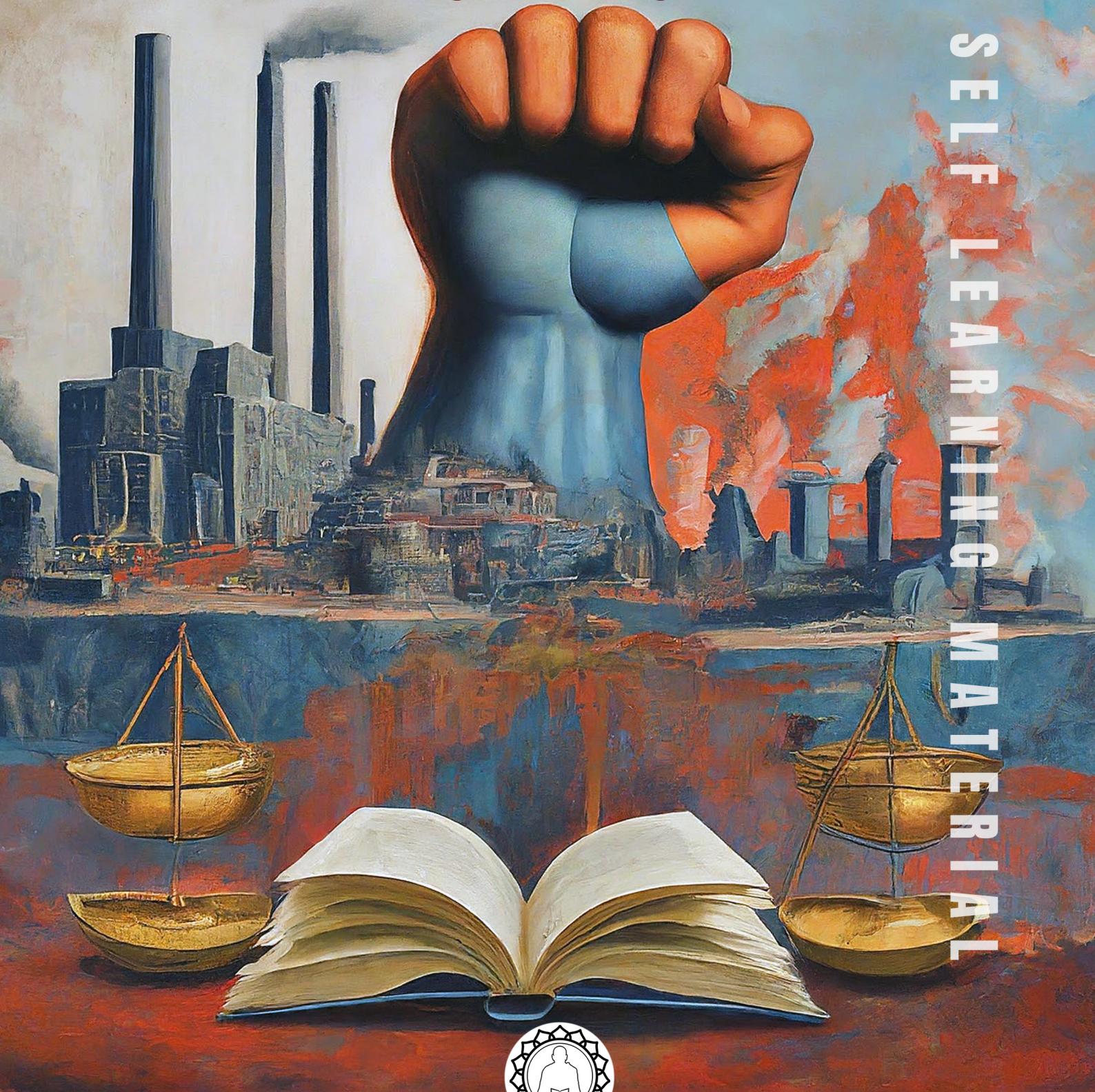


UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEM

COURSE CODE: B21PS02AN

Ancillary Course
For Undergraduate Programmes

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL



SREENARAYANAGURU
OPEN UNIVERSITY

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

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

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

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Understanding Political System
Course Code: B21PS02AN
Semester - III

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Self Learning Material
(With Model Question Paper Sets)



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MESSAGE FROM VICE CHANCELLOR

Dear learner,

I extend my heartfelt greetings and profound enthusiasm as I warmly welcome you to Sreenarayanaguru Open University. Established in September 2020 as a state-led endeavour to promote higher education through open and distance learning modes, our institution was shaped by the guiding principle that access and quality are the cornerstones of equity. We have firmly resolved to uphold the highest standards of education, setting the benchmark and charting the course.

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.

The university aims to offer you an engaging and thought-provoking educational journey. The curriculum adheres to University Grants Commission guidelines, which require the inclusion of three disciplines in a bundle. This material addresses the syllabus of the Political System as an Ancillary discipline. It provides ample coverage of the subject's fundamentals for novice learners, with particular emphasis on the formation of political systems, theories, and elements. Emphasis has been given to integrating the basic concepts related to the discipline. The Self-Learning Material has been meticulously crafted, incorporating relevant examples to facilitate better comprehension.

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.



Warm regards.
Dr. Jagathy Raj V. P.

05-07-2024

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BLOCK

Introduction to Political System





Political Science: Meaning, Nature, Scope and Significance

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the meaning of the term political science
- ◆ examine the changing nature of the subject
- ◆ identify the scope and subject matter of the subject
- ◆ discuss why the knowledge of political science has become indispensable in modern times

Prerequisites

The discipline of political science is popularly viewed as “a human activity of making authoritative decisions”. Who exactly makes these public decisions? How did they gain the power to make such important decisions for the country? How are these decisions made? Why do we have certain political institutions like the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary? What impact do they have on our lives? The answers to these and other allied questions are very important. Understanding these aspects of politics is crucial for active citizenship and informed participation in democratic processes. By exploring these questions, we can gain insight into the complex mechanisms that shape our society and govern our daily lives.

Keywords

Polis, power, politics, political science, Constitution

Discussion

1.1.1 Aristotle (384 – 322BC)

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1.2 What is Political Science?

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

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

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



Why Study Politics?

The question is important because without understanding the use and importance of the subject, studying it can be a waste of power, money, time, and energy. The advantages of studying politics are:

1. Awareness of Rights and Responsibilities: Politics makes a person aware of their place in society by informing them about their rights and responsibilities.
2. Knowledge of Government: It provides knowledge about the government, its objectives, and its basis.
3. Understanding Different Ideologies: The study of politics introduces us to various ideologies and helps us develop our own ideas.
4. Improvement of Governance: Studying politics can improve the quality of government and administration.
5. Societal Change: Understanding politics is essential to bring about societal change.

Ideas regarding the nature and scope of political science have changed over time. Different scholars have provided various definitions based on their perspectives.

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

1.1.3 Traditional View

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

- **Prof. James Wilford Garner:** “Political science begins and ends with the state.”
- **Prof. Ramond G. Gettell:** “Political science is the historical investigation of what the state

has been, what the state is, and what the state ought to be.”

- **John Seeley:** “Political science investigates the phenomena of government, as political economy deals with wealth, biology with life, algebra with numbers, and geometry with space and magnitude.”
- **Paul Janet:** “Political science is that part of social science which treats the foundations of the state and the principles of government.”

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

1.1.4 Modern View

In the early 20th century, a new approach to studying political science emerged. This modern approach gained momentum with the publications of “Essays on Human Nature in Politics” by Graham Wallas and “The Process of Government” by Arthur Bentley. They condemned the traditional viewpoint and were supported by American scholars like Charles Merriam, David Easton, Harold Lasswell, Almond, and Powell.

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

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

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

“Politics is the Science of who gets what when and why?”
– Hillman.

“Politics is the conduct of Public affairs for private advantage” – Lord Bryce

Political science is, thus, a social science focused on studying and evaluating political activities, power, processes, and institutions. It includes the study of both political institutions and political ideas. It is now generally accepted that political science should also study informal organisations and political behaviour that supplement the formal structure of government and influence the political system’s functioning.

1.1.5 Politics – A Universal Phenomenon and Continuing Process

Politics is a universal phenomenon present at all levels and in all realms of life. Conflicts or activities aiming to gain influence, control, or power occur in all human associations, from families to the international community.

Politics is an unavoidable part of human life and is shaped by human nature, society, history, geography, economy, and culture. Everyone is involved in politics in some way.

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

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

1.1.6 Politics – Conflict Resolution and Allocation of Values

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

1.1.7 Science of Politics

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

When examined in this light, politics offers a systematic body of knowledge. It seeks political knowledge that can be tested and verified to predict and influence political outcomes. Testing and verifiability are possible in political science to a certain extent, making it partially scientific. However, not everything in politics can be studied scientifically, as it is an applied science with practical tasks. Its theories are shaped by practice. While part of political phenomena can be studied scientifically, controlled laboratory studies are not feasible because politics deals with humans and social phenomena. Organised power, government, law, policy decisions, revolutions, and wars are political experiments. Serious students can collect, analyse, classify, compare, and connect facts to make conclusions or generalisations, which may be measurable and verifiable. Predictions may also prove true. For instance, Aristotle scientifically studied 158 ancient constitutions and concluded that inequality generally causes revolutions, a generalisation that remains true.

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

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

1.1.8 Scope of Political Science

Scholars do not agree on the scope of political science. Vernon Van Dyke observed that its scope is not sharply defined. According to W. W. Willoughby, political science deals with three main topics: state, government, and law. Prof. Frank Johnson Goodnow believes political science has three parts: the expression of the state will, the content of the state will, and the execution of the state will. Prof. Raymond Gettel writes that political science involves a historical survey of the state's origin and development and the evolution of political ideas and theories. He also noted that political science analyses the state's fundamental nature, its organisation, and its relations with individuals and other states. To understand the scope of political science, it can be examined under the following heads:

1. Study of State and Government

Political science studies the state and government scientifically. It examines the state's nature and formation and seeks

understand various forms and functions of government. Scholars like Johann Kasper Bluntschli and Garries believe the scope is limited to the state. However, scholars like Prof. Laski, Gilchrist, and Gettel argue it includes both state and government.

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

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

2. Study of Political Theory

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

3. Study of Political Institutions

Political science includes the study of political institutions through which the state operates. This encompasses the study of constitutions and comparative governments, as well as formal institutions like the legislature, executive, and judiciary. It also

examines how the state is organized, the distribution of power among government organs, and the relationship between the government and the people. The study of public administration and local government also falls under this category.

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

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

5. Study of Adjustment between Individuals and the State

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

6. Study of International Relations and International Law

The scope of political science includes the study of international relations, covering diplomacy, international politics, and international organizations like the UNO. Scientific inventions and discoveries have made cooperation and contact among different nations easier, making the world more interconnected. The idea of world

government is being advocated. Political science also studies international law, which has gained greater importance as states become more interconnected.

7. Study of Power and Influence

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

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

1.1.9 Significance of Studying Political Science

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

In democratic political systems, political knowledge empowers people to hold the

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

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

Moreover, political knowledge is essential for evaluating global affairs and understanding the interconnectedness of nations. Adequate knowledge of world affairs, international law, disarmament, collective security, balance of power, regional arrangements, and international organizations is necessary, as events in one part of the world reverberate globally. The study of political science fulfils this need by providing comprehensive insights into the complexities of modern politics.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Studying political science has theoretical and practical significance. It expands knowledge, broadens minds, and empowers citizens to uphold democracy. Understanding the mechanisms of the modern state helps in exercising rights and fulfilling duties properly. Political science knowledge aids in assessing the value of political institutions accurately.

Recap

- ◆ Political science, akin to Economics and Sociology, studies political activities, power, and institutions.
- ◆ The term "politics" originates from the Greek word "Polis," meaning city-state.
- ◆ Aristotle, known as the father of political science, described humans as inherently political beings.
- ◆ Views on the nature and scope of political science have evolved over time.
- ◆ Traditionalists define political science as the study of the state and government, while modernists view it as a study of political activities and institutions.
- ◆ Politics is a universal and ongoing human activity, shaped by human nature and environment.
- ◆ Politics involves conflict resolution and the allocation of authority and values, often revolving around the struggle for power.
- ◆ Political science is a social science that examines human behavior, seeking testable political knowledge through scientific methods.
- ◆ Its scope includes the study of state, government, political philosophy, bureaucracy, judicial systems, political parties, elections, international organizations, and political culture.
- ◆ Political science knowledge is essential as everyone is involved in politics, directly or indirectly.

Objective Questions

1. Who is the father of political science?
2. The term 'Politics' derived from which word ?
3. Who defines political science as 'that part of social science which treats the foundation of the state and principles of government?
4. Who wrote 'The Essays on Human Nature in Politics'?
5. What is political science considered to be?
6. What kind of science is the political science?
7. According to Prof. Garner, with what does political science begin and end?
8. Who defines political science as the study of 'shaping and sharing of power'?
9. According to David Easton, what is politics?
10. What falls within the scope of the study of International Institutions and International Law?

Answers

1. Aristotle	6. Social science
2. Polis	7. State
3. Paul Jenet	8. Harold Lasswell
4. Graham Wallas	9. Authoritative Allocation of values
5. City state	10. Political science

Assignments

1. Define Political Science. Briefly discuss its nature and scope. What is the subject matter of Political Science?
2. Explain the significance of Political Science in modern times. Political Science is the key study of power. Examine it.
3. Explain how Political Science expands the storehouse of knowledge.
4. “Politics is the struggle for Power” How far do you agree with the statement?

Suggested Reading

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The Concept of State (Elements)

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the chapter will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define the concept of the term state
- ◆ understand various notions of the state
- ◆ discuss the essential elements of the state
- ◆ identify different notions of the state

Prerequisites

Human beings are inherently social creatures bound by the necessity of companionship and interaction. Every individual is inherently connected to a larger community, whether it be a family, a tribe, a city-state, or a nation. At the heart of this social organisation lies the concept of the state. Just as a house is constructed from a myriad of materials – bricks, wood, glass, and more – so too is a state built upon a foundation of various elements. These include its population, territory, government, and institutions. Each of these components plays a crucial role in defining the state's identity, sovereignty, and ability to govern. Understanding these elements provides valuable insight into the complex interplay of factors that shape our political and social landscape.

Keywords

Sovereignty, democracy, state, totalitarianism, oligarchy

Discussion

Democracy is a form of government in which power is vested in the hands of the people, as famously articulated by Abraham Lincoln: ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’. In this system, rulers are elected by the populace, and governance is conducted by the representatives chosen through elections.

Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism stands in opposition to democracy. It represents a dictatorial and centralized form of governance that exercises control over all aspects of both public and private life. In a totalitarian state, every citizen is subject to the authority of the ruling party or individual, which holds complete power and regulates every facet of society. Examples include communism, fascism, and Nazism.

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

An association is a human organization formed to achieve common objectives shared by its members. These shared goals motivate individuals to come together and collaborate toward their fulfilment.

State Oligarchy

State oligarchy refers to a pattern of organisation in which a small, select group wields all powers, primarily through manipulative tactics and control mechanisms.

1.2.1 The Concept of State

According to Prof. Palmer and Perkins, the

concept of the nation-state is the organisation of people into sovereign states. The nation-state system began forming in 1648 with the Treaty of Westphalia, marking the emergence of sovereign states. Before this, states existed but were not sovereign. The discussion then turns to defining the state and its key elements.

1.2.1.1 Definition of State

As Prof. Gettel states, political science focuses on the state, and Prof. Garner emphasises that political science revolves around the state. Thus, the term “state” is central to political science and differs from terms like government and society. The state is natural, necessary, and universal, rooted in human nature and essential for societal cohesion. It is defined as the supreme political authority within a community, derived from the Latin word “status,” meaning the power status of rulers.

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

Gabriel Almond prefers the term “political system,” defining it as the legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in society. Robert Dahl sees the political system as residents and government in a territorial area constituting a state. However, the most comprehensive definition is offered

by Phillimore, encompassing the people, territory, government, sovereignty, and international relations of the state.

1.2.1.2 Various Notions of State

1. State as a Class Structure

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

2. State as a Power System

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

3. State as a Welfare System

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

4. State as Joint Stock Company

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

5. State as Political System

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

Mac Iver summarised different notions follows:

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

1.2.1.3 Essential Elements of a State

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

1) Population

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

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

the same population becomes a weakness. Developed countries often benefit from large populations, while underdeveloped countries may struggle. Ultimately, a state's strength depends not just on population numbers but on the quality of its people – their dedication, discipline, health, education, and skills.

2) Territory

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

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

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

3) Government

The government is the organization

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

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

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

4) Sovereignty

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

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

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

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

power entity. Concretely, it is the unified community, territory and government.

Conclusion

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

Recap

- ◆ The term state is derived from the word ‘status’, which means the power status of the rulers or princes.
- ◆ The term state was first used by the Italian thinker Machavelli in his book *The Prince*.
- ◆ Political science is the science of the state. It begins and ends with the state, according to Prof. Garner.
- ◆ Simply defined, a state is a people organised for law within a definite territory.
- ◆ The state possesses four elements: Population, territory, government, and sovereignty.
- ◆ The population of a state is constituted by a large number of citizens and a small number of residents and aliens. There can be no state without population.
- ◆ The term territory of a state covers land, lakes, rivers, sea and air space.

- ◆ Government is an agency or organisation through which the will of the state is expressed.
- ◆ It consists of legislature, executive and judiciary.
- ◆ The functions of the state are performed by the government.
- ◆ It is an organised power of the state.
- ◆ Sovereignty is the Supreme power of the state.
- ◆ It distinguishes states from other associations. It implies internal supremacy and external independence.
- ◆ State is a historical entity
- ◆ A citizen can develop his/her best self only through the state.

Objective Questions

1. Who used the term 'state' for the first time?
2. Who wrote the famous book The Prince?
3. From which word is the term 'state' derived?
4. What are the four essential elements of a state?
5. Who used the term 'state' in modern times?
6. What is sovereignty? How many organs does the Government consists?

Answers

1. Machiavelli	5. Machiavelli
2. Machiavelli	6. Supreme power of the state; Three organs
3. Status	
4. Population; Territory, Government and Sovereignty	

Assignments

1. Discuss the statement: “State is an instrument of exploitation and oppression.”
2. Consider the statement “No state permits an association to exist and function when it finds it engaged in anti-national, anti-social and immoral activities” in light of the contemporary political situation in India.
3. Define the state. What are its essential elements?
4. Examine the importance of population as an element of the state.
5. What do you know about internal sovereignty?
6. What is included in the territory of a state?
7. Can a state exist without a government?
8. Distinguish between state and government.

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The Concept of Sovereignty, Monism and Pluralism

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define the concept of sovereignty
- ◆ identify the different aspects of sovereignty
- ◆ differentiate between Monism and Pluralism
- ◆ understand Austin's Monistic theory of sovereignty
- ◆ examine the pluralistic attack on the monistic theory

Prerequisites

A curious mind seeks to explore the complexities of political philosophy and governance theories. The aim is to understand the fundamental principles that shape the structure and functioning of states and societies. We know that countries can make their own laws, use their own languages, and decide on their own currencies. However, have you ever wondered why and how they could exercise this choice? This relates to the concept of sovereignty.

Keywords

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

Discussion

Look at the definitions of keywords given for this unit:

1) Monism

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

2) Pluralism

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

3) Absolutism

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

4) De Facto and De Jure

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

5) Natural Law

Natural law is a set of rules of good conduct that exist independently of conventional law, directly derived from nature. It asserts that these rules of right and wrong are inherent in people and are not created by society or judges. Advocates of natural law regard it as the source of all laws, superior to any

other law.

6) Positive Law

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

7) Authoritarianism

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

1.3.1 Sovereignty - Nature

There can be no state without sovereignty. The state exercises its sovereign power through the government. A sovereign state is not subject to any external control. The sovereign power is used to make laws, maintain law and order, and regulate the conduct of people and activities of other organizations within its territory.

Sovereignty is a characteristic that distinguishes the state from other associations. The term 'sovereignty' derives from the Latin word 'superanus', meaning supremacy or paramount power. Therefore, sovereignty refers to the supreme or paramount power of the state.

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

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

1.3.1.1 Definitions of Sovereignty

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

1.3.1.2 Characteristics of Sovereignty

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

It is absolute and unlimited. It is the supreme will of the state with no legal superior.

Internally, it is supreme over individuals and groups. Externally, it is independent of compulsion or interference from other states.

Even if a sovereign enters a treaty, it is not legally bound to obey it. The sovereign is not bound by international law. However, it must be stated that absolute sovereignty is neither possible nor desirable, as 'all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.' It is undesirable to give any person absolute power.

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

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

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

So in addition to being absolute, unlimited and supreme, sovereignty also has the characteristics of being all-comprehensive over the state's territory, and being an inalienable power that cannot be permanently transferred or given up by the sovereign state.

According to Marxism:

Sovereignty is a class power. In a class divided socially the economically dominant class makes use of it to serve its own class interest.

The basis of sovereignty is either naked power or false consciousness

Sovereignty is not diffused, but it is centralized power of the ruling class.

Whenever the class struggle became intensive, the basis of sovereignty as naked power is more apparent than its other basis namely, the general will of the people.

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

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

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

According to Liberalism:

The state needs sovereignty to maintain peace, law and order, to resolve conflict and bring unity in society, and to perform welfare functions.

Sovereignty is not merely a law making or order giving power but it is required for the above-mentioned functions.

The basis of law is not sovereignty but their social utility

Sovereignty is diffused rather than centralized. There is no ruling class because power is divided among competing plurielites.

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

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

Sovereignty or the supreme authority of the state has two dimensions - internal and external. Internal sovereignty reflects the legal supremacy over citizens and other associations within the state. External sovereignty is reflected in the sovereign equality of states in their interactions with other states. This means the state is independent of other states in conducting its external relations.

1.3.1.3 Kinds of Sovereignty

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

Titular and Real

A distinction exists between titular sovereignty and real sovereignty. A titular

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

Legal and Political

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

However, 'behind the legal sovereign, there is a political sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow.' The political sovereign is unorganised and indeterminate, thus vague with no legal sanctity, incapable of legally expressing the state's will. The political sovereign is the people. No legal sovereign can ignore the political sovereign people's opinion, or risk being removed from

power. This fear forces the legal sovereign to act per public opinion. The English constitutionalist A.V. Dicey put forward this political sovereignty concept.

De facto and De jure Sovereignty

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

Popular Sovereignty

Popular sovereignty means the sovereignty of the people. This idea emerged as a protest against the absolutism of monarchs who relied on the theory of 'divine rights'. Roman thinkers stated the theory of popular sovereignty in general terms. Cicero said the authority of the commonwealth is derived from the corporate power of the people. The question is whether 'people' means all residents of the state or only those with the right to vote. The latter seems more correct, as only those with the voting right can elect parliamentary representatives who make laws for the whole state. Rousseau strongly advocated popular sovereignty through his 'general will' concept, inspiring the French revolutionaries. It was also embodied in the American Declaration of Independence, stating governments derive just powers from the governed's consent. Lord Bryce states popular sovereignty is the basis and

watchword of democracy. However, the people's will is not legally enforced by courts.

Monism (Austin's Theory of Sovereignty)

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

Key points from Austin's definition:

1. Sovereignty is the essential state attribute.
2. Sovereignty is a 'determinate human superior', ruling out popular sovereignty as the people are an indeterminate mass.
3. Sovereignty is absolute and unlimited.
4. The sovereign is the source of all laws, translating will into binding commands.
5. Obedience must come from the bulk of society habitually, not necessarily the whole population.
6. The sovereign obeys no other higher authority.
7. Sovereignty cannot be shared between two or more persons/institutions as it is a unified thing.

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

human superior' who obeys no other, makes laws that society habitually obeys, and shares power with none

1.3.1.4 Critical Evaluation

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

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

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

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

nature and individual/associational rights.

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

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

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

1.3.2 Pluralism (Pluralist Theory of Sovereignty)

Pluralism, a reaction against the legal, traditional, monistic, and absolute theory of sovereignty advocated by Austin and others, challenges the concept of sovereignty as comprehensive, indivisible, and inalienable. While anarchists seek to abolish the state entirely, pluralists aim only to dismantle its absolute and unlimited sovereignty. They first critique the monistic theory before presenting their own theory of the pluralist state. Harold Laski, J.N. Figgis, Ernest Barker, G.D.H Cole, A.D Lindsay, Duguit, Mac Iver, and others are proponents of pluralism.

The key points of the pluralist theory of sovereignty are:

1. Federal Character of Society

Pluralists argue that the idea of an

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

2. Role of Associations

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

3. Elimination of State-Government Distinction

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

4. Absence of Uniqueness in the State

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

1.3.4 Critical Evaluation

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

Promotion of Chaos and Confusion: Critics argue that by diminishing the supremacy of the state and advocating for power-sharing with other associations, pluralism could lead to chaos and confusion. Without a sovereign state to maintain order and enforce laws, conflicts between associations and

individuals may escalate. The state's duty to ensure compliance with laws would become ineffective without sovereign power.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.5 Merit of the theory

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

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

Recap

- ◆ Sovereignty: One of the characteristics of the state
- ◆ Derived from the Latin word 'superanus' meaning supreme or paramount
- ◆ The term first used by French jurists Beaumanoir and Loysau in the 15th century
- ◆ According to Jean Bodin, the French political philosopher: The supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law
- ◆ Sovereignty is absolute and unlimited
- ◆ It is inalienable, permanent, indivisible, exclusive in character
- ◆ Types of Sovereigns:
 - Titular and real
 - Legal and political
 - Defacto and Dejure
 - Popular
- ◆ Austin's Monism:
 - Chief exponent: Austin
 - Law is the command of the sovereign
 - Sovereignty: absolute, unlimited, determinate
 - Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty:
 - Advocates: Laski, Barker, Mrs. Follet, Mac Iver, others
 - Reaction against Monistic theory
 - Society is federal, authority must be plural
 - Rejects all-powerful sovereign state concept
 - State is one among many associations

Objective Questions

1. What differentiates the state from associations?
2. Who first used the term sovereignty?
3. Who advocated popular sovereignty?
4. Give a few examples of titular sovereigns.
5. Who is the chief exponent of the monistic concept of sovereignty?
6. Name two pluralists.
7. Who said, “Society is federal; hence, authority should also be plural”?
8. Who said, “Law is the command of the superior”?

Answers

1. Sovereignty	5. Austin
2. Beaumanoir and Laysan	6. Laski, Lindsay, Krabbe
3. Rousseau	7. Pluralist
4. President of India, King of England, Emperor in Japan	8. Austin

Assignments

1. Define sovereignty and its attributes.
2. Critically examine Austin's theory of sovereignty.
3. Examine the statement “Sovereignty is multiplicity in essence and manifestations” in light of the pluralistic attack on sovereignty.
4. Distinguish between Defacto and Dejure Sovereignty.
5. What is popular sovereignty?
6. Write a short note on Legal Sovereignty.

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State and Civil Society

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand and define the institution of civil society
- ◆ identify the distinction between state and civil society
- ◆ appreciate significance of the civil society
- ◆ explain the meaning of certain key terms

Prerequisites

You would have probably heard of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in different contexts, such as environmental groups, human rights organisations, professional associations, and cultural institutions. Think about associations, culture, or the environment. Have you heard of Extinction Rebellion or Greenpeace? If so, you might know the key truth about NGOs: they aim for lofty goals, often benefiting the most vulnerable. NGOs also serve vital roles as global organisations. However, are all aspects favourable and positive?

Keywords

Bureaucracy, Civil Liberties, Civil Society, Elitism, Oligarchy

Discussion

Look at the definition of some keywords in this unit:

Bureaucracy is a government system controlled entirely by officials.

Civil Liberties are legal protections safeguarding individuals from government's arbitrary acts. They include personal freedom, movement, thought and expression, faith, worship, association, fair trial, equality before law, as long as they don't harm others.

Civil Society encompasses social life's various aspects—domestic, economic, cultural, and political—organized through private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups, beyond direct state control.

Elitism is an organizational theory asserting that a select few, possessing leadership qualities, should hold all decision-making power.

Oligarchy is an organizational pattern where a few select individuals wield all power, primarily through manipulative skills.

The state of nature refers to the hypothetical condition before the state's formation when people lived without a structured government.

The state of society describes the period after the state and society have been formed.

Society is a collective of individuals living together to fulfill mutual needs, preceding the establishment of the state.

1.4.1 What is Civil Society ?

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

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

1.4.2 Characteristics of Civil Society

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

It enables citizens' interaction with the state and thereby facilitates citizen participation in the governance process.

1.4.3 Importance of Civil Society

Civil society works outside the state structure and belongs to the realm of autonomous associations and groups formed by individuals in their capacity as private citizens. It is worked by people with the

help of their own resources and efforts. All non-governmental private organizations, associations, and institutions, including groups, constitute civil society. It refers to the non-governmental economic realm, distinct from states.

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

Civil society acts as a responsive agent: They monitor government policies and actions and hold the government accountable. They offer alternative policies for the government, the private sector, and other institutions. They deliver services, especially to the poor and the underserved.

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

Civil society can be an effective instrument

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

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

Civil society movements demand that public affairs should not be concentrated in the hands of bureaucracy. Instead, citizens' participation in these affairs should be fully encouraged. Civil society alone can provide a forum for people to articulate their criticisms of government policies and actions. It can also be an effective instrument in addressing economic inequalities and securing social justice.

In contemporary times, civil society consistently stands for the protection of individual rights and liberties, opposing unnecessary state interference in the social, economic, and cultural lives of individuals. It opposes all violations of human rights and liberties and cooperates to secure their needs and interests. In India, organizations like People's Union for Democratic Rights

(PUDR) and People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) have been engaged in these tasks. Similarly, 'civic action' groups in Mexico and 'Area boys' in Nigeria exemplify civil society organizations in other countries.

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

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

1.4.4 Civil Society Organizations

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

- Church and other faith-based organizations

- NGOs and other non-profit organizations (e.g., Oxfam, Cancer Research UK, Salvation Army, Shelter, Age UK Citizens Advice)
- Unions and other collective bargaining groups
- Innovators, entrepreneurs, and activists
- Cooperatives and collectives
- Grassroots organisations

1.4.5 Civil Society and the State

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

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

State and Civil Society		
The issue	The State	Civil society
Structure	Formal, unified structure. It consists of the three organs – Legislature, executive and judiciary.	Comprises loose organisation of citizens voluntarily pursuing public interest.
Authority	Armed with Supreme legal authority, ie sovereignty	No formal legal authority. It enjoys moral authority over citizens.
Jurisdiction	Compulsory jurisdiction over citizens and territory	No compulsory jurisdiction
Functions	Maintenance of law and order; protection of life and property of citizens	Protection of the common interest of citizens and exerting influence on governments organs.
Resources	Huge resources at its disposal –ownership of national wealth, taxation,public debt, etc.	No definite assets or source of income; it has to create its own resources.
Occurrence	Universal: some form of political organizations are to be found in all societies	It appears only in relatively advanced societies.

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

an authoritarian way; civil society always works against undemocratic, anti-people laws and policies that in any way try to limit the rights, personal liberties, and privacy of people.

Moreover, the state has huge resources at its disposal, e.g., ownership of national wealth, power of taxation, and raising public debt, etc. But civil society has no definite assets or sources of income; it has to create its resources through mobilizing subscriptions, grants, and donations, etc. Finally, the existence of the state is universal; some form of political organization is to be found in all modern societies. However, civil society comes into existence only in a relatively advanced society where citizens have become adequately conscious of their rights, duties, and common interests.

However, it must also be clearly understood that we cannot rigidly draw the boundaries between the two. These cannot

be fixed. This is most evident from the fact that what was deemed to be the realm of the state (socio-economic welfare and development) is now deemed to be an area of concern and action for civil society. Since the political, economic, and social reforms of 1990, NGOs have been recognized as a special sector that plays an important role in the development of a country's economy. They also play a role in social services. As the state withdrew from the social service sector because of economic constraints, civil society organizations have come to be involved in social services. They filled the space untouched by the government and private sector. In a fragile and conflict-ridden country, it plays an even more important role of providing services normally the responsibility of the state. The major areas they involved are social services, employment generation, environmental concern, gender issues, and actions, and poverty alleviation.

NGOs play an important role in strengthening civil society through informing and educating the people.

Civil society cannot replace the state. It accepts the utility and role of the states in society. It simply opposes an over powerful, overactive, and authoritarian state. State and civil society can and must work together. Each can supplement the other. The state acting along with civil society can be highly productive of desired and useful results. The concept of state and civil society is not in conflict with each other. Democracy integrates the two. The claims of the people get strengthened by civil society, and civil society becomes more stable and stronger in the democratic state. Both can and should work in a democratic spirit. In a democratic system, the state and civil society can collaborate for the effective functioning of each.

Recap

- ◆ The state is described as a 'society politically organized'.
- ◆ It represents the sovereign political community of all people.
- ◆ The term civil society was coined by Cicero, a Roman political thinker.
- ◆ Philosophers like Cicero, Locke, and Rousseau consider the state and civil society as synonymous.
- ◆ Civil society serves as an intermediary association.
- ◆ It arises from freedom of association.
- ◆ Civil society safeguards civil liberties.
- ◆ It acts as a communication channel.
- ◆ Civil society strengthens democracies.
- ◆ While civil society often promotes democratic principles, it may also be influenced by self-interest.
- ◆ Civil society may occasionally exhibit uncivil behavior.

- ◆ However, civil society primarily aims to protect common citizen interests.
- ◆ The state focuses on maintaining law and order.
- ◆ The state protects citizens' lives and properties.
- ◆ Civil society is dedicated to protecting common citizen interests.
- ◆ Civil society does not enjoy sovereignty.
- ◆ Civil society holds moral authority over citizens.
- ◆ The boundary between the state and civil society is not rigid.
- ◆ Since the adoption of liberalization and globalization policies, civil society has played a crucial role in national development.
- ◆ Civil society fills gaps left by the government and other public agencies.

Objective Questions

1. Who first used the term "state"?
2. Who used the term civil society for the first time?
3. Name two leading civil society organizations in India.
4. What is the period before the formation of state and society called?
5. Mention three civil liberties.
6. What is armed with supreme legal authority, i.e., sovereignty?

Answers

1. Machiavalli	4. State of nature
2. Cicero	5. Freedom of opinion; thought, speech
3. Peoples Union for civil Liberties (PUCL), Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR)	6. State

Assignments

1. What do you understand by the term civil society? Give an account of its origin and development Briefly discuss the differences between the state and civil society
2. What is the importance and significance of civil society organizations in a modern democratic state?
3. Explain the changing role of the civil society since the advent of Globalization and Liberalization

Suggested Reading

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BLOCK

Understanding the Basic Concept in Political System



Rights – Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of Rights
- ◆ enumerate the characteristics of Rights
- ◆ discuss different types of Rights
- ◆ identify different safeguards for the protection and promotion of these rights.

Prerequisites

The concept of rights is fundamental to the idea of a just and free society. Rights represent the basic conditions necessary for individuals to develop their capabilities and lead a fully dignified life. Without certain civil, political, economic, and social rights being guaranteed, human beings cannot truly flourish and reach their full potential. Recognition of rights has been a driving force behind humanity's progress over centuries. The struggle for rights has empowered people to overcome oppression, secure liberty, and establish systems of governance that respect human dignity. However, the conception of rights and their implementation has evolved over time based on changing social, political, and economic contexts. An understanding of the meaning, characteristics, types, and safeguards of rights is essential to appreciate this evolutionary journey and to envision a future where all human beings can equally enjoy their basic rights and freedoms.

Keywords

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

Discussion

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

2.1.1 Rights and Meaning

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

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

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

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

2.1.1.1 Characteristics of Rights

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

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

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

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

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

mid-twentieth century, the right to property has been considerably curtailed in almost all countries. Hence, no permanent and unchanging catalogue of rights can be compiled.

Rights are enforced by the state. Rights are not only enforced but also protected by the state. The state grants rights through laws, and those who violate laws are punished by the state. The state is the guardian of the rights of individuals.

Rights are universal. Rights are given equally to all people in society. A right is a claim of the individual and is not the claim of a particular individual but the claim of all individuals. A right enjoyed by one individual may not be enjoyed by another individual.

Rights are not absolute. Rights are never absolute. They are subject to various restrictions to prevent misuse. For example, the right to freedom of speech and expression is conferred upon people for constructive purposes only. Reasonable restrictions can be imposed by the state for the purpose of public order, morality, law, defamation, incitement to offences, contempt of court, etc. The same applies to other rights.

Rights should have legal sanction. Unless a claim is recognized by the state and embodied in a duly enacted law, it cannot be recognized as a right. Therefore, whatever rights exist in any state are rights only because they enjoy legal sanction.

2.1.2 Types of Rights

We can broadly classify rights into three categories: natural rights, moral rights, and legal rights.

2.1.2.1 Natural Rights

Natural rights are those rights given to man by nature. These rights are independent of the state. Some people believe that nature conferred certain rights on man even before the birth of society. The concept of natural

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

2.1.2.2 Moral Right

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

2.1.2.3 Legal Rights

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

2.1.2.4 Civil Rights

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

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

2.1.2.5 Political Rights

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

compulsory and impose penalties for failing to exercise the right to vote.

2.1.2.6 Economic Rights

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

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

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

2.1.3 Fundamental Rights

Fundamental rights refer to certain rights of individuals considered essential for the overall development of human personality. These rights are guaranteed by the constitution and enforced in the court of law. The constitution also lays down the machinery and mechanism for their enforcement. They are necessary to protect the rights and liberties of citizens against encroachment by the state and sometimes by private citizens. In this sense, they are called constitutional rights. The content of these constitutional rights varies from country to country.

In liberal democracies like the USA and India, the emphasis may be on civil and political rights. In totalitarian or communist countries like China and Cuba, the emphasis may be more on economic rights. However, a few fundamental rights are considered important and accepted as common. Generally

accepted fundamental rights include the right to life, liberty, equality, family, religion, expression, association, and occupation. The Constitution of India contains a carefully chosen list of fundamental rights.

Most states tend to provide constitutional safeguards to these rights to ensure their enjoyment by citizens. To protect fundamental rights from constitutional controversy, they are given constitutional sanctity. They are enshrined in the constitution to provide them with sanctity and special force, setting a check on the power of the government. They cannot be arbitrarily changed. The judiciary is empowered to act as the guardian of these fundamental rights. Constitutions of each country provide different safeguards to protect these rights from violation. However, constitutional provisions alone do not ensure the enjoyment of rights. The degree of liberty actually depends on how the government operates and the political consciousness of the people.

Laski recommends the following Rights:

1. The Right to work
2. Right to adequate wages
3. Right to reasonable hours of Labour
4. Right to participate in management
5. Right to education
6. Right to political power
7. Right to freedom of speech and expression
8. Right to freedom of association and public meetings
9. A limited Right to property

He observes: 'Either the state must control industrial power in the interest of its citizens, or industrial power will control the state in the interest of its possessors'.

2.1.4 Safeguards for Rights

Merely providing a list of rights by the government is not sufficient for their proper enjoyment. They should be properly safeguarded. The following are the methods of safeguarding rights:

The easiest method to safeguard these rights is to embody them in a written constitution. They must be in written form. Since they are part of the constitution and the constitution is enforced, the rights are automatically enforced. As long as the constitution remains operational, rights also remain safe. However, it may be stated that the incorporation of these rights in a written constitution is not a hundred percent guarantee. Rights may be suspended during emergencies. The administrative machinery in Germany under Hitler shows that merely embodying rights in the constitution does not guarantee their protection.

Secondly, the judiciary must be given the authority to check the violation of these rights by the legislature, the executive, or private individuals by striking down wrongful laws as *ultra vires*. John Locke and Montesquieu suggested that the liberty of people could

be secured only if there was a separation of powers. However, experience shows that the mere separation of the powers of the three departments, viz legislative, executive, and judiciary, is not enough to safeguard rights. These rights have been safeguarded even in some countries where there is no separation of powers. However, it may be suggested that the system should be tried.

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

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

Recap

- ◆ 'A state is known by the right it maintains,' says Prof. Harold Laski
- ◆ Rights are necessary conditions for the personal, social, economic, political, mental and moral development of man
- ◆ Rights are claims that are socially recognised, Rights are not absolute, Rights should not be vague, Rights and duties are co-related, Right have a tendency to grow.
- ◆ Rights have been divided into three categories – Natural Rights, Moral Rights and Legal Rights.
- ◆ Natural rights are those rights which were enjoyed by people even before the

origin of the state.

- ◆ Moral rights are based on the moral consciousness of a person. It is not enforced by a court of law but enforced by public opinion.
- ◆ Legal rights are those rights that are guaranteed to people by law and protected by law.
- ◆ Legal rights have been further divided into civil rights, political rights, Economic rights and Fundamental Rights.
- ◆ Rights and duties are the two sides of the same coin. The right of one is the duty of others.

Objective Questions

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



Answers

1. John Locke
2. Right to life, Right to Liberty, Right to property
3. Nature
4. Prof. Laski
5. Public opinion
6. A Grammar of Politics
7. State; and embodied in law
8. Former USSR
9. Prof. Laski
10. Natural Rights cannot be curtailed by the state

Assignments

1. Define rights and mention their chief characteristics.
2. What are economic rights? Provide examples.
3. What do you understand by civil rights?
4. Justify the statement "Every right has a corresponding duty."
5. Why are certain rights called political? Mention the political rights available to citizens in India.
6. What is the difference between fundamental rights and legal rights? Why are certain rights called fundamental?
7. What safeguards are available to protect rights?

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Liberty - Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this chapter will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand and define the concept of liberty
- ◆ examine the characteristics of liberty
- ◆ describe different types of liberty
- ◆ identify the various conditions that are available to safeguarding of liberty

Prerequisites

Liberty is a cherished ideal that has inspired countless struggles for human emancipation throughout history. At its core, liberty represents the freedom of individuals to think, act, and pursue their goals without unjustified restraints or oppression. However, the concept of liberty is nuanced and complex, with different dimensions and interpretations across societies and philosophical traditions. Exploring the meaning, nature, types, and safeguards of liberty becomes crucial to understanding its significance in the modern world. Such an analysis allows us to distinguish real liberty from the mere absence of restraints, appreciate the relationship between liberty and law, and recognise the social conditions necessary to nurture and protect this fundamental human virtue. As liberty remains an ongoing quest, comprehending its varied manifestations and enablers equips us to sustain and advance this universal human aspiration.

Keywords

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

Discussion

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

2.2.1 Liberty - Meaning

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

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

2.2.1.1 Negative Aspect of Liberty

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

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

2.2.1.2 Positive Liberty

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

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

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

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

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

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

- According to Prof. Seeley, “Liberty lies in the existence of a right type of government.” Individuals cannot enjoy liberty under absolute rule.
- Prof. Gettell defines liberty as “the positive power of doing and enjoying those things which are worthy of enjoyment and work.”
- G.D.H. Cole views liberty as “the freedom of the individual to express his personality without external hindrance.”
- T.H. Green states, “Freedom consists in a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying.”
- Prof. Harold J. Laski defines liberty as “the absence of restraints upon the existence of those social conditions which in modern civilization are the necessary guarantee of individual happiness.” He also describes it as “the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves” and as “the affirmation by an individual or group of his or its own essence.”

From the above definitions, one can understand the following:

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

2.2.3 Types of Liberty

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

2.2.3.1 Natural Liberty

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

2.2.3.2 Civil Liberty

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

2.2.3.4 Political Liberty

Political liberty refers to the freedom of people to participate in the management of the political affairs of their country. It encompasses rights such as the right to vote, the right to run for public office, the right to

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

2.2.3.5 Economic Liberty

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

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

Economic liberty includes the right to work for a minimum wage, leisure through regulated working hours, the right to form unions, and access to relief in cases of old age, unemployment, sickness, accidents, and maternity benefits. In essence, it means freedom from economic exploitation, employers' tyranny, the right to employment, and a minimum level of sustenance.

Economic liberty can be ensured by defining economic rights, guaranteeing the right to work, establishing minimum wage laws, providing leisure time, and offering protection against unemployment, old age, and sickness.

2.2.3.6 Personal Liberty

Personal liberty refers to an individual's freedom in their personal life, managing aspects like food, dress, fashion, customs, and traditions without undue interference from the state. As noted by J.S. Mill, "over himself and over his mind and body, man is completely free."

2.2.3.7 Moral Liberty

Moral liberty entails the freedom of an individual to act as a rational being, expressing and developing their personality. Every individual possesses a will and personality, and unless given the opportunity to express and develop them, they are not morally free.

2.2.3.8 National Liberty

National liberty refers to the right of every nation to be independent, serving as the foundation for civil, political, and economic liberty. A state experiences national liberty when it's free internally and externally from any control. Only an independent sovereign state can claim national liberty, governing its territory and people as it sees fit. National liberty allows a nation to determine its foreign policy. India attained national liberty in 1947, and Bangladesh achieved it with the help of Indian forces. National liberty paves the way for other types of liberty.

2.2.3.9 International Liberty

The concept of international liberty encompasses the entire world. It's based on the idea that as the world becomes free, the use of force becomes meaningless, and aggression serves no purpose. It entails renouncing war, limiting armament production, abandoning

the use of force, and peacefully resolving disputes. It also advocates for adequate restrictions on military strength to prevent it from infringing on the liberties of local or international populations.

2.2.4 Conditions of Safeguards Liberty

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

2.2.4.1 Absence of Special Privileges

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

2.2.4.2 Democratic Government

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

2.2.4.3 Fundamental Rights

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

2.2.4.4 Independence of Judiciary

An independent, impartial, and honest judiciary is essential for protecting the lives

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

2.2.4.5 Separation of Powers

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

2.2.4.6 Rule of Law

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

2.2.4.7 Political Education

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

2.2.4.8 Public Opinion and Free Press

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

2.2.4.9 Healthy Party System

Political parties also help safeguard the liberty of the people. In England, there is neither a separation of powers nor a comprehensive Bill of Rights. However, organized political parties ensure the continuous enjoyment of liberty. Opposition

parties keep a strict watch on the government's actions. The sword of criticism must always hang over the government to guard the liberty of the people against any wrongful moves. Mere existence of political parties is not enough; they should be well-organized and based on sound and healthy principles.

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

2.2.5 Relationship between Liberty and Law

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

As mentioned earlier, liberty does not mean the unrestricted right to do anything a person wants. Exercising such rights would endanger the liberty of others. Therefore, all activities that endanger the liberty of others must be curbed, which can only be done through law. However, the law can impose only reasonable restrictions on the liberty of the people. What is reasonable and what is not reasonable is a matter of fact and difficult to determine. Perhaps the best

criterion for deciding this problem is to find out whether or not it is socially necessary and whether it would help bring about the all-round development of human personality.

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

Liberty cannot mean absolute freedom but only regulated freedom. Locke rightly

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

Recap

- ◆ Liberty is derived from the Latin word 'liber', meaning freedom or absence of restraints.
- ◆ Liberty means one can do whatever one likes without restraints.
- ◆ Liberty is opposite of over government.
- ◆ Two aspects of liberty: Negative and Positive.
- ◆ Negative liberty: Absence of restraints.
- ◆ Positive liberty: Freedom to do or enjoy worthy activities.
- ◆ Types of liberty: Natural, Civil, Political, Economic, National, International.
- ◆ Conditions for protecting and promoting liberty:
 - Absence of special privileges
 - Democratic government
 - Fundamental rights
 - Independence of judiciary
 - Separation of powers
 - Rule of law

- Public opinion
- Freedom of press
- Healthy party system
- Strong opposition

◆ Liberty and law are closely related; law is necessary for liberty.

◆ Without law, society would lead to anarchism.

◆ Liberty and equality are complementary, not contradictory.

Objective Questions

1. Who said, “Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty”?
2. Which is the word liberty derived from?
3. Which political thinkers advocate the negative concept of liberty?
4. Who says that the state must not interfere in the self-regarding actions of individuals?
5. Who has written an essay entitled “On Liberty”?
6. Mention two safeguards of liberty.
7. Who said, “Where there is no law, there is no freedom”?
8. If a man is denied freedom of movement, what is he being denied?

Answers

1. Lord Action	5. Rule of Law
2. Liber	6. Fundamental Rights
3. J.S. Mill	7. John Locke
4. J.S. Mill	8. Natural Liberty

Assignments

1. Define the term Liberty. What safeguards are available for the maintenance of Liberty?
2. Distinguish between the positive and negative concepts of Liberty.
3. Discuss the different types of Liberty.
4. Examine the relationship between Law and Liberty.
5. Distinguish between political Liberty and economic Liberty.
6. Give an account of personal liberty. 'Over himself and over his mind and body, the individual is sovereign' (J.S. Mill). Do you support Mill? If not, discuss the reasons.

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Equality-Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ acquire knowledge of the nature, scope and extent of the concept of equality
- ◆ examine different types of equality
- ◆ understand the relationship that exists between equality and liberty.

Prerequisites

Equality is a core ideal that has shaped human endeavors for justice and dignity across societies and epochs. At its essence, equality represents a state of being equal in status, rights, and opportunities, transcending arbitrary distinctions based on birth, wealth, gender, or other societal constructs. The pursuit of equality has fueled revolutionary struggles, legislative reforms, and mass movements aimed at dismantling discrimination and ensuring a level playing field. However, like liberty, the concept of equality is nuanced and multidimensional. It spans the legal sphere of equality before the law, the political realm of equal rights and participation, the socio-cultural domain of ending prejudices, and the economic landscape of equitable access to resources and opportunities. An in-depth examination of the meaning, types, relationship with liberty, and pragmatic considerations around equality becomes crucial. Such an analysis can reveal equality's significance as a moral imperative and a catalyst for human progress while highlighting the complexities involved in its realization within diverse contexts.

Keywords

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

2.3.1 Equality - Meaning

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

19th and 20th centuries, almost all states recognized the right to equality. In India, the right to equality is also an important part of fundamental rights.

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

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

2.3.1.1 Absence of Special Privileges

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

2.3.1.2 Provision of Adequate Opportunity for Development

It means that every person in the state should get adequate opportunities for developing their personality. Nature has not made all men equal, as stated above, but it is not proper for the state to follow the law of

nature. On the other hand, the state should not increase this natural inequality. No one in the state should demand the opportunity to develop his own genius at the cost of others.

2.3.1.3 Provision for the Minimum Standard of Living for Every Individual

Equality implies that the basic needs of every individual should be satisfied in society. The essentials without which life is meaningless must be accessible to all. The urgent claims of all must be met before we can address the particular claims of some.

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

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

Laski maintains that equality means the following things:

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

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

2.3.2 Dimensions of Equality

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

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

2.3.2.1 Legal Equality

Legal equality means equality before the law and equal protection of the law. Equality before the law implies the absence of special privileges in favor of any individual and is based on the theory of the rule of law. The ordinary law of the land should be equally applicable to all. The French revolutionaries interpreted equality as equality before the law and did not recognize any special privileges for any class of individuals. Equal protection of the law means equal treatment under equal

circumstances. It implies that equals should be treated equally, and unequals should be treated differently. In other words, among equals, the law should be equal and equally administered. Equals and unequals should not be treated alike. The concepts of equality before the law and equal protection of the law seek to establish equality of status and opportunity. However, equality does not mean absolute equality. Since society stands for the welfare of all sections of society, it can make certain discriminations in favor of those who are less privileged.

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

2.3.2.2 Political Equality

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

Prof. Laski also feels that political equality is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality: Unless the masses

are assured of a reasonable amount of income, they would not be able to exercise their political rights properly. Thus, economic equality is a precondition for political equality. Political equality is available only in a country where everyone is in a position to participate freely in the political process.

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

2.3.2.3 Social Equality

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

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

2.3.2.4 Natural Equality

Natural equality is an ideal to be achieved. It means that nature has made all men equal. Plato says: "All men are by nature equal." The same view was expressed by J. J. Rousseau. He says, "Man is born free but every where is in chains." Before him, Roman political thinkers like Cicero and Polybius, and ecclesiastical thinkers of the medieval period also stressed equality. Karl Marx said that everyone is equal as a human being. These thinkers believed that men are born free and equal and are endowed with equal gifts and talents. In spite of that, human beings are not equal, and they differ from one another in many respects. Thus, natural liberty is more an ideal than a reality.

2.3.2.5 Economic Equality

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

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

The accumulation of private property in a few hands increases inequality. This has become a result of the Industrial Revolution. That is why Marx and Engels urged the workers of the world to revolt against the existing economic system, which was responsible for economic inequality. They demanded the abolition of private property and the nationalization of all means of production. It is said that without social ownership of means of production, economic equality would become an illusion. Social ownership would remove the basic cause of economic inequality. In a system of social ownership of means of production, distribution, and exchange, there will be no exploiters and exploited. However, this is only a wish. What is desirable is to introduce progressive taxation in the real sense and the provision of welfare services by the state. This will go a long way in providing economic equality to the masses.

2.3.3 Liberty and Equality

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

1. Liberty and Equality are Incompatible

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

2. Liberty and Inequality are Natural

These writers say that liberty is a natural phenomenon. Inequality among men has also been created by nature. All people do not possess the same qualities. Nature has made some people intelligent, some fools, some weak, some strong, some active, and others lazy.

Therefore, all these people cannot be treated equally; it will be unjust and irrational.

3. Liberty and Equality Cannot Co-exist

On the basis of the principle of individualism, some scholars consider that both principles are opposed to each other. The individualists argue that the individual should be left alone in the economic sphere and that there should be free trade and competition. This will greatly help in the development of an individual's personality, and the individual will live in a free atmosphere. If individuals are left free, each will earn money according to his/her ability and capacity. This will result in gross inequalities of wealth and, hence, the end of equality. Suppose the government controls production and fixes the wages of labourers. In that case, it will also result in the curtailment of liberty, and the difference between the capable and incapable will come to an end.

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

To sum up, liberty and equality are opposed to each other because:

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

4. Equality and Liberty are Compatible

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

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

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

In conclusion, we may say that the second viewpoint, i.e., equality and liberty are compatible, is more correct and acceptable. Both concepts have positive connotations, and both together produce a truly democratic society. This is why most modern constitutions embody these ideals in their preambles. The absence of the ideals of equality and liberty is a characteristic of a totalitarian state.

Recap

- ◆ The important kinds of equality are:
 - Civil equality
 - Political equality
 - Economic equality
 - Social equality
 - Natural equality
 - Legal equality
- ◆ Civil equality means equal rights for all citizens.
- ◆ All are equal before the law.

Objective Questions

1. Who said that equality prevailing in the state of nature disappeared with the advent of the concept of private property?
2. Name the political thinker who justifies inequality.
3. Who mentions four dimensions of equality?
4. If the state abolishes the privileges of any group of people, what will it create?
5. What does the grant of universal adult franchise create?
6. Name a political thinker who regards equality and liberty as incompatible.
7. Name a political thinker who regards equality and liberty as compatible.
8. Who says that in a class-divided society, economic equality is impossible?
9. Who said that political equality without economic equality is a myth?
10. Where is political equality best guaranteed?

Answers

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

Assignments

1. Define the concept of equality and explain the positive and negative aspects of equality.
2. What are the various types of equality? Write brief notes on each one of them.
3. Examine the relationship between liberty and equality.
4. What are the basic dimensions of equality? The Constitution of India in Article 14 provides: “The State shall not deny equality before the law and equal protection of the law within the territory of India.” Examine to what extent equality among equals is practised in India.

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Justice – Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define the concept of justice
- ◆ comprehend the fundamental postulates of justice
- ◆ understand various dimensions of justice

Prerequisites

Justice is an ideal that has captured the human imagination across cultures and epochs. At its core, justice represents the fair and equitable treatment of individuals, upholding their rights, and ensuring that legitimate interests are safeguarded. The quest for justice has been a driving force behind social movements, legal reforms, and political revolutions throughout history. However, like liberty and equality, the concept of justice is complex and multidimensional. It spans the realm of law, where justice demands fair laws and an impartial judiciary. It extends to the political sphere, requiring equal rights and representation. Justice has a social dimension, mandating the elimination of artificial inequalities and discrimination. Furthermore, justice has an economic facet, calling for the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities. An in-depth exploration of the various interpretations, principles, and manifestations of justice becomes crucial to appreciating its significance as a moral imperative and a foundation for an enlightened society.

Keywords

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

Discussion

2.4.1 The Concept of Justice

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

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

The origin of the word justice may be traced to the Latin word ‘*justicia*,’ which means joining or fitting. It means a system wherein all individuals are related to each other. It also implies the type of moral, social, economic, political, and legal relations an individual has with others. Justice is opposed to what is unjust, wrong, or unreasonable. The words ‘*just*,’ ‘*right*,’ and ‘*reasonable*’ are primarily moral attributes, and hence justice is primarily a concept of morality. It is an ethical concept.

According to John Salmond, “Justice means to give every individual his due share,” whereas, to D.D. Raphael, “Justice protects the rights of individuals as well as the order of society.” Prof. Barker states,

“Justice is the reconciler and synthesis of political values.”

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

This Greek interpretation of justice is close to the Hindu concept of ‘*Dharma*’ or ‘*Swadharma*.’ It is also concerned with the principle of ‘my station and its duties,’ which means that each individual should do his duty or job for which he is naturally fitted and should not interfere with others.

Ensuring what is due to oneself can be called justice. In any society, the social demand is the common good or welfare of the society, and the individual demand is his ‘all-round progress.’ When these two are ensured, there is justice.

Justice is a complex concept. It can be explained in a narrow or broad sense and in a legal or moral sense. The narrow or legal concept means that justice is related to the legal system of the country. It deals with the laws, customs, and precedents. It protects and enforces our rights and duties. The broad or moral concept deals with the total behavior of society, the concept of right and wrong, and our rights and duties as human beings. The former view can be called empirical, and the latter as normative.

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

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

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

2.4.2 Fundamental Postulates

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.3 Dimensions of Justice

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

2.4.3.1 Legal Justice

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

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

the justifiability of the laws.

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

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

2.4.3.2 Political Justice

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

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

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

to implement the aspirations of the people.

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

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

Political justice demands that recruitment to public services be made without discrimination. Merit alone should be the criterion for recruitment. Competent, impartial, and qualified public servants are required to ensure proper enforcement and execution of laws and policies. Similarly, the recruiting agency should be independent and impartial to avoid discrimination in the selection process.

2.4.3.3 Social Justice

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

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

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

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

Social justice has been strongly emphasised in the Constitution of India. The government has made several legislations to establish social justice. There are also organisations at the international level that promote social justice.

2.4.3.4 Economic Justice

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

As stated, economic justice involves the elimination of glaring inequalities in wealth, income, and property. Aristotle considered economic inequality improper. According to liberal thinkers, the demands of economic justice are satisfied when certain welfare services are provided by the state and

disparities in income are reduced through progressive taxation. Liberal thinkers regarded free competition in a free market society as the key to economic justice.

Karl Marx considered economic justice to be the basis of social, political, and cultural justice. He associated economic justice with the mode of production in a society. Economic justice, according to Marx, can be secured only in an exploitation-free socialist economic system. There can be no economic justice as long as people are divided into rich and poor, exploiters and exploited. Marxism associates economic justice with the abolition of private property and the establishment of communism.

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

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

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

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

Recap

- ◆ The concept of justice originates from the Latin word ‘justicia.’
- ◆ ‘Justicia’ means a system where all individuals are related to each other.
- ◆ According to Salmond, justice means giving every individual their due share.
- ◆ Aristotle’s concept of justice:
 - Functional specialization.
 - Performance of allotted functions.
- ◆ Justice varies by:
 - Place
 - Circumstances
 - Structure
 - Political conditions
- ◆ Basic postulates of justice include:
 - Truth
 - Values
 - Equality
 - Freedom
 - Respect
- ◆ Justice can be broadly classified into:
 - Moral justice
 - Legal justice
- ◆ Moral justice deals with:
 - What is right and wrong.
 - Our rights and duties as human beings.

- ◆ Legal justice deals with:
 - Principles and practices of a legal system.
- ◆ Justice can be viewed from different angles:
 - Political justice
 - Social justice
 - Economic justice
- ◆ Justice, liberty, and equality are interrelated:
 - One cannot exist without the others.
 - The absence of one may result in the absence of the others.

Objective Questions

1. From which language is the word ‘justice’ derived?
2. Name the political thinker who is associated with the concept of economic justice.
3. Who describes justice as the ‘interest of the stronger’?
4. Who says that true justice can be realised only in a Christian state?
5. Who considers justice as the mixture of liberty and equality?
6. Who says that justice is the bond which holds society together?
7. From which angle does the common man look at justice?
8. Who believes that political justice is a myth in the absence of economic justice?
9. Which Latin word is the word ‘justice’ derived from?
10. Who said that a society in which one class is exploited by another is not just?

Answers

1. Latin	6. Plato
2. Lenin	7. Legal angle
3. Thrasymachus	8. Marx
4. St. Augustine	9. Jus
5. Rousseau	10. Marx

Assignments

1. What do you understand by justice? Mention its basic postulates
2. Distinguish between Legal justice and Moral justice
3. What are the various dimensions of justice? Explain briefly
4. What do you mean by social justice? How it differs from Economic justice. Is social justice in India a poet's dream? Discuss

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Political System - Theory and Process



Political System: Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and nature of the political system
- ◆ identify the characteristics of the political system
- ◆ describe the functions of the political system
- ◆ analyse the system analysis of Gabriel Almond and David Easton

Prerequisites

Before delving into the intricate concepts of political systems, it is crucial to understand the foundational principles that shape societies and govern their interactions. A political system is a complex network of institutions, processes, and relationships that govern the distribution of power, decision-making, and resource allocation within a society. It encompasses formal structures such as governments, legislatures, and judiciaries, as well as informal elements like political parties, interest groups, and social movements. The study of political systems aims to unravel the dynamics that underlie the exercise of authority, the formulation of policies, and the resolution of conflicts within a given societal context. Political scientists have developed various theoretical frameworks to analyse and comprehend the intricate workings of political systems. Two prominent approaches are the structural-functional analysis championed by Gabriel Almond and the systems analysis propounded by David Easton. Almond's structural-functional analysis focuses on the structures and functions of a political system, examining how different components interact and contribute to the system's overall functioning. Easton's systems analysis, on the other hand, treats political systems as open and adaptive systems that interact with their environment, analyzing the flow of inputs (demands and supports) from the environment into the political system and the

subsequent conversion of these inputs into outputs (decisions and policies). These theoretical perspectives provide analytical tools to compare and contrast different systems, identify patterns, and explore the interplay between various elements within the political realm.

Have you ever thought about why we pay taxes, drive on the left, and do not smoke or drink in public places? For that matter, why do we expect that some entities would provide reservations in employment, cheaper or free food, water, electricity, medical care, fertilisers, cooking gas, and toilets to the people? Furthermore, why do we assume that the safety and security of life and property against hostile forces would be the responsibility of some powerful agency? We do so as we trust that there is an agency powerful enough to enforce discipline and order in society, to redistribute its resources and wealth, and to maintain law and order. We identify this agency as the political system. How the political system manages and maintains its power depends on what type of political system we are talking about, whether the political system is democratic or dictatorial. This leads us to make a brief review of the structures and functions of the political system.

Keywords

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

Discussion

3.1.1 Political System – Meaning and Nature

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

The concept of the political system is a combination of two words: political and system. The word political mainly refers to power or authority. However, in a broad sense, it refers to power, influence, control or authority, use or threat of use of physical

force, etc. The term system indicates a set of elements standing in interaction. According to Gabriel Almond, a system implies ‘the interdependence of parts and a boundary of some kind between it and its environment’. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it as ‘a complex set of connected things or parts, an organized body of material or immaterial things’.

According to Max Weber, ‘a political system is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory’. Beer and Ulam describe it as ‘a structure that performs certain functions for the society’. David Easton defines a political system as ‘that system of

interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented'. He says that the first aspect of the study of a political system is the making and execution of policies.

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

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

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

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

The method of system analysis adopted

by Gabriel Almond is more representative in political science than that of David Easton. Almond's objective was to search for a 'functional theory of the polity'. His primary interest was to understand how political systems change in type from the traditional to the modern.

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

A system, according to Almond, is characterized by:

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

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

3. Existence of Boundaries: Almond defines boundaries as 'the point where other systems end and the political system begins.' Systems

have a tendency towards equilibrium, which implies that variables adjust themselves with each other and achieve a condition of harmony, stability, or balance.

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

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

1. **Universality of Political Structures:** According to Almond, all political systems, whether primitive or modern, have political structures. By political structures, he means legitimate patterns of interactions by means of which internal or external order is maintained. A political system must have not only specialized political structures like those of the legislature, executive, and judiciary but also informal and non-specialized structures such as political parties, pressure groups, mass media, and other organizations with some political bearing.
2. **Universality of Political Functions:** Every political system performs the same functions, though there may be differences in different political systems and their structures.
3. **Multi-functionality of Political Structures:** According to Almond, no political structure performs only a single function. Rather, all structures perform various types of functions. Multi-functionality is an outstanding characteristic of all political structures.

It means that a political structure performs not one type of function but many types of functions, which are performed by different structures like those of the legislature, executive, and judiciary. For example, the main function of the executive is the execution of laws. However, it also performs the function of delegated legislation (law-making function of the executive) and administrative adjudication (rule-adjudicating function of the executive). The same is true for other political structures like the legislature, judiciary, political parties, and other structures.

4. **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. They have characteristics of both modernity and traditionalism. In this connection, it may be stated that no political system is absolutely traditional or modern, western or non-western, eastern or non-eastern, developed or underdeveloped, and political systems are found to have both formal and informal structures. However, these functional categories and systemic properties are empirical generalisations based on the knowledge and understanding of Western political systems. It was offered without supporting evidence.

3.1.3 Input Functions

a. Political Socialisation and Recruitment

The process of induction of political culture into members is called political socialisation. It aims to develop a set of attitudes among members of the system. The

process of political socialisation changes the pattern of political culture, which can be either manifest or latent.

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

b. Interest Articulation

Interest articulation means presenting interests or demands to political decision-makers. Political parties and pressure groups are involved in this process, bringing the demands of members to the attention of decision-makers. According to Almond, effective articulation takes the form of simple expressions of gratitude, anger, or hope. The functioning of interest groups can be specific or diffuse, general or particular, instrumental or affective.

c. Interest Aggregation

The function of converting demands into policy alternatives is called interest aggregation. This is achieved by (1) formulating general policies that combine interests, or (2) recruiting personnel committed to a particular pattern of society. Political parties constitute the main instrument of interest aggregation. In some systems, the aggregation functions may be performed by the legislature, the cabinet, the bureaucracy, and the media of communication.

d. Political Communication

According to Almond, political communication is the medium through which other functions in the political system

are performed. Almond compares it to the circulation of blood, stating that it is not the blood but what it contains that nourishes the system. Political communication carries claims, protests, and demands to the heart, and from the heart through the arteries flow the outputs of rules, regulations, and adjudications in response to the claims and demands. Communication determines the flow of information between society and the system. It is the process whereby components of the political system, such as individuals, groups, and institutions, transmit and receive information regarding the functioning of the political system. Mass media or organizations controlling mass communication are most suited to perform this function.

3.1.4 Output Functions

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

a) Rule-Making

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

b) Rule-Application

Rule application implies the enforcement of laws enacted by the legislature. The rule application department consists of all officers engaged in carrying out the functions of the government. Rules are executed by officials who require a high degree of administrative

capacity. In this context, the role of bureaucracy has considerably increased. Max Weber says that “bureaucratization is the very essence of the political modernization process.” Bureaucracy is the core of modern government.

c) Rule Adjudication

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

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

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

structural-functional analysis represents a significant advance in political analysis.

3.1.5 System Analysis of David Easton

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

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

3.1.5.1 Inputs

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

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

3. Demands for participation in the political system: such as the right to vote, the right to stand as a candidate for election, the right to access all public offices, and the right to form political associations.
4. Demands for communication and information: such as affirmation of norms, information regarding policy intent, and displays of the majesty and power of the political system during foreign threats or ceremonial occasions.

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

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

3.1.5.2 Outputs

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

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

4. Symbolic outputs: which take the form of affirmation of values, display of political symbols, and communication of policy intent.

3.1.5.3 Feedback

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

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

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

Recap

- ◆ Political System as a Social System
 - Distinguished by its exercise of authority and control over other systems.
- ◆ Almond's Definition
 - A political system is a system of interactions found in all independent societies, performing functions of integration and adaptation.
- ◆ Main Properties of a Political System (According to Almond)
 - Comprehensiveness
 - Interdependence
 - Existence of boundaries
- ◆ Essential Characteristics of a Political System
 - Universality of political systems
 - Universality of political structures
 - Universality of political functions
 - Multi-functionality of political structures
 - Culturally mixed character
- ◆ Problems Faced by a Political System (According to Almond and Powell)
 - Problem of state building
 - Problem of nation building
 - Problem of participation
 - Problem of distribution
- ◆ Functions of a Political System
 - Input functions
 - Output functions
- ◆ David Easton's Input and Output
 - Input consists of demands and support.
 - Output includes policies and decisions.
- ◆ Almond's Seven-Variable Functional Categories
 - Input Functions:
 - Political socialisation and recruitment
 - Interest articulation
 - Interest aggregation
 - Political communication

- Output Functions:
 - Rule making
 - Rule application
 - Rule adjudication
- ◆ Concept of Capabilities (Introduced by Almond)
 - To understand how effectively the system can cope with inputs.

Objective Questions

1. Who is the author of the book *Political System*?
2. Who defines politics as the “authoritative allocation of values”?
3. Who introduced “System Theory” to political science in the realm of national politics?
4. What is the aim of General System Theory?
5. Who gave the concept of equilibrium in the political system?
6. Who defines a system as a set of elements standing in interactions?
7. According to Max Weber, what is the most distinct feature of a political system?
8. What does the study of the political system include?
9. Who wrote the book *The Politics of Developing Areas*?
10. How does David Easton classify the functions of a political system?
11. What are the output functions of the political system, according to Almond?
12. By what process are the basic components of David Easton’s model of the political system—inputs and outputs—connected?
13. What type of function of a political system is interest articulation?

Answers

1. David Easton
2. David Easton
3. Almond and Easton
4. Systematization of knowledge
5. Morton A.Kaplan
6. Almond
7. Use of legal force
8. Formal as well as informal institutions
9. Almond and Coleman
10. Demands and supports Rule making
11. Rule application and Rule adjudication
12. Feed back
13. Input function.

Assignments

1. What is a political system? Briefly discuss its properties and functions.
2. Discuss the inputs and outputs analysis of David Easton.
3. Explain 'a seven variable' functional categories as per the analysis of Almond.
4. What is the concept of outputs?
5. Define feedback.

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Political Culture

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define political culture and understand its different dimensions
- ◆ examine the various types of political cultures
- ◆ analyze the concept of political sub cultures
- ◆ discuss the contribution of political culture to the political process of a society

Prerequisites

Understanding the concept of political culture is pivotal to comprehending the intricate dynamics that shape a nation's political landscape. Political culture encompasses the collective attitudes, values, beliefs, and orientations that a society holds toward its political system, institutions, and processes. It serves as the foundational bedrock upon which political systems are built, influencing the behavior, participation, and decision-making of both citizens and governing bodies.

By examining a society's political culture, we gain insights into the underlying forces that shape its political landscape, ranging from the acceptance of authority to the willingness to engage in civic duties and the level of trust in governmental institutions. Political scientists have developed various frameworks to analyze and categorize political cultures, with the seminal work of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba playing a pivotal role. Their classification of political cultures into parochial, subject, and participant types, as well as their introduction of the concept of a "civic culture," have provided a lens through which to understand the diverse orientations and attitudes toward politics across different societies.

Furthermore, the recognition of political subcultures, which may emerge based on

factors such as region, religion, social class, or ethnicity, highlights the heterogeneity that often exists within a single nation's political culture. Exploring these nuances is crucial for comprehending the complex interplay between a society's values and beliefs and its political reality, ultimately shaping the trajectory of its democratic institutions and governance structures.

Many countries around the world have attempted to create democracies with limited governments using constitutions similar to those of India, Britain, and America. Countries like Brazil, the Philippines, Argentina, and Pakistan all have similar constitutions, but they have experienced corruption, military takeovers, and the rise of radical politicians. What has made the democracies of India, Britain, and America last long? Though diversities exist in all three countries, their political culture unifies them in such a way that these democratic institutions persist.

So what exactly is this political culture, and how is it reflected in the attitudes of these countries towards politics and economics? Let us explore political culture and see how our shared attitudes about political beliefs bring us together.

Keywords

Political Culture, Democracy, Parochial Political Culture, Subject Political Culture, Participant, Determinants of Political Culture

Discussion

3.2.1 Political Culture

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

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

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

Lucian W. Pyee defines it as "the product of both the collective history of a political

system and the life histories of the members of that system, and it is rooted equally in public events and private experience.” Alan R. Ball states that “a political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of society that relate to the political system and political issues.” According to Almond and Powell, “political culture is a pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of the political system.”

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

Political culture includes:

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

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

orientation (judgments or opinions about political objects).

These three dimensions are interrelated. The objects of these cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations are the input processes of the political system. The nature and extent of the orientation, however, may vary from society to society. Thus, the political culture of all countries is not the same. This led Almond and Verba to classify political culture into parochial political culture, subject political culture, and participant political culture.

3.2.2 Parochial Political Culture

Parochial political culture is one in which individuals have no cognition about the political system. As a result, they do not have any affective or evaluative orientation toward the political system. Here, the individual is parochial in the sense that he is only involved in his family or community and is least concerned with the central institutions of the political systems. Such a type of political culture is called parochial political culture. People in this type of culture have no role to play in the political process.

3.2.3 Subject Political Culture

Subject political culture is one in which there is a high frequency of orientation to the political system as a whole and also to the output process. People in this culture understand the role of government regarding law-making, law execution, law enforcement, tax collection, etc. However, they are not taught to participate in the input functions, and sometimes they are not allowed to do so. Here, the individual’s position is essentially passive. Subject political culture is prominent in East European states and newly independent states of Africa and Asia.

3.2.4 Participant Political Culture

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

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

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

3.2.5 Parochial-Subject Political Culture

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

3.2.6 Subject-Participant Political Culture

Citizens are divided into two groups—politically aware and active members, and the rest who are relatively passive. The politically aware are sensitive to all types of political objects and may have developed political efficiency. Since the input institutions are relatively weak, the average citizen finds it difficult to participate, which in turn affects their political actions.

3.2.7 Parochial-Participant Political Culture

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

3.2.8 Civic Culture

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

In this type, citizens are capable of associating and unwilling to associate when they perceive the government acting against their interests. The citizen in the civic culture

has a reserved influence—a potentially active citizen whose interest in political life is not necessarily high, but whose rate of extra-political association is high. The citizen's sense of obligation to participate in political activities is one of the variables of civic culture. Modern governments encourage their citizens to participate in at least some political activities. However, citizens' participation in political activities depends on their sense of obligation to participate. Almond and Verba's study reveals variations among citizens in different democratic countries. Citizens' sense of competence or political efficacy is another important variable of civic culture.

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

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

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

3.2.9 Political Subculture

The people of a country may not display a single type of orientation. Political sociologists generally agree that diverse political orientations exist in society among different groups toward political objects. This means political culture is not always homogeneous but may be heterogeneous. Political subcultures may develop based on region, religion, social class, caste, language, generation, occupation, and other factors. These subcultures play a very important role. However, subcultures are not necessarily divisive; they differ on specific issues related to authoritative decisions. Myron Weiner has differentiated between mass and elite political cultures and observed that India's political culture is characterized by these two political cultures. When a political subculture challenges the basic structural arrangement of society, the stability of the political system is threatened, compelling political authorities to use force.

3.2.10 Determinants of Political Culture

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

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

Ethnic differences also mold the political culture of a country. If there were no racial differences in Africa, the political cultures of the countries in that region would have been different. However, racial differences can be mitigated through mutual understanding and tolerance. Religious homogeneity or differences also have effects on the political culture of a country. Religious differences in India, for example, contributed to the partition of the country.

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

3.2.11 Political Culture of Democracies

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

3.2.12 Contribution of Political Culture

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

1. It has made political science a more complete social science.
2. It has focused attention on the study of the political community or society as distinct from individuals, thus studying the total political system.
3. It has encouraged political scientists to study social and cultural factors responsible for shaping a country's political culture.
4. The study helps to devise appropriate means for bringing progressive political changes in societies and can predict changes over time.
5. It enables understanding why similar political phenomena across the world produce dissimilar political results and provides a tool for comparing different political systems.
6. The study of political culture inevitably leads to understanding political socialisation.
7. It provides a new perspective on the political history of a nation.
8. It helps in understanding political change and modernisation.

However, a difficulty with this concept is that it is challenging to measure political

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

In conclusion, political culture is considered important in any country's political system as it reflects the political values, beliefs, and attitudes of the nation. Just as

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

Recap

- ◆ Political culture includes values, norms, and beliefs that legitimize political institutions and determine individuals' status in relation to these institutions and ruling classes.
- ◆ It represents a pattern of attitudes and orientations towards politics among members of a political system.
- ◆ Orientations encompass cognitive, affective, and evaluative components that vary across societies.
- ◆ Almond and Verba classified political culture into parochial, subject, and participant types based on these orientations.
- ◆ None of these ideal types are found in their pure form in any society, according to Almond and Verba.
- ◆ Mixed forms of political culture include parochial-subject, subject-participant, parochial-participant, and civic culture.
- ◆ The civic culture integrates characteristics from all three ideal types of political culture.
- ◆ Political culture can be heterogeneous, with subcultures based on factors like region, religion, social class, caste, language, generation, and occupation.
- ◆ Determinants of political culture include political continuity, colonial domination, geography, ethnic and religious differences, and the socio-economic structure of society.

Objective Questions

1. What is meant cognitive orientation?
2. What is meant by affective orientation?
3. What is meant by evaluative orientation?
4. What is parochial political culture?
5. What is meant by subject political culture?
6. What is meant by participant political culture?
7. Where does civic culture exist?
8. Which American Political thinker popularised political culture?
9. What does the process of secularisation of political culture mean?
10. What does political culture consist of?
11. Which American political thinker popularised political culture in the field of political science?

Answers

1. Knowledge about political objects
2. Feelings of attachment or rejection about political objects
3. Judgment about political objects
4. Individuals have no cognition about political objects
5. Individual is passive even though he has knowledge
6. Active participant in the political process
7. U.K. and USA
8. Increasing awareness of the people about their political system
9. Attitude and beliefs
10. Lucian W. Pye

Assignments

1. Define the concept of political culture. How does it help to study a political system?
2. Briefly discuss the different types of political culture as per the classification of Almond and Verba.
3. Political culture is the psychological dimension of the political system (Almond and Powell). Discuss the relationship between political culture and political systems.
4. What is civic culture? Write a brief note on it.
5. 'The Indian Political culture is the combination of Elite culture and mass culture.' Discuss.

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UNIT

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

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the concept of political socialisation
- ◆ differentiate between the two types of political socialisation (direct and indirect)
- ◆ identify the different agents involved in the political socialisation process
- ◆ evaluate the importance of the political socialisation process in a political system

Prerequisites

The study of political socialisation is foundational to understanding the intricate dynamics that shape an individual's political orientations, values, and behavior within a given society. Political socialisation refers to the process by which individuals acquire political knowledge, attitudes, and dispositions that govern their engagement with the political system. It is a lifelong learning journey that commences in early childhood and continues throughout one's lifespan, profoundly influencing an individual's perception of political authority, their sense of civic duty, and their overall political participation. Exploring this multifaceted process is crucial, as it sheds light on how societies transmit their political cultures across generations, fostering stability, legitimacy, and the perpetuation of democratic norms.

Political scientists have identified various agents that play pivotal roles in the political socialisation process. These agents include family, peer groups, educational institutions, mass media, and political parties, among others. Each of these agents contributes in unique ways to shaping an individual's political

outlook, ranging from the formative influence of familial values and norms to exposure to diverse perspectives through education and media. Moreover, the concept of political socialisation recognises the distinction between direct and indirect modes of transmission, acknowledging the explicit as well as implicit mechanisms through which political orientations are acquired. Understanding the interplay of these agents and modes of transmission is essential for comprehending the complexities of political socialisation and its far-reaching implications for the health and stability of democratic societies.

Culture has to be acquired over time. The process by which an individual acquires or imbibes the culture of a society or people is known as socialisation. Political socialisation is a part of the socialisation process. It is designed to infuse citizens with values of nationalism, patriotism, and absolute loyalty to the nation-state. For example, the defeat of the Arab nations by Israel in the 1956, 1967, and 1973 wars was often attributed not only to Western support but also to the political socialisation process. If you were asked what constitutes your nationalism, patriotism, and loyalty, what would you say? This can be a hard question to answer, and your answer can often change as you grow.

Keywords

Political efficacy, Political Legitimacy, Political Socialisation, Peer Groups, Symbols

Discussion

3.3.1 Political Socialisation

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

3.3.1.1 Definitions and Meaning

Political socialisation is the process by which political culture is shaped at the individual and community levels and is passed from generation to generation. According to

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

Political socialisation is a process that occurs in every country under every system of government. It operates smoothly without

people being aware of it. It is a process that begins in early childhood and continues throughout an individual's lifespan. It is determined by the socio-economic and cultural environment of the society in which the individual lives.

Political socialisation is a process of learning from experience. It is a continuing process involving all kinds of learning, both formal and informal. However, socialisation is distinct from mere learning; it indicates that part of learning which is relevant to social life. Learning is a conscious process that differs from socialisation. What is true of learning is also true of political socialisation.

3.3.1.2 Aims of Political Socialisation

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

3.3.1.3 Types of Political Socialisation

According to Almond and Powell, there are two types of political socialisation: Direct and Indirect, or Manifest and Latent. Direct

political socialisation refers to the process in which the content of transmitted information, values, or feelings are purely political. It involves the explicit communication of information, values, or feelings towards political objects, e.g., formal education in educational institutions, talks on mass media about political problems, and the use of platforms for audiences. It includes all types of propaganda. It may also operate through imitation, anticipatory behavior, expectation, and experience. Ordinarily, children imitate the political ideas of their parents. Similarly, rural people imitate urban individuals.

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

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

3.3.1.4 Process of Political Socialisation

The process of political socialisation generally operates in a casual or quiet manner without people being aware of it. A newborn child is not a socialized creature and must be socialized through the learning

process. The process of political socialisation starts when the child becomes aware of a wider environment. It is at this stage that the general attitudes of children towards authority, resistance, cooperation, aggression, etc., begin to form. Early socialisation, which begins in childhood, continues through adolescence and adulthood, and ends with death in old age. Almond and Powell state that the process of socialisation continues throughout an individual's life. Easton and Dennis refer to four stages in the process of political socialisation at the childhood stage:

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

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

Political socialisation is the process through which we learn about politics. It concerns the acquisition of emotions, identities, and skills as well as information.

The main dimensions of socialisation are what people learn (content), when they learn it (timing and sequence), and from whom they learn it (agents).

3.3.1.5 Variables of Political Socialisation

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

3.3.1.6 Political Socialisation and Political Culture

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

3.3.1.7 Agents of Political Socialisation

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

a political system. The way in which these agents transmit the elements of political socialisation also varies. However, these agents teach young people about the political system. They can also influence people's political preferences and the political process. Almond and Powell enumerate eight agents of political socialisation, explained below:

1. Family

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

2. Peer Group

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

normally willing to accept the majority view about political issues or values after frank discussion.

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

3. The Educational Institutions

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

Teachers can also help in the creation of new values and new political ideas. Political parties consider educational institutions as fertile ground to politically socialize children according to their philosophy. The extent of the influence of political socialisation in educational institutions can be judged by the fact that many student leaders later become successful political leaders. Students become politically socialized during school

not only through teachings but also through the influence they derive from their school experience.

4. Experience in Employment

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

5. Mass Media

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

6. Political Parties and Political System

Individual orientation to politics is often conditioned by direct contact with the political system. Relationships with political parties, pressure groups, and influential political leaders determine a person's attitude towards politics. Direct formal and informal relationships with specific elites in the political system are inevitably

powerful forces in shaping an individual's orientation to the system. Political parties are also important agents of political socialisation. Various methods are used to articulate party views and convince people. Through political propaganda, electioneering, political recruitment, and articulating and aggregating their political interests, political parties become direct agents of political socialisation. Interest groups are also created in society for this purpose.

7. Religious Institutions

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

8. Symbols

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

3.3.1.8 Importance of Political Socialisation

1. It brings enlightenment to the people.
2. It brings efficiency to the working of the political system.
3. It provides legitimacy to the political system.
4. It helps in the formation of political culture.

5. It helps in maintaining political culture.
6. It provides a link between the political system and the social system.
7. It provides knowledge about political matters.
8. It provides stability to the political system.

According to Almond and Powell, “the study of political socialisation seems to

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

Recap

- ◆ Political socialisation is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed.
- ◆ It involves the development of attitudes.
- ◆ The process of political socialisation is universal.
- ◆ It begins in early childhood and continues throughout an individual’s lifespan.
- ◆ Political socialisation maintains, transforms, and creates the political culture of the people.
- ◆ It can be guided in a particular direction.
- ◆ According to Almond and Powell, there are two types of political socialisation:
 - Direct or Manifest
 - Indirect or Latent
- ◆ Political socialisation may be both formal and informal.
- ◆ The process of political socialisation starts when a child becomes aware of their environment.
- ◆ Various elements of political socialisation are transmitted through a variety of agents.
- ◆ Almond and Powell list eight agents of political socialisation:
 - Family
 - Peer groups

- Educational institutions
- Experience in employment
- Mass media
- Political parties
- Religious institutions
- Symbols

◆ The objective of political socialisation is to:

- Help citizens imbibe a feeling of loyalty towards the nation
- Foster obedience to the political system
- Encourage positive values towards authority
- Promote values that help establish a stable democratic government

◆ In short, political socialisation is a learning process.

◆ It trains individuals to become well-functioning members of a political community.

Objective Questions

1. What is political socialisation?
2. When does the process of political socialisation begin?
3. According to Almond and Powell, what does political socialisation maintain and change?
4. Who defined political socialisation as the establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about the political system?
5. Which agent of political socialisation is the first and most impactful during childhood?
6. What term is used for the process where children imitate the political ideas of their parents?
7. What kind of political socialisation involves the explicit communication of information, values, or feelings towards political objects?
8. What are the two types of political socialisation according to Almond and Powell?
9. Which agent of political socialisation provides political information and adds interpretations in the form of editorials?
10. What role do educational institutions play in political socialisation?

Answers

1. Process	6. Imitation
2. Childhood	7. Direct
3. Cultures	8. Direct, Indirect
4. Ball	9. Mass Media
5. Family	10. Socialisation

Assignments

1. What is political socialisation? Examine its role in a democratic state.
2. Examine how political socialisation is related to political culture.
3. Briefly discuss the importance of the agents of political socialisation in Western societies.
4. Political socialisation is a means of recruiting individuals in the political culture. Elucidate.
5. Explain the concepts of direct and indirect political socialisation.
6. Give an account of the importance of political socialisation in a country like India.
7. The family plays the crucial role in the life and personality of a child. Discuss.

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Political Communication and Mass Mobilization

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define the concept of Political Communication
- ◆ study the elements and the process of Political Communication
- ◆ understand the channels and the types of Political Communication
- ◆ discuss the concepts of Mass Mobilisations with examples

Prerequisites

Imagine, for a moment, that you were born in Colonial America. If you were a boy, you would probably receive minimal education and start working in fields or on farms for your family or other households as a child. If you were a girl, you would never get a formal education, learn only ‘feminine duties’ and housework, and be married off young. Whether you realize it or not, many of our contemporary rights, freedoms, values, and behaviors result from political communication and social mobilization. From educating girls to establishing child labor laws, personal liberties, social justice, and the like, we get to enjoy our current lifestyles largely due to the efforts of social movements and social mobilization. Have you ever considered how social mobilization happens? What are its components? Does it always operate as it is meant to?

Political systems rely heavily on communication to function effectively. From leaders articulating their visions and policies to citizens voicing their demands and concerns, the exchange of information lies at the heart of the political process. Understanding how this communication unfolds, through what channels, and with what effects is crucial for appreciating the dynamics of governance, participation, and power relations within a society. Furthermore, beyond routine political communication, there are instances when large-scale mobilization of the masses becomes a driving

force for change. Social movements, protests, and revolutions all hinge on the ability to rally and organize people around shared grievances and aspirations. Examining the conditions, strategies, and consequences of such mobilizations offers insights into how systems can be challenged, reformed, or overhauled from the bottom up through collective action. Both political communication and mass mobilization, therefore, constitute vital areas of inquiry for grasping the multifaceted nature of politics.

Keywords

Channels, Mass Mobilization, Political Communication

Discussion

3.4.1 Political Communication

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

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

The process of Political Socialization, Political Participation, and Political Recruitment depends upon the process

of Political Communication. The communication of knowledge, values, and attitudes determines the political activity of individuals.

The communication process involves understanding, sharing, and meaning. It consists of the source of the message, the message itself, the channel through which it passes to the audience, and the process known as Feedback. Thus, in a system of Political Communication, a typical source would be a candidate for election to a political office; his message would be a series of policy proposals; his channel would be a television broadcast; his audience would be those members of the electorate who happened to watch the broadcast; and the feedback would be the audience's reaction of approval or disapproval of his proposal. Thus, communication influences public opinion of political figures and public policy.

In every society, there is a complex network of communication. Similarly, a complex network is found in any political system. For a political office holder, his source of information will include his immediate colleagues in office, the administrative office

holder associated with his post, various political associates, a variety of less political contacts, the mass media, periodic contact with other members of society, public speeches, and visits to different parts of the country.

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

3.4.1.1 Factors of Political Communication

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

concerned with the necessities of changes and petitions, representations, etc.; whereas the performance part is concerned with initiative, courage, improvements, and reforms.

3.4.1.2 Types of Political Communication

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

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

3.4.1.3 Channels of Political Communication

1. Mass Media

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

New technologies and changes in the mass media have enabled party leaders to appeal directly to voters. Media has been considered an unbiased provider of information. The growing availability of political information through the media has reduced the cost of

making informed decisions. Many of the information functions, like those of providing campaign information, were performed by political parties in earlier times. The media have now become the primary source of campaign information. Furthermore, the growth of electronic media has diminished the role of political parties. Electronic media also make it easier to communicate events through personalities.

2. Political Parties and Interest Groups

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

3. Informal Contact with Individuals

Apart from mass media and formal organizations, there is a third important channel of communication: informal contact between individuals and groups of individuals. Informal contacts or face-to-face relationships are the most common and frequent means of communication in many societies, although their role in political communication is probably related more to the formation of public opinion than merely to the transmission of political information.

3.4.1.4 Factors Influencing Political Communication

The particular pattern of information that a political system develops depends upon various factors in society. The most important of these are physical and technological, economic, socio-cultural, and political factors. The historical development of communication networks is closely linked to physical and technological factors. The

ability of the various colonial powers of the 18th and 19th centuries to communicate effectively with their colonies was limited by slow-moving sea transport. Newspapers were either nonexistent or had only a limited circulation. Technological advancements, however, subsequently overcame many of these problems. In so doing, they created not a new communication network but added a further dimension to the existing networks.

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

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

The extent to which physical barriers are overcome and technological advances are significant is loosely related to economic development. The higher the level of economic development, the more extensive the development of mass media. These matters of communication will be affected by a variety of socio-cultural factors. An obvious factor is the level of literacy. Apart from limiting the impact of printed media, illiteracy also limits the impact of the spoken word since it is inevitably linked to educational attainment. In such circumstances, face-to-face contacts assume intense importance and are the principal means of communication. The educational system was strengthened to propagate political information, and great efforts were made to increase literacy levels

to facilitate the use of printed media. Face-to-face contacts were organized through party organizations mainly by means of group discussion and instruction. The system was based on three concepts: first, a monopoly by the authorities of all means of communication; secondly, the belief that a message was more effective if it was simple and constantly repeated; and thirdly, the reinforcement of the use of all channels for the same message at the same time.

3.4.2 Mass Mobilization

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

Mass mobilization movements can be sparked by a range of issues, including political oppression, social injustice, economic inequality, and environmental concerns. Mass mobilization may also arise from questioning the legitimacy of the existing regime. It is the study of how and to what extent groups are mobilized politically or electorally in a democratic political system to influence who governs or how they do so. The ruling class also tries to mobilize people behind the regime to strengthen the authority of the government.

It has been applied to the studies of social movements, national movements, rebellions, revolutions, and electoral politics. It is also applied to the study of ‘populism,’ which refers to any political movement that seeks to mobilize people as individuals rather than as members of any particular socioeconomic group. It is directed against a state that is

considered to be controlled either by vested interests or too powerful in itself.

3.4.2.1 Essentials of Mass Mobilization

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

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

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

3.4.2.2 Mass Mobilization in India

Mass mobilization and the organization of the masses derive their inspiration from the freedom struggle and the lessons learned from it. In the middle of the 19th century, both Hindus and Muslims revolted against the British East India Company, which came to be known as the Sepoy Uprising. The revolt

included not only soldiers recruited by the East India Company but also the civilian population. The revolt is regarded as India's first war of independence against British imperialism and colonialism. The mass mobilization paved the way for continued resistance against outside oppression. Mass movements like the Swadeshi Movement, the Khilafat Movement, the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Quit India Movement mobilized the masses against British rule in India. The mass mobilization led by the Indian National Congress, Muslim League, and Hindu Mahasabha urged people to participate in processions, gatherings, and raising funds for the movement.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan, the Lokpal Andolan, and the farmers' movement are some of the notable movements in recent times. Among these, the Narmada Bachao Andolan deserves special mention. It was a significant movement after the Chipko movement that gained widespread popularity in the country. The movement started with the specific issue of people displaced by the creation of the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River. Its objective was to stop the dam from being constructed. Gradually, it became a wider movement that questioned all such big dams and the model of development that required such dams. Since the 1980s, the dam has been the focus of protests, as it displaced millions of people from their homes. The large-scale protest against the dam was significant in many respects. The coming together of tribals and environmentalists, along with the support shown by industrialists in the country, helped the movement gain popularity across the world. The role of the Supreme Court is also important as it helped bring justice to the movement.

Anna Hazare's call for the Lokpal Bill and his anti-corruption movement was a bright star against the rising tide of corruption.

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

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

3.4.2.3 Movement for Democracy in Nepal

Nepal witnessed an extraordinary popular movement in April 2006 aimed at restoring democracy. In 1990, the King of Nepal had accepted democracy, changing the country from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. However, in 2001, the entire royal family was mysteriously massacred, leading to a new king. The new king, Gyanendra, did not accept democratic rule; therefore, in 2005, he dismissed the prime minister and dissolved parliament. A movement was started in April 2006 to regain democracy. All the political parties formed a seven-party alliance and called for a four-day strike in Kathmandu. The alliance had three demands: the restoration of parliament, power to an all-party government, and a new constituent assembly. The protest soon turned into an indefinite strike, with Maoist insurgents and various other organizations joining hands. Eventually, the king was forced to concede all three demands. This struggle came to be known as Nepal's second movement for democracy and is a source of inspiration to democrats worldwide.

3.4.2.4 Bolivia's Water War

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

3.4.2.5 Mobilization and Organization

Various organizations back every power struggle and movement that happens in the world. It is appropriate to consider the different organizations that played a role in the

movement for democracy in Nepal. Firstly, they had the seven-party alliance, which consisted of major parties in parliament, and secondly, they had the backing of the Nepali Communist Party (Maoist). Along with these influential groups, there were also organizations such as teachers, laborers, students, and human rights groups that played significant roles in the movement.

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

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

Recap

- ◆ Political communication is the process through which various groups of individuals:
 - Communicate their demands, support, and protests to the political system.
 - The government communicates information, reports, and decisions to the public.

- ◆ A complex network of communication is found in every society and political system.
- ◆ Political communication has four factors:
 - The idea part.
 - The business part.
 - The complaint part.
 - The achievement part.
- ◆ Political communication is of two types:
 - Communication among citizens themselves.
 - Communication between political leaders and citizens.
- ◆ The elements of political communication are:
 - Communicators.
 - Transmitters.
 - Receivers.
 - Respondents.
- ◆ The media of political communication include:
 - Mass media (newspapers, radio, television, etc.).
 - Public processions.
 - Shouting slogans.
 - Distributing leaflets and pamphlets.
 - Writing and sticking posters on walls.
 - Submission of memoranda to high officials.
- ◆ The factors influencing political communication are:
 - Technological factors.
 - Economic factors.

- Physical factors.
- Socio-cultural factors.
- Political factors.

◆ Political communication is:

- A basic process.
- A social process.
- Essential for self-realization and achieving goals.

◆ Mass mobilization is the process of bringing together a large number of people for a specific cause.

◆ The basic elements are collective action and commitment to the common good.

◆ Essentials of mass mobilization include:

- Resources.
- Education.
- Leadership.
- Commitment of the people.
- Time.
- Money.

◆ In India, mass mobilization drew its inspiration from the freedom struggle.

◆ Examples of mass mobilization in contemporary India:

- Narmada Bachao Andolan.
- Lokpal Andolan.
- Farmers' movements.

◆ The success of mass mobilization globally is highlighted by:

- The democratic movement in Nepal.
- Bolivia's water war.

Objective Questions

1. When did Nepal win democracy?
2. What country did people successfully struggle against the privatization of water in?
3. Where is Bolivia located?
4. Who pressured the Bolivian government to give up its control of the municipal water supply?
5. What was the Narmada Bachao Andolan struggle against?
6. How did online communication play a key role in helping the candidate?
7. Upon what does the process of Political Socialisation, Political Recruitment, and Political Participation depend?

Answers

1. 1990	5. Policy of government
2. Bolivia	6. Make it easier to contact voters
3. Latin America	7. Political communication
4. World Bank	

Assignments

1. What is Political Communication? Examine its impact on a democracy ?
2. Explain the channels of political communication.
3. Give an account of the factors influencing political communication
4. What do you understand about Mass Mobilisation?

5. Explain the events leading to the establishment of democracy in Nepal.
6. Write a short note on Bolivia's Water War.
7. 'The Freedom struggle in India provided flesh and blood for the democratic movement in India'. How can you justify the statement?

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SGOU

Political System and Ideologies





Democracy

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the concept of democracy
- ◆ analyse the principles and features of democracy
- ◆ explore various types of democracy
- ◆ evaluate the importance of democracy along with its demerits

Prerequisites

Democracy is generally seen as the best governmental system ever invented. Most people value living in a democratic state. As a model system for people's participation, it makes sense. Moreover, democracy allows you to decide on national affairs and voice your opinion on policies. A foundational understanding of political theory, history, and systems of government is essential for studying the concept of democracy. Familiarity with key concepts like sovereignty, representation, rights, and the social contract is crucial. Knowledge of influential thinkers, such as Locke, Rousseau, and Mill, provides context. Analytical skills to critically examine democratic principles, processes, and challenges are necessary.

Keywords

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

Discussion

4.1.1 Democracy - Meaning

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.1.1 Conditions for the Success of Democracy

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

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

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

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

4.1.1.2 Democracy as a Form of Government and Way of Life

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

The political aspect denotes the existence of democratic institutions. These include equal rights to vote, equal rights to stand as candidates for election, and equal access to all political offices. Democracy is also characterized by periodic elections, freedom of speech and expression, publication, and association.

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

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

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

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

4.1.1.3 Democracy as a Way of Life

Conventional exponents of democracy largely treated it as a form of government. However, some philosophers have tried to shift the focus of democracy from mere governance to an analysis of democracy as a way of life. Freedom of speech, elections, and other democratic institutions enable people to adopt a rational attitude in politics. John Dewey, an American philosopher, is the

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

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

4.1.1.4 Kinds of Democracy

Democracy may be of two kinds from

the point of view of forming governments: Direct or Pure Democracy and Indirect or Representative Democracy.

1. Direct Democracy

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

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

Referendum

The term “referendum” means to “refer to”. It is a device by which important issues, such as constitutional amendments, may be referred to the people to obtain their verdict. Opinion by the people can be either compulsory or optional. When a referendum is compulsory for all laws of a specific type, it is termed as a compulsory referendum. In Switzerland and France, a referendum is compulsory for all constitutional amendments. Some Swiss cantons have compulsory referendums for ordinary laws. When a law passed by the legislature is submitted to the people for their decision only on the demand of a specified number of voters, it is known as an optional referendum.

Initiative

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

Plebiscite

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

Recall

Recall is another device through which voters can recall officers and elected representatives before the expiration of their term if they fail to carry out their duties properly. Many states in the United States and certain cantons in Switzerland empower

their people to recall their representatives if they do not reflect the wishes of the people.

2. Indirect Democracy

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

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

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

4.1.1.5 Merits of Democracy

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

1. Democracy serves the interests of the common man. Rulers cannot afford to neglect their interests because they know they cannot return to power by ignoring the welfare of the people.
2. Democracy promotes the principle of equality for all men and women. It rejects the principle that 'some are born to rule and others to be ruled'.

3. Democracy respects the ideals of liberty and fraternity. Every individual is free to think, speak, and act, and develop their own personality. Democracy also rests on the principle of fraternity.

4. Democracy is responsive to public opinion. It derives its legitimacy from the consent of the people. It is responsive to public opinion as expressed through newspapers and other media. If rulers act contrary to the wishes of the people, they can be removed by the people.

5. The chances of revolution are less in a democracy. By holding periodic elections, democracy gives ample opportunity to the people to change the government peacefully and constitutionally if they are dissatisfied with its performance.

6. Democracy raises the moral standards of people. In a democracy, people are sovereign masters. Public offices are open to everybody, allowing anyone to rise to the highest position based on merit. Moreover, there is no discrimination in a democratic setup.

7. Democracies afford opportunities for political participation. Elections, election manifestos, propaganda, public meetings, and a free press provide political education to the people, which is not available in a dictatorship.

8. Democracy provides training for good citizenship. It trains people in the art of government. People can participate in political activities and learn how to run their own institutions. Democratic government functions transparently and rests with the people.

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

4.1.1.6 Demerits of Democracy

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

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

In conclusion, democracy offers significant opportunities for people to exercise their rights freely and voice their opinions. However, the mere structure of democracy

does not guarantee achieving the objectives of democracy. Democratic processes require patience, especially in policy implementation, which may not always be effective during times of crisis. Therefore, provisions for temporarily suspending democratic processes during emergencies are essential. Suitable

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

Recap

- ◆ Democracy is a form of government where people have the authority to elect representatives by voting.
- ◆ The term 'democracy' is derived from two Greek words – 'demos' and 'kratos' which means power of the people.
- ◆ Greece is the first democratic country in the world.
- ◆ The principles of democracy include Liberty, Socialism, Secularism, and Republicanism.
- ◆ Democracy may be of two types.
- ◆ In direct democracy, all adult citizens of a state take part in the decision-making process.
- ◆ Direct democratic devices include Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite, and Recall.
- ◆ In indirect democracy, the will of the state is not directly formulated by the people but indirectly through their elected representatives.
- ◆ Indirect democracy may take the form of Parliamentary form, Presidential form, Unitary form, and Federal form.
- ◆ In a democratic country, people can live freely and happily, which may not be possible in a country ruled by a monarch.
- ◆ Democratic government provides certain rights to citizens which they enjoy joyously.
- ◆ Citizens are also assigned certain duties which make them responsible citizens and contribute to their overall development.

Objective Questions

1. Who said that democracy is the government of the people, for the people, and by the people?
2. In a democracy, who is the ultimate sovereign?
3. Against what did democracy arise as a reaction? Who advocated direct democracy?
4. Who is the author of the Book *Modem Democracies*?
5. Who said political equality is a myth in the absence of economic democracy?
6. Which are the two Greek terms from which democracy is derived?
7. Name the five Direct democratic devices.
8. From where can we find Direct democracy today?
9. What is indirect democracy also known as?

Answers

1. Abraham Lincoln	6. The Marxist writers
2. People	7. Demos and Kratos
3. Arbitrary rule of Monarch	8. Referendum, initiative, plebiscite and recall
4. Rousseau	9. Switzerland
5. A.V. Dicey	10. Representative democracy

Assignments

1. Discuss the origins and meaning of democracy according to its Greek roots. How has democracy evolved as a concept over time?
2. Explain the conditions necessary for the successful functioning of democracy as outlined in the unit. Provide examples to illustrate each condition.
3. Compare and contrast direct democracy with indirect democracy. Provide examples of countries practising each form.
4. Outline the merits and demerits of democracy as discussed in the unit. Analyse the advantages and disadvantages of democratic governance.
5. Explore democracy as a way of life, according to John Dewey. How does Dewey's perspective differ from traditional views of democracy as a form of government?

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Liberalism

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the concept of Liberalism
- ◆ analyse the essential principles of Liberalism
- ◆ explore the difference between Classical Liberalism and Modern Liberalism
- ◆ evaluate the importance, merits and demerits of Liberalism.

Prerequisites

It is hard to imagine a set of ideas that has a greater impact on the world we live in today than liberalism. Everything from individual rights to how we perceive the relationship between states and their citizens, and even how we manage the economy – all these things are influenced by liberal thought. Liberalism itself has evolved over the centuries, from its early beginnings in the Enlightenment Era to the present day. Therefore, to study liberalism, a detailed understanding of Enlightenment ideals like reason, individual liberty, and inalienable rights is essential. Familiarity with influential liberal thinkers such as John Locke, Montesquieu, and John Stuart Mill is necessary for understanding the philosophical foundations. Knowledge of landmark liberal revolutions and documents like the American and French Revolutions, the Declaration of Independence, and the Rights of Man is important.

Keywords

Deregulation, Individualism, Liberalism, Limited Government

Discussion

4.2.1 Liberalism - Meaning

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

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

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

4.2.1.1 Main Principles of Liberalism

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

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

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

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

4.2.1.2 Negative Liberalism or Classical Liberalism

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

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

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

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

Basic Principles of Classical Liberalism

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

1. Faith in the absolute value and worth of human personality.
2. Belief in the rationality and goodness of man.
3. Belief in the existence of certain natural rights, including the right to life, liberty, and property.
4. The state is an artificial institution that comes into existence by mutual consent.
5. The relationship between the state and individuals is contractual.

6. Laws are the best means of social control, based on rationality rather than command.
7. The state is a necessary evil and should perform minimal negative functions.
8. An individual should be free in all walks of life—political, economic, social, moral, spiritual, and intellectual.
9. Belief in an open society where there is natural harmony.
10. Belief in a free economy and free trade.

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

4.2.1.3 Positive Liberalism or New Liberalism

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

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

ideology.

Features of Positive Liberalism

The basic features are as follows:

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

4.2.1.4 Classical Liberalism and Modern Liberalism - A Distinction

A distinction may be made between classical liberalism and modern liberalism. Liberalism as originated in the 17th, 18th,

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

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

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

4.2.2 Neoliberalism

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

The major elements of neoliberalism are:

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

electricity, schools, hospitals, and even freshwater.

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

4.2.2.1 Merits of Liberalism

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

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

state from a police state to a welfare state.

- It promoted secularism in all spheres of life.

4.2.2.2 Demerits of Liberalism

Liberalism has been criticized on the following bases:

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

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

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

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

Recap

- The word 'Liberalism' comes from 'Liberalis' in Latin, meaning freeman. It combines democracy and individualism.
- Liberalism emerged in the 16th Century, reacting against feudalism, aristocracy, and clergy. John Locke is known as its father, defining its core tenets.
- There are two types of Liberalism: Negative (classical) and Positive (new).
- Negative Liberalism sees the state negatively, advocating minimal state interference. Exponents include John Locke, Adam Smith, and Jeremy Bentham.
- Positive Liberalism views the state positively, promoting individual development. Advocates include TH Green, Laski, and LT Hobhouse, influenced by the rise of socialism.

- ◆ Liberalism promotes humanistic and democratic ideals like liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice. It ended monarchy and feudalism, fostering democracy.
- ◆ Critically, Liberalist ideas about the state as a necessary evil and individual judgment of interests have been challenged.

Objective Questions

1. Which Latin word is the term 'Liberalism' derived from?
2. How do Individualists consider the state?
3. What did the Individualists aim to create?
4. Who advocated the idea of a police state?
5. When was the philosophy of liberalism born?
6. Why did the positive concept of Liberalism emerge?
7. What is meant by Negative Liberalism?
8. Who is the author of the book *The Wealth of Nations*?
9. Who held the view that individuals are the best judges of their interests?
10. Who is credited with introducing far-reaching changes in Liberal Philosophy?

Answers

1. Liberalis
2. Necessary evil
3. A state with minimum function
4. Individualists
5. As a protest against the absolution of the Church and the fundal order
6. Negative Liberalism had outlived its utility
7. Minimum of restraint
8. Adam Smith
9. Individualists
10. TH. Green

Assignments

1. Explain and evaluate Liberalism in the context of globalization.
2. Examine the difference between Classical and Modern Liberalism
3. Evaluate the future prospects of continuity of Liberalism in the context of Globalisation

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Suggested Reading

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Marxism

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the philosophy of communism
- ◆ enumerate and discuss the basic principles of Marxism
- ◆ critically appreciate the communist philosophy
- ◆ examine the relevance of Marxism.

Prerequisites

Nearly 150 years after Marx's death, Karl Marx and his collaborator, Frederick Engels, remain two of the most controversial yet influential figures in the Western world. Marxism has had a significant historical influence on the organisation of countries, as well as numerous theories in political science, sociology, and economics. It has been one of the most influential social theories, discussing several aspects of social life, including economics, politics, education, and culture. Marxism examines the effects of capitalism on labor, productivity, and economic development and argues for a workers' revolution to overturn capitalism.

To study Marxism, a solid understanding of 19th-century socio-economic conditions and the Industrial Revolution is needed. Familiarity with philosophical concepts like dialectical materialism, alienation, and class struggle is necessary. Knowledge of influential thinkers beyond Marx and Engels, such as Hegel and Feuerbach, who influenced their ideas, provides context. With these, one can engage with the complex and enduring legacy of this transformative ideology.

Keywords

Dialectical Materialism, Withering away of the state, Socialism, Class struggle

Discussion

4.3.1 Marxism - Meaning

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

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

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

Communist Manifesto and *Das Kapital*.

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

4.3.1.1 Dialectical Materialism

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

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

This development is possible through the dialectical process, which is based on contradiction. Hegel describes three stages of growth: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.2 Materialistic or Economic Interpretation of History

This is the cornerstone of communist philosophy. It is the application of dialectical materialism to the development of human society. According to this theory, all the mass phenomena of human society and all fundamental changes in history are determined by the mode of production or the economic or material forces. In Marx's own words, "All the social, political, and intellectual relations and religious and legal systems, all the theoretical outlooks which emerge in the course of history, are derived from the material conditions of life. It's not the consciousness of men

that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."

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

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

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

4.3.1.3 Class Struggle

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

of man is determined, by the war of classes rather than the war of nations.

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

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

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

4.3.1.4 Theory of Surplus Value

According to Marx, “labor is the sole creator of value.” He calls value “crystallized labor” and commodity “congregation of labor.” His theory is an extension of Ricardo’s labor theory of value. Marx differentiates between two kinds of values: the use value

of a thing and the exchange value. The use value of a thing depends on the use a person makes of that thing.

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

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

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

4.1.3.5 Revolution of the Proletariat

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

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

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

4.3.1.6 Dictatorship of the Proletariat

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

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

The basic rule will be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The people will act without any compulsion and without any subordination.

Private property, the conventional family, and marriage will disappear. The union of male and female will be based on mutual love and affection.

4.3.1.7 Criticism of Marxism

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

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

few among the proletariat rising to the status of a new exploiting class escaped the attention of Marx and his followers. In fact, in all socialist states, new classes have emerged—classes of politicians, technocrats, bureaucrats, and intellectuals. The new class is backed by an authoritarian political system and totalitarian social control.

6. Marxism is wrong in considering religion as the opium of man. Religion, rightly interpreted, is an elevating and ennobling force.
7. It may also be criticized that the victory of the proletariat is an unproven assumption. Capitalism is not necessarily sowing the seeds of its decay. The fall of capitalism may not lead to communism; it might sometimes lead to dictatorship,

as observed by Prof. Laski. It is also criticized that Marx ignored the middle class.

The concept of Marxism has been attacked and advocated, criticized, and defended. However, the impact of Marxism has been revolutionary both in political practice and theory. Its influence has compelled the consideration of the social context in political inquiry. The sociological dimensions of recent political analysis are the direct outcome of Marxian political sociology. It directed political studies to the relevance of sociological factors. The threat of Marxian revolution has forced rulers everywhere to consider the welfare of the people, making it an important political concern. In short, Marx has provided a philosophy that has changed the face of the world.

Recap

- ◆ The theory of socialism developed by Karl Marx is known as Communism or Scientific Socialism.
- ◆ He suggested a revolutionary method for changing the present society.
- ◆ The basic principles of communism are contained in his works ‘Das Kapital’ and ‘The Communist Manifesto.’
- ◆ The basic principles of communism include:
 - Dialectical Materialism
 - Materialistic Interpretation of History
 - Class Struggle
 - Surplus Value
 - Proletariat Revolution
 - Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- Withering Away of the State
- ◆ The philosophy of Communism is known as Dialectical Materialism.
- ◆ He borrowed it from Hegel, a German political philosopher.
- ◆ According to Marx, all fundamental changes in history are determined by the mode of production or economic or material forces.
- ◆ The means of production and distribution divided people into different classes.
- ◆ The two dominant classes were owners and toilers, or exploiting and exploited.
- ◆ These classes opposed each other and produced class struggle.
- ◆ According to Marx, labour is the sole creator of value.
- ◆ The difference between the value produced by the laborer and the value given to the laborer is surplus value.
- ◆ Revolution is inevitable because capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction.
 - The proletariats will violently revolt.
 - Through socialistic revolution, the working class will overthrow the bourgeoisie.
 - After the revolution, all upper classes will be eliminated and there will be a dictatorship of the proletariat.
- ◆ Once capitalism is completely destroyed and socialism is established:
 - The state will become unnecessary and must wither away.
 - A classless and stateless society will emerge.
 - The basic rule will be: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.”

Objective Questions

1. Why is Marxian socialism considered scientific?
2. The Communist Manifesto was written by Marx with the help of whom?
3. The dialectic principle implies that human history develops through what process?
4. According to Marx, what does the legal system of a country depend on?
5. What does Marx say the history of a state is a record of?
6. After the revolution by the workers, what type of state would emerge?
7. How would the withering away of the state take place?
8. What, according to Marx, does the state mean?
9. Who said, “Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose except your chains”?
10. According to Marx, the value of a good is determined by what?

Answers

1. It is based on a thorough study and analysis of history
2. Engels
3. Conflicts and contradictions
4. Economic System
5. Class struggle
6. A proletarian state
7. Automatically after the classless society is established
8. An instrument of exploitation and oppression
9. Marx.
10. The value of labour necessary to produce it.

Assignments

1. What are the basic principles of Marxism, and how have they influenced the development of communist ideology?
2. How does Karl Marx's concept of dialectical materialism differ from Hegelian dialectics, and what are its implications for understanding social and historical change?
3. What is Marx's materialistic interpretation of history, and how does it apply to the different stages of human society?
4. What are the main criticisms of Marxism, and what implications do they have for the theory's application in contemporary society?
5. The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle.' Explain the statement of Marx.
6. The value of a commodity is the value of labour necessary to produce it. Do you agree with the statement? Give reasons.

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Gandhism

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the basic principles of Gandhism
- ◆ examine Gandhi's views on Politics, Religion, Means and ends, non-violence, satyagraha and all his concepts of the ideal state
- ◆ explore the difference between Gandhian Socialism and Marxian Socialism
- ◆ evaluate the relevance of Gandhism in the Contemporary world

Prerequisites

There is not a single person in the world who is untouched by the teachings and messages of Mahatma Gandhi—the father of our nation, the chief advocate of Non-violence, Ahimsa, and Satyagraha. Gandhian ideology emphasizes not on idealism but on practical idealism. His philosophy is a double-edged weapon. Its objective is to transform the individual and society simultaneously, in accordance with the principles of truth and non-violence. To study Gandhism, a deep understanding of Indian history, culture, and the struggle for independence is needed. Familiarity with concepts like Ahimsa (non-violence), Satyagraha (civil disobedience), and Swaraj (self-rule) is required. Knowledge of influential figures who shaped Gandhi's philosophy, such as Tolstoy, Ruskin, and Hindu scriptures like the Bhagavad Gita, provides context.

Keywords

Non-violence, Satyagraha, Ends and Means

Discussion

4.4.1 Gandhism-Meaning

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

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

4.4.1.1 Politics and Religion

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

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

4.4.1.2 Truth and Nonviolence

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

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

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

on earth in thought, words, or deed. To Gandhiji, Ahimsa is the highest religion. He called Ahimsa a spiritual or divine power. According to Gandhi, cowardice and Ahimsa do not go together any more than water and fire. However, he recognized that absolute Ahimsa is an attribute of God alone. Non-violence is an effort to abandon violence, which is inevitable in life.

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

4.4.1.3 Ends and Means

Gandhiji believed in the purity of ends as well as means. He was of the opinion that noble aims can be attained by noble means. He strongly refuted the idea that the end justifies the means. He said 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 alone. The right type of seed will grow into the right type of tree. "As you sow, so shall you reap." Again, means and ends may be compared to action (Karma) and its consequences (Phala). Man has full control over his actions, not over their consequences. Means and ends are two sides of the same coin. They cannot be separated; immoral means cannot be used to achieve moral ends. The wrong way can never lead to the right destination.

4.4.1.4 Satyagraha

The idea and practice of Satyagraha constitute the heart and soul of Gandhism.

It is his unique and distinctive contribution. Gandhi defined Satyagraha as the "soul force" or "love force." Literally, Satyagraha means holding onto truth or insistence on truth. It is the vindication of truth. It is not passive resistance but a moral weapon based on the superiority of soul force over physical force. It is the opposite of coercion. It is the weapon of the strongest and bravest. Satyagraha never injures the opponent but always appeals either to their reason by gentle arguments or their heart by self-sacrifice. It is "twice blessed"; it blesses both the practitioner and the one against whom it is practiced.

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

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

4.4.2 Gandhiji's Concept of State

Gandhiji considered the state as an organism of violence and force. He said the individual has a soul, but the state is a soulless machine. He is often described as a philosophical anarchist. He says that the state is evil because it is based on violence and uses force against individuals.

Thus, he wanted to establish an ideal state called Ram Raj - the Kingdom of God on earth. It is a classless and stateless society in

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

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

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

In the ideal society, nobody will be discriminated against based on religion, race, caste, etc. He favoured the idea of a secular state. The state should not interfere in the religion of the people. He was of the opinion that religion is a personal affair of the individual and the state should practice neutrality in this respect. No religion should be given special privileges by the state.

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

and on behalf of the propertyless.

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

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

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

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

4.4.3 Gandhism and Marxism

It has often been said that Gandhiji was a communist minus violence. Both Gandhiji and Marx were deeply concerned with the plight of the downtrodden. Both stood for a classless and stateless society. It is sometimes felt that their philosophies were akin to each other. But on deeper analysis, it is revealed that there are many differences between them more than their similarities. Following are the fundamental differences between Gandhism and communism:

1. Gandhi was a spiritualist whereas Marx was a materialist. Gandhism puts emphasis on spirit, while communism puts emphasis on matter. Gandhiji treated religion as a

moral force, whereas Marx dubbed religion ‘the opium of the people.’

2. Gandhi believed in non-violence, while communism believes in violence. The method of Gandhism is non-violence, while that of communism is violence. Gandhi pointed out that non-violence was not only the first article of his faith but also the last article of his creed. On the other hand, communists praise violence.

3. Gandhiji saw the state as a soulless machine for the coercion of individuals, whereas Marx saw it as an instrument of exploitation and oppression of the dependent class.

4. Gandhiji emphasized the purity of means as well as ends, but Marx emphasized only the end. Gandhiji insisted that noble ends and noble means must go together, whereas Communists do not bother about means; for them, the end justifies the means.

5. Gandhiji believed in democracy, while communism opposes democracy. Gandhi had deep faith in democracy and called it an ideal type of government essential for the development of the individual. Communism, on the other hand, believes in the dictatorship of the proletariat. For communists, democracy is the government of the capitalists.

6. Gandhiji did not oppose the concept of private property, whereas Marx was an enemy of private property. Marx held that the existence of private property is responsible for the division of society.

7. Gandhiji favored simple technology, whereas Marx relied on advanced technology as a liberating force. Similarly, Gandhism is for small-scale industries, while communism favors big industries.

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

according to his need.’

4.4.4 Relevance of Gandhism

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

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

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

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

His dream of decentralisation of power and authority became a reality with the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. Moreover, his preachings to humanity, such as forgiveness rather than punishment, loving one’s enemies, and leading a simple life, are very much relevant in today’s world. Above all, the concept of Satyagraha, as developed and practised by Gandhiji, became the strongest and bravest democratic weapon,

which is being practised by democratic forces to protect and promote the interests of the people and oppose evil practices of the government even today.

However, his concepts of a stateless society, private property, socialism of hand and feet, and trusteeship seem difficult to put into practice. Nonetheless, his concepts open new

areas of thinking, and if adopted as ideals, they will remain relevant for all times to come. Gandhiji lived for the liberation of humanity from exploitation, disease, hunger, ignorance, and mental and physical worries and miseries. Thus, it may be stated that he is the guiding light of modern India.

Recap

- ◆ Mahatma Gandhi was a great leader, thinker, teacher, preacher, humanist, fighter, nationalist, and internationalist.
- ◆ Gandhiji was not a politician. He sought to spiritualize religion and moralize politics.
- ◆ Truth and non-violence form the essence of Gandhism. Non-violence is rooted in Satyagraha, meaning supreme love, kindness, and self-sacrifice.
- ◆ Satyagraha is the heart and soul of Gandhism, a moral weapon based on non-coercion and self-suffering. It appeals to reason and never injures opponents.
- ◆ Gandhi viewed the state as an organization based on violence and force, a soulless machine. He advocated for a classless and stateless society, sometimes described as anarchistic.
- ◆ Gandhi aimed to establish Rama Raj - the Kingdom of God on earth, though he believed it couldn't be achieved immediately. He advocated instead for a non-violent state based on mutual consent, decentralization, opposition to untouchability, secularism, and trusteeship.

Objective Questions

1. What is the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi?
2. What did Gandhi believe in addition to purity of means?
3. For what goal did Gandhi adopt the path of Satyagraha?
4. In Gandhi's view, with what is God inseparable?
5. According to Gandhi, what form are the form of Satyagraha?
6. As a means, what does Gandhism regard as an end?
7. Why is Gandhiji said to be an Anarchist?
8. In Gandhism, what does it attach more importance to than to rights?
9. What is Gandhism considered to be communism minus?
10. What system did Gandhiji believe in in the economic field?

Answers

1. <i>My Experiment with Truth</i>	6. State
2. Means	7. Classless and stateless society
3. Swaraj	8. Rights
4. Truth	9. Violence
5. Non-Co. Cooperation, Hartals and Strikes, picketing, Social boycott, Hunger strike, Civil disobedience, Hijarat	10. Trusteeship system.

Assignments

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

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Political System and Good Governance



Good Governance - Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the meaning of good governance
- ◆ identify the characteristics of good governance
- ◆ discuss the indicators of good governance
- ◆ trace the evolution of the concept in India
- ◆ examine the challenges in establishing good governance

Prerequisites

Good governance assures an equitable society in all respects. The true test of good governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human rights: civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights. The key question for deliberation is: Are the institutions of governance effectively guaranteeing basic human rights, i.e., the right to health, adequate housing, sufficient food, quality education, fair justice, and personal security? To understand the meaning of the concept and to comprehend the intentions of the UNDP, we have to engage in a detailed discussion.

Keywords

Consensus, Good governance, Legitimacy, Sub-Saharan countries , Transparency

Discussion

5.1.1 Good Governance

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

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

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

The Bank document entitled “Governance

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

5.1.2 Concept of Good Governance

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

1. Open market, friendly and competitive economy.

2. Democratization.
3. Improvement of human rights records.

5.1.3 Characteristics of Good Governance

Good governance has eight major characteristics:

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

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

5.1.4 Parameters of Good Governance

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

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

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

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

5.1.5 Indicators of Good Governance

The Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) lays down the following indicators of good governance:

1. Legitimacy of government.
2. Accountability of political and official elements of government.
3. Competence of governments to make policies and deliver services.
4. Respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Besides, the OECD has also identified three distinct aspects of good governance:

1. The form of political regime.
2. The process by which authority is exercised.

- The capacity of the government to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge its functions efficiently and effectively.

5.1.6 Evolution of the Concept in India

Since independence, structural changes have been made in the administrative setup to fulfill the aspirations of the people. In 1949, N. Gopalswami Ayyangar recommended the creation of an Organisation and Methods division in each ministry for administrative improvement. In 1951, A.D. Gorewala, in his report, recommended that clean, efficient, and impartial administration was the first condition for the success of democratic government. He suggested the reorganization of administrative machinery to ensure speedy, effective, and responsive administration. Likewise, in 1954, Paul H. Appleby emphasized the need for setting up an Institute of Public Administration to reform Indian administration. In the same year, Asoka Chandra suggested ways to remove delays in the execution of projects. Further, T.T. Krishnamachari's report dealt with the training of IAS officers and improvement in district administration. Pandit Nehru himself emphasized the need for democratic decentralization.

To ensure democratic decentralization, local bodies were established for both urban and rural areas. However, these bodies could not generate the required level of political participation among the people and, in most states, became ineffective or non-operational for various reasons. As a result, the bureaucracy became uncontrollable, leading to corruption and misuse of power. The Santhanam Committee and the first Administrative Reforms Commission were constituted to give suggestions for curtailing corruption in administration. The Economic

Reforms Commission under L.K. Jha (1983) advocated the need for accountability. In this context, Rajiv Gandhi rightly noted that out of every rupee spent by the government, only 15 paise reached the truly needy. Thus, public administration, which was meant for the welfare of the people, turned into a burden. Consequently, the need and necessity for the concept of good governance emerged on the global stage under the banner of the Second Minnowbrook Conference (1988). The conference emphasized the need for economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (3 Es) in administration. In light of this, steps were taken in Indian administration to restructure and redesign it to be pro-people. Additionally, local bodies were re-established with constitutional provisions. The 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts of 1993 made adequate provisions in the Constitution by inserting the 11th and 12th Schedules.

These bodies have provided adequate constitutional opportunities for political participation to all segments of society. Twenty percent of seats are reserved for SCs and STs. One-third of the total seats are reserved for women, which is likely to increase to 50%. These bodies have given new opportunities for political participation to citizens in decision-making and implementation at the local level.

However, the hegemony of bureaucracy was not checked properly even after the establishment of local government bodies, and the layman remained deprived of relevant information. In this context, the Right to Information Act, 2005, was passed. The act makes the government more consensus-oriented and accountable to the governed. It promotes transparency and openness in governmental affairs and makes the government more responsive to the needs of the people. It instills confidence among citizens that they can question the government and actively participate in the political process at the local level. In short, it forces authorities

to ensure transparency, accountability, and responsiveness in day-to-day functioning, which are the ingredients of good governance. There is hardly any public activity (Section 8 being an exception) that is out of the ambit of the RTI Act. Its scope is as wide as that of the office of the Chief Justice of India. The Act has undoubtedly strengthened right-thinking and honest personnel, providing them with adequate safeguards against corrupt and selfish bureaucrats and politicians. Moreover, it has made our system more accountable, transparent, open, and responsive, which are the basic components of good governance. In addition to the Freedom of Information Act, other initiatives like e-governance with a focus on minimum government and maximum governance, legal reforms, ease of doing business, and police reforms have already been started. Besides, the National Human Development Report outlines the good governance approach. Later, a model code of governance drafted by a committee of Chief Secretaries provided essential elements of good governance.

In this context, a reference may be made to the Seven Sins of public life pointed out by Gandhiji in the context of the concept of good governance. These are politics without principles, wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, and worship

without sacrifice. These lessons are as valid now as when first enunciated in the 1920s.

5.1.7 Challenges to Good Governance

There are certain challenges to ensuring good governance. They are given below:

1. Criminalization of politics.
2. Corruption.
3. Gender disparity.
4. Growing incidence of violence.
5. Delay in justice.
6. Centralization of the administrative system.
7. Marginalization of the depressed classes.

The effective functioning of governance is the prime concern of every state and its people. What is needed is a transparent, accountable, and intelligible governance system absolutely free from bias and prejudices. The best way to ensure transparency and accountability in governance is through increased and informed participation of the people. People are the biggest stakeholders in governance and have a critical and crucial role to play.

Recap

- ◆ Good governance involves transparent and accountable public authority.
- ◆ It ensures service delivery with people's participation.
- ◆ Key elements include:
 - Rule of Law
 - Transparency
 - Responsiveness
 - Equity and Inclusiveness
 - Effectiveness and Efficiency
 - Accountability
- ◆ **Main Characteristics of Good Governance:**
 - Participation
 - Consensus
 - Accountability
 - Transparency
 - Responsibility
 - Efficiency and Effectiveness
 - Equitability and Inclusiveness
 - Rule of Law
- ◆ **Parameters of Good Governance:**
 - Political accountability
 - Freedom of association and participation
 - Rule of Law
 - Bureaucratic accountability
 - Freedom of information
 - Efficient and effective administrative system
- ◆ **Indicators of Good Governance:**
 - Legitimacy of government
 - Accountability of rulers
 - Competence in policy making and service delivery

- Respect for human rights
- Adherence to the Rule of Law

◆ **Good Governance in India:**

- In 2001, the National Human Development Report outlined the good governance approach.
- A model Code of Governance was later drafted by a committee of Chief Secretaries, detailing essential elements of good governance.

◆ **Ensuring Good Governance:**

- Good governance is characterized by transparency and accountability.
- The best way to ensure these is through increased participation of people.
- People are the biggest stakeholders in governance.
- They have a critical and crucial role to play.

Objective Questions

1. Which organization defined good governance as “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels” in 1997?
2. In which year did the World Bank coin the concept of good governance in its present form?
3. How many major characteristics of good governance are listed in the text?
4. Which organization identified indicators of good governance including legitimacy of government and respect for human rights?
5. Who recommended the creation of an Organisation and Methods division in each ministry for administrative improvement in 1949?
6. Which constitutional amendments provided for the establishment of local bodies with reservations for SCs, STs, and women?
7. In which year was the Right to Information Act passed in India?
8. Who pointed out the “Seven Sins” of public life in the context of good governance?

Answers

1. UNDP	5. Ayyangar
2. 1989	6. 73rd/74th
3. Eight	7. 2005
4. OECD	8. Gandhi

Assignments

1. What is the meaning of good governance, and why is transparency and accountability essential for it?
2. What are the eight main characteristics of good governance, and how do they contribute to effective governance?
3. What are the key parameters of good governance according to the World Bank, and what are the indicators of good governance as identified by the OECD?
4. How has the concept of good governance evolved in India since independence, and what significant reforms and initiatives have been taken to promote it?
5. What are the main challenges to establishing good governance, and what strategies can be proposed to overcome these challenges?
6. Examine the changing role of technology in unleashing an era of Good Governance.
7. Good governance is the most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development.' How far do you think this statement is relevant in the context of globalisation?

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SGOU



Constitutionalism and Rule of Law

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define the concepts of Constitution, Constitutionalism, and Rule of Law
- ◆ understand the principles, features, and pillars of Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law, including those developed by Prof. Albert Venn Dicey
- ◆ examine the patterns and relevance of Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law
- ◆ unearth and analyze the problems associated with Constitutionalism and the application of the Rule of Law in India
- ◆ appreciate the significance of these concepts in the broader context of governance and legal systems

Prerequisites

Imagine you are an advisor to King William III in 1689. He is being pressured to consent to the English Bill of Rights. He asks you for advice on how to proceed. Will you support or condemn the proposed Bill of Rights?

The Bill of Rights forms the fundamental structure of the British Constitution. The Constitution serves as the cornerstone of a society's commitment to protecting the rights and freedoms of its citizens. By enshrining fundamental rights within its framework, a constitution establishes a legal and moral foundation for the governance of a nation. It provides a set of principles and rules that guide the actions of governments and institutions, ensuring accountability and limiting the abuse of power. Moreover, a constitution serves as a shield against tyranny and oppression, safeguarding individuals from arbitrary actions by the state. It guarantees the right to freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and due process, among others, laying the groundwork for a just and democratic society. Without a constitution that

upholds rights and liberties, individuals are vulnerable to discrimination, injustice, and abuse. Therefore, the importance of a constitution in ensuring rights cannot be overstated—it is the bedrock upon which democracy, justice, and human dignity thrive.

May be you have heard the quote ‘rules for thee, but not for me’. Have you ever felt elected officials or people in authority do not follow the same rules they expect you and others to follow? This is where the concept of the rule of law comes into play. For centuries, people have desired a legal arrangement where the laws are fairly applied to all. What are the guiding principles and foundation of the rule of law?

Keywords

Constitutionalism, Supremacy of the Constitution, Separation of Powers, Rule of Law, Equality before the law, Fundamental Rights, Constitution, Judicial Review.

Discussion

5.2.1 What is Constitutionalism?

Constitutionalism is a modern concept that connotes a political order governed by laws and regulations. It stands for the supremacy of law, not of man. It is a system of ‘divided power.’ By dividing power, effective restraints upon governmental actions follow. In other words, constitutionalism is a political philosophy that emphasizes the importance of a constitution as the supreme law of the land and a foundation for a well-organized and just society. As constitutionalism is a political spirit or philosophy, it is not necessary that states having a constitution may practice constitutionalism. For instance, Singapore.

Constitutionalism is an important principle element of liberalism. It means certain limitations upon the government specified by the constitution. It further states that whenever the government intends to discharge any function or adopt a policy, it must follow these restrictions.

According to Carl J. Friedrich, “It is a body of rules ensuring fair play, thus rendering the government responsible.” It requires a constitution “to limit the arbitrary action of the government, to guarantee the right to be governed, and to define the operation of sovereign power. It is another name for limited and civilized government.”

5.2.1.1 Constitution and Constitutionalism

In order to get a clear understanding of the concept, we must first understand the meaning of the terms constitution and constitutionalism. The main difference between constitution and constitutionalism is that the constitution is a written document that outlines the structures and functions of the state and the rights of citizens; on the other hand, constitutionalism is an unwritten idea or philosophy that governs through rules and regulations stated in the constitution. The essential differences between them are given in a tabular form.

Table 5.2.1 Differences between Constitution and Constitutionalism

Constitution	Constitutionalism
A document that limits the power of the state.	The concept/theory/ideology behind limiting the power of the state.
Written document	Soul/Philosophy of the Constitution, unwritten.
Deals with the structure of government the political process and citizen's Rights.	It deals with limiting the power of the state and protecting individual rights.
A country can exist without a constitution.	A country can never exist without constitutionalism.

Thus, it seems that the difference between constitution and constitutionalism is that the constitution acts as a document that limits state power, whereas constitutionalism is a concept of limiting the state's outreach.

The rise of the constitutional state is a historical process. Its chief materials are contained in the history of political institutions and Western political ideas. The history of the development of constitutionalism is the history of the growth of political institutions, as witnessed in Greece, Rome, and thereafter in the middle of the modern ages.

Constitutionalism is one of the basic values of liberalism and a key component of liberal democracy. It is based on the assumption that government is always liable to become a tyranny against individuals because 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. Constitutionalism is thus a vital guarantee of liberty. Liberal constitutionalism is associated with a written constitution, a system of checks and balances among organs of government, and guarantees for the rights and liberties of the people.

5.2.1.2 Principles of Constitutionalism

As stated, constitutionalism stands for a system that has a division of powers and checks and balances so that the government remains responsible. It also describes adequate techniques and procedures that can bring about systematic and orderly change. It does not stand for a particular form of government, though it may be described

as essential for a democratic polity. In this context, it is essential to discuss the principles and features of constitutionalism summarized as follows:

- 1. Supremacy of the Constitution:** Constitutionalism asserts that the constitution is the supreme law of the land. All other laws and government actions must conform to its provisions.
- 2. Separation of Powers:** Constitutionalism advocates for the separation of powers among the three branches of government: the executive, legislative, and judicial. This division of power prevents any one branch from dominating the others.
- 3. Responsible and Accountable Government:** In a democratic system, people are sovereign masters. They have the right to demand accountability. When the government fails to fulfill the expectations of people, the authorization to govern is revoked in the next elections.
- 4. Limited Government:** Constitutionalism places limits on the powers of the government to protect individual rights and prevent abuse of authority. Any exercise of authority beyond these limits is considered unconstitutional.
- 5. Rule of Law:** The Rule of Law implies that every action of the government must be authorized by law. Everyone, including the government, is subject to the law.

6. **Independence of Judiciary:** The judiciary must be independent in the interpretation of the law. An independent judiciary is crucial to uphold the rule of law. The judiciary serves as the final arbiter of legal disputes.
7. **Protection of Fundamental Rights:** Constitutionalism recognizes and safeguards the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals. These rights are enshrined in the constitution and protected from infringement by the government or other individuals.
8. **Police Accountability:** Constitutionalism also envisions that the police, while performing their duties, shall uphold the rights, freedom, and dignity of individuals. This can be ensured by bringing the police under the control of laws and courts.
9. **A Stable Political Order:** All changes should be effected in a peaceful and lawful manner. A stable political order in a country must also mean socio-economic welfare of the people.

5.2.1.3 Patterns of Constitutionalism

Liberal or Western Pattern

Thomas Paine, Alexis de Tocqueville, James Bryce, Harold J. Laski, Herman Finer, C.F. Strong, Carl J. Friedrich, and a host of others are known as the proponents of this pattern. They have taken the view that constitutionalism is both an end and a means. It is both value-free and value-laden. It has both normative and empirical dimensions. The provisions of the Constitution not only lay down the composition of various organs of government and their powers and functions but also uphold the great ideals of justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity. According to them, the constitution is not only an end but also a means to amend. Its ends are the security and protection of the people.

The Western concept of constitutionalism stands for a constitution that is either in the form of a document or is an assemblage of laws, institutions, customs, and conventions. The rules may either be written or they may exist in the form of conventions. The constitution is more important than the government. It may make adequate arrangements for the establishment and maintenance of restraints so that the areas of government are well preserved. The Western Liberal concept of constitutionalism desires a ‘constitutional’ State. It has a body of rules and conventions for the operation of a limited government. It has a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary, all required to work within the prescribed framework. If there is a change, it should be peaceful and orderly. There is rule of law ensuring liberty and equality of people; there is freedom of the press to act as the ‘fourth estate’; there is a system to promote international peace, security, and justice.

Socialist Concept of Constitutionalism

Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, etc. can be regarded as proponents of the Socialist concept of constitutionalism. In Socialist countries, the constitution is not an end in itself; it is just a means to implement the ideology of Scientific socialism. It is a tool in the hands of the dictatorship of the proletariat that seeks to establish a classless and stateless society. The purpose of the constitution is not to limit the power of the state but to make it so vast and comprehensive that the ideal state of the workers is realized. The state is totalitarian. The real aim of the constitution in such a country is not to ensure liberty and equality, rights and justice for all but to see that the enemies of socialism are destroyed.

Marxian Constitutionalism views the state itself as a class institution—an instrument of exploitation and oppression by the bourgeoisie (haves) of the proletariat (have-nots). Now the proletariat will make use of the state

for the purpose of liquidating enemies of Socialism and acts as a counter-revolutionary force. In the place of the constitution, the communist party stands supreme. The communist party is the ‘vanguard’ of the working class. It is the party that has to see the gains of revolution firmly consolidated. Hence after the victory of socialism or the working class, there can be no public or private rights. The interests of the state, society, and personality are synthesized in one unity. The constitution is a manifesto, a confession of faith, and a statement of ideals. It deals not only with the present but also with the future that has yet to be realized.

However, all over the world, the Marxist or communist pattern of constitutionalism has collapsed. The former Marxists have now adopted the Western variety in one form or another.

5.2.1.4 Constitutionalism in Developing Countries

It is very difficult to list the precise features of constitutionalism in poor and backward countries of Asia and Africa. These nations have recently emerged as sovereign states and are striving to achieve the ideals of a social welfare state. Some of them are imitating patterns borrowed from European countries where they were once colonies. They have also been developing a blend of indigenous components and socialist patterns. Furthermore, several developing countries are experimenting with a mixture of the liberal democratic model and socialist ideals, alongside responding to the demands and aspirations of their local populations. For example, countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan have alternated between parliamentary and presidential systems. The failure of constitutional states in many third world countries, such as Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Thailand, has led to the collapse of popular

systems, often replaced by military rule.

However, countries like India and Sri Lanka have been able to adopt unique patterns. A few countries initially moved towards socialism but have recently retreated.

5.2.1.5 Problems and Prospects

Constitutionalism is still in an experimental stage and faces serious challenges both internally and externally within countries. It is notable that war, emergencies, and socio-economic deterioration pose significant challenges to constitutionalism. During wartime, governments often claim absolute power, implementing measures such as compulsory conscription, military training, nationalization of major industries, and press censorship in defense against foreign aggression. This can subvert the framework of constitutional government. Some constitutions include clauses allowing unlimited government powers during wartime or armed rebellion, as seen in Ireland, Italy, Germany, Japan, and India (under Article 352 of the constitution). However, Professor K.C. Wheare observes, “The extent to which constitutional government has been suspended in times of war varies greatly. It should not be assumed that war inevitably leads to the destruction of constitutional governments in every case, but it certainly strains and often compromises them to some degree.”

Closely allied with war is the concept of emergency. The suspension of constitutional government is justified during national emergencies. For instance, President Lincoln sent troops to crush the revolt of Southern states in the USA, and the British government took significant measures during the First and Second World Wars. American President Roosevelt even implemented the ‘New Deal legislation’ in the 1930s to combat the Great Depression. The government of India made controversial arrangements during the national emergency in 1975, criticized

as the ‘murder of democracy.’ However, in countries where constitutionalism is deeply rooted, normalcy often returns after hostilities cease, as witnessed in Britain, the USA, France, and India. In contrast, Italy, Germany, and Japan did not immediately revert to normal governance.

Finally, socio-economic distress factors such as starvation, famine, illiteracy, disease, and poverty necessitate swift and effective state action. Governments are called upon to take immediate and drastic steps to alleviate these conditions, sometimes stretching governmental authority beyond constitutional limits. Professor K.C. Wheare rightly suggests, “Conditions of national emergency or socio-economic distress often lead to the suspension of ordinary limitations on government to permit swift and effective action. Crisis or emergency government can seldom be constitutional government; peace and prosperity are indeed strong allies of constitutional government and its prospects.”

In this context, a pertinent question arises: what should be the outlook of constitutionalism in the present age of globalization, liberalization, and privatization? Constitutionalism should respect nationalism and self-determination. However, history has shown that the edifice of a constitutional state has been shattered by forces of nationalism or sub-nationalism, as seen in Pakistan (1971), the Soviet Union (1990), Sri Lanka (1987), and others.

Though constitutionalism does not strictly advocate for representative and responsible government, it vehemently opposes totalitarianism in all its forms. A democratic constitution must provide space for essential freedoms, safeguard minority rights, protect legitimate social and economic rights, and ensure freedom for the mass media and similar institutions.

The present age emphasizes nationalism, democracy, and socialism. Constitutionalism

in this era must embody these ideals. The concepts of federalism and sovereignty also demand careful consideration. Federalism can realize the ideal of ‘unity in diversity.’ The state should act as a welfare state, balancing the interests and classes of society. This can be achieved through formal or informal accommodations within the political system, or through the decentralization of power as seen in three-tier federalism in countries like Switzerland, the USA, and India, among others. Even a multinational constitutional state or union, such as the European Union, operates in this direction. In unitary states like Great Britain and France, devolution or decentralization of power can be adopted within the constitutional framework.

Constitutionalism enables better governance of the country and restrains the overuse of power. It prioritizes the welfare of society and its people, playing a crucial role in building democratic societies and upholding the principles of justice, fairness, and equality. It ensures that governmental power is exercised within defined limits, respecting the rights and freedoms of all citizens.

5.2.2 Rule of Law

5.2.2.1 What is Rule of Law?

Rule of Law is a basic principle of the British Constitution. The doctrine is accepted in the American and Indian constitutions, forming the entire basis of administrative law. The doctrine was first propounded by Greek political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. According to Aristotle, it is a system of rule inherent in the natural order.

In England, Rule of Law began in 1215 when King John of England signed the document called Magna Carta of 1215. The signing of Magna Carta indicated the consent of the Monarch of England to be under the law and the law to be supreme. The doctrine of Rule of Law took on new

significance after the conflict between the King and Parliament, which was resolved in favor of Parliament. In this context, Sir Edward Coke, the originator of this doctrine, stated that the King cannot be above the law and established the supremacy of law over the executive.

In the USA, the doctrine of Rule of Law was first introduced in 1776 by the constitutional lawyer Professor Albert Venn Dicey in his book 'The Law of the Constitution'.

It is a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions, and entities, including the state, are accountable to laws. In short, it is a situation in which the law of a country is obeyed by everyone.

Professor Dicey stated that Rule of Law means the absolute Supremacy of Law. This means that no man can be arrested, punished, or lawfully made to suffer except by due process of law, and for breach of law established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary court of the land. It also implies the predominance of law as opposed to arbitrary powers.

5.2.2.2 Pillars of Rule of Law

According to Professor Dicey, the concept of Rule of Law has three pillars based on the principle that 'Government should be based on the principle of law and not of men'. These are:

1. Supremacy of Law;
2. Equality before the law; and
3. Predominance of Legal spirit.

1. Supremacy of Law

This is the first pillar of Dicey's concept of Rule of Law. Rule of Law guarantees liberty of person and property. According to Dicey, the absolute supremacy of law as opposed to arbitrary power of the government is what

constitutes the Rule of Law. This means that no man may be punished without due process of law in the ordinary legal manner in the ordinary court of law. Thus, it epitomizes that 'a man may be punished for the breach of law, but he cannot be punished for anything else'. Further, Dicey asserted that discretion has no place where there is supremacy of law. According to him, discretion is linked to arbitrariness. He says that wherever there is discretion, there is room for arbitrariness.

2. Equality before the law

Secondly, Rule of Law ensures equality. The term equality before the law describes that all are equal in the eyes of the law and all people are subject to the same law and same court regardless of their position and status. That is what is law for one is also law for another. He criticized the French legal system, 'Droit administratif', which provides separate tribunals for settlement of disputes between the government and individuals. According to him, Special Courts and special laws are a threat to the principle of equality and negate the principle of Rule of Law.

3. Predominance of Legal spirit

According to Dicey, many countries' rights such as right to personal liberties, freedom from arrest, freedom to hold public meetings are guaranteed by the written Constitution. However, in England it is not so. Those rights are the result of judicial decisions in concrete cases which have arisen between parties. Thus, Dicey emphasized the role of Courts of law as a guarantee of liberties. He suggested that the rights would be secured more adequately if they were enforceable in the courts of law than by a mere declaration of those rights in the document.

5.2.2.3 Principles of the Rule of Law

The basic principles of Rule of Law include the following:

1. Citizens are accountable to the law.
2. Leaders are accountable to the law.
3. The law is universal.
4. Transparency or open government.
5. Law must be enforced equally and impartially.

5.2.2.4 Merits of the doctrine

Dicey's thesis has its own advantages and merits. The doctrine of the Rule of Law proved to be an effective and powerful weapon in keeping administrative authorities within their limits. It serves as a touchstone to test all administrative actions. It also paved the way for the growth of Administrative Law.

The first principle (supremacy of law) recognizes the essence of democracy, which is that every government must be subject to law and not law subject to the government. It rightly opposed the arbitrary and unfettered discretion of governmental authorities, which have the tendency to interfere with the rights of citizens.

The second principle (equality before law) is equally important in a system wedded to democratic polity. It is based on the well-known maxim, "However high you may be, Law is above you," and "All are equal before the Law".

The third principle puts emphasis on the role of the judiciary in enforcing individual rights and personal freedom irrespective of their inclusion in a written constitution. Dicey feared that a mere declaration of such rights in any statute or constitution would be futile if they could not be enforced. He was right when he said that a statute or even a constitution can be amended, and fundamental rights can be abrogated.

5.2.2.5 Criticisms

Dicey's thesis was not completely accepted even in his era. Dicey failed to distinguish between arbitrary power and discretionary power. According to him, "wherever there is discretion, there is room for arbitrariness". It may be stated that though arbitrary power is inconsistent with the concept of Rule of Law, discretionary power is not; in a modern welfare state, administrative discretion is indispensable. Many administrative tribunals have come into existence which adjudicate the rights of the people not according to common law but according to special laws applied to special groups.

Another drawback is Dicey's presumption that the judiciary is the solution to all suits. He mistrusted over the system of 'droit administratif' which was wrong. It seems that the system exercised check in a much better manner than the judiciary. Thus, he misunderstood the real nature of Droit administratif which was successful in France.

Dicey's 'Rule of Law' has, however, been identified in democracies across the world with the rights of the people. The International Commission of Jurists, in their Delhi Declaration 1959 accepted the idea of Rule of Law as the modern form of the Law of Nature. The rule of law consists of several basic principles which the policymakers, judges, and all law enforcing agencies should consider while exercising authority in a democratic society. This means that all duties, powers, and functions of the government and its organs are done in accordance with the law.

5.2.2.6 Rule of Law in India

The preamble of the Constitution prescribes the ideas of justice, liberty, and equality. These concepts are further enunciated in Part III of the Constitution, which deals with Fundamental Rights. These rights are made enforceable in the court of law.

All three branches of government—the legislature, executive, and judiciary—are subordinate to the Constitution. They are not only subordinate but are bound to act according to its provisions. The Constitution provides for judicial review to enforce Fundamental Rights. If there is any abuse of power by the executive, the same may be challenged on the ground of malfeasance. Furthermore, Article 21 provides that ‘no person shall be deprived of his life and personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law’. This principle of natural justice gained significance, especially after the Maneka Gandhi case. In India, there is no rule that ‘the King can do no wrong’ as in the case of England. Besides, Article 14 guarantees equality before the law. Even the state and its officials are liable in torts and contracts. If any wrong is committed by an employee of the state, the state may be made liable for such acts.

5.2.2.7 Exceptions to the Rule of Law

There are some exceptions to the concept that exist in India. In several areas,

there is a great deal of executive interference, primarily due to delegated legislation and administrative adjudication. Also, the executive has been given wide discretionary powers. Ministers and other executive bodies are granted extensive discretionary powers by the states. Again, the rule of law does not prevent certain classes of persons from being subjected to special rules; for example, armed forces are governed by military laws, and certain members of society are governed by specific rules in their professions, such as lawyers, doctors, and nurses. Above all, legislatures, by passing draconian acts such as preventive detention, the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), encroach upon the rights of people. Despite all these limitations, as observed by the Supreme Court in *Chief Commissioner of Punjab vs. Omprakash*, the Rule of Law is a characteristic feature of the Constitution. However, the basic principles of the rule of law are not strictly followed in India. The application of the rule of law has been modified from time to time to meet the exigency of the situation.

Recap

- ◆ Constitutionalism is a modern concept.
- ◆ It provides legitimacy to democratic government.
- ◆ It goes beyond government according to the terms of a constitution.
- ◆ It opposes arbitrary government.
- ◆ James Madison is known as the father of Constitutionalism.
- ◆ Constitution and constitutionalism are distinct; the latter is key to Liberal democracy.
- ◆ Constitutionalism abhors absolutism and is based on the Rule of Law.
- ◆ Principles of constitutionalism include the Rule of Law, separation of powers, protection of Fundamental Rights, responsible government, popular sovereignty, independence of judiciary, and police accountability.

- ◆ Patterns of constitutionalism: Liberal/western, socialistic, and developing countries.
- ◆ Challenges to constitutionalism: war, emergency, and socio-economic degeneration.
- ◆ The present age values democracy, nationalism, and socialism; constitutionalism must incorporate these ideals.
- ◆ Constitutionalism ensures liberty, justice, restriction on power, welfare of people, and equal rights.
- ◆ Rule of Law is a basic principle of the British constitution and is well established in legal systems worldwide, including England, the U.S.A., and India.
- ◆ Chief Justice Edward Coke originated the concept, establishing the supremacy of law over the executive.
- ◆ Prof. A.V. Dicey further developed the Rule of Law, emphasizing absolute supremacy of regular law and equality before the law.
- ◆ Dicey asserted that courts, rather than constitutional rights, guarantee liberties.

Objective Questions

1. What does constitutionalism emphasize as the foundation of a well-organized society?
2. According to Carl J. Friedrich, what does constitutionalism ensure in governance?
3. What is the main difference between a constitution and constitutionalism?
4. Which principle ensures that all government actions must conform to its provisions?
5. Who are known as proponents of the Western pattern of constitutionalism?
6. What does constitutionalism prioritize in governance?
7. According to Carl J. Friedrich, what does constitutionalism aim to guarantee?
8. What does the constitution primarily define?
9. What does constitutionalism safeguard against?
10. Who interprets the law independently?

Answers

1. Laws	6. Limits
2. Responsibility	7. Rights
3. Ideology	8. Powers
4. Supremacy	9. Tyranny
5. Scholars	10. Judiciary

Match the Following

1	Magna Carta	a	Basic structure of Indian constitution.
2	Edward Coke	b	England
3	Law and the Constitution	c	International Commission of Jurists
4	Paine	d	There is room for arbitrariness
5	Pillar of rule of law	e	What is the law for one is also the law for another.
6	Equality before law	f	Predominance of legal spirit.
7	Wherever there is discretion	g	America
8	Delhi Declaration	h	A.V Dicey
9	King can do no wrong	i	Chief Justice of England
10	Rule of law	j	King John

Answers

1. j	6. e
2. i	7. d
3. h	8. c
4. g	9. b
5. f	10. a

Assignments

1. Compare and contrast the concepts of constitution and constitutionalism. How do they relate to each other in theory and practice?
2. Discuss the principles of constitutionalism with reference to fundamental elements such as the supremacy of the constitution, separation of powers, and the rule of law. Why are these principles essential for democratic governance?
3. Analyze the patterns of constitutionalism, focusing on the differences between the Western liberal pattern and the socialist pattern. How do these patterns influence governance and individual freedoms in their respective contexts?
4. Evaluate the challenges faced by constitutionalism in developing countries. What factors contribute to these challenges, and what strategies can be adopted to strengthen constitutionalism in such nations?
5. Critically examine the impact of war, emergencies, and socio-economic distress on constitutionalism. How do these circumstances test the resilience of constitutional governments, and what are the implications for democratic stability and governance?
6. Explain the pillars of the Rule of Law as laid down by Dicey.
7. Discuss the merits and importance of the Rule of Law.
8. Examine to what extent the concept of the Rule of law has been accepted in India. Can you see any exceptions to the Rule of Law in India?

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Participatory Development and Decentralisation

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and importance of participatory development
- ◆ discuss the concept of Democratic Decentralization in India
- ◆ evaluate the significance of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments
- ◆ explain the importance of the Panchayat Raj Institutions in India

Prerequisites

This year, your student government decided to hold a meeting to determine this year's homecoming theme. You chose not to go. To your dismay, you later find out this year's theme is 'under the sea'. You are wondering: how could this have happened?

This is the result of participatory democracy in action! The student government allowed the students to voice their opinions in the class meeting you missed, and apparently, those in attendance decided that 'under the sea' was the way to go.

While this is just a simple example, it underscores how participatory democracy gives citizens a direct say in policy and governance. How?

We tend to assume that closely allied with democracy is participatory democracy. But what is the link between them? Which principle of democracy laid down the foundation of an effective decentralized system in India? Well, an analysis of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments holds the answer to these questions. Let us get started.

Keywords

Decentralisation, Devolution, Nagar Palika, Panchayat Raj

Discussion

5.3.1 Participatory Development

Participatory development seeks to engage the local population in development projects. It has taken a variety of forms since it emerged in the 1970s, introduced as an important part of the basic needs approach to development.

The objectives of economic and social development in developing countries aim at a process of self-reliant and sustainable development through which social justice will be realized. Self-reliant development means building the endogenous mechanisms of society that will enable developing nations to achieve growth without aid ultimately. Sustainable development means continuing a stable growth pattern where economic development is in harmony with the environment. The realization of social justice means equalizing and ensuring opportunities for people to participate in order to rectify disparities between regions, income levels, and genders.

For this to be possible, the forces of development should not only aim to boost the production of material goods but also foster and improve the social capabilities of the people involved in development. For this purpose, people involved in development should take an active part in the process of planning and implementing development activities and enjoy their fruits. Participatory development means participation in every aspect of politics, the economy, and society as both the means and the goal of development.

The government-led development

approach adopted by developing countries is effective and efficient. Due to the insufficient capabilities of local people and low societies, the beneficiaries of development are put in a passive position. It is to be noted that the government-led approach to development may exacerbate deep-rooted problems like economic and social disparities between different classes, regions, and rural and urban areas. This may undermine and counteract the effectiveness and sustainability of development projects.

Participatory development is not an attempt to replace the top-down development approach with a local community approach. It attempts to introduce a bottom-up style of development to remedy the shortcomings of the government-led approach and aims to improve local society's participation.

To create conditions for promoting participatory development, the government must enact legislation and create institutions. These institutions must guarantee political and economic freedom. The government also needs to relax regulations to remove obstacles to economic participation, improve financial management, build infrastructure, and train businesspeople.

The quality of participation varies according to the following factors:

1. What kind of participatory entities exist, and what kind of institutions offer what kind of opportunities for participants?
2. The extent to which the state and government guarantee the

effectiveness of institutions and carry out appropriate policy support.

3. The extent to which participating entities are able to respond to the opportunities to participate; and
4. How states and governments are able to strengthen the institution.

5.3.1.1 Elements of a Participatory Society

The chief elements are:

1. Free and independent press - A participatory society allows opinions, ideas, and information to flow freely through media like newspapers, radio, television, blogs, and social media.
2. Participation in decision-making; and
3. Independent and impartial judiciary.

5.3.1.2 Steps of a Participatory Approach

The steps involved are:

1. Forming a planning team;
2. Identifying possible issues.
3. Carrying out participant analysis.
4. Determining the purpose and level of participation;
5. Identifying constraints and special circumstances;
6. Selecting a method and deciding.

5.3.1.3 Importance of Active Participation

Individuals who actively participate in their own development and well-being can feel empowered and improve overall development and well-being. It stimulates the productive energy of people, encourages their participation in the productive process, and promotes more equitable sharing of

benefits. However, the following points may also be noted:

It provides:

1. More independence and autonomy in what they can do.
2. More opportunities to have a say in matters concerning their lives.
3. More social contact and interpersonal relationships.
4. More opportunities for learning and developing skills, knowledge, education, and employment.
5. More self-esteem and self-confidence.
6. More leadership skills
7. Improved relationships; and
8. More communication and collaboration skills.

5.3.1.4 Challenges

The major challenges are given below:

1. A major internal challenge in public participation is inadequate financial resources and human resources.
2. Lack of skilled facilitators;
3. Low efficiency
4. Lack of interest in participation; and
5. Language barriers.

In conclusion, we may say that participatory development is both an end and a means. It is an end because participation builds skills and enhances people's capacity for action and for enriching their lives. It is a means because participation contributes to better development policies and projects.

5.3.2 Decentralization and Democratic Decentralization

Democratic decentralization is a process of devolving power, responsibility, and authority of decision-making from states to the elected representatives at the lower level of governance. The main reason for such an arrangement is that several issues can be efficiently solved at local levels. The government introduced the concept of decentralization for good governance and the development of rural and urban areas at the grassroots levels. The government had reasons to believe that without decentralization, the burning problems of poverty alleviation and sustainable development would remain a dream.

In 1992, the 73rd and 74th Amendments were passed to give effect to decentralization. The 73rd Amendment introduced Panchayat Raj Institutions as a unit of local self-government. However, it was not a new concept. It has been in existence for centuries with the name Grama Panchayat. There were a number of committees appointed by the government of India to study the implementation of self-government at the rural level. It was only in 1992, on the recommendation of the L.M Sighvi Committee (1986), that it was granted constitutional recognition as the third level of India's federal democracy. Panchayat Raj Institutions are responsible for the development of rural areas. Another Amendment (74th) was also introduced in the same year for the development of urban areas. It gives municipal bodies the power and authority to plan for economic development and implement schemes.

The Amendment added two new parts to the constitution - Part IX titled the Panchayats (73rd) and Part IX A titled Municipalities (74th). It also added two new Schedules - Schedule 11th contains powers, authorities, and responsibilities of panchayats and the 12th schedule specifies powers, authority,

and responsibilities of municipalities.

The Constitution of India, in Article 40, enjoins: "The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of local self-government."

Devolution of authority and resources is given to the local government on a permanent basis. However, the state government does not give the power and authority to levy taxes from the public. Instead, the state government funds them, handles the tax, and provides staff so that they can carry out their responsibilities. Local government is a state subject in the constitution. Consequently, the devolution of power and authority to the local governments has been left to the discretion of the state.

5.3.2.1 Decentralized Urban Governance

In the context of urban local government, the 74th Amendment is a milestone. It gives constitutional status to urban local bodies, codifies the procedure for their constitution, and defines their structure, functions, and resource generation. The Act aimed at greater clarity between states and urban local governments in terms of devolving adequate powers and resources to enable the municipalities to function as urban local self-government.

5.3.2.2 Features of the 73rd and 74th Amendments

Some of the features of the Acts are as follows:

1. It has made it mandatory for all states to set up three-tier bodies (in small states having less than 20 lakh population, two-tier bodies).
2. Periodic elections to all tiers at regular intervals of five years, and if dissolved

earlier, fresh elections to be held within six months.

3. Reservation of seats for SCs and STs in all panchayats and municipalities at all levels in proportion to their population.
4. One-third reservation of seats for women in Panchayats and Municipalities.
5. All posts at all levels (with two exceptions) to be filled by direct elections.
6. Indirect election to the post of Chairman at the intermediate and apex tiers.
7. Creation of a State Election Commission to conduct free and fair elections to Panchayats and Municipalities.
8. A State Finance Commission to be set up in each state every five years to review the financial position of the Panchayat Raj and municipalities.
9. Devolution of powers to Panchayat bodies to perform 29 functions and to Municipal bodies to perform 18 functions as suggested by the Eleventh and Twelfth Schedules respectively.
10. Organization of Gram Sabha and Ward committees is another feature.
11. The 74th Amendment provides for the constitution of District Planning Committees and Metropolitan Planning Committees to prepare a development plan.
12. Article 243M of the 73rd Amendment exempts the application of this Act to certain areas in the country. The Act does not apply to the states of Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram. Provisions of the Act are also to be implemented in the Union territories with certain modifications owing to their peculiar conditions.

5.3.2.3 Gram Sabha

The Act also made provision for Gram Sabha, which is the foundation of the Panchayat Raj System. It is the lowest body of Panchayat Raj and consists of all persons whose names are included in the electoral roll for the Panchayat at the village level. The term 'Gram Sabha' is defined in the constitution under Article 243(b). It meets twice a year. The Gram Pradhan has the right to call special meetings. Quorum is one-fifth. It works as a watchdog of Gram Panchayat.

The constitution mentions that Gram Sabha exercises such powers and performs such functions at the village level as the legislature of the state may, by law, provide. However, the following are its main functions:

1. It elects members of Gram Panchayats.
2. It approves the administrative report of the Gram Panchayats.
3. It approves the budget of the Panchayat.
4. It approves development programs to be undertaken during the current year.
5. It approves the village production plan.

The decisions taken by the Gram Sabha cannot be annulled by any other body except itself.

5.3.2.4 Functions of Gram Panchayat

Panchayat Raj institutions perform certain functions which are important and directly influence the day-to-day lives of citizens. The important functions are summarized as follows:

1. Development plans for the promotion of small-scale and cottage industries, corporations, execution of plans for agricultural and irrigation development.

2. Civic amenities like building roads, drains, tanks, wells, street lights, registration of births, deaths, and marriages.
3. Law and order functions - maintenance of watch and ward service of village volunteer force.
4. Welfare functions - famine relief, welfare plans for women and children, backward classes, management of village fairs, libraries, and reading rooms.
5. Commercial functions - supervision of Panchayat enterprises such as community orchards and fisheries.
6. Administrative functions - maintenance of accounts, collection and maintenance of records, supervision of public schools.

5.3.2.5 Sources of Income

1. Income from taxation on village property, animals, vehicles, electricity and water tax, house tax, license tax, toll tax, professional tax.
2. Grant-in-aid received from the state.
3. Public contributions and voluntary donations.
4. Village fairs, common land, tanks, and forests.

5.3.2.6 Importance of Panchayat Raj System

Panchayat Raj has great importance. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had called it a revolution. The importance of the system is clear from the following facts:

1. **Promotes democratic representation:** This system of Panchayat Raj increases cooperation among people and offers an institutional framework for democratic

decentralization. It can be described as the bedrock of grassroots democracy. It signifies marked devolution of power from higher to lower levels in a way that the units of local government exercise their authority with the participation of the people. This democratic decentralization or Panchayat Raj aims at making democracy real, bringing the government down to the people; that is why they are called the governments of the grassroots level. Lord Bryce is right when he observed, “The best school of democracy and the best guarantee for its success is the practice of local self-government.”

2. **It promotes effective and efficient planning:** The Gram Panchayats in the country have been entrusted to provide basic services to the villagers and plan for local economic development. The Gram Sabha discusses the development work plan of the Gram Panchayats and elected representatives execute the plan.
3. **Ensures good governance:** Consensus and participation are the two important pillars of good governance and the Panchayat Raj Institution helps in ensuring both these pillars.
4. **It provides training and experience of running administration.**

5.3.2.7 Achievements of Democratic Decentralization

Rising Women Representation

The proportion of elected women representatives has been steadily rising since the enactment of the 73rd Amendment. Currently, India has about 260,512 Panchayats with 3.1 million elected representatives, of which a record 1.3 million are women.

Creating Healthy Competition Among Various States

The passage of the 73rd and 74th

Amendments has created healthy competition among various states regarding devolution (the 3 Fs: Funds, Functions, and Functionaries). For instance, Kerala has devolved 29 of its functions to Panchayat Raj. Rajasthan took inspiration from Kerala and devolved many key departments such as health, education, women, and agriculture to Panchayat Raj Institutions. Similarly, Bihar came up with the idea of Panchayat Sarkar, and states such as Odisha have increased 50 percent seats for women.

5.3.2.8 Issues and Challenges

Local government is a state subject in the constitution, and consequently, the devolution of power and authority to the Panchayat Raj institutions has been left to the discretion of the state. Some important subjects for the functioning of the Panchayat Raj institutions have not been devolved in certain states. The major challenges are listed below:

1. Insufficient funding: Despite constitutional empowerment, local bodies face problems of inadequate finance to carry out various activities assigned to them.

2. Infrastructure challenges: Some Gram Panchayats do not have their own buildings; they share space with schools, Anganwadi centers, and other places. Some have their own buildings without basic facilities like toilets, drinking water, and electricity connections. While some Panchayats have internet connections, they are not functional. In many cases, for data entry purposes, officials have to visit block development offices which delay the work.

3. Lack of staff: Local governments do not have staff to perform even basic tasks. The Standing Committee on Rural Development in 2018 observed severe lack of supporting staff and personnel in Panchayats, such as secretaries, junior engineers, computer operators, and data entry operators. This affects their functioning and delivery of

services.

4. Untimely and delayed elections: States often postpone elections and violate the constitutional mandate of holding elections every five years to local governments. In Tamil Nadu, Panchayat elections have not been held for over two years, resulting in the state losing Finance Commission grants from the Union government. Elections were held in 2019.

5. Corruption: Criminal elements are attracted to local government elections, tempted by the large sums of money now flowing to them. A market chain of corruption operates, involving a partnership between elected representatives and officials at all levels. However, there is no evidence to show that corruption has increased due to decentralization.

6. Downgraded role of the institution: They are merely acting as implementation machinery rather than policy-making bodies.

5.3.2.9 Suggestions

1. Revitalization of Gram Sabha.
2. Gram Sabha and Ward committees have to be revitalized to achieve the objective of people's participation in real terms.
3. Strengthening organizational structure: Organizational structure should be strengthened with sufficient manpower. Serious efforts should be made towards recruitment of supporting staff to ensure the smooth functioning of the Panchayats.
4. Devise a comprehensive mechanism for taxation and funding at local levels.
5. Ministry of Panchayati Raj should monitor the release and expenditure of Finance Commission's grants to ensure that there is no delay in their release. It should also ensure that grants are utilized properly and effectively.

6. Audit Committees: Audit Committees may be constituted by the state government at the district level to exercise effective control over financial transactions.

India's effort in decentralization is one

of the largest experiments in deepening democracy. India has a robust democratic structure for local governance. What we need to practice is a robust democratic culture and give life to our existing structure. The government should make adequate efforts to devolve funds, functions, etc

Recap

- ◆ Participatory development engages the local population in projects, empowering communities to negotiate with institutions.
- ◆ Essentials of participatory democracy: free press, decision-making participation, and an independent judiciary.
- ◆ Decentralization and devolution to local self-government foster national progress.
- ◆ Democratic decentralization devolves state functions and resources to lower-level elected representatives.
- ◆ The 73rd and 74th Amendments facilitate democratic decentralization in India, granting constitutional status to panchayat and municipal institutions.
- ◆ Panchayat Raj is a rural self-governing system in India, structured in three tiers: district, block, and village levels.
- ◆ Panchayat Raj's three tiers: village panchayats, block panchayat samitis, and district zilla parishads.
- ◆ Panchayat Raj institutions promote democratic participation, effective planning, good governance, and administration training, increasing women's participation with one-third representation.
- ◆ Challenges: insufficient funding, lack of infrastructure, staff shortages, delayed elections, and corruption.

Objective Questions

1. Which committee recommended the Panchayat Raj System in India?
2. When was the Panchayat Raj System introduced?
3. Which Article is related to Panchayat Raj?
4. What is the objective of Panchayat Raj?
5. Who is the founder of Panchayat Raj?
6. How many tiers are there in the Panchayat Raj System?
7. Where was the Panchayat Raj System first implemented?
8. How many posts are reserved for women at all levels in the Panchayat Raj System?
9. On whose recommendation was the Panchayat Raj System introduced in India?
10. At what level is the Gram Panchayat formed in the Panchayat Raj System?
11. Which is the first state in South India to introduce Panchayat Raj?
12. Gram Panchayats are established under which Article of the Constitution?
13. The powers and functions of the Gram Sabha are conferred under which Article of the Constitution?
14. Which states do not have the Panchayat Raj System?
15. Where was the first municipal corporation established in India?

Answers

1. L.M. Singhvi committee	9. Balwant Raj Mehta
2. October 1959	10. Village level
3. Article 243	11. Andhra Pradesh
4. to make people participate in the administration	12. Article 40
5. Gandhiji	13. 243 A
6. three tiers	14. Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram
7. Nagaur in Rajasthan	15. Chennai.
8. One-third	

Assignments

1. Discuss the meaning and importance of participatory development. How does it contribute to sustainable and self-reliant growth in developing countries?
2. Explain the concept of democratic decentralization in India. How does it aim to address issues of governance and development at the grassroots level?
3. Evaluate the significance of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments in India. How have these amendments transformed local governance and democratic participation?
4. Analyze the importance of Panchayat Raj institutions in India. What are their key functions and challenges, and how do they contribute to the overall development and good governance?
5. 'An important initiative of the Government of India is to Strengthen Local government.' Examine the statement in the light of 73rd and 74th Amendments.

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Non-State Actors, Pressure Groups, Interest Groups and Mass Media

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ define interest groups and pressure groups
- ◆ compare interest groups and political parties discuss the different types of pressure groups working in India
- ◆ evaluate the role of interest groups in a democracy and
- ◆ explain the importance of mass media.

Prerequisites

In an ideal world, all of our needs would be instantly met by a magical team of rainbow unicorns. Would you like that? Many people certainly would. Unfortunately, more often than not, we all have to fight to be heard. Being backed by a group that shares our interests is more effective than fighting on our own. How can you and I influence policy makers? How do we define the success of pressure groups? What are the techniques employed by these groups to ensure their voices are heard?

Keywords

Liberal democracies, Interest groups, Pressure groups, Influence on government, Lobbying, Mass media, Print media, Digital media

Discussion

5.4.1 Pressure Groups, Interest Groups, and Mass Media

Prof. Finer rightly says that in all liberal democracies, there are two important channels of popular representation: political parties and the electoral process, and interest groups and pressure groups. Interest groups and pressure groups can be defined as voluntary organizations formed to defend particular interests in a society. They promote a cause or a political position without participating in the actual contest for power. In a democratic political system, both pressure groups and interest groups play a significant role, and over time, their influence has been increasing substantially. They now influence all three branches of government: the executive, the legislature, and even the judiciary. Some of these groups are very powerful and, with their influence and financial power, affect the decision-making process in one way or another. In this context, it should be noted that interest groups and pressure groups are not the same.

5.4.2 Interest Groups Defined

Simply defined, interest groups are private organizations for the promotion of specific interests. These groups, which have specific interests, are called interest groups. They are non-political organizations that work to support an interest, principle, etc. They are formal associations of individuals or organizations that influence government decision-making and public policy.

A person can be a member of different associations simultaneously. Interest groups may or may not be involved in political activities. Today, in every country, particularly in democracies, we see a bewildering number of such groups. These include consumer societies to solve the problems of consumers,

bus passengers' associations to solve the problems of bus passengers in a region, and parents' and teachers' associations to address the problems of students and schools. Interest groups are, therefore, groups of like-minded people who protect and further specific interests.

5.4.3 Pressure Groups Defined

Pressure groups are those interest groups that directly or indirectly exert pressure on the political and administrative machinery of the nation to win a decision in their favor. These are private associations formed to influence public policy. According to Prof. Finer, "pressure groups are, by and large, autonomous and politically neutral bodies that bargain with political parties and bureaucracy regardless of the political complexion of the government in power."

An interest group becomes a pressure group when it exerts pressure on the policy decisions of the government. However, pressure groups are not political organizations. They do not nominate their members for elections or seek to capture power. They are concerned with specific programs and issues. Their activities are confined to the protection and promotion of their members' interests by influencing the government. They pressure party leaders, legislators, ministers, and bureaucrats to achieve gains for their members. Generally, they have no political alignment. However, their members may sometimes be affiliated with political parties. They may not aspire to form governments but aim to change its direction and policy in a particular manner. Most pressure groups, except business groups, do not have an independent, autonomous existence.

	Interest group/Pressure Group	Political parties
1.	They promote special interests	They promote general interest
2.	They are smaller groups	They are bigger groups
3.	A person can be a member of several groups at a time	A person can be a member of only one political party at a time
4.	Their main aim is to influence the state policy	Their main aim is to capture power and form government
5.	They do not directly involve themselves in political activities	They contest elections and work inside and outside the parliament
6.	They draw programmes and strategies	They draw a definite political programme
7.	They work secretly and are called Nameless Empires	They work openly and remain in lime light

5.4.3.1 Characteristics of Pressure Groups

The characteristics of pressure groups are as follows, based on their specific interests:

1. Self-interest is the root cause for the formation of pressure groups. Individuals forming these groups aim to protect their specific goals, such as passing a bill in the legislature. Their goals are never as broad as those of the state.
2. Formally or informally organized: They can be formally organized as registered associations or trusts, but they can also operate informally.
3. No open alignment with politics: They do not want to display a political character. Although they may align with political parties, they refrain from directly engaging in the politics of a country by contesting candidates in elections.
4. Exclusive or overlapping membership: A person can be a member of multiple pressure groups—cultural, educational, professional, etc.
5. Use of constitutional and non-constitutional means: When they operate within the law or constitution, their activities are considered constitutional. However, sometimes they resort to threats, coercion, bribery, and blackmail.
6. Indirect Role in Politics and Administration: They operate at an intermediate level between political and non-political activities. They do not have flags, party manifestos, or intentions to seize power. However, they can instruct their members to support or oppose particular candidates, parties, or policies, thus indirectly influencing politics and administration.
7. Unspecified tenure: A pressure group may be permanent or short-term. Once their objective is achieved, they may dissolve.
8. Omnipresent: Pressure groups exist everywhere and in all forms of government. In dictatorial regimes, they operate underground; in democracies,

they operate openly.

5.4.3.2 Types of Pressure Groups / Interest Groups

Pressure groups, like political parties, can be classified based on several criteria such as scope, group characteristics, influence, means, intensity, membership, relationship with politics, tenure, etc. Almond and Powell classified them into four categories:

1. **Associational Groups:** These include leading pressure groups like organizations of businessmen, workers, farmers, professionals, etc. They are formally organized and typically registered bodies with constitutions, rules, organizational structures, and finances. Examples include trade unions, chambers of commerce and industry, lawyers' organizations, journalists' associations, and teachers' organizations.
2. **Institutional Groups:** These groups are formally organized and consist of professionally employed individuals. They are part of the government machinery and seek to exert influence through constitutional means and in accordance with rules and regulations. Examples include associations like the IAS Association, IPS Association, and State Civil Services Associations.
3. **Non-Associational Groups:** This category includes groups with informal organizations based on factors like religion, caste, race, communities, and social traditions. These groups have intermittent existence, appearing and disappearing from time to time. Examples include caste, religion, race, or language-based groups.
4. **Anomic Groups:** These encompass organizations whose behavior is unpredictable and often involve

spontaneous actions and violence. Examples include student organizations and youth organizations.

Some important and popular pressure groups include business organizations, labor organizations, farmers' groups, religious and communal groups, and professional bodies and organizations.

5.4.3.3 Pressure Groups in India

In India, there are various types of pressure groups:

1. **Business Groups:** These groups are independent of political parties but influence the political process in various ways. The history of business groups dates back to the establishment of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1834. Examples include the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ASSOCHAM), Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), and Federation of All India Food grain Dealers Association (FAIFDA).
2. **Peasants' Associations:** Despite India being an agricultural country, farmers' associations historically have not been very powerful. However, organizations like the All India Kisan Sabha, founded in 1936, and the Bharatiya Kisan Union have gained prominence over time.
3. **Students' Organizations:** These groups exert pressure on the government regarding educational and other critical issues. Examples include the All India Students Federation (AISF), Students' Federation of India (SFI), National Students' Union (NSU), and Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad (ABVP).
4. **Trade Unions:** Leadership of trade unions often comprises intellectuals and is closely linked with major political parties in India. Examples include

the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), and United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).

5. Communal and Religious Groups: These groups represent specific community interests and may have political implications. Examples include the Republican Dal, Shiromani Akali Dal, and Hindu Maha Sabha.
6. Tribal Groups: These groups advocate for tribal interests. Examples include the National Social Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Tribal National Volunteers (TNV) in Tripura, United Mizo Federal Organizations (UMF), and Tribal League of Assam (TLA).
7. Linguistic Groups: These pressure groups promote specific languages. Examples include the Tamil Sangh, Hindi Protection Parishad, and Punjab Sahitya Sabha.
8. Women Associations: These associations advocate for women's rights and improvement of their status in society. Examples include the All India Women's Conference.
9. Professional Groups: Various professional groups such as the Indian Medical Association (IMA), Bar Council of India (BCI), and All India Federation of University and College Teachers (AIFUCT) operate in India.
10. Ideology-based Groups: Several groups in India are based on specific ideologies, such as the Narmada Bachao Andolan, Chipko Movement, Women's Right Organization, and India Against Corruption.
11. Anomic Groups: These unpredictable groups include entities like Naxalite

groups, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), and others that have emerged post-independence.

12. Interest Groups based on Gandhian Ideology: Another significant category includes groups that follow Gandhian principles and ideals, such as the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Sarvodaya Samaj, and Sarsewa Samaj.

Techniques and Methods:

Pressure groups employ various techniques and methods to advance their interests:

1. Lobbying: This method is frequently used in democratic states, influencing legislative committees and individual legislators to protect their interests.
2. Propagandizing: Pressure groups influence public opinion to indirectly affect government decisions, which are sensitive to public sentiment in democracies.
3. Strikes, Bandhs, and Gheraos: These forms of protest are utilized by pressure groups to achieve their objectives, including boycotts, picketing, and instigating workers.
4. Other Non-legal Methods: Pressure groups may also resort to financing political parties, sponsoring candidates, and exploiting caste, creed, and religious sentiments to promote their interests.
5. Resort to Courts: When efforts to prevent unfavourable legislation fail, pressure groups may seek judicial intervention to declare such laws unconstitutional, leveraging provisions related to fundamental rights, due process of law, equity, and public interest litigation.

5.4.3.4 Functions, Role, and Importance of Pressure Groups

The role of pressure groups is significant and important in the political process of

a country. Their roles and importance are detailed below:

1. Interest articulation: Pressure groups bring the demands and needs of the people to the attention of decision-makers. The process by which the claims of the people are crystallized and articulated is called interest articulation.
2. Political Communication: These groups communicate the interests of their members to political decision-makers.
3. Agent of political socialization: Pressure groups serve as agents of political socialization by influencing the orientation of people towards the political process.
4. Pressure groups play a vital role in the legislative process: They endeavor to elect members favorable to them in the legislature so they can influence the lawmaking process.
5. Pressure groups influence the administrative process: They actively engage with the administration. Through lobbying with the bureaucracy, pressure groups are often in a position to influence the policy implementation process.
6. They also attempt to influence the judiciary through newspapers, editorials, journals owned by them, and they may even impact judicial judgments.
7. Pressure groups influence the formation of public opinion through constant propaganda in favor of particular policies. They organize seminars, press conferences, and distribute books and pamphlets to sway public opinion.
8. Pressure groups contribute to improving the quality of government. The information and advice provided by these groups help to enhance the quality of government policy and legislation.
9. They help educate people, compile data, and provide specific information to policymakers, thus functioning as an informal source of information.

Pressure groups are now considered indispensable and helpful elements of the democratic process. However, their roles and functions vary depending on the nature of the constitution, cultural values, and the political system. In totalitarian political systems, their role is secretive, limited, and punishable. The form of society and the type of party system—whether single, two-party, or multi-party—directly influence their functioning. Economic liberalization and globalization have further increased the role of pressure groups. Recent experiences indicate that big businesses and large farmers exert influence on governments and political parties. Democratic politics thrives on consultation, negotiation, and some degree of bargaining. Therefore, it is crucial for governments to consult these organized groups while formulating and implementing policies.

5.4.4 Mass Media

The present century has witnessed significant growth in mass media. Apart from generating awareness, mass media has become instrumental in governing our lives. Rather than being merely a forum of cultural expression, it has developed its own culture. Originally intended to report on people's way of life, mass media has itself become a way of life for people.

Mass media refers to vehicles or means of communication that disseminate information from the source to a large audience. Any media intended for a broad audience is called mass media. It serves as a primary source of information, entertainment, marketing, advertising, and motivation for everyone. Examples of mass media include radio, television, newspapers, social media, digital

media, and the internet.

The term 'Mass Media' began to be used in the 1920s. Initially, it referred primarily to print and visual media. Audio-visual mediums gained popularity as they provided both information and entertainment. In recent times, the internet has emerged as the latest and most popular mass medium. Information is readily available through websites and easily accessible through search engines. Users can engage in multiple activities simultaneously, such as playing games, listening to music, and social networking, regardless of location.

Today, mass media is generally categorized into seven branches based on their introduction:

1. Print (books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, etc.) from the late 15th century.
2. Recordings (gramophone records, magnetic tapes, cassettes, CDs, and DVDs) from the late 19th century.
3. Cinema from around 1900.
4. Radio broadcasting from about 1910.
5. Television broadcasting from about 1950.
6. Internet from about 1990 (digital media).
7. Mobile phones from about 2000 (digital media).

Each mass medium has its own content types, creative artists, technicians, and business models. The sixth and seventh media, internet and mobile phones, are collectively referred to as digital media, while radio and TV are known as broadcast media.

New developments in communication technologies have transformed our information environment. Modern communication

technologies such as microprocessors and chips have revolutionized broadcasting, telephone systems, and human interactions. Digitalization and fiber optics have integrated services into a large interactive communication system. The internet, a global network of interconnected computer networks, serves billions of users worldwide. It enables instant access to information through websites and search engines, facilitating activities like gaming, music streaming, and social networking from any location.

Most traditional communication media, including telephones, music, film, and TV, have been reshaped or redefined by the internet, giving birth to new services like Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP). Newspapers, books, and other printed materials are adapting to website technology. The internet has enabled or accelerated new forms of human interaction through instant messaging, internet forums, and social networking.

5.4.1.1 Role of Mass Media

Mass media is an important tool of communication, providing a platform for the free flow of information from all corners of the world. It can create awareness, educate, and entertain us. However, if misused, it can be detrimental to people.

Mass media influences many aspects of human life. It gives voice to the voiceless and has numerous instances where it has brought justice. For example, in 1981, The Indian Express newspaper reported that 33 suspected criminals in Bihar were blinded by the police using acid. Treating the newspaper report as a Public Interest Litigation petition, the Supreme Court directed the state government to bring the blinded men to Delhi for medical treatment and ordered speedy prosecution of the policemen involved. Thus, free legal aid became a fundamental right.

A free and fair press is undoubtedly a

watchdog of a democratic country. It is often referred to as the fourth pillar of democracy and the backbone of democratic governance. It exposes loopholes in the system and reminds politicians of their promises and performances, holding them accountable to the people. During election campaigns, the media provides information and analysis on political parties' policies, candidates, and performances. In India, the media has evolved significantly, often acting as a watchdog against abuses of power and correcting governmental mistakes.

The media serves as a tool for effective and widespread communication, contributing to the world becoming a global village. It plays a vital role in spreading arts, culture, and diverse perspectives worldwide. With the internet, anyone can learn a new language, explore different cultures, and experience global content without leaving their home.

Mass media also functions as an encyclopedia of information. The internet, in particular, is a massive source of knowledge, and various forms of mass media help facilitate learning across different subjects and locations.

Mass media influences and changes public opinion, playing a crucial role in a country's political dynamics. Media representation of social and political issues raises awareness among citizens about their rights, various problems, and potential solutions.

Moreover, mass media affects societal behaviour, which can be positive or negative. It can promote pro-social behaviours like spreading awareness and changing social norms. However, it can also influence behaviour towards violence, deviance, and delinquency, which is a negative impact.

The media plays an essential role in sensitizing society to social problems such as HIV/AIDS, coronavirus, drug abuse, alcoholism, and criminalization of politics, among others. It acts as a mirror reflecting the harsh realities of life and has become increasingly active with the advent of electronic communication, uncovering many scandals through sting operations.

However, it cannot be concluded that the media in every nation achieves the highest standards of journalism. High-quality journalism requires media to be aware of their social responsibilities and actively engage with them. While globalization has professionalized media, it often fails to report on serious incidents in rural areas, such as mass killings and starvation deaths, with the seriousness they deserve.

Media also has its pitfalls. Growing consumerism and materialism can detract from its expected functions. Partisan attitudes, sectarian biases, and sensationalism undermine ethical journalism. Pursuing opportunistic gains and creating sensational or fake news to attract viewers or readers are harmful practices that media should avoid.

No one is perfect in the world, and neither is the media. It has a constructive role to play in society. Media acts as a watchdog in a democracy that keeps the government active. It has become an integral part of daily life. The present media revolution has helped people make informed decisions, marking the beginning of a new era in democracy. It has become the eyes and ears of the world. It is impossible for anyone to directly know all that is happening in the world. Therefore, we rely on mass media to keep us informed. The media also filters facts and makes sense of the world for us.

Recap

- ◆ Interest groups focus on specific interests.
- ◆ Pressure groups exert influence on government policy decisions.
- ◆ Different from political parties:
 - ◆ Do not contest elections or seek political power.
 - ◆ Focus on protecting and promoting their represented interests.
- ◆ Forms of interest groups include:
 - Institutional groups,
 - Associational groups,
 - Non-associational groups,
 - Anomic groups, and others.
- ◆ Current interest groups in India:
 - Business groups like FICCI,
 - Peasant organizations such as Bharatiya Kissan Union,
 - Students organizations like NSU,
 - Trade Unions like BMS,
 - Tribal groups such as NSCN,
 - Linguistic groups like Tamil Sangh,
 - Professional groups such as IMA, etc.
- ◆ Techniques employed by interest groups vary:
 - Lobbying,
 - Strikes,
 - Bandh and Gherao
 - Propaganda,

- Financing political parties, and sometimes legal methods.
- ◆ Functions of interest groups include:
 - Interest articulation,
 - Political socialization,
 - Political communication,
 - Influencing legislative, administrative, and judicial processes through media.
 - Mass media serves as a vehicle of communication.
- ◆ Types of media for communication include:
 - Traditional media,
 - Print media,
 - Electronic broadcasting media,
 - Outdoor and transit media,
 - Digital media.
- ◆ Mass media is crucial for:
 - Communication and awareness,
 - Giving voice to marginalized groups,
 - Serving as a watchdog in democracy,
 - Promoting cultural diversity,
 - Shaping public opinion.
- ◆ Independent and impartial reporting:
 - Essential for mass media to represent public interests effectively.

Objective Questions

1. What is the primary difference between interest groups and political parties?
2. Which group does not contest elections but influences policies indirectly?
3. What is the main aim of pressure groups in political systems?
4. In what ways do pressure groups exert influence on governments?
5. Which type of group is formally organized and registered?
6. What distinguishes pressure groups from interest groups in terms of tenure?
7. Which group has no direct involvement in contesting elections?
8. What is the primary function of mass media in a democracy?
9. Which mass media type has been around since the 15th century?
10. How has the internet impacted mass media?

Answers

1. Special interests vs. General interests	6. Short-term or permanent existence
2. Interest groups	7. Pressure groups
3. Influence policy decisions	8. Acting as a watchdog
4. Lobbying, strikes, propaganda and legal methods	9. Print media
5. Associational groups	10. Increased accessibility and interactive capabilities

Assignments

1. Examine the major interest groups working in Indian society.
2. Explain the functions and role of pressure groups in a democracy.
3. Compare and contrast different types of pressure groups prevalent in India. How do they impact public policy and governance?
4. Critically examine the importance of mass media in contemporary society.
5. Civil society organisations are the voice of the voice-less people. Do you agree with the statement?

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BLOCK

Political System and Globalisation



Globalisation - Meaning and Nature

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of the unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the meaning and characteristics of globalisation
- ◆ analyse the essentials of globalisation
- ◆ explore the different categories of globalisation
- ◆ evaluate the effects of globalisation in India

Prerequisites

As globalization heavily influences global markets, trade, and economic policies, familiarity with concepts such as comparative advantage, international trade theories, and global financial systems is essential. Understanding concepts like sovereignty, power dynamics, and global governance mechanisms helps in analyzing the political aspects of globalization. Studying sociological theories and concepts related to globalization helps in understanding its social implications. Cultural studies provide insights into the cultural dimensions of globalization, including cultural homogenization, hybridization, and resistance.

Keywords

Globalisation, Liberalisation, Privatisation, Export and Import and Cultural Exchange

Discussion

6.1.1 Globalization - Meaning

Globalization is a multi-dimensional phenomenon involving diverse activities and interactions, including economic, political, technological, cultural, and environmental manifestations. It signifies the flow of ideas, capital, commodities, and people across different parts of the world. Thus, it is a process of increasing interdependence, interconnectedness, and integration of economies and societies to such an extent that events in one part of the globe affect people in other parts. The crucial element is worldwide interconnectedness and flow, facilitated by advances in communication and development.

Globalization is often perceived as a 'newly found phenomenon,' but in reality, it is as old as history. It began with large migrations of people across vast land masses. During the pre-World War period, there was rapid integration of economies through trade flows, capital movement, and global migration. The inter-war period witnessed barriers to restrict free movement, but after 1945, efforts to increase integration resumed.

6.1.1.1 Key Features of Globalization

1. All societies have become interconnected. According to Albrow, it is the process through which peoples of the world are incorporated into a single global society.
2. Actions in one part of the world have rapid and significant repercussions in other parts.
3. Emergence of global social strata showing certain common cultural features.
4. Bypassing national boundaries.
5. New entrepreneurship.

6. Global financial markets and centralization of power.
7. Transnational media systems.
8. Global tourism.

6.1.1.2 Globalization: The Causes

The end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the restructuring of Eastern European countries, and the weakening of communism paved the way for a new world order characterized by globalization. The process began in the 1970s but gained momentum in the 1990s.

The emergence of globalization is a consequence of deliberate efforts by Western liberal capitalist countries to establish a global market-oriented economic order. Multinational companies (MNCs) sought free access to global markets, restricted only by protectionist policies of various countries. They pressured their governments to remove these barriers, which became feasible due to the collapse of socialism, advancements in transport and communication, and economic challenges in developing countries. International bodies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) played a role in integrating economies and enforcing structural adjustments. Many developing countries, compelled by necessity or coercion, integrated into the global economy. In recent decades, globalization has accelerated due to various factors:

1. Technology: Enhanced communication speed, particularly through social media, has minimized geographical distances.
2. LPG Reforms: Liberalization, Privatization, and Globalization reforms since 1991 have increased India's global interactions.

3. Improved Transportation: Rapid growth in air travel has facilitated global trade.
4. Rise of WTO and Multinational Organizations: The WTO's establishment in 1994 reduced global trade barriers and fostered free trade agreements.
5. Increased Capital Mobility: Reduced restrictions on capital flows have connected global financial markets.
6. Rise of Multinational Companies: MNCs disseminate best practices globally by selling products in diverse markets.

These factors have promoted economic liberalization and globalization, contributing to the world becoming a global village. Additionally, the growth of global trading blocs, reduced tariff barriers, expansion of global media, increased labour mobility, and internet introduction are other significant causes.

6.1.1.3 Types of Globalization

There are three types of globalisation: economic, political, and cultural.

1. Economic Globalization

Economic globalization focuses on integrating financial markets and coordinating financial exchanges. Free trade agreements like NAFTA and TPP exemplify economic globalization, shifting from distinct national economies to a global economy. Production is internationalized, and financial capital flows freely between countries.

2. Political Globalization

Political globalization involves national policies that bring countries together politically, economically, and culturally. It erodes national sovereignty and enhances the role of international organizations and non-state actors such as the UN, NATO, EU, World Bank, IMF, and OECD.

3. Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalization involves the global circulation of information, commodities, and images that flatten cultural differences between nations and individuals. It encompasses enhanced communication, social media prevalence, and improved transportation, leading to cultural homogenization. Social, economic, and political diversities converge as people worldwide watch the same programs, consume similar products, and support common sports and celebrities.

6.1.1.4 Impact of Globalization in India

India is one of the developing countries that has shown significant success after implementing globalization. It affects the lives of individuals and society. Globalisation affects people's access to goods, the prices they pay, and their ability to travel to other countries.

In India, Globalization has resulted in an increase in the creation of new job opportunities in multinational companies like cell phones and fast-food companies. Several international companies operating in India have created a slew of new opportunities.

India's IT sector has boomed due to globalization, as Indian companies collaborate with international firms to expand their businesses.

There has been an increase in foreign investment, inviting an inflow of private foreign capital. As a result, international companies have started branches, particularly in the pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and petroleum industries, bringing advanced technology and processes that have modernized the industrial sector.

The reduction in export subsidies and import barriers has enabled free trade, making India's market attractive to the international community.

India plays a crucial role among developing countries in trade and commerce, with some companies becoming multinational themselves (e.g., TATA Motors, Ranbaxy). Opportunities have also increased as Indian companies collaborate with international firms to expand their businesses.

Agriculturally, the majority of people depend on the agricultural sector, either directly or indirectly, for their livelihood. Due to globalization, the technological capabilities of farmers have increased. Globalization has facilitated the global export of Indian products such as tea, coffee, and sugar.

Prior to globalization, the Indian financial sector was mismanaged by corrupt government officials. Market competition and innovations were introduced by removing control of the financial sector from bureaucracy.

Cross-cultural impacts are another effect of globalisation on Indian society, significantly seen in cultural, social, political, and economic aspects.

However, economic unification is the main factor contributing to a country's maximum economy in the international economy.

6.1.1.5 Benefits of Globalization

There are differences of opinion regarding the impact and usefulness of globalization, primarily divided into optimistic and pessimistic views. Let us examine both sides.

Supporters of globalization argue that it increases the volume of trade in goods and services, flows private capital, increases foreign direct investment, creates new jobs, strengthens domestic economies, improves productive efficiency, and enhances competition. The chief merits of globalization are outlined below:

1. Globalization has led to economic recovery. Pre-globalization economic

policies were not yielding positive results, and the gap between the rich and the poor was widening. Lack of competition allowed large business houses to sell average products at higher prices. However, globalization has increased market efficiency for goods and capital, utilizing previously untapped resources and leading to significant economic recovery.

2. Globalization decreases the cost of manufacturing, enabling companies to offer goods at lower prices to consumers.
3. Globalization increases labor productivity.
4. Globalization attracts foreign capital and updated technology, improving the quality of production.
5. It improves the living standards and purchasing power of people.
6. Globalization promotes the expansion of liberal democracy by enhancing accountability and transparency of power.
7. Culturally, globalization has facilitated a phenomenal growth in the global circulation of cultural goods like printed matter, music, visual arts, cinema, photography, radio, and television.
8. Globalization encourages wealthy countries to invest their capital in countries other than their own.
9. In a globalized scenario, domestic industries in developing countries become conscious of price reduction and quality improvement to compete globally.

6.1.1.6 Drawbacks of Globalization

Globalization has also had negative impacts on society. It may result in domination by advanced countries over third world countries and contribute to income disparities within and between countries.

1. A general criticism of globalization is that it has made the rich richer while impoverishing the non-rich. It benefits managers, owners, and investors but has adverse effects on workers and the environment. Exploitation of labor and hazardous conditions, including child labor, have increased. Safety standards are often ignored to produce cheap goods, and human trafficking has risen.
2. Globalization harms domestic local markets, as many global corporations provide goods and services at nominal rates.
3. Globalization has led to a significant decrease in skilled labor in developing countries due to easy mobility to countries with better opportunities.
4. Globalization results in cuts to welfare measures, reduced subsidies for mass consumption goods, and declining real wages. Social welfare schemes or safety nets are under great pressure in developed countries due to deficits, job losses, and other economic impacts of globalization.
5. Criticism of globalization includes its potential to impose cultural domination and imposition. Culturally, it undermines traditional values and promotes consumerism and Western values through electronic media.
6. Politically and economically, globalization weakens states by reducing sovereignty and increases foreign control over national economies, widening inequalities and worsening poverty.

Another drawback is the potential increase in pandemics due to increased travel. Examples include the H1N1 (Swine flu) outbreak in 2009 and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

In conclusion, despite its drawbacks, globalization is here to stay. More goods and services, investments, and technologies are moving between countries, with multi-dimensional global effects on the environment, culture, political systems, economic development, and human well-being. It promotes a worldview where people are more open and tolerant of each other. Business growth overseas benefits from effective communication and technology, increasing the availability of goods and services worldwide.

Recap

- ◆ Globalization:
 - Defined as the elimination of barriers to trade, communication, and cultural exchange.
 - Involves the flow of ideas, capital, commodities, and people across different parts of the world.
 - Fundamentally deals with flows.
- ◆ Main features of globalization:

- Interconnected world
- International economic integration
- Transnational media system
- Global culture
- Global consumerism
- Global tourism
- Media imperialism

◆ Important causes of globalization:

- Improved trade
- Increased labor and capital mobility
- Improved technology
- Enhanced transport infrastructure
- Low tariffs
- Growth of multinational companies
- Introduction of the internet

◆ Types of globalization:

- Economic
- Political
- Cultural

◆ Globalization's impact:

- Touches every individual and society
- Affects people's access to goods, the prices they pay, and their ability to travel to other countries

◆ India's experience with globalization:

- One of the countries that has achieved significant success after implementing globalization

- Resulted in the creation of new jobs
- Development of free trade
- Boosting of foreign capital investment
- Development of technological capabilities
- Increase in national income
- Increase in employment
- Growth in exports
- Increase in GDP growth

Objective Questions

1. What is the process of increasing interdependence and integration of economies and societies called?
2. What term refers to the free movement of goods, services, and capital across borders?
3. What is the transfer of state-owned enterprises to private ownership called?
4. What is the term for selling goods/services to other countries?
5. What is the term for buying goods/services from other countries?
6. What phrase describes the spread of ideas, values, and culture?
7. Which international organization promotes free trade?
8. What term refers to reduced control of economic activities by the government?
9. What is the movement of people across borders called?
10. What term describes the removal of barriers to trade and investment?

Answers

1. Globalization	6. Cultural Exchange
2. Liberalization	7. WTO
3. Privatization	8. Deregulation
4. Export	9. Migration
5. Import	10. Liberalization

Assignments

1. Analyze the role of technological advancements, particularly in communication and transportation in facilitating the process of globalization
2. Evaluate the benefits and drawbacks of globalization from the perspective of developed and developing countries. Provide examples to support your arguments
3. Examine the impact of globalization on India, including its effects on various sectors such as agriculture, industry, and services. Discuss the challenges and opportunities presented by globalization for the Indian economy
4. The emergence of globalisation is a consequence of the efforts of Western liberal capitalist countries to bring the whole world under one market-oriented economic order. Explain
5. ‘Globalization is a market without walls. Prepare a project report

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SGOU



Globalisation and Changing State System

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand the state system
- ◆ examine whether globalization altered the traditional role of the state
- ◆ unearth the socio, political, economic, cultural and technological implications of globalization
- ◆ examine the position of the third-world countries in the Global era

Prerequisites

The nation-state has long been the predominant actor and building block of the international system. With defined territorial boundaries, a permanent population, and a government that maintains sovereignty over its affairs, the state has traditionally enjoyed a prestigious status and broad powers. However, the phenomenon of globalization, characterized by increased interconnectedness and interdependence among countries, has raised questions about the continued relevance and roles of states in the contemporary era. Globalization, facilitated by advancements in technology, communication, and transportation, has ushered in an era of unprecedented cross-border flows of goods, services, capital, people, and ideas. This has challenged the ability of states to exercise full control over their economies, societies, and governance structures. As non-state actors such as multinational corporations, international organizations, and civil society groups have gained influence, the traditional Westphalian notion of state sovereignty has come under scrutiny. Understanding how globalization has impacted the state's political, economic, social, and cultural roles is crucial for comprehending the evolving dynamics of the international system.

Keywords

International Monetary Fund, Multinational Corporation, World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO)

Discussion

In recent years, the impact of globalization on the state has become an essential topic of analysis for political scholars and practitioners alike. The unprecedented interconnectedness of countries, trade, and communication has changed the landscape in which states operate. The globalized era has affected the welfare state, financial systems, education, politics, and economic development. With the advent of technology, the state's role in these sectors has changed significantly, requiring adaptation and strategic planning. Have you ever wondered how governments manage to discover strategies for thriving in a globalized world?

6.2.1 Changing State System

Globalization has changed the traditional role of the state to some extent. The nation-state system in international politics started taking shape in 1648 when the Treaty of Westphalia was signed. Before that, states existed and interacted with each other. However, the Peace of Westphalia paved the way for the emergence of the nation-state system. It recognized that the Roman Empire no longer commanded the allegiance of the state. It also recognized that the Pope had no right to interfere in state affairs in the name of his highest spiritual authority. Thus, the state emerged supreme in its territory and over its people. The concept of state sovereignty gained full recognition, meaning each state had the right to utilize its people's strength and resources without outside restraints.

The role of the state, as envisaged above, has undergone development and changes

due to globalization. The contemporary nation-state system has altered the role of nation-states politically, socially, economically, culturally, and technologically. A brief discussion of the subject is warranted here for a clear understanding.

Globalization has changed the state's role politically due to inter-state relationships and interdependence. The role of the nation-state in a global era is largely regulatory. While the domestic role of the state remains largely unchanged, previously isolated states are now forced to engage with one another to set international common policies. As the world becomes interdependent, the fate of one state is linked to the fate of another. States were created to be sovereign, but due to globalization, the role of the state has changed, as most states now heavily depend on others. For instance, since the Second World War, Britain and other Western states have become structurally dependent, militarily and financially, on the USA. Furthermore, globalization has shifted power to regulate certain activities from the government to international institutions. International organizations like the WTO frame rules and regulations for all countries. As a result of globalization, the market now determines the social and economic priorities of the state. This situation has reduced the state's capacity to perform welfare functions and given way to the concept of a minimalist state that performs functions related to law and order and security. Thus, the state's role has changed from being an authoritarian figure to an independent figure.

Socially, globalization has a problematic effect. The role of the state has become a protector rather than a controller. Policymakers must consider global issues when addressing policy problems in a national setting.

On a cultural level, the world has shifted from national cultures to mixed cultures, resulting in a homogenized global culture rather than nationalism. This phenomenon is termed cultural homogenization. In this culture, the politically and economically dominant society leaves its imprint on the less powerful society. Nation-states have little control over this process as they are dominated by transnational corporations. This has led to the disappearance of the culture of less powerful societies, meaning the cultures of least developed and developing countries are being westernized.

Technology remains a critical element of globalization. The invention of the telegraph, the telephone, and the microchip has revolutionized communication between different parts of the world. The ability of ideas, capital, commodities, and people to move more easily from one part of the world to another has been largely enabled by technological advancements. This development has also altered the role of states.

Economically, globalization has brought about drastic changes in countries' economies and the role of the state in regulating their economies to promote growth and development. The global economy has been created by online banking, stock markets, and global franchises. In a sense, globalization favors westernization, putting other states at a disadvantage when dealing with Americans and Europeans. This is particularly true in the agricultural industry, where second and third-world nations face competition from Western companies. Another potential effect is that nation-states are forced to

examine their economic policies in light of the many challenges and opportunities that multinational companies and other international entities present. Multinational companies challenge nation-states to confront unique issues such as foreign direct investments, determining how much international influence they allow in their economies. Globalization also creates a sense of interdependence among nations, which could create an imbalance of power among nations of different economic strengths.

According to Ramesh Karky, economic globalization is a historical process resulting from human innovation and technological progress. It refers to increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The internationalization of financial markets, technology, manufacturing processes, and services imposes new limitations on the freedom of actions of nation-states. Additionally, institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund impose new constraints and imperatives. Furthermore, international institutions like the WTO play a dominant role in influencing countries to adopt certain market initiatives.

6.2.2 Other Factors

6.2.2.1 Currency

Currency plays a crucial role in the trade of goods and services. It acts as an instrument of exchange that facilitates trade. In international business, the role of currency is particularly important concerning currency exchange and exchange rates. The existence of a single currency helps encourage more trade across borders, thus boosting economies. One such example is the Euro, used by all states in the European Union. The prevalence of a single global currency also helps strengthen the value of that particular currency. However, such uniform currency would create problems

for states in regulating and controlling their currencies. States no longer control currency because of intangible assets, importation, online electronic banking, and shared currency.

6.2.2.2 Citizenship

Along with the problem of currency is the issue of the erosion of national citizenship. National citizenship is based on the assumption that an individual should be a citizen of one and only one country and that the state has exclusive claims to that person's loyalty. For many states, there is no sharp distinction between citizens and non-citizens. Permanent residents, guest workers, refugees, and undocumented immigrants are entitled to a set of rights even if they cannot vote. The ease of travel and the desire of many countries to attract capital or skilled workers have made citizenship more flexible.

6.2.2.3 Treaties

Treaties are one of the sources of international obligations. It is a basic norm of law that one cannot derive rights and liabilities from a treaty to which they are not a party. However, contemporary international law envisages that rights and liabilities are created for states even though they are not parties to the treaties. Certain treaties create objective legal situations like neutralization, demilitarization, internationalization of human rights, and conventions codifying existing norms of customary international law.

6.2.2.4 International Organizations

International organizations have a tremendous impact on the sovereignty of states. This can be appreciated from four perspectives. The activities of international organizations can have quasi-legislative, administrative, supervisory, as well as jurisdictional effects. This hinders the freedom of member states to act as they

please.

6.2.2.5 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Transnational organizations (NGOs) have made significant influence over state activities. Throughout the 19th century, there were transnational movements to abolish slavery, promote women's rights, and improve conditions for workers. The number of such organizations has grown tremendously. The availability of inexpensive and fast communication technology has made it easier for such groups to organize and impact public policy and international law. Such groups prompt questions about sovereignty because they appear to threaten the integrity of domestic decision-making.

Moreover, member states of organizations like the World Trade Organization, which aims to promote trade among member states freely and smoothly, must relax trade barriers and create a trade and investment-friendly environment. This results in restructuring the government's economic policies, leading to the erosion or diminishing of economic sovereignty over activities that states previously enjoyed before the advent of these international organizations.

6.2.2.6 Human Rights

Human rights have significantly impacted sovereignty. Due to the internationalization of human rights, a state is no longer free to treat its nationals and aliens as it pleases. It must conform to international standards laid down in various human rights treaties, most of which are now regarded as customary laws. This means that human rights are applicable in every society and association of human beings.

The universality of human rights was adopted by the Vienna World Conference in 1973. It took the proposition that all human rights are universal, indivisible,

interdependent, and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner on the same footing, irrespective of national and regional peculiarities and various historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds. It is the duty of the state to promote and protect all human rights. A state must meet international standards or be held responsible for breaches of international human rights law.

6.2.2.7 Intellectual Property

The protection of intellectual property rights has also affected the sovereignty of states. Intellectual property rights, their use, and production are protected and regulated by international instruments like WIPO (the World Intellectual Property Organization), the Berne Convention, and TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights). These instruments lay down certain standards which a state must maintain to protect and regulate the use of intellectual property rights. These international instruments have an indirect effect on the sovereignty of states to regulate intellectual property rights. In this context, states have to make their domestic laws in consonance with these international instruments.

6.2.2.8 Media

Media is a major factor worldwide. Newspapers and television channels give the impression of the world being one state. Media raises awareness of events elsewhere in the world because states are no longer isolated. An example of globalizing media worldwide is the BBC. Another aspect is that globalization has led to the revolution of information technology. With the advent of the internet and smartphones, there has been a growth in communication. People can be easily contacted across the world, creating stronger relationships between states. Similar to the media, the internet makes information available to everyone, so the state does not need to transfer information to the people.

The state can no longer control all in-state language and education due to global mass media. As a result, the state is not completely relied on for educating its citizens.

Thus, globalization has changed the role of the state in many ways: politically through the interdependence of states, socially through the problems and threats of terrorism and other deadly diseases, technologically through the media and internet, and economically through the shift from national to global economics. The state has moved from being a controlling entity to a protecting one and from an authoritative to a dependent figure. It seems that globalization has lowered the importance of the state. This results in an erosion of state capacity. All over the world, the old welfare state is now giving way to a more minimalist state that performs certain core functions such as maintaining law and order and ensuring the security of its citizens. However, it withdraws from many of its earlier functions directed at economic and social well-being. In place of the welfare state, the market becomes the prime determinant of economic and social priorities. The entry and increased role of MNCs worldwide lead to a reduction in the government's capacity to make decisions on its own. It diminishes nationalism. In a sense, it is the antithesis of nationalism as it suggests that there are no boundaries, just one globe. The importance of nationalism diminishes as we live in a world in which national borders are increasingly irrelevant.

However, the above views can be contested. It seems that the state continues to remain the main actor in international politics, guarding its own national interests. The state still has the legitimate right to use coercive force and make laws and regulations. Besides, the state continues to perform the function of maintaining law and order. Above all, technological advancement has enabled the state to collect and disseminate information. States continue to shape the transnational

interactions of non-state actors. The state still moulds the activities of non-state actors more than its behaviour is moulded by them. Thus, it may be stated that states are not becoming weak. The sovereignty of the state is not withering away. This gives the message

that the role of states has become multi-dimensional. They have to give effect to the implications of international standards and regulations while making and implementing national policies and programmes.

Recap

- ◆ Globalization has changed the role of the state in various dimensions:
 - Politically
 - Socially
 - Economically
 - Culturally
 - Technologically
- ◆ Many problems are no longer individual national concerns:
 - Terrorism
 - Environmental issues
 - Drugs
 - Epidemics
 - Human rights
- ◆ These have become global issues requiring global attention and solutions.
- ◆ States have become more interdependent.
- ◆ Globalization has eroded the state's capacity to perform independent functions:
 - Due to the influence of international organizations
 - Due to the influence of multinational companies
- ◆ The state's capacity to perform welfare functions has been reduced:
 - The concept of a minimalist state has emerged.

- The state now focuses on functions relating to law and order and security.
- The state has withdrawn from many of its welfare functions.
- ◆ The market and its forces now occupy a pre-eminent position.
- ◆ There has been an erosion of the state's authority and power:
 - Private players dominate the scene.
 - Private players influence decision-making.
- ◆ The private sector has superseded the state-controlled public sector.
- ◆ Liberalization has encouraged the free flow of goods and services:
 - Resulted in the abolition of the license-raj
 - Limited the role of the state
- ◆ Globalization has changed the role of the state in many ways:
 - Developing countries have received a boost.
 - New technology has made some countries stronger and more powerful.
- ◆ Sovereignty of the state is not withering away:
 - The role of the state has become multi-dimensional.

Objective Questions

1. What is the amalgamation and rapid unification between countries identified as?
2. Globalization has improved the living standards of which group or region?
3. Which Indian industries have been hit by globalization?
4. Which organisation emphasizes the liberalisation of foreign investment and foreign trade?
5. Tax on imports is considered an example of what?
6. What is the main reason behind the investment of MNCs?
7. Which institute supports investment and foreign trade in India?
8. When did the government remove barriers to investment in India?

Answers

1. Globalisation	5. Trade barriers
2. People living in developing Countries	6. to increase the assets and earn profits
3. Toy making	7. World Trade Organization
4. World Trade organisation	8. 1991

Assignments

1. How does globalisation affect state capacity?
2. How have multinational companies affected the state?
3. Explain the Economic consequence of globalisation
4. ‘Globalization has shifted power from Nation states to global consumers’ Justify the statement
5. “Globalization favours westernisation”. Discuss

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National Autonomy Vs Global Commitments

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand how globalization effect national autonomy
- ◆ Identify the areas which require global effort and global co-operation
- ◆ examine to what extent globalization altered the national autonomy of nation-states.

Prerequisites

Globalization diminishes the power of national governments to independently control their economies. This is also true in the case of the national autonomy and sovereignty of nation-states. From a national perspective, it seems that the policy agenda may be global, but policymaking and implementation remain national. In a sense, globalization erodes national sovereignty. Let us open a discussion to address the challenges posed by this new situation.

Keywords

Drugs, Epidemics, National Autonomy, Sovereignty, Terrorism.

Discussion

6.3.1 National Autonomy

The concept of national autonomy has undergone changes in the contemporary world with the advent of globalization. In the globalized era, multinational institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, and International Monetary Fund promote universal standards, which in turn alter the national autonomy of states. As a result, the nation-state is often seen as a less significant partner in policymaking and lacks the power or mandate to control or have a democratic voice under the globalization paradigm.

6.3.2 Global Interdependence

The world is at a crucial turning point in history. Global interdependence increasingly affects all aspects of human activities, particularly state actions. Developing countries are especially influenced by global events, leading to a decline in the power of national governments to direct their economies and determine their political structures due to financial and technical assistance. Today, national policies are interlocked with global issues, and the boundaries of political systems are subject to external pressures and influences. The international environment plays a significant role in shaping national policies. Mass media and international conferences facilitate policy diffusion. Harrop states that the “international environment forms much of the context of national policymaking.... International organizations such as the European Community also form an increasingly important part of the context of national policymaking. The policy agenda is also becoming international.”

6.3.3 Influence of Multinational Corporations and International Organizations

The capacity of national policymakers to frame their own agenda is reduced due to the influence of multinational corporations and international organizations. National issues such as social welfare, the environment, drugs, and trade, once part of the national policy agenda, have become global issues. The national policy agendas of developing countries are now exposed to developed countries. With globalization, there is greater scope for interaction between nation-states. A nation-state now exercises less control over its policy agenda than before the advent of globalization. From a national perspective, this means that while the policy agenda may be global, policymaking and implementation remain national. Global politics plays an increasingly important role in determining national policy, especially for developing nations. Global issues interact with national issues, which in turn interact with local issues. This is the trend of political globalization.

6.3.4 Transnational Problems

Many of today's problems—economic crises, environmental pollution, organized crime, poverty, terrorism, drug abuse, epidemics, and human rights issues—are increasingly transnational in nature. These problems cannot be addressed solely at the national level or through state-to-state negotiations. Globalization thus requires a complex decision-making process at the global level, paving the way for a growing multi-layered system of governance.

6.3.4.1 Terrorism

Terrorism is a global problem spreading like a cancer. In India, terrorist organizations such as the People's War Group in Andhra Pradesh, the Maoists in Bihar, and others like Lashkar-e-Toiba and Hizbul Mujahideen are active. The attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in the United States on September 11, 2001, and the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, highlighted that terrorism is a vital challenge to the world community. These incidents reinforced the idea that "no single country can tackle today's complex and dangerous problems on its own." In this context, O.P. Sabharwal observed that our main enemy in the 21st century is terrorism, bringing the world to the brink of destruction. Global cooperation is now needed to combat global terrorism. The USA, UK, and European Union issued strong warnings to Pakistan after the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament. Similarly, the SAARC Standing Committee resolved to implement U.N. Security Council anti-terrorist resolution 1373 in its entirety. This demonstrates that to promote national interest, states must make compromises and adjustments with other nations, thereby restricting their absolute autonomy.

6.3.4.2 Epidemics

Expanding epidemics such as AIDS, H1N1, and the coronavirus pose serious concerns and have become global issues, attracting attention worldwide. AIDS has already killed 20 million people, with about 35 million living with the disease today, and 15,000 new infections occurring daily. Increased travel has the potential to spread other epidemics like H1N1 and the coronavirus. This global problem affects all states, resulting in countless deaths. A unified global effort is required to combat such issues.

6.3.4.3 Drugs

The production, transportation, sale, and use of drugs have become global concerns. Once regarded as a social problem requiring national policy, drug use has posed a serious menace to the international community since the 1980s, requiring global policy, cooperation, and action. International concerns have focused on the supply and transportation of drugs from producer nations like Thailand, Pakistan, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia.

6.3.4.4 Human Rights

Human rights issues necessitate the subjugation of political sovereignty to international institutions and leading players in international politics. Due to the internationalization of human rights, states are no longer free to treat their nationals and aliens as they please. They must conform to international standards laid down in various treaties like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which are based on customary laws. This is also true for child labour abuses and corruption.

6.3.4.5 Environment

Environmental issues such as air and water pollution, deforestation, and soil erosion have become critical problems with serious consequences for health, food production, productivity, and the ability of the earth to support human life. Protection and improvement of environmental quality have been global issues since the 1980s, directly affecting policy issues such as international security, North-South relations, and world trade. Growing environmental stress pressures national policymakers to change or modify their policies. The World Commission on Environment and Development observed that the traditional form of national autonomy is increasingly challenged by ecological and economic interdependence. The United Nations Conference on Environment and

Development in Brazil in June 1992 produced treaties to control global warming and preserve species diversity.

6.3.4.6 Poverty and Population Growth

Developing countries face serious problems of population growth and poverty. Despite lower poverty rates, the number of poor people has increased due to population growth in developing countries, uneven development, and increasing wealth concentration. Poverty and population growth have become global issues. The World Bank's new strategy proposes a global approach to fighting poverty. Most countries have developed national health policies with a global context, such as India's "Health for All by 2000 AD," drawn from the Alma-Ata Declaration. Since disease knows no borders, international cooperation and national political action are necessary worldwide.

6.3.5 Trade and Industry

Changes have occurred in industry as a consequence of globalization. The major sources of the global shift are transnational corporations, which organize production on a worldwide scale. They influence national government policies, as well as the technology of transport, communication, and production. This has largely weakened the ability of national governments to make

policies independently of these changes. Dickens observes that the well-being of a nation depends not merely on events in their own backyards but on what happens on a much larger geographical scale. Therefore, we need a global perspective.

Issues such as social welfare, trade, industry, agriculture, health, education, nuclear war, and famine are items on the national policy agenda that are tied to global issues. This has been accompanied by growing regionalism and internationalization. The global environment forms much of the context of national policymaking. Unilateral instruments cannot solve the growing problems that confront humanity. No state alone can face the challenges posed by these problems.

Globalization has led to the integration of domestic economies with the global economy. States have relaxed trade barriers and created special economic zones and industrial corridors, leading to the entry of global corporations into national economies. This has resulted in limited control and changes in state policies towards economic regulation. Other serious problems, such as the growth of terrorism, the spread of epidemics, the menace of drugs, environmental issues, and human rights concerns, have led to a reduction in national authority.

Recap

- ◆ Globalization has altered the national autonomy of nation-states. In a sense, it has resulted in the erosion of state sovereignty in general and external sovereignty in particular.
- ◆ Many of the problems affecting the world today—economic crises, environmental problems, drug menace, communicable diseases, human rights issues, and the like—have become issues of global concern and are transnational in nature. Unilateral actions or state-to-state negotiations cannot solve these problems. Thus, the role of the state has become that of a protector rather than a controller.

- ◆ Globalization reduces the capacity, i.e., the ability of the government to do what it likes.
- ◆ The market becomes the prime determinant factor in deciding economic and social priorities.
- ◆ The old welfare state is giving way to perform certain core functions, such as maintaining law and order and ensuring security.
- ◆ Globalization has adversely affected the national autonomy of states in many ways. The interdependence of states has compelled them to surrender their national autonomy, in a sense, their external sovereignty.

Objective Questions

1. What is the full form of SEZ?
2. Where was the first plant of Ford Motors set up in India?
3. When did the Government of India decide to waive foreign investment trade restrictions?
4. Which industry was affected by foreign domination after globalisation?
5. What is the reason why MNCs set up new factories and offices across various nations?
6. Which sector experienced the least profit after globalisation?
7. What are the foreign direct investments caused by globalization in India associated with?
8. Globalization has improved the growth of which countries?
9. To whom does globalization help in ensuring various economic and social benefits?
10. With the help of what did the multinational companies enter the global market?

Answers

1. Special Economic Zone
2. Chennai
3. 1991
4. Dairy products
5. Production cost is low and they can earn more
6. Agricultural sector
7. MNCs
8. Developed countries
9. Labourers, consumers and producers
10. WTO

Assignments

1. How does globalisation affect the national autonomy of a state?
2. 'Globalization has shifted power from nation States to international agencies.' Justify the statement.
3. What is the impact of globalisation on a state's sovereignty?
4. "Multinational companies affect the decision taken by the governments because their interest fulfilment depends on government policies." Discuss.

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Rising Inequality in the Era of Globalisation

UNIT

Learning Objectives

A careful study of this unit will enable the learner to:

- ◆ understand whether globalisation has contributed to inequality in general.
- ◆ identify the effect of globalisation in contributing to inequalities in developing nations
- ◆ discuss how the globalisation process affected various social groups
- ◆ explain the process of growing income inequality and wage inequality in the globalised era.

Prerequisites

Inequality is increasing, with the rich getting richer while the poor remain poor. This disparity isn't limited to individual countries like the UK and the US it extends globally. We all grasp the concept of global inequality, but how do we initiate its study? How did this global inequality arise, and why does it persist? How long will we continue to endure these disparities in our lives?

Keywords

Oxfam International, Third World countries, Washington Consensus, Developed Countries

Discussion

6.4.1 Inequality and Globalization

Globalization is increasingly associated with inequality. Critics argue that globalization exacerbates inequality both within and between countries. While globalization may enhance the incomes of individuals globally, some studies suggest clear winners and losers, while others refute these claims. They argue that globalization promotes economic integration, poverty alleviation, and reduces inequality. Which perspective holds true?

Globalization and technological advancements offer substantial opportunities for the world economy, aiding in global poverty reduction. However, a byproduct is an economy increasingly divided between winners—typically Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and industrially advanced states—and losers, particularly in the developing world where wages are low, regulations weak, and production oriented toward the global market rather than domestic needs.

One way globalization exacerbates inequality is through increased specialization and trade. While trade can stimulate economic growth and raise per capita income, it may also contribute to relative poverty. For instance, importing cheaper steel may conflict with domestic supply, leading to job losses and declining real living standards due to higher structural unemployment.

Globalization may also heighten inequality by boosting profits for multinational corporations like Apple, Google, and Facebook. It also exacerbates inequality by increasing demand for high-skilled labor, thereby depressing earnings for lower-skilled workers.

6.4.2 Inequalities in Developing Countries

Global inequalities among countries are profound and widening. For example, the United States, Europe, and Japan are on average 100 times richer than Ethiopia, Haiti, and Nepal. Although rapid growth in countries like India and China initially reduced global inequality, studies indicate that globalization largely amplifies existing inequalities. Forty years ago, the gap between the richest fifth and poorest fifth of the world's population was 30 to 1. By 1990, it had widened to 60 to 1, and by 2000, to 74 to 1. Currently, the wealthiest fifth of the world's population consumes 86% of global production, while the bottom fifth consumes only 11%.

In the 1990s, developing countries embraced market liberalization reforms by reducing tariff barriers, privatizing economies, and opening capital markets under the Washington Consensus with support from the World Bank and IMF. However, this led to a debt crisis, exacerbating poverty in the Global South. IMF structural adjustment loans, conditioned on economic reforms, aimed to address the debt crisis and restructure economies, but often at the expense of developing countries' autonomy.

These structural adjustment policies often resulted in negative growth, increased external debt, reduced exports, and intensified poverty. The reforms under the Washington Consensus, implemented across Latin America and other Global South regions, failed to yield expected results, benefiting instead companies from wealthy countries due to reduced tariffs. Clearly, there is a pressing need for more inclusive policies that allow developing countries to harness



the benefits of globalization actively and equitably.

6.4.3 Inequalities in India

Inequality has been alarmingly high and has destabilized social and political order worldwide even before the pandemic struck. Inequality is widening across the world, and India is no exception. According to a recent Oxford report, inequality in India has risen to levels last seen during colonial times. The additional wealth acquired by India's 100 billionaires since March, when the lockdown was imposed, is enough to give each of the 138 million poorest individuals ₹94,045. Studies also show that unskilled workers in India would take three years to earn what the richest person earned in one second last year.

6.4.4 Income Inequalities

Studies indicate that income inequality among countries far exceeds inequalities within countries. Average incomes in the richest countries are significantly higher than those in the poorest countries, with estimates suggesting incomes are 40-50 times greater in these countries. Growing disparities are evident within developed nations, between developed and developing nations, among developing nations themselves, and among the poor worldwide.

By examining the impact of globalization, studies reveal income inequalities within advanced countries such as the USA, Australia, Denmark, Japan, the UK, and the Netherlands. These inequalities may be attributed to investment outflows, North-South trade imbalances, and net capital flows over the years.

As mentioned earlier, globalization contributes to income disparities between developed and developing nations. Terms of trade often favor developed countries due to their bargaining power. Emmanuel

Wallerstein and Samir Amin have observed that globalization favors the West and disadvantages developing countries, enriching the rich and impoverishing the poor.

Growing disparities can also be observed between the developing and least developed countries themselves, as stronger nations attract the bulk of foreign investments. Many smaller states argue that globalization leads to dominance by wealthy and powerful states over weaker ones.

Studies also suggest that globalization contributes to income disparities between more educated and less educated members of society, leading to declining wages for unskilled workers. These widening disparities in less developed states push them into dire poverty, with many living on less than a dollar a day. The gap between the rich and poor appears to be widening. For instance, the World Inequality Report 2022 states that the richest 10% of the global population currently claims 52% of global income, while another report by Hardoon and Suckling observed that the poorest 50% of the global population shares just 8.5% of global income. Clearly, the benefits of economic changes have not been evenly distributed, with globalization playing a significant role in this unequal distribution. The collapse of the Soviet Union and Japan's period of economic stagnation may have also contributed to the low-income growth among the world's poorest.

However, inequalities are not solely measured by income. Other factors include gender, age, origin, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, class, and religion. Together, these factors contribute to inequalities within and between countries.

6.4.5 Wage Inequalities

There is evidence of wide disparities in wages. One study finds that the median wage for jobs in advanced countries is two and a

half times higher than in the most advanced developing countries, and five times higher than in low-income countries. For instance, a Chinese manufacturing worker earns about one-twentieth of what a U.S. manufacturing worker earns.

The situation is more complex in the developing world where economies are undergoing rapid change. Indeed, the working conditions for many in the supply chain are deplorable, with low pay and hazardous working conditions. Differences in domestic factors such as business climate, governance, migration, foreign trade, foreign investment, and the pace of technological change may also directly affect wage disparities. Studies also suggest that globalization contributes to wage inequalities between more educated and less educated members of society. This means that unskilled workers may be affected by declining wages, which are under constant pressure from globalization.

The gap, however, has narrowed in part due to globalization from 1999 to 2009 (the years of the worst recession). Average real wages rose by about 0.5 percent in Africa and Latin America, and nearly 8 percent in developing Asia. However, since 2009, the picture has changed significantly, contributing to wage inequalities as before.

Globalization has impacted various segments of society, including women. The various opportunities for women workers created by globalization include job creation in the formal sector, international recognition of women workers' issues, and the strengthening of women's economic independence. These opportunities have undoubtedly raised the self-confidence of women workers. However, globalization has also posed significant challenges for women workers, such as the gender pay gap, job losses, unsafe working conditions, male migration to urban areas, sexual exploitation, trafficking, and health hazards. Not

only do they receive lower pay than male employees, but they also lack rights and better working conditions. Reports from Oxfam show that without jobs in sweatshops, women would earn much less. The War on Want report published in July 2011 revealed that sweatshop workers' wages were insufficient to provide basic human necessities for their families. Therefore, sweatshops today not only contribute to inequality but also perpetuate poverty. Globalization and the fast-fashion industry have created a situation where these women face immense pressure to support their children. Lack of legal rights, sexual harassment in the workplace, and hazardous working conditions are critical concerns for women workers.

However, without public policy interventions, globalization cannot end gender inequality. Despite significant increases in agency and access to economic opportunities for many women in many countries, a large gender gap remains in some areas. Public action is needed to close this gender gap. Only then can countries harness globalization as a force for greater gender equality.

Globalization has had little impact on eliminating inequalities or promoting social progress. The gap between winners and losers from globalization has generally widened, while state resources to uplift the less privileged have diminished. The post-globalization period has seen the growth of regional imbalances and disparities between the North and South. Furthermore, developing and underdeveloped nations have the largest populations below the poverty line, and inequalities among social groups have increased based on each state's level of development. Growth appears to have favored urban areas, the organized sector, wealthier states, and property owners over rural areas, the unorganized sector, poorer states, and wage earners. Indigenous peoples, migrant refugees, ethnic minorities, and others continue to suffer from discrimination,

marginalization, and lack of legal rights. This economic polarization has been a period of growth accompanied by inequality. The commitment to balanced economic growth and development has waned with the advent of new economic policies. In

the era of globalization, liberalization, and privatization, each state, whether developed or underdeveloped, is left to pursue its own interests.

Recap

- ◆ Globalization has contributed to inequality. These inequalities are visible in the richest countries, between developed and developing nations, within developing nations, and among the poor worldwide.
- ◆ Studies suggest that globalization and technological changes have divided the world into winners and losers. The winners include multinational companies, industrialized states, and property owners, while the losers are in the developing world where wages are low and regulations are weak.
- ◆ Globalization can increase inequality due to increasing specialization, the profit motive of multinational companies, and the demand for high-skilled workers.
- ◆ Inequalities are widening globally, and India is no exception.
- ◆ Globalization also led to debt crises in poor countries. Rich countries and international organizations provided financial support to these countries to stimulate development. However, these policies are largely determined by rich countries and international organizations, which has exacerbated poverty in poor countries.
- ◆ Studies also show that globalization has resulted in income inequalities. These inequalities are widespread but particularly high in poor nations.
- ◆ Globalization also contributes to wage inequality between more educated and less educated members of society. Unskilled workers have been affected by declining wages.
- ◆ Globalization has impacted various sections of society, including women. Gender pay gaps, unsafe working conditions, male migration, and sexual exploitation in the workplace are major challenges for women workers.

Objective Questions

1. What can be a restriction for foreign trade?
2. How does the WTO help MNCs?
3. When did the IMF begin its operations in India?
4. What type of market have Indian markets mainly become with globalization?
5. What deals with trade rules among nations?
6. What organization replaced the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) in 1995?
7. In which year was the WTO formed?
8. Who does not have to pay taxes for a significant time?
9. Who introduced the New Economic Policy in India in 1991?
10. What has helped in the expansion of production of services?

Answers

1. Import Tax	6. WTO
2. Fund for trade and investment	7. 1995
3. March 1947	8. Special Economic Zone
4. Buyers' Market	9. Dr. Manmohan Singh
5. WTO	10. Call centres

Assignments

1. Briefly discuss the causes and effects of rising inequalities.
2. To what extent is global poverty harmfully inflicted by the global economy?
Write a note on inequalities in India in the global context.
3. How has globalisation proved to be a major challenge to women workers?
4. Discuss how globalisation has contributed to wage and income inequalities.

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Model Question Paper Sets



**MODEL QUESTION PAPER
SET-1**

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

QP CODE:

Reg. No :
Name :

**THIRD SEMESTER UNDRGRADUATE PROGRAMMES
END SEMESTER EXAMINATIONS
ANCILLIARY COURSE - B21PS02AN- UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEM
(CBCS-UG)
2023-24 - Admission Onwards**

Time: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 70

**SectionA
Objective Type Questions**

Answer any ten of the following questions. Each Question carries one mark.

1. What is the primary focus of study in political science?
2. Who is considered the “Father of Political Science”?
3. What term describes the interdisciplinary nature of political science?
4. Name one sub-field of political science.
5. Name the four essential elements of a state.
6. Who is considered as the father of the concept of sovereignty?
7. What is the primary role of the state in a society?
8. What type of sovereignty does a state exercise over its territory?
9. Which theory of sovereignty emphasizes the indivisibility of supreme power?
10. Which concept argues that no single entity has absolute control over all aspects of governance?
11. What term describes the absolute and perpetual power of a state?
12. Which political theorist is known for advocating the pluralist view of sovereignty?
13. Who coined the term “civil society” in modern political thought?

14. Name one key component of civil society.
15. Who wrote “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere”?
16. Name the key proponent of the monist theory of sovereignty?

(10×1=10 marks)

Section B

Very Short Answers

Answer any ten of the following questions. Each Question carries two Marks.

17. Differentiate between negative liberty and positive liberty.
18. Define Constitutionalism
19. What is meant by the ‘nature of justice’?
20. What is meant by ‘equality of opportunity’?
21. Why is justice considered a fundamental principle in society?
22. Explain ‘equality of outcome’?
23. Explain the concept of procedural justice.
24. Describe the relationship between liberty and law.
25. Examine Aristotle’s view of justice.
26. What role does the law play in promoting equality?
27. How does John Stuart Mill define liberty?
28. Differentiate between distributive and retributive justice
29. Comment on Globalisation
30. How does Isaiah Berlin categorize the types of liberty?

(10×2=20 marks)

Section C
Short Answers

Answer any five of the following questions. Each Question carries four Marks.

31. Examine the main functions of a political system
32. What is the significance Good Governance
33. How does political socialization contribute to political culture?
34. Define political socialization and explain its importance in shaping political behavior.
35. Explain the concept of political culture and its impact on the political system.
36. How does family influence an individual's political beliefs and attitudes?
37. Explain the concept of Decentralisation.
38. Define political communication and explain its importance in modern democracy.
39. Examine the difference between Pressure Groups and Interest Groups
40. Discuss the role of political parties in contributing to the functioning of a political system?

(5×4=20 marks)

Section – D
Long Answer/Essay

Answer any two of the following questions. Each Question carries ten marks.

41. Discuss the Marxist theory of the state. How does it differ from liberal conceptions of the state?
42. Examine various kinds of Democracy.
43. Critically evaluate the role of social media in transforming political communication.
44. Trace the evolution of liberal thought from classical liberalism to modern liberalism.

(2×10=20 marks)



**MODEL QUESTION PAPER
SET-2**

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

QP CODE:

Reg. No :
Name :

**THIRD SEMESTER UNDRGRADUATE PROGRAMMES
END SEMESTER EXAMINATIONS
ANCILLIARY COURSE - B21PS02AN- UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEM
(CBCS-UG)
2023-24 - Admission Onwards**

Time: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 70

Section A
Objective Type Questions

Answer any ten of the following questions. Each Question carries one mark.

1. Name the three main types of political culture identified by Almond and Verba
2. What are the three categories of rights?
3. Who wrote the book “On Liberty”
4. What are the primary agents of political socialization?
5. Which term refers to the economic policy advocating minimal government interference?
6. What will emerge after the withering away of the state?
7. Name two safeguards for rights.
8. Name two influential liberal thinkers from the Enlightenment era.
9. Name a thinker who suggested that the liberty of people could be secured only if there was a separation of powers?
10. What did Marx borrow from Hegel?
11. What is the term for the principle that ensures laws and policies are applied equally to all individuals?

12. What type of state did Gandhi envision as ideal?
13. How many tiers are there in the Panchayat Raj System?
14. What is the term for the type of liberalism that revisits classical ideas with a focus on market efficiency?
15. What are the three pillars of Rule of Law according to Professor Dicey?
16. In which year was the Panchayat Raj System introduced and which Article of the Indian Constitution is related to Panchayat Raj?

(10×1=10 marks)

Section B

Very Short Answers

Answer any ten of the following questions. Each Question carries two Marks.

17. Differentiate between distributive and retributive justice
18. What is the importance of social justice?
19. Explain the relationship between rights and duties.
20. What are the key elements of neoliberalism?
21. What is the theory of surplus value according to Marx?
22. How does political socialization contribute to political culture?
23. What are the two types of Satyagraha according to Gandhi?
24. What is the purpose of judicial review in the context of Rule of Law?
25. What is the difference between a federal and a unitary political system?
26. Describe the relationship between liberty and law
27. How does Marx view the role of class struggle in history?
28. What are the main functions of Gram Sabha?
29. How did Gandhi's concept of non-violence differ from passive resistance?
30. What are the main principles of constitutionalism?

(10×2=20 marks)

Section C

Short Answers

Answer any five of the following questions. Each Question carries four Marks.

31. How does a political system differ from a government?
32. What impact did liberalism have on monarchy and the feudal order?
33. How has social media transformed political communication in recent years?
34. What are the main differences between classical and modern liberalism?
35. How do political parties contribute to the functioning of a political system?
36. Evaluate the impact of globalization on democratic governance.
37. Explain the various methods of safeguarding rights and their effectiveness.
38. Define political communication and explain its importance in modern democracy.
39. Explain the role of political rhetoric in shaping public opinion.
40. Analyze the relationship between democracy and individual rights.

(5×4=20 marks)

Section – D

Long Answer/Essay

Answer any two of the following questions. Each Question carries ten marks.

41. Examine the role of civil society in strengthening and maintaining democracy. How do non-governmental organizations, media, and citizen activism contribute to democratic processes?
42. Compare and contrast direct democracy and representative democracy. What are the strengths and weaknesses of each system? In your opinion, which form is more suitable for large, complex modern societies, and why?
43. Evaluate the merits and demerits of liberalism as a political philosophy. Discuss its contributions to democratic ideals and economic development, as well as its criticisms and limitations.
44. Critically analyze the main principles of Marxism, including the materialistic interpretation of history, class struggle, and the theory of surplus value. Discuss the major criticisms of Marxist theory and evaluate its relevance in contemporary society.

(2×10=20 marks)

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Understanding Political System

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