to flourish and to reduce frictions and tensions that emerge between them.

6.1.2.2 Major Perspectives of Identity Politics

Identity politics is associated with different approaches. According to Mary Bernstein, identity politics has identified three approaches to defining identity politics.. They are the neo-Marxist approach, the new social movement approach, the social constructionist, postmodernist and post structuralist approaches. Marxists and Neo-Marxists do not consider identity politics as a mechanism of challenging and bringing the fundamental changes in power relations. The basic assumptions of Marxists regarding identity politics are: Marxism is centered around class identity. Identity

politics recognizes all types of identities and collectives. But according to the Marxists, cultural and religious identities are bourgeois constructs, their aim is the exploitation of the working class. Marx considered culture as 'the superstructure' serving the interest of the economically dominant class. Identity politics maintains the exploitative power relationships, weakening the class movements. Thus, it promotes and continues oppression.

The new social movement theorists have broadened the scope and extent of identity politics. In this movement collectives are formed on values and ideology. The new social movement theorists consider the movements based on ethnicity, religion and nationalism as identity politics and make identity politics a normative venture.

6.1.2.3 Features of Identity Politics

One of the most important features of identity politics is the recognition of group identity. It shapes individual's experiences and perspectives. Intersectionality is another very important feature. Individuals have multiple identities simultaneously, and these intersect to shape their experiences and opportunities. For example, a black woman's experience may differ from that of a white woman's experience due to the intersection of race and gender. Identity politics often focuses on advocating the rights and interest of marginalised groups. It aims at challenging systemic inequalities and injustices. Sometimes some specific identity groups encourage solidarity and coalition building across different marginalised communities to challenge broader systems of oppression. Identity politics critiques the existing power structures and social hierarchies that perpetuate discrimination and oppression based on identity characteristics.

6.1.2.4 Identity Politics in India

India is one of the most diverse countries in

the world. The people of India speak different languages and follow different cultures and religions. Castes, religions and linguistic groups have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India. The state is seen as an active contributor to identity politics through the creation and maintenance of state structures which define and then recognize people in terms of certain identities for diversity in cultures and beliefs. Identity politics attempts to attain empowerment, representation and recognition of social groups. Identity politics played a very significant role in shaping political discourses, electoral strategy and governance in the country. Many of the issues like caste based discrimination, linguistic rights and regional autonomy frequently dominate political debates and influence policy decisions.

In conclusion, we can recognize that identity politics is a complex topic that involves discussions around representation, power dynamics and social justice. Identity politics is used by different countries, governments and communities in different contexts for different purposes. Identity is often manipulated to produce political claims, spread political ideologies and lead political actions. It is a strategy commonly utilised nowadays by politicians to gain political power during electoral events.

6.1.3. Populism

6.1.3.1 Understanding Populism

The term populism is also primarily associated with particular moods and emotions: populists are "angry;" their voters are "frustrated" or they suffer from "resentment." Populism simply is a political strategy, in which the leader of a personalistic political movement appeals directly to the people through mass communication to win and / or keep power. Populism refers to certain

actions or practices, rather than a set of beliefs or doctrines. It is something that politicians *do* rather than something they *believe*.

Populism is a disputed concept. The concept of populism as somehow “progressive” or “grassroots” is largely an American phenomenon. In Europe, one finds a different historically conditioned preconceptions of populism. There populism is connected, primarily by liberal commentators, with irresponsible policies or various forms of political pandering (“demagoguery” and “populism” are often used interchangeably). Populism arises with the introduction of representative democracy. Ralf Dahrendorf notes that populism is simple; democracy is complex.

6.1.3.2 Definitions

According to Bart Bonikowski, “populism is a form of politics predicated on a fundamental moral opposition between an irredeemably corrupt elite and a virtuous people, with the latter seen as the only legitimate source of political power.”

Daphne Halikiopoulou views populism as good for democratic politics because it gives a voice to the discontented, neglected by the mainstream.

Matthijs Rooduijn points that populism is an essentially contested concept. It deals with an essential impalpability, an awkward conceptual slipperiness.’ The term could be used to refer to a small-scale bottom-up movement, a strong charismatic leader or a radical right political party.

Hawkins defines populism as “a Manichean discourse that identifies Good with a unified will of the people and Evil with a conspiring elite.”

According to Mudde, populism is “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous

and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite,’ and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people..

6.1.3.3 Elements of Populism

There are four core elements of populism

- a. People (all populist movements claim to represent “the people”)
- b. Morally charged (all conceive the ordinary or common people as morally good or oppressed and elites as corrupt or otherwise morally in the wrong).
- c. Battle against
- d. Elites

Therefore, populism minimally means the people in moral battle against the elites. However, these core elements of populism are not anti-democratic.

6.1.3.4 Characteristics of Populism

The four elements of populism strongly suggest four important characteristics also. There are

- a. A homogeneous people
- b. An exclusive people
- c. Greater direct popular rule
- d. Nationalism

6.1.3.5 Features of Populism

Bart Bonikowski, an American Sociologist, also explains some specific features of populism. There are:

1. Populism is not an ideology. It is not a thoroughly articulated theory of society with extensive prescriptions for social reform, nor is it a deeply held set of beliefs that shapes politicians’ policy behaviour.
2. Populism is neither inherently xenophobic, racist or Islamophobic, nor is it necessarily predatory on democratic institutions.

3. Even when it does take on nationalist and authoritarian traits, populism is not simply an irrational form of politics.

Populism is not new phenomenon. It is tempting to view the current moment as unprecedented, but anti-elite politics has a long history in democratic societies, as do nationalism and authoritarianism.

6.1.4 Terrorism

Terrorism is one of the grave sites violence in the present world. It became a big national and international problem. It affected almost all the nations throughout the world directly or indirectly. The origin of terrorism can be traced to the French Revolution. The Dictionaries of the Academie Francaise gave the meaning of terrorism as *system, regime de la terreur* (reign of terror). Later it acquired a much broader connotation. Terrorism is the systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion. It can also refer to those violent acts intended to create fear, are perpetrated for a religious, political, financial or ideological goal; and which deliberately targets or disregards the safety of non-combatants. Exploding of bombs, kidnapping, setting fire to houses, organizing mass murders, blackmailing, high jacking and intimidation are characterized as certain forms of terrorism. Terrorism not only affects the national politics but also international politics. The 11th September 2001 plane attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre (WTC) is considered the largest terrorist attack in the world. It came as a rude shock not only to the Americans but also the people in other parts of the world. The attacks signalled the fact that states are no longer impermeable and even a superpower like the United States of America can easily become a victim of attacks launched, not by states but by invisible actors, the most dangerous being the forces of terrorism.

6.1.4.1 Definitions of Terrorism

Ram Ahuja broadly defines: “Terrorism is a violent behaviour designed to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it for political purposes.”

According to *The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, terrorism is “a method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence.”

American political philosopher Michael Walzer in 2002 wrote: “Terrorism is a deliberate killing of innocent people, at random, to spread fear through a whole population and force the hand of its political leaders.”

The Geneva Conventions and Security Council Resolution in 2004 defined terrorism as “an act intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization do or abstain from doing any act.”

6.1.4.2 Characteristics of Terrorism

1. Terrorism is a tool of organized crime. Incidents such as Bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnapping, hijacking and taking hostages are quite common. The chief aim is to create shock in the minds of people at large as well as the ruling class. The aim is to send a message clearly to the targeted audience by using violence, organized crime and destruction of property.
2. It is not a sudden or spontaneous manifestation of wrath. It is an organized, planned and deliberate act of violence. Most often, terrorist attacks have, as their goal, the achievement of a political purpose. It is an armed violence di-

rected against governments as well as non-governmental institutions, including innocent people.

3. It is a psychological war for making their demand accepted. The terrorist aims at breaking the morale of the people by raising insecurity in their minds. The terrorists also attack the national symbols to show their power and to shake the foundation of the country or society they are opposed to. Their objective is to shock and awe large audiences with acts of terror. The Mumbai siege and attack on the Taj are pointers in this direction. The attack on the World Trade Center was a direct assault to American national pride.

4. Terrorism kills numerous innocent people and ruins the future of millions of children all over the world. Generally, terrorists aim soft targets like civilians.

5. One of the aims of terrorism is to provoke the authorities into using illegal, unconstitutional and repressive measures and thereby lose public support.

6. Any type of terrorism is unlawful, illegal, inhuman and anti-democratic. They have no faith in democratic means and human values.

6.1.4.3 Forms of Terrorism

1. **Political Terrorism:** Political terrorism means use of violence to create fear in the civilians for political purposes.
2. **Nuclear Terrorism:** It means use of different types of nuclear materials by the terrorist.
3. **Religious Terrorism:** In this type of terrorism terrorist group performs terrorist activities on the basis of faith oriented tenets.
4. **State Sponsored Terrorism:** This consists of terrorist acts on a state government by another state or government.
5. **Dissent Terrorism:** Here terrorist

groups rebel against their government.

6. **Bio Terrorism:** In this type of terrorism biological toxins are used to hurt and frighten innocent citizen, in the name of political or other causes.
7. **Left Wing or Right wing Terrorism:** Terrorist may be The Left or the Right, which are groups rooted in political ideology.
8. **Criminal Terrorism:** These are terrorist acts used to aid in crime and criminal profit. It is done by well trained persons.
9. **Cyber Terrorism:** In this terrorism, the terrorists utilise information technology to affect public at large and get attention to their aim.
10. **Narco Terrorism:** This form of terror focuses on creating illegal narcotics traffic zones.

In addition to what has been stated above, there are three other forms also. The first form is individual terrorist targeting specific individuals. The second form is attacking civilians as part of a wide strategy for independence. The third form is based on religious motives. It is an anger against the people of another faith to establish supremacy of one faith over others.

6.1.4.4 Causes of Terrorism

There are many causes which result in terrorism. The confrontation between the East and the West, the North and the South, Lefts and Rights, rise in ethnic, linguistic, racial, religious consciousness; in equality, poverty, unemployment *etc.* have led to the rise and growth of terrorism. In addition to all these, there are political, economic and social causes which are behind it.

6.1.4.5 International Terrorism

In the globalised world most of the countries like Afghanistan, the U. S. A., India, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, the United

Kingdom and others suffer from terrorist onslaughts. People's Revolutionary Group of Argentina, Quebec Liberation Front of Canada, Baader Solidarity Group of Germany, The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, the United Liberation Front of Assam in India, the Provisional Irish Republican Army of Ireland, Palestinian Liberation Movement, Black September Organization of Palestine etc. are some of the terrorist Organisations which are active in the world. Hamas, Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Al-Shabab, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) are some of the main terrorist groups in the world. Worldwide improvement in telecommunications, transportation and technology also enables instant transmission of ideas and information at a global level among the terrorist outfits. International terrorism of the 20th Century made its debut in the 1970s, with the Lord airport assault in Israel on 30th May.

No country in the world is free from the curse of terrorism. India is the worst victim which can be seen in the Pulwama attack and Pathankot attack, among others. In 2008, a Pak sponsored terrorist group attacked Mumbai and killed innocent people in railway stations and many other places. Ajmal Kasab, one of the arrested terrorists, later claimed that the attack had been conducted with the help of Pakistan. Other attacks which received global condemnation were the attack inside the Red Fort (2001), the attack on Indian Parliament (2001).

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) of Sri Lanka carried out the largest number of suicide attacks in its demand for statehood. It is the only group to have killed two world leaders: Rajiv Gandhi and Premadasa. The network of Osama Bin Laden (Al Quaida) of Afghanistan was the prime suspect of 11 September attack (2001) on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in

America

In 2004 Russia experienced two big inhuman terrorists' attacks. In 2005 the terrorists attacked London during which several bombs were put in running trains and railway stations.

It would appear that terrorist groups have their resort in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Taliban of Afghanistan and Al Quadia were found to be responsible for many acts of terrorism.

6.1.4.6 Consequences of Terrorism

1. Terrorism has grown into a problem of serious consequences. It has endangered the world environment of peace and security. Terrorism is totally opposed to democracy and humanity and causes bloodshed, destruction and anarchy. It creates serious law and order problems.
2. Terrorism leads to uncertainty. It is creating an atmosphere of fear and panic all around. The terrorists even kills unarmed civilians including women and children. Organised and planned crime causes disharmony in the society.
3. It causes loss of life and property. The consequences of terrorism can be very dire, with hundreds, or in some cases even thousands, of deaths and creating great economic damage. The conflicts between the terrorists and security forces result in enormous loss of life and property.
4. It also encourages smuggling. Terrorism has become a global phenomenon; terrorists of one country may establish their linkage with another country. This linkage promotes illegal money and encourages smuggling.

5. Terrorism creates an atmosphere of insurgency and uncertainty. It also retards the process of economic development. Terrorist groups often collect a certain percentage of money from the employees and business men.
6. The menace of terrorism damages all the developmental activities of the society and disturb peace. Most often the terrorists attack government installation like radio and TV stations, bus stand, railway stations, aerodromes and harbours, big factories, defence establishment etc. Governments spend huge amount of money to meet the challenges of terrorism and ensure protection to the people.

6.1.4.7 Measures to Curtail Terrorism

The menace of terrorism has been tackled in different ways in different countries. Politicians alone cannot find a lasting solution for it. Some of the preventive measures are:

1. To create a general awareness among the masses and to build up strong public pressure to combat terrorism is one of the solutions.
2. The countries can adopt general counter terrorism measures.
3. Punishing terrorists. The International Organizations and Regional Organizations take initiative to punish terrorists.
4. Working with international partners to share information on terrorism. It is very essential to avoid terrorist attacks.

Terrorism is a curse of the society. It deserves no sympathy. There is an imperative need for closer co-operation among nations to combat global terrorism. What is needed is a strong political will and the readiness to place national security over other interests.

Recap

- ▶ Globalisation involves the integration of economies and societies across national borders.
- ▶ Economic globalisation has led to increased international trade and the rise of multinational corporations.
- ▶ Identity politics focuses on the interests of particular groups based on shared characteristics like race, religion or gender.
- ▶ Populism often pits “the people” against a perceived corrupt elite.
- ▶ Terrorism uses violence to create fear for political purposes.
- ▶ Globalisation has both positive and negative effects on different nations and communities.
- ▶ Identity politics can both empower marginalised groups and potentially fragment societies.
- ▶ Populism is characterized by anti-establishment rhetoric and appeals to “the common people.”
- ▶ International terrorism has become a significant global security concern after the late 20th century.
- ▶ Cyber-terrorism is an emerging threat in our increasingly digital world.

- ▶ Globalisation has led to both economic opportunities and challenges for developing nations.
- ▶ The intersection of multiple identities (e.g., race and gender) is an important concept in identity politics.
- ▶ Populist movements often arise during times of economic or social upheaval.
- ▶ Counterterrorism efforts require international cooperation and information sharing.

Objective Questions

1. Which of the following is NOT a type of globalisation mentioned in the text?
a) Economic b) Social c) Political d) Agricultural
2. The term “identity politics” was first used with reference to: a) Racial minorities b) Religious groups c) People with disabilities d) Women’s rights
3. Populism is often characterized by appeals to a) The elite b) The common people c) Academics d) Bureaucrats
4. Which event is considered the largest terrorist attack in world history? a) Mumbai siege b) Sri Lanka Easter bombing c) 9 / 11 attacks on World Trade Center d) London bombings
5. The text defines globalisation as the integration of a country’s economy with a) Regional economy b) Continental economy c) World economy d) Bilateral economy
6. According to the text, which of the following is NOT a core element of populism? a) People b) Elites c) Moral battle d) Technology
7. The origin of terrorism can be traced to a) American Revolution b) French Revolution c) Russian Revolution d) Industrial Revolution
8. According to the text, populism arises with the introduction of a) Monarchy b) Dictatorship c) Representative democracy d) Communism
9. Which of the following is NOT mentioned as a cause of terrorism? a) Lack of democracy b) Rapid modernisation c) Overpopulation d) Discrimination
10. The text states that globalisation became a crucial process especially since a) 1970s b) 1980s c) 1990s d) 2000s

Answers

1. (d) Agricultural
2. (c) People with disabilities
3. (a) The elite
4. (c) 9 / 11 attacks on World Trade Center
5. (c) World economy

6. (d) Technology
7. (b) French Revolution
8. c) Representative democracy
9. (c) Overpopulation
10. (c) 1990s

Assignments

1. Analyse the impact of globalisation on developing countries. Discuss both positive and negative effects.
2. How has identity politics shaped political discourse in recent years? Provide specific examples.
3. Compare and contrast populism in different regions of the world. What are the common themes and differences?
4. Evaluate the effectiveness of current international efforts to combat terrorism.
5. Analyse the root causes of terrorism and suggest potential long-term strategies for prevention.
6. Examine the role of multinational corporations in the process of globalisation. Are they a positive or negative force?
7. How might identity politics and populism affect the future of democratic systems?
8. Discuss the challenges of balancing national security concerns with civil liberties in the fight against terrorism.

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Unit 2

Human Rights – Issues of Marginalised Sections

Learning Outcomes

After studying this unit, you will be able to

- ▶ Define human rights and understand their historical development;
- ▶ Identify the key international human rights documents and institutions;
- ▶ Explain how human rights are incorporated into the Indian Constitution;
- ▶ Analyse the specific human rights issues faced by marginalised groups; and
- ▶ Evaluate the challenges in implementing human rights for vulnerable populations.

Prerequisites

Popularly known as the Iron lady of Manipur, Irom Sharmila's journey began in November 2000, when a tragic incident in Malom, Manipur, shook the country. Indian security forces, operating under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), allegedly opened fire at a bus stop, killing ten civilians, including women and children. This incident, known as the **Malom Massacre**, highlighted the frequent human rights violations faced by marginalised communities in India's northeastern states. The AFSPA gave sweeping powers to security forces, allowing them to arrest, shoot and detain without fear of prosecution. For years, the act had been a source of terror and oppression for the people of Manipur.

Moved by the injustice and the ongoing plight of her people, Irom Sharmila decided to take a drastic stand. She began a **Hunger Strike**, demanding the repeal of AFSPA. Her nonviolent protest turned into one of the longest hunger strikes in history, lasting for 16 years, from 2000 to 2016. During this period, she was arrested several times and force-fed through a nasal tube, as the authorities feared she might die from starvation. Despite the physical and emotional toll, Sharmila remained steadfast, becoming a symbol of peaceful resistance against human rights abuses.

Her struggle garnered national and international attention, raising awareness about the injustices faced by marginalised groups under military laws. However, even after 16 years, AFSPA remained in force. In 2016, she ended her fast, choosing to continue her fight through political means.

From Sharmila's story is a powerful reminder of the challenges marginalised groups face in securing their basic rights. Her nonviolent struggle represents the spirit of human rights advocacy, showing how individuals can raise awareness and challenge oppressive systems through peaceful means.

Keywords

Human Rights, Marginalised Sections, Indian Constitution, Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Duties, Unorganised Workers, Minorities, Dalits, Adivasis and Tribes.

Discussion

The notion of human rights is a very vibrant concept. Human rights have very wide range. The term human rights represents the source of all rights of human beings. Human rights provide the moral foundation of any system of rights. Human rights set the standard for the provision and expansion of civil, political and socio-economic rights of the individual. Like any other rights, human rights have to be enforced by a state or an international tribunal which is capable of enforcing them.

6.2.1 Human Rights

Human rights are those rights to which all human beings are entitled merely by being humans. They are the inalienable and undividable rights of all human beings. They derive from the inherent dignity of human beings. They are essential for human survival and human development. The American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) believed in this principle. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security. Every one's right to life shall be protected by law.

6.2.2. Negative and Positive Rights

In the modern period the concept of rights has been developed in two important directions: (a) Negative Rights, and (b) Positive Rights.

The negative rights indicate certain acts of the individual shall not be restricted by the state. In other words, negative rights suggest there is a sphere of freedom of the individual which shall not be encroached by the authority or the state. For example, the state should not impose any restriction on individual's freedom of thought and expression. On the other hand, positive rights indicate the responsibility of the state in protecting the rights of its citizens. Positive rights means that the responsibility of the state to improve the life of the individual and to help them in their self-development. For this purpose, the state also takes some positive measures. Right to medical aid, right to work and right to legal help are considered positive rights.

6.2.3 Origin of Human Rights

The genesis of the concept of rights can be traced to the philosophical foundations of the liberal democratic tradition in Europe. The work of eminent thinkers like Thoreau (Civil Disobedience), J. S. Mill (On Liberty), and Thomas Paine (The Rights of Man) laid the philosophical foundations to the concept of human rights. The Magna Carta, which was forced in 1215 by the Barons from King John is considered as the earliest document of human rights. The American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the Bill of Rights of

1791 also guaranteed individual rights to their citizens. Similarly, the French Revolution and its consequent Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted in 1789 gave a new dimension to the concept of human rights. However, the concept of human rights emerged as a serious matter of concern for world politics after the Second World War, especially during the “Nuremberg Trials” in 1946.

6.2.4. Forms of Human Rights

Generally, the subject of human rights is discussed under different categories. They are:

6.2.4.1 Right to Life

Right to life means that a person shall not be caught, detained, subjected to physical torture or death. In this regard, the state shall not only protect human life from the attack of various offenders, both domestic and foreign aggressors and natural calamities within and outside the country, but also provide for a clean and pollution free environment.

6.2.4.2 Right to Property

Right to property means the right to own material things acquired by an individual through legal means. The state has the responsibility to protect this right. Right to property is considered as the foundation of security of one’s fruit of labour.

6.2.4.3 Democratic Rights and Civil Liberties

Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights are closely interrelated terms. Sometimes these two terms are used interchangeably. In a broad sense democratic rights means “a set of those rights which enable the individual, as a complete citizen of his community, country or nation, to take part in public life, to elect government of his choice, to influence government decisions, and to acquire political

office through the prescribed procedure.” This right belongs to political rights.

On the other hand, civil liberties belong to legal rights. The civil liberties can be most effective under democratic forms of government. Only the democratic form of government facilitates the citizens to protect their freedom by electing a new one if the government violates their civil liberties. Civil liberties consist freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of movement, freedom of association, the right to fair trial and freedom of the person. The freedom of thought and expression also includes freedom of the press and freedom to criticize the government.

6.2.4.4 Socio-Economic and Cultural Rights

These rights consist the right to education, right to work, congenial conditions of work, rest and reasonable level of living and health, social security and opportunity to participate in the cultural heritage of the community. These rights are the outcome of social awareness because the provisions of these rights are closely associated with the matter of social justice.

6.2.5 United Nations Organization and Human Rights

The formation of the United Nations Organization in 1945 provided an institutional frame work to the concept of human rights. The Preamble of the UN Charter consists many provisions for the protection and promotion of human rights. The Preamble declares: “We the peoples of the United Nations, determined...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish

these aims.” Apart from the UN Charter, UN General Assembly adopted various initiatives to the promotion of human rights from time to time. The most important one is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

6.2.5.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a landmark achievement regarding the concept of the human rights by the United Nations. The declaration represents the first international expressions of Human Rights. It is described as the “International Magnacarta.” It is a list of human rights and contains the Preamble and 30 Articles. It helps the member countries to build up a free, democratic and welfare state. This declaration also gives importance to civil and political rights of the individual and legal protection to these rights. The declaration recognises that the inherent dignity of all human members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, It is linked to the recognition of fundamental rights, namely right to life, right against slavery, right to marriage and family, freedom of thought, right to democracy and right to social security.

6.2.5.2 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) was created by the member states of the United Nations in 1993 based on a Resolution of the General Assembly. The Vienna Conference on Human Rights in 1993 opened the way for the formation of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The High Commissioner heads the OHCHR and he is considered the principal human rights official of the United Nations. The headquarters of OHCHR is situated in Geneva. The OHCHR serves as the

supporting agency of United Nations human rights activities. It provides support to the other organs of the United Nations system for and protection of human rights in accordance with international norms. It coordinates the United Nations human rights education and public information activities. It strengthens human rights across the United Nations system. As a mechanism of human rights, the OHCHR works to ensure the enhancement of universally recognised human rights norms, including promoting both the universal ratification and implementation of the major human rights treaties.

The OHCHR conducts its works not only with the United Nations systems but also with different agencies or organs like governments, legislative bodies, courts, national institutions, civil society organizations and regional and international organizations. Therefore, it acts as a venue for identifying, highlighting and developing response to human rights challenges and encourages human rights education, research and advocacy.

6.2.6 Other International Conventions on Human Rights

In addition to UDHR, some countries in the world and regional organizations articulate their views about the human rights through various international conventions.

1. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime and Genocide (1948)
2. European Convention of Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950)
3. Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1954)
4. Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (1965)
5. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
6. International Covenant on Economic,

- Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
7. American Convention on Human Rights (1969)
 8. Helsinki Accords (1975)
 9. African Charter on Peoples' and Human Rights (1981)
 10. Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
 11. Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment of Punishment (1984)
 12. Convention on the Rights of Child (1989)
 13. American Convention on Human Rights (1981)

These are the basic rights of individuals and not only guaranteed by the state but also guaranteed by the law in the form of international treaties, customary international law, general principles and other sources of international law. Generally, these rights are considered the first and second generations of human rights.

6.2.7 Human Rights in Indian Constitution

As a member of the United Nations Organization, India has given more emphasis to the contents of the UDHR. This is evident in various parts of the Indian Constitution. The Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) and Fundamental Duties are the various parts of the Indian Constitution where the contents of UDHR are clearly mentioned. Part III of the Indian Constitution deals with six broad categories of Fundamental Rights. It is the first constitution in the world to enlist rights for the protection of the cultural rights of minorities within the frame work of fundamental rights. The Constitution of India fulfils some promises regarding human rights under the Directive Principles of State Policy, under Part IV of the Constitution (Article 36-51).

Four ideals of the preamble are aimed at the promotion of Human Rights. They are: Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The Fundamental Rights under part III of the Constitution contains an elaborate list of civil and political rights. They are:

1. Right to Equality
2. Right to Freedom
3. Right against Exploitation
4. Right to Freedom of Religion
5. Cultural and Educational Rights
6. Rights to Constitutional Remedies.

The Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution comprise economic, social and cultural rights. They can be classified in to three.

1. Socialistic principles.
2. Gandhian principles.
3. Liberal-Intellectual principles

Besides these rights, there are certain other rights contained in other parts of the Constitution, for example, the right to property in part XII of the Constitution.

In course of time, the Supreme Court has also expanded the scope of human rights contained in Fundamental Rights. The examples of such unremunerated fundamental rights are right to health, right to speedy trial, right to privacy, right to travel abroad, right to free legal aid and the like.

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) formed by the government of India on October 12, 1993 is another important step towards the protection and promotion of human rights. It is an autonomous body and it has a Chair person and seven other members. India is the first South Asian country to form such an institution for upholding the contents of the UDHR. The fundamental aim of the Commission is to protect and promote the human rights guaranteed under the

Constitution. The Commission has the power to inquire into human rights violations.

6.2.8 Human Rights and Marginalised Sections

The marginalised are the most vulnerable sections in the society. Mainly they include different groups such as the workers, especially those who work in unorganized sectors, minority groups, Dalits and women. They are often very poor and they do not have the means or the power to realise their rights. So, they need greater institutional supports to realise their rights.

6.2.8.1 Human Rights and Unorganized Workers

The unorganized workers are the most significant part of the workforce in every society. They are engaged in a wide variety of work such as agriculture, fishing, mining, weaving or petty trade etc. They could be either self-employed or paid workers. Generally, the word unorganized is used to refer to two types of workers: (1) the category of workers that works in an unorganized sector. This category refers to workers based on the the nature of enterprise that they work in. (2) the workers that is unorganized. This category refers to workers depending on the nature of their work arrangements which are informal and often insecure. However, the human rights issues of unorganized workers got worldwide attention in the early 1970s. This was due to the efforts initiated by the International Labour Organization (ILO) to study the problems of unorganized sector through its World Employment Programme Missions in Africa.

6.2.8.1.2 Characteristics of Unorganized Workers

1. Categories of work are different and many

2. Some workers, especially the women workers, may not be recognized as workers at all
3. It is not easy to find the relationship between the employer and employee.
4. They get low wages or income
5. Absence of trade union.
6. Lack collective bargaining capacity and political representation

6.2.8.1.3 Key Human Rights Issues of Unorganized Workers

Lack of Health Safeguards: A lack of health safeguards creates a hazardous nature of work. Sometimes, the workers dwell in temporary sheds at worksites, with no facilities for latrine, urinal, washroom or first aid.

Difficulty in Obtaining Livelihood: Most of the unorganized workers face difficulty in obtaining livelihood due to lower wages. Some times their wages are deducted and they are not even compensated for overtime work.

Insecure Contracts: In an unorganized sector the employment may be through contractors. The insecure contracts affect the employer- employee relationship.

Lack of Organized Strength: The unorganized workers spread out in various areas and engage in different types of jobs. Due to the geographically diverse and isolated work locations, the trade unions face difficulties to access these workers.

Lack Collective Bargaining Power: Lack of trade unions or workers' organizations in the unorganized sector affects the bargaining power of the workers.

Lack of Welfare Measures and Social Security Benefits: In an Unorganized sector the workers are recruited on contract basis. Thus, there is no liability on the employer to provide social security benefits and welfare

measures to the employee.

However, based on various conventions and recommendations, the ILO facilitates basic and minimum standard for labour rights. These include (1) Freedom of association (2) Right to organize (3) Right to collective bargaining (4) Abolition of forced labour (5) Equality of opportunity and treatment.

6.2.8.2 Human Rights and Minorities

Another major marginalised group is the minorities. The term minorities refers to a smaller number in relation to a majority construed on diverse principles such as religion, language and ethnicity, among others. Apart from the smaller number, it also implies association with an identity. The term minority is also used in contrast to the notion of a majority. The violent persecution of minorities by the majority has been a serious issue for long and it still continues in many countries.

6.2.8.2.1 Human Rights and Minority Rights in the UN

The UDHR was drafted on the theory of individual rights. Therefore, the UDHR did not mention the concept of minority rights. But it assumed that the minority rights fall under the ground of human rights. For example, the specific clauses of the UDHR regarding the prohibition of discrimination and the freedom to practice one's own religion were considered an adequate protection of minority rights. For the first time, the UN made an explicit reference on minority rights in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 1966. This Covenant defined minorities on ethnic, religious and linguistic grounds. In December 1992 the UN also adopted a Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. This declaration imposed the responsibility

to encourage conditions for the promotion of minority identities based on “national or ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic” basis on the state.

6.2.8.2.2 Minority Rights in the Indian Constitution

The Indian Constitution refers to two types of minorities - religious minorities and linguistic minorities. However, the term minority has not been defined anywhere in the Constitution. The Constitution contains special provisions to safeguard the social, educational and economic interests of the minorities. In India, the rights provided to minorities are of two kinds. The first kind of rights includes some general guarantees to all its citizens in the fundamental rights contained in Articles 25–26. These rights allow citizens the freedom to practice and propagate their own religion. The second kind of rights are specifically guaranteed to the minorities. For example, the Indian Constitution guarantees cultural and educational rights of minorities as a fundamental right.

6.2.8.2.3 Minorities and Human Rights Issues

1. The violent attack on minority community through communal rioting is a key threat to minority rights. For example, the Godhra incident in Gujarat.
2. Targeting of minorities for electoral gains is a recent challenge to minority rights.
3. Targeting minority communities in the wake of terrorist violence is another recent challenge to minority rights.
4. Problem of Migrants and Refugees. For example, the Rohingya refugees of Myanmar and the Palastine refugees.

6.2.8.3 Human Rights and Dalits

The term Dalit finds its meaning with reference to the caste-based Hindu society.

They belong to the bottom of the caste hierarchy in the traditional Indian society and are treated as “untouchables.” If the principle of exploitation is applied, all the socially, politically and economically oppressed sections of the Indian society are to be considered as Dalits. The British used the term “Scheduled Castes” (SCs) to refer these sections. For the first time, the term Scheduled Caste was coined by the Simon Commission in 1928. Then, this term was mentioned in the Government of India Act, 1935 and listed out or scheduled a few of the castes as the most inferior ones which required some special attention. This list of castes was designated as Scheduled Castes. After independence, the Constitution adopted this term to provide some special facilities and constitutional guarantees to these sections.

6.2.8.3.1 Definitions

Dr. D. N. Majumdar uses the term “Scheduled Castes” to refer mainly to the untouchable castes. According to him, “the untouchable castes are those who suffer from various social and political disabilities, many of which are traditionally prescribed and socially enforced by higher castes.”

According to Dr. G. S. Ghurye, “Scheduled castes are those groups which are named in the Scheduled Caste Order in force from time to time.”

6.2.8.3.2 Human Rights Issues of Dalits

1. Lowest Status in the Social Hierarchy

In the caste hierarchy, the Dalits are treated as untouchables. They have been subjected to exploitation and humiliation. They are considered unholy, inferior and low. They have been treated as the servants of other castes. Even today, they are suffering from the stigma of untouchability. The caste system also imposes restrictions on the occupational

choice of the Dalits. The impacts of caste system forced them to stick to the traditional occupations.

2. Civic and Educational Disabilities

For a long time, the Dalits were not allowed to use public places and avail civic facilities such as temples, schools, village wells *etc.* Sanskrit education was denied to them by the upper castes. Public schools and other educational institutions were closed to them. Therefore, majority of the Dalits are illiterate and ignorant about their rights. Compared to others, the literacy level of dalits is extremely poor, especially in states like Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The poor educational performance of Dalits adversely affects their job and life.

3. No Right to Landed Property Ownership

For long time the Dalits were not allowed to have land and businesses of their own. It is only in recent time has their ownership to the landed property been recognized. Compared to others the propertied people among them are less.

4. Landless Labourers

Today, majority of Dalits are working as landless labourers. A large number of Dalit families are in debts because they are the lowest paid workers. The Dalits are economically exploited by the other castes. Even today some of them continue to suffer as bonded labourers at the hands of the other castes.

5. Problem of Atrocities against the Dalits

Another important problem confronting the Dalit is that atrocities are being committed against them. In some Indian states severe caste conflicts are taking place and in many instances the targets of attack are the Dalits. For example, Bihar is notorious for caste

conflicts. Bihar has sheltered several “jati senas” such as the Bhoomi Sena of Kurmis, the Lorik Sena of Yadavas, the Brahmarshi and Ranvir Sena of the Bhumihars, the Ganga Sena of the Brahmins and the Kunwar Sena of the Rajputs, which take a leading role in caste conflicts.

6.2.8.4 Human Rights and Adivasis / Tribals

In contemporary times the term “Adivasi” is widely used in the international arena to describe original inhabitants, who claim to have been colonised. In America, it refers to those who were the original inhabitants prior to their colonisation by Europeans. In India, the term ‘adivasi’ has been widely used interchangeably with the term tribe. Generally, they live in remote hilly regions and forests and maintain close relationship with nature. At present, different types of tribal groups live in different parts of India. These groups have their own characteristics and phases of development. However, the tribes represent a significant social group of Indian social structure. They are the original inhabitants of India. Now India has the second largest tribal population in the world.

6.2.8.4.1 Definitions of Tribe

According to D. N. Majumdar, a tribe is “a collection of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.”

According to S. C. Dube, Tribe is “an ethnic category, defined by real or putative descent and characterized by a corporate identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture.”

Gillin and Gillin say: “A tribe is a group of

local communities, which lives in a common are, speaks a common dialect and follows a common culture.”

6.2.8.4.2 Characteristics of Tribe

1. The tribe has a definite territory in which its members reside
2. Tribes constitute collection of families
3. Every tribe has its own name.
4. Members of a tribe speak a particular language.
5. The members of a tribe usually worship a common ancestor.
6. Each tribe has its own culture, beliefs and customs.
7. Members of a tribe always feel that they are united.

6.2.8.4.3 Human Rights Issues of Adivasis / Tribes

Generally, the adivasis are facing some serious human rights problems such as issues of landownership, forced labour and displacement by mega projects.

1. 1. Issues of Land Ownership

The most important human rights issue faced by the adivasis is regarding land ownership. Land is considered as the most important natural and valuable asset of the adivasis. Regarding the land of adivasis the International Labour Organizations’ Conventions instruct the state to recognise both individual and community ownership. But in most cases such rights are recognized only in some small pockets due to inadequacy of the legal system or lack of clarity about community ownership.

2. 2. Forced or Bonded Labour

Another important human rights issue faced by the adivasi is forced or bonded labour. In many areas, especially in kilns and quarries, adivasi human rights are violated on account of forced labour extracted by powerful musclemen or in the name of fulfilling debt

obligations. The illiteracy and helplessness of the adivasis are exploited by the outsiders, especially the zamindars, landlords and money-lenders.

3. 3. Displacement by Mega Projects

The large scale alienation of land is another challenge faced by the adivasi. It was due to either through making use of loopholes in existing laws or by way of displacement through mega development projects. Most of the adivasis are in a way geographically separated from the rest of the population. Some of them are living in valleys, dense forests, hills, mountains etc. and they are emotionally attached to these places. Therefore, most of the times, the displacement adversely affects their life.

6.2.9 Dalits and the Constitution

The Constitution contains various provisions for the protection and promotion of Dalits. The constitutional rights of SCs and STs can be classified into the following categories.

1. Social Rights and Safeguards.
2. Educational / Economic Rights and Safeguards.
3. Service Rights and Safeguards.
4. Political Rights and Safeguards.
5. Administrative Rights and Safeguards.

Recap

- ▶ Human rights are universal moral entitlements that belong to all individuals.
- ▶ The concept of human rights evolved from philosophical ideas to international legal standards.
- ▶ The United Nations plays a crucial role in promoting and protecting human rights globally.
- ▶ India has incorporated many human rights principles into its Constitution.
- ▶ Marginalised groups like unorganized workers, minorities, Dalits and Adivasis face unique human rights challenges in India.

Objective Questions

1. What document is considered the earliest on human rights?
2. In which year was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted?
3. Which part of the Indian Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights?
4. What term did the British use to refer to Dalits in official documents?
5. What international organization initiated efforts to study unorganized sector problems?
6. 6. In what terms are minorities are generally defined in India?

7. 7. What term is used for original inhabitants who claim to have been colonised?
8. 8. What type of rights indicates the state's responsibility to protect citizens' rights?
9. 9. Which philosopher wrote "The Rights of Man"?
10. 10. On what date is World Human Rights Day observed?

Answers

1. (1) Magna Carta (2) 1948 (3) Part III (4) Scheduled Castes (5) ILO (6) Religion (7) Adivasi (8) Positive rights (9) Thomas Paine (10) December 10

Assignments

1. Explain the difference between negative and positive rights. Provide examples for each.
2. Discuss the main human rights issues faced by unorganized workers in India.
3. How does the Indian Constitution protect minority rights? Give specific examples.
4. Analyse the impact of the caste system on the human rights of Dalits in India.
5. Describe the challenges faced by Adivasis in relation to land ownership and displacement.

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Unit 3

Environmental Politics and Issues of Policy Making

Learning Outcomes

After studying this material, students should be able to:

- ▶ Understand the concept of environmental politics and its importance;
- ▶ Identify major environmental issues facing the world today;
- ▶ Explain the challenges in environmental policy-making;
- ▶ Describe key international agreements and protocols on environmental protection;
- ▶ Analyse the role of various stakeholders in environmental politics.

Prerequisites

In December 1952, a cold weather spell descended on London, leading residents to burn more coal to stay warm. At the time, coal was the primary source of fuel, and many factories and homes released massive amounts of smoke and soot into the air. With no wind to disperse the smoke, the city became shrouded in a thick layer of smog for five days.

The smog was so dense that visibility dropped to a few meters. Public transportation stopped, schools closed and ambulances could not operate. People were left to struggle through the murky air, unaware of the deadly consequences. The polluted air was filled with sulfur dioxide and other toxic chemicals, which worsened respiratory conditions, particularly for children, the elderly and those with lung diseases.

By the time the smog lifted, it had claimed the lives of an estimated 12,000 people and hospitalised tens of thousands more. The sheer scale of this disaster prompted the British government to take action. In response, the Clean Air Act of 1956 was passed, marking a significant shift in environmental policy. It introduced measures to reduce air pollution by promoting cleaner fuels and regulating industrial emissions.

The Great Smog of 1952 serves as a powerful reminder of the importance of environmental policy in safeguarding public health and the urgent need for governments to respond to environmental crises. It also emphasizes the role of citizens, environmental movements and policymakers in addressing the consequences of industrialisation and pollution.

This incident connects deeply with the themes of environmental politics, policy-making, and the challenges faced in balancing industrial progress with the protection of human and environmental health.

Keywords

Environmental Politics, Policy Making, Air Pollution, Water Pollution, Deforestation, Global Warming, Climate Change, Sustainable Development, International Agreements, Ozone Depletion.

Discussion

The term environment implies all the external factors - living and non living, material and non material which surround man. It includes not only the water, air and soil that form our environment but also the social and economic conditions in which we live. It creates favourable conditions for the existence and development of organisms. To create awareness about environmental problems and to work for a more concerted action towards tackling them all around the globe, we celebrate The Earth Day (April 22) and the World Environmental Day (June 5) every year.

At the beginning of human civilization, population was very small. People were very close to nature and their needs were very limited. A small amount of production was sufficient to fulfil their needs. Normal consumption did not cause any damage to nature. But with the passage of time human population multiplied; people's level of consumption rose, and superior technology evolved to fulfil their increasing demands. This led to large scale exploitation of natural resources. The changing pattern of their consumption began to contaminate nature. High level economic development demands higher production. This also leads to exploitation of natural resources. With globalisation, technological revolution, growth of market economy, the global environment, especially that of the third world countries, stands threatened. In this situation, new efforts were needed to restore the equilibrium between human beings and nature. In politics, a response to this situation

came in the form of environmentalism. It is a new movement in the world in recent years. The environmental experts give due consideration to social, cultural and environmental impacts in their project planning. In this context, the Government of India, in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) had formed the following policy: *"It is imperative that we use our renewable resources of water, soil, and vegetation to sustain our economic development. Over exploitation of these is visible in soil erosion, floods, deforestation, sanitation, floral and wild-life resources. The depletion of these resources tends to be irreversible and since the whole population depends on these natural resources to meet their basic needs, i.e., fuel, fodder and land, it has meant a deterioration in their standard of life"*.

6.3.1 Environmental Issues

By the end of the twentieth century, environmental issues had been very high on the international agenda. The important environmental issues faced by the contemporary world are: Water Pollution, Air Pollution, Climate Change, Global Warming, Solid Waste Management, Deforestation, Steady decline in the total amount of Ozone etc.

6.3.1.2 Air Pollution

It signifies the presence in the surrounding atmosphere substances generated by the activities of man that interfere with human health, safety and comfort. Air pollutants can adversely affect the structure and function of ecosystems, including self regulation

ability, thereby affecting the quality of life. Air Pollution is one of the current health problems throughout the world. The World Health Organization has defined air pollutant as a “*substance put into air by the activity of mankind in concentration sufficient to cause harmful effect to his health, vegetables, property or to interfere with the enjoyment of his property.*” A large portion of the pollutants released into the air comes from exhaust pipes of auto-mobiles. It includes the highly toxic components like carbon monoxide. Besides, gases released by industrial plants also caused air pollution. Air pollution will be the greatest threat to our health in the future.

6.3.1.3 Water Pollution

It raises various types of challenges. Water is essential for the survival of any form of life. Population growth and industrial development have imperiled the world's water supply. According to S. S. Dara, “any human activity that impairs the use of water as a resource may be called water pollution. With exploding population and increasing industrialisation and urbanisation, water pollution by agricultural, municipal and industrial sources has become a major concern for the welfare of mankind.” Many of the South East Asian countries do not have access to safe water and adequate sanitation. According to the Human Development Report of 2006, 1.2 billion people in developing countries have no access to drinking water and 2.6 billion have no access to sanitation. Water pollution adversely affects the growth of plants and trees, animal life and animals living in water. It can cause damage to the nervous system, especially in children. Depletion of water bodies seriously affects food production also.

6.3.1.4 Deforestation

One of the most important environmental issues of present day is deforestation.

Deforestation is the purposeful clearing of forest land. It is the forest which stabilizes the climate, moderates water supplies and protects bio-diversity. Deforestation negatively affects the ecosystems, bio-diversity and climate. Some of the major causes of deforestation are the expansion of cities, urbanisation and massive population explosion at a global level. Population increases at a tremendous rate but the space for people to live is shrinking. For better living space, roads and excellent infrastructure people destroy forests. Mining and wood harvesting are other causes of the deforestation.

6.3.1.5 Decline of Ozone

Ozone forms a protective layer present in the earth's atmosphere. It is found in the lower portion of stratosphere, which is 12 to 50 Km above earth's surface. It acts as a shield to protect the earth against harmful ultraviolet radiation from the sun. Even a slight change in it will reduce the resistance power of human body and can cause diseases like cancer. The main reason for the ozone hole is chlorofluorocarbons, carbon tetrachloride, methyl bromide and hydro chlorofluorocarbons. The Ozone hole poses a real danger to ecosystems and human health. The ultraviolet rays may lead to minimising growth, flowering and photosynthesis in plants.

6.3.1.6 Global Warming

It refers to the gradual rise in the overall temperature of the atmosphere of the Earth. Both natural and man made causes are responsible for global warming. The natural causes are volcanic eruptions, methane gas and more. The man made causes are deforestation, mining, cattle rearing etc. The excessive use of automobiles and fossil fuels results in increased levels of carbon dioxide. This leads to global warming. As a result of

global warming the sea level may rise and a large portion of land will get immersed in water.

6.3.1.7 Climate Change

It is a change in the environmental conditions of the earth. Climate change is a global phenomenon. Both internal and external factors are responsible for climate change. Climatic change affects human life, ecosystems and ecology. Due to this, a numbers of plants and animals have gone extinct. Human activities like deforestation, using fossil fuel, dumping of industrial waste etc. are responsible for climate change.

6.3.1.8 Over Exploitation

Soil is being degraded and eroded on a large scale throughout the world. Tens of thousands of species of plants and animals are probably becoming extinct each year. The huge quantities of waste sumped into the sea, including hazardous chemicals, heavy metals and radioactive materials, have profoundly damaged the sea environment. Large number of lakes and semi enclosed seas are particularly vulnerable.

6.3.2 Issues of Policy Making

Environmental problems are not new. By the end of the twentieth century, the impacts had become global. Some environmental problems are inherently global. Global warming, Climate change, exploitation of global commons, environmental degradation etc are global problems and their impacts are global. Industrialisation and rapid population growth have greatly increased the scale and intensity of the over exploitation of natural resources and environmental degradation, generating a wide range of serious international and global problems. These problems can only be tackled through co-operation on a global scale. Most of the environmental problems are

closely related to knowledge, power, patterns of energy consumption, industrialisation, population growth, affluence and poverty.

Environmental politics is a critical component of policy making that seeks to address the issues of climate change, pollution, deforestation and other environmental problems. It involves the developmental policies, laws and regulations. The ultimate aim of these policies is to protect the environment and promote economic growth and social welfare. Most of the environmental issues cannot be solved by a single state alone. It requires the collective action of the international community.

Transnational environmental issues pose real problems for established nations about the nature and limits of state sovereignty. Moreover, international environmental problems are rarely caused by deliberate acts of national policy, but rather they are unintended side effects of broader socio economic processes. States retain a privileged position in international politics for responding to global environmental problems. The state and their central governments do not directly control the economic, social and environmental activities of concern. But they do have sovereign authority to legislate within their territories. So, they must play a central role in developing and implementing environmental regulations. International agreements are very important for confronting environmental problems. By the early 1990s there were at least 120 multinational environmental agreements. The prime example is the Montreal Protocol, signed in 1987 for the protection of the ozone layer.

To promote and develop sustainable development the U N General Assembly convened an Earth Summit in Rio in 1992. It is one of the biggest summit meetings ever held. Some 150 states were represented. Thousands

of Non Governmental Organizations and several multinational corporations, and over 10000 media personnel attended. The meeting attracted great public attention. The Rio summit made agreements regarding climate change, bio-diversity and forest protection. It recommended a list of development activities called “Agenda 21.” The Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, and the Declaration of Forest Principles were all agreed and the conventions on Climate Change and bio-diversity were respectively signed by 154 and 150 governments. There was consensus on combining economic growth with ecological responsibility. This approach to development is generally known as “sustainable development.” The concept of sustainable development focused attention on finding strategies to promote economic and social development without causing environmental degradation, over exploitation or pollution. The emphasis on development was particularly welcomed by the developing countries. To promote the overall implementation and further development of Agenda 21, the Rio Conference established several institutions. The most significant of these were Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) and the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), working in association with UNEP, UNDP and other UN bodies. The 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) also demanded that the states protect the climate system according to their common but differentiated responsibilities.

The Antarctic Treaty of 1959, the Montreal Protocol of 1987 and the Antarctic Environmental Protocol of 1991 are important treaties regarding global commons. The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement setting targets for industrialized countries to cut their

greenhouse gas emissions. The conditions for restricting the emission of greenhouse gases are included in the Kyoto Protocol. The Kyoto Protocol which was agreed in 1997 came into effect only in February 2005.

The environment is the prime concern of the international community at present. Man has been continuously ignoring the laws of nature and disturbing the ecological balance. Scientists and environmentalists have already warned about the impending tragedy if the environment is continuously contaminated. To protect national interests, including environmental interests, it is necessary to implement appropriate national industrial policy. Through proper rules and regulations, unwanted urbanisation on the environment could be stopped. A national and international campaign or movement to “*save environment*” could be launched with the active participation of political leaders, labour leaders, student leaders and leaders of various religious and cultural organizations. It is necessary to awaken the people about the importance of forests in preserving the purity of our environment. The government should take appropriate steps to conserve the existing forests. The environmental movements are the most vibrant, diverse and powerful social movements in the world. They gave birth to new forms of political action. It also raises new ideas and long term visions of what we should do or should not do in our lives.

Recap

- ▶ Environmental politics addresses issues related to the interaction between human activities and nature.
- ▶ Globalisation and technological advancements have intensified environmental challenges.
- ▶ Air pollution is caused by industrial emissions and vehicle exhaust, posing significant health risks.
- ▶ Water pollution affects access to safe drinking water and sanitation in many developing countries.
- ▶ Deforestation negatively impacts ecosystems, biodiversity and climate stability.
- ▶ Ozone depletion increases harmful ultraviolet radiation reaching the Earth's surface.
- ▶ Global warming is caused by both natural and man-made factors, leading to rising sea levels.
- ▶ Climate change affects human life, ecosystems, and has led to species extinction.
- ▶ The concept of sustainable development aims to balance economic growth with ecological responsibility.
- ▶ Environmental movements play a crucial role in raising awareness and promoting policy changes.

Objective Questions

1. Which day is celebrated as World Environment Day?
a) April 22 b) June 5 c) July 28 d) September 16
2. Which environmental issue is addressed by the Montreal Protocol?
a) Climate change b) Deforestation c) Ozone depletion d) Water pollution
3. What is the primary goal of sustainable development?
a) Economic growth b) Environmental protection c) Social equity d) Balancing all three
4. Which greenhouse gas is primarily released by automobile exhaust?
a) Methane b) Carbon dioxide c) Nitrous oxide d) Water vapor
5. The Rio Earth Summit was held in the year.....
a) 1987 b) 1992 c) 1997 d) 2005

6. What does UNFCCC stand for?
 - a) United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
 - b) Universal Forum for Climate Control and Conservation
 - c) United Federation of Countries Concerned about Climate
 - d) Union of Fossil Fuel Consuming Countries
7. The Kyoto Protocol primarily addresses:
 - a) Biodiversity loss b) Greenhouse gas emissions c) Ocean acidification d) Desertification
8. Which institution was established after the Rio Conference to promote sustainable development?
 - a) UNEP b) IPCC c) CSD d) WHO
9. The term “environmental politics” refers to:
 - a) Political parties focused on environmental issues
 - b) Government regulations on industry
 - c) The interaction between political processes and environmental issues
 - d) International conflicts over natural resources
10. Which of the following is considered a global common?
 - a) National parks b) City air quality c) The atmosphere d) Local water supplies

Answers

1. (b) June 5
2. (c) Ozone depletion
3. (d) Balancing all three
4. (b) Carbon dioxide
5. (b) 1992
6. (a) United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
7. (b) Greenhouse gas emissions
8. (c) CSD
9. (c) The interaction between political processes and environmental issues
10. (c) The atmosphere

Assignments

1. Analyse the relationship between globalisation and environmental degradation.
2. Discuss the challenges in implementing international environmental agreements.
3. Evaluate the effectiveness of the Kyoto Protocol in addressing climate change.
4. Compare and contrast the environmental policies of developed and developing nations.
5. Examine the role of non-governmental organizations in shaping environmental politics.
6. Assess the impact of deforestation on global climate patterns and biodiversity.
7. Analyse the potential conflicts between economic development and environmental protection.
8. Evaluate the success of the Montreal Protocol in addressing ozone depletion.

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Unit 4

Role of New Social Media in Politics

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this lesson, students will be able to

- ▶ Define social media and identify major platforms used in politics;
- ▶ Explain how social media has transformed political communication;
- ▶ Analyse the impact of social media on political campaigns and mobilization;
- ▶ Evaluate the role of social media in increasing citizen engagement and participation in politics;
- ▶ Critically assess the influence of social media on agenda-setting in politics.

Prerequisites

In January 2011, thousands of Egyptians gathered in Cairo's Tahrir Square, demanding the end of President Hosni Mubarak's 30 year old rule. Frustrated by government corruption, unemployment and repression, young activists, many of whom were social media-savvy, used platforms like Face book to organize protests. One of the key moments leading to the uprising was the Facebook page "We Are All Khaled Said," which documented the brutal death of a young man, Khaled Said, at the hands of the police. This page quickly gained millions of followers, uniting people from different regions and backgrounds in a shared cause for justice and freedom.

Twitter played a critical role in providing real time updates to both protesters on the ground and international audiences. Protesters used hash tags like #Jan25 (referring to the date of the first mass protests) to coordinate efforts, share locations of demonstrations and avoid areas where the police were cracking down. These tools helped citizens organize more efficiently, despite the government's attempts to block access to the internet and social media.

YouTube became a platform where videos of the protests and police violence were shared globally. These images, including the powerful visuals of Tahrir Square filled with thousands of peaceful protesters, put international pressure on the Egyptian government. Traditional media outlets, which had been slow to cover the uprising, started paying attention as they could no longer ignore the images going viral on social media.

The Egyptian Revolution is a clear example of how new social media empowered ordinary people to challenge an authoritarian regime. By providing a platform for free speech and rapid mobilization, social media changed the dynamics of political participation and ushered in a new era of digital activism.

Keywords

Social Media, Political Communication, Political Mobilisation, Political Campaigning, Agenda Setting.

Discussion

Media is considered the fourth pillar of democratic structure subsequent to the legislature, the executive and the Judiciary, especially after the process of industrialisation. In democracy only this fourth pillar has the right to criticize the other three pillars. Therefore, as the custodian of democracy, media plays a very important role in politics, mainly to safeguard the interests of the citizens. However, in the first decades of the 21st century the world witnessed the proliferation of the social media first in the form facebook, then Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Blogspot etc. These internet based media have provided new platforms for sharing information and to participate in serious debate. Today, the social media has become an integral and essential part of our life because it is considered an indispensable device for social communication.

6.4.1 Concept of Social Media

The term social media refers to the process of interaction among people where they are creating, sharing, exchanging and modifying their ideas in virtual communities or networks. New media or social media is the computer-generated media, which offers mass communication with the help of the internet, where communication pattern is founded in the circular way, as for example, Facebook, Twitter, Wikipedia, Skype, YouTube and other social networking sites.

According to Kaplan and Haenlein, “social media is a group of internet based applications that build on the ideological foundations of web 2.0 and that allow the creation and

exchange of User Generated Content”.

Social media can be defined as “a perceived second generation of web development and design that facilitates communication and secures information sharing, interoperability and collaboration on the World Wide Web”.

Hence, Neese (2016) Southeastern University, defines the “New media / Social media as “those digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication and involve some form of computing.”

6.4.2 Important Social Media Networking Sites

The most popular social media platforms are:

6.4.2.1 Facebook

Facebook is a fast growing social networks site. It was launched in February 6, 2004 with an easy to use interface and a wide range of features. Mark Zuckerberg is the founder of facebook. Facebook has several personal applications where people can create their individual accounts to communicate and share information with their friends, family members and co-workers more efficiently. It also has a professional application where businesses and organizations can create their fan pages that enable them to have a two-way interaction with their customers through a feedback and active communication channel. Facebook will make an organization’s dream come true in reaching millions of customers easily with minimum cost and time. Facebook allows users to create a profile and share updates, videos, photos and exchange messages.

6.4.2.2 YouTube

YouTube is one of the most and best platforms to put the voice of common people in society. It is the largest and most popular video-based social media website. It was founded on February 14, 2005. YouTube does not charge any money for broadcasting news and events. Once you create your account on the YouTube, you are the boss; whatever you want to publish, your news and story, you can do and share through all the social sites among the mass audience who have internet. This broke the national borders to become international. Therefore, in a single day, billions of people are searching YouTube to find their interest based news, audio, video and multimedia contents on the various YouTube based channels.

6.4.2.3 Twitter

Twitter is another fast growing social network site. It was launched in 2006 with an open communication capability that enabled people to create free accounts through which they could communicate with each other. Twitter allows registered users to send short messages, called “tweets” to “followers” with a maximum of 140 characters. Twitter can be described as a large repository of information and as another form of electronic word-of-mouth (e-WOM) that can be used for socio-political purposes and marketing.

6.4.2.4 WhatsApp

WhatsApp was launched in January 2010. It is a cross-platform instant messaging client for smart phones, PCs etc. The app relies on the internet to send images, texts, documents, audio and video messages to other users who have installed the app on their devices. It is another way of distributing news and information. It is very important and helpful tool to integrate people and mobilise for planned activities or activism.

6.4.2.5 LinkedIn

LinkedIn is a Social Networking service for business professionals launched in 2003. It was a free to join business oriented Social Networking Site. It was mainly used for professional networking. It helps in creating profiles, professional accomplishments, finding former colleagues, clients, partners and qualified professionals. Through the network we can find potential clients, service providers, subject experts and partners. Users can create profiles and form professional relationships by “connecting” with other users. Businesses can use LinkedIn as a low-cost marketing tool by posting product or service announcements or other company news. Employees can post their own profiles and link to the business, thereby showcasing company talent with prospective customers.

6.4.2.6 Orkut

Orkut is run by Google and named after its creator Orkut Buyukkokten. It was designed to help users to meet new friends, relatives and maintain existing relationships. In October 2006, Orkut permitted users to create accounts without invitation. It lets users chat about an event, ask questions, play games etc.

6.4.2.7 Instagram

Instagram is a visual social media platform. It was launched on October 6, 2010, has more than 400 million active users and is owned by Facebook. People use it to post information about travel, fashion, food, art and similar subjects. The platform is also distinguished by its unique filters together with video and photo editing features. Almost 95 percent of Instagram users also use Facebook.

6.4.2.8 Reddit

Reddit is a social news and entertainment networking website where registered users can submit content such as direct links and

text posts. Users are also able to organize and determine their position on the site's pages by voting submissions up or down. Submissions with the most positive votes appear in the top category or main page. Reddit was founded by Alexis Ohanian and Steve Huffman on June 23, 2005. A decade later, the site boasts more than 36 million registered accounts and 231 million monthly visitors.

6.4.2.9 Tumblr

Tumblr was founded in February 2007 by David Karp. It is one of the famous social networking platforms. It is very difficult to use, but it is also one of the most interesting sites. It allows several different post formats, including quote posts, chat posts, video and photo posts as well as audio posts; so you are never limited in the type of content that you can share. Like Twitter, reblogging, which is more like rewriting, is quick and easy.

6.4.2.10 Pinterest

Pinterest was launched in March 2010. It is a relatively newcomer in the social media arena. This platform consists of digital bulletin boards where businesses can pin their content. Pinterest announced in September 2015 that it had acquired 100 million users. Small businesses whose target audience is mostly made up of women should definitely invest in Pinterest as more than half of its visitors are women.

6.4.3 Advantages of Social Media

1. People with common interests and activities across the political, economic and geographical borders can communicate with each other and form online communities.
2. Messaging is cheaper in social media sites.
3. Social media is used as a tool for social activism, to build campaigns, influence

opinions and for organizing mega events.

4. Social media is used as platform for discussion and exchange of scientific knowledge.
5. Social media sites have become great tools for creating brand awareness and brand image.
6. Social media is capable of conveying information in seconds. People or audience can get quick updates on the latest news with a single click.
7. People talk, participate, share network and bookmark online.
8. Information spreads faster through social media than any other media.
9. The participants are satisfied about the work of news on social media because they can express their views without any pressure or any working time.
10. Social media sites inform and empower the audience to change themselves and their communities.

6.4.4 Disadvantages of Social Media

1. Many people play to be someone else and prepare their online profiles with false information to cheat innocent users. So, if you do not know the person face to face, it will be very hard for you to find the real identity.
2. Another disadvantage of social media is the risk of identity theft and fraud. Information like e-mail address, name, location and age can be used to commit online crimes.
3. Another serious disadvantage of social media is online harassment and irritation.
4. People waste lots of time on social sites in chatting which also affects their health.
5. Kidnapping, murder and robbery can be easily done by sharing details on social media.

6. It also abuses the society by invading on people's privacy.
7. Hacking the account, identity theft, phishing frauds and viruses are common in social media sites.

6.4.5 Impact of Social Media on Politics

Today we are living in the world of social media. Therefore, social media plays a crucial role in every aspect of human life. The impact of social media on politics is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon because it reveals the relationship between technology and democracy. As regards politics, social media acts as a means of practising democracy and political participation. In contrast to other media, social media provide two-way communication between politically interested persons and politicians. Social media has become a powerful tool for political actors to communicate their messages, mobilize supporters, and influence public opinion. However, the impact of social media on politics affects not only the democratic societies, but also the authoritarian regimes. Now the social media affects the political arena of human life in various ways. They are:

6.4.5.1 Political Communication

Communication is the process of delivering intended messages and information to the targeted audience or people. Political communication is also a body of knowledge and it has different elements such as sources, messages, channels and recipients and impacts. In the contemporary period, political communication has been revolutionized by social media. The politicians not only use the social media to send messages to the targeted people but also use it to pursue the people to support and vote for them. In other words, political parties use social media to conduct their political campaign and share information with the citizens. However, the

proper functioning of political communication is also important to meet the communication objectives in politics. Social media has opened communication channels to everyone and it makes them capable of participating in political communication and activities.

Today, politicians and elected representatives realize the power of social media for communicating political information and interacting with citizens. Politicians across the world have eagerly adopted social networking tools as powerful new mediums for engaging their constituents, especially in modern democracies. Through social media, politicians can communicate their messages, policy proposals and reactions to current events in real-time. Social media platforms give better approaches to strengthen citizen engagement in political life. Personal communication through social media brings political parties nearer to their potential voters. It allows politicians to communicate faster and reach citizens in a more targeted manner and *vice versa*.

6.4.5.2 Agenda Setting

One of the most significant impacts of social media on politics is its ability to reshape the flow of information and the agenda-setting process. Social media transformed democracy by allowing citizens and politician to communicate, connect and interact in ways that had never been before. Traditional media outlets, such as newspapers, television and radio, once held a monopoly on shaping public discourse and influencing political agenda. However, social media platforms have democratised the dissemination of information, allowing politicians, activists and ordinary citizens to bypass traditional gatekeepers and directly reach a vast audience. Social media have turned into an essential part of political communication during elections. During elections the political parties launch

social media campaign with defined their goals and objectives. Social media play a significant role in shaping the outcomes of elections and other political events also. For example, in 2014 parliamentary election in India, for the first time all political parties and candidates had broadly used social media to influence voters.

6.4.5.3 Medium of Political Campaigning and Mobilisation

At present, social media has emerged as an influential device for political mobilisation because it provides a platform for individuals and groups to advocate political change and organize themselves. Social media has enabled people with similar political goals to connect with each other through its technological advancement. Likewise, social media play a significant role to organize and conduct social movements against authorities or governments. The Arab Spring movement and the Black Lives Matter movements are recent examples.

Social media has revolutionized the way of conducting political campaigns, offering new avenues for candidate promotion, fundraising and voter mobilisation. Social media platforms have become essential tools for candidates to connect with supporters, share campaign messaging and rally their base. However, the use of social media in campaigning has also raised concerns about the spread of misinformation, the exploitation of user data for political gain and the potential for foreign interference in domestic elections.

6.4.5.4 Peoples Engagement and Participation in Politics

The key benefit of social media is that it can lower the barriers for entry to the political process for the groups who do not hold power. The structure of social media is quite different from the traditional media like

newspaper, television etc. Therefore, social media has quickly developed its significance as a platform of discussion for political activism in its diverse structures. Social media has the potential to foster increased citizen engagement and participation in the political process. By lowering barriers to access and communication, these platforms have enabled citizens to voice their opinions, share information and organize collective action more easily than ever before. Social media has facilitated the formation of virtual communities and networks, allowing like-minded individuals to connect and collaborate on political issues, regardless of geographic boundaries. Social media has increased citizen participation in politics.

6.4.5.5 Political Propaganda

Spread of misinformation and fake news are some of the most significant negative impacts of social media on contemporary politics. Social Media platforms have allowed political actors to spread misinformation and propaganda with great speed and efficiency, reaching vast audiences with minimal regulation. Political propaganda on social media takes various forms. It includes fake news, manipulated images and videos and inflammatory rhetoric designed to provoke a reaction. Political actors have also used social media to spread conspiracy theories, discredit opponents and promote their own political agenda. In contrast to traditional media, it is very difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction in the information in social media platforms.

6.4.5.6 Political Censorship

Today, social media has become a very important forum for political discourse and debate. In social media platforms, the freedom of expression is often subject to political censorship. In many countries

the governments use various measures to control and limit the spread of certain types of content or information or news in social media platforms, especially during the time of political protests. It can take various forms such as the removal of content deemed to be offensive or harmful and the blocking of accounts that violate community guidelines. But sometimes, the political censorship on social media is necessary to promote public safety and protect the integrity of the democratic process.

6.4.5.7 Attracted the Younger Generation towards Politics

Most of the audiences of social media are the younger generations. The younger generations are very comfortable in the use of this technology because they are growing with the technological era. They may not be reading or watching traditional news sources, but are receiving most of the information and political messages through social media sources. Therefore, social media played an important role to attract the youth in politics.

In connection with the youth, social media is an easy and effective medium to engage in political activities. Social media has changed the way in which people communicate with each other. With the traditional channels such as news paper and television, politicians can make awareness about political activities. But, social media helps not only make awareness, but it also attracts people. Therefore, social media helps the politicians to engage young people to participate in political activities. In the modern world, the youth are using social media and they are using social media for political participation. People are using social media for political campaigns, communicate with politicians and taking part in other political activities. The use of social media in political activities and spread of information has a great impact on political efficacy and youth participation.

Recap

- ▶ Social media refers to internet-based platforms that allow users to create, share and exchange information in virtual communities.
- ▶ Major social media platforms used in politics include Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, WhatsApp and Instagram.
- ▶ Social media has revolutionized political communication by enabling direct interaction between politicians and citizens.
- ▶ It serves as a powerful tool for political campaigning, mobilization and organizing social movements.
- ▶ Social media increases citizen engagement and participation in politics, especially among younger generations.
- ▶ It has transformed the agenda-setting process in politics by democratizing information dissemination.
- ▶ While social media offers many advantages for political discourse, it also

presents challenges such as the spread of misinformation and potential for censorship.

- The impact of social media on politics is complex and multifaceted, affecting both democratic and authoritarian regimes.

Objective Questions

1. What is the term for the process of interaction among people creating, sharing, and exchanging ideas in virtual communities?
2. Who is the founder of Facebook?
3. In which year was the Twitter launched?
4. What type of social networking service is LinkedIn primarily used for?
5. What term is used to describe the reposting of content on Twitter?
6. Which social movement utilized social media extensively during the early 2010s in the Middle East?
7. What is the term for false or misleading information spread deliberately to deceive?
8. What is the process through which social media platforms remove content which are deemed to be offensive or harmful?
9. Which generation is particularly attracted to political engagement through social media?
10. Which social media platform is known for its unique filters and photo editing features?

Answers

1. (1) Social media (2) Mark Zuckerberg (3) 2006 (4) Professional Networking (5) Retweeting (6) Arab Spring (7) Disinformation (8) Content Moderation (9) Younger generation (10) Instagram

Assignments

1. Explain how social media has changed the way politicians communicate with citizens.
2. Discuss two advantages and two disadvantages of using social media for political campaigns.
3. How do social media contribute to increased citizen participation in politics?

4. Analyse the role of social media in shaping public opinion during elections.
5. Describe how social media can be used as a tool for political activism and social movements

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SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY
MODEL QUESTION PAPER SET - I

QP CODE:

Reg. No:

Name:

First Semester - BA Political Science EXAMINATION
DISCIPLINE CORE – B23PS01DC
(CBCS - UG)

Time: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 70

Section A - Objective Type Questions

Answer any 10 questions. Each question carries 1 mark

(10 X 1=10 marks)

1. What is the primary focus of Political Science?
2. What are the elements of the state?
3. Who proposed the Behavioural Approach in Political Science?
4. What does the concept of 'Liberty' primarily refer to in Political Science?
5. Which political ideology emphasizes class struggle and economic determinism?
6. What is the main focus of Political Economy?
7. Which approach in Political Science emphasizes gender perspectives?
8. What is the primary aim of political socialization?
9. What are the kinds of social justice?
10. What is the main principle of multiculturalism?
11. Which branch of government is responsible for making laws?
12. What is the primary focus of geopolitics?
13. Which political ideology emphasizes individual rights and limited government?
14. What is the main argument of post-behavioralism in Political Science?
15. Which is the law-implementing organ of government?



Section B- Very Short Answer

Answer any 10 questions. Each question carries 2 marks

(10X2=20 marks)

16. Define Political Science and briefly explain its nature.
17. How does Political Science interact with Sociology in interdisciplinary studies?
18. Explain the relevance of Political Science as a social science in contemporary times.
19. What is political culture? How does it influence political behavior?
20. Briefly describe the main tenets of the Behavioural Approach in Political Science.
21. What are the key differences between the Behavioural and Post-Behavioural approaches?
22. Explain the basic premise of Systems Theory in Political Science.
23. How does the Marxian approach differ from other approaches in Political Science?
24. What are the main arguments of the Feminist approach in Political Science?
25. Define liberty and mention its two main types.
26. What is the significance of equality in political thought?
27. Briefly explain the concept of social justice.
28. How are rights and duties related in political theory?
29. What are the key features of classical liberalism?
30. How does neo-Marxism differ from classical Marxism?

Section C- Short Answer

Answer any 5 questions. Each question carries 4 marks.

(5X4=20 marks)

31. Discuss the scope of Political Science. How has it evolved?
32. Explain the concept of political socialization. What are its primary agents?
33. Compare and contrast the Behavioural and Post-Behavioural approaches in Political Science.
34. Analyze the main components of Systems Theory as applied to Political Science.
35. Discuss the key contributions of the Marxian approach to the study of politics.
36. Explain the concept of liberty. How do positive and negative liberty differ?
37. Discuss the various types of equality and their significance in political thought.
38. Analyze the relationship between rights and duties in a democratic society.
39. Compare and contrast classical liberalism with neo-classical liberalism.
40. Discuss the relevance of Gandhian principles in addressing contemporary political issues.

Section D - Long Answer/Essay

Answer any 2 questions. Each question carries 10 marks.

(2X10=20 marks)

41. Critically analyze the interdisciplinary nature of Political Science. How does it interact with other social sciences such as Sociology, Economics, and History? Discuss the benefits and challenges of this interdisciplinary approach.
42. Evaluate the major approaches to the study of Political Science (Behavioural, Post-Behavioural, Systems Theory, Marxian, and Feminist). Which approach do you find most compelling for understanding contemporary political phenomena? Justify your answer with examples.
43. Discuss the concepts of liberty, equality, and justice in political thought. How do these concepts interact with each other, and what challenges arise when trying to balance them in a political system?
44. Compare and contrast the political ideologies of Liberalism, Marxism, and Gandhism. Analyze their relevance in addressing the political and social issues of the 21st century.



SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY
MODEL QUESTION PAPER SET - II

QP CODE:

Reg. No :

Name :

First Semester - BA Political Science EXAMINATION
DISCIPLINE CORE – B23PS01DC
(CBCS - UG)

Time: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 70

Section A - Objective Type Questions

Answer any 10 questions. Each question carries 1 mark

(10 X 1=10 marks)

1. From which Greek word is the term "Politics" derived?
2. Who wrote the book *One World*?
3. Which principles in the Indian Constitution deal with the aim of the State doing maximum good?
4. What does Sociology attempt to study?
5. What role does history play for the honest politician, according to Burns?
6. What is at the core of Political Science?
7. What is the relevance of Political Science?
8. What role does political culture play in a political community?
9. What characterizes a parochial-subject political culture?
10. What are the important Agents of Political Socialisation?
11. Which factor contributes to the inter-generational continuity of political culture?
12. What was the major emphasis of post-behavioralism?
13. What does multiculturalism recognize and respect within a society?
14. Who developed the theory of historical materialism?
15. Who introduced the idea of the "social contract"?



Section B - Very Short Answer

Answer any 10 questions. Each question carries 2 marks

(10X2=20 Marks)

16. Explain the relevance of Gandhism in contemporary politics.
17. What are the main challenges to democracy in a multicultural society?
18. List and briefly describe the four elements of a state.
19. What is the liberal theory of state?
20. Explain the concept of separation of powers in government.
21. How has globalization affected the role of the state?
22. What is identity politics? Provide an example.
23. Define human rights and mention two key issues related to marginalized sections.
24. What is the role of policy-making in addressing environmental issues?
25. How has new social media transformed political communication?
26. In what ways does political justice ensure equality of rights and participation in the governance process?
27. How do the goals and priorities of second-wave feminism differ from those of third-wave feminism, particularly in terms of gender equality and intersectionality?
28. How does David Easton's concept of feedback within the political system explain the relationship between government decisions and societal responses?
29. How does political culture influence the functioning of political systems and the behavior of citizens within a society?
30. How does Rousseau's theory of the General Will define the collective interest of society?

Section C - Short Answer

Answer any 5 questions. Each question carries 4 marks.

(5X4=20 Marks)

31. Explain the concept of multiculturalism. What challenges does it pose to democratic governance?
32. Discuss the liberal and Marxian theories of state. How do they differ in their approach?
33. Analyze the role of the state in the era of globalization. Has globalization weakened or strengthened state power?
34. Discuss the impact of terrorism on global politics in the post-Cold War era?
35. Explain the role of new social media in shaping political discourse and mobilization?

36. Compare and contrast the liberal and Marxian theories of the state, emphasizing their differing views on the role, nature, and purpose of the state?
37. Explain the concept of Social Democracy? Why it is important?
38. How does the concept of surplus value explain the exploitation of labor in Marxist theory?
39. How did the concept of Swadeshi promote economic self-reliance during India's freedom struggle?
40. How does John Rawls' concept of justice as fairness emphasize equality and the protection of individual rights?

Section D - Long Answer/Essay

Answer any 2 questions. Each question carries 10 marks.

(2X10=20 Marks)

41. Examine the evolving role of the state in the era of globalization. How has globalization challenged traditional notions of state sovereignty, and how have states adapted to these challenges?
42. Analyze the relationship between democracy and multiculturalism. What are the main challenges faced by multicultural democracies, and how can these challenges be addressed?
43. Discuss the post-Cold War issues of globalization, identity politics, populism, and terrorism. How have these phenomena shaped contemporary global politics?
44. Examine the concept of human rights in the context of marginalized sections of society. What are the main challenges in ensuring human rights for all, and what role can political institutions play in addressing these challenges?

സർവ്വകലാശാലാഗീതം

വിദ്യാൽ സ്വതന്ത്രരാകണം
വിശ്വപൗരരായി മാറണം
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കുതിരുട്ടിൽ നിന്നു ഞങ്ങളെ
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സ്നേഹദീപ്തിയായ് വിളങ്ങണം
നീതിവൈജയന്തി പാറണം

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Fundamentals of Political Science

COURSE CODE: B23PS01DC



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