

MA Part I

POLITICALSCIENCE PAPER-I

POLITICAL THEORY

1. Approaches to Political Theory: Normative, Institutional, Behavioural, Marxist, Post-Marxist, Feminist.
2. Positivism, Scientific Method and its Critique, Contemporary Approaches to Research in Social Sciences.
3. Theories of the State: Classical, Pluralist and neo-Pluralist, Elitist, Marxist and neo-Marxist
4. Key Concepts: Power, Authority, Legitimacy and Political Obligation.
5. Political Ideas: Law, Liberty, Rights, Justice, Equality and Civil Society.
6. Nationalism: Changing concepts, problems of Identity, Ethnicity and Citizenship.
7. Contemporary debates in Democracy, Forms of representation and participation.
8. Political Ideology: Meaning, Significance. Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Marxism, Socialism, Fascism, Communitarianism, Gandhism.
9. Development: Meaning and Various Approaches, Globalisation.
10. Contemporary debates in Modernity, Gender, Environment, Multiculturalism.

Suggested Readings:

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APPROACHES TO POLITICAL THEORY

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Normative Approach
- 1.3 Institutional Approach
- 1.4 Behavioural Approach
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Unit End Questions
- 1.7 Suggested Reading

1.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand normative approach to political theory.
2. To comprehend institutional approach to political theory.
3. To grasp the major arguments of behavioural approach in relation with political theory.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the study of Social Sciences the approaches are extremely important because they help us in identifying the problems for our study and deciding on the appropriate data to be used. A care must however, be taken to differentiate between an approach and method, another term which is frequently used by the social scientists. It must be made clear that the two terms are not synonyms. Method can be defined as a particular manner or technique to carry out something. It suggests a systematic course of action that helps procure trustworthy body of knowledge about a particular issue or phenomenon and draw conclusions thereon. There are quite a few methods that are applied in the study of social sciences such as deductive method, inductive method, comparative method, scientific method and so on. An approach, in contrast, is a broader term that takes hold of the method i.e. how to study or inquire along with bringing into focus the relevant data i.e. what to study for the purpose of understanding the particular phenomenon.

In the words of Vernon Van Dyke: “An approach consists of criteria of selection—criteria employed in selecting the problems or questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear; it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data.” Furthermore, distinguishing between a method and an approach Dyke indicates: “In brief, approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data.” It must also be added that an approach brings along its method too. This cannot be always true about a method because a method is not usually committed to a particular approach. In other words an approach suggests its own method while the vice versa is not true. For instance, behavioural approach is linked to scientific method and normative approach has association with philosophical method.

1.2 NORMATIVE APPROACH

Normative approach poses questions based on ‘norms’ or ‘standards’ in the study of social sciences with an aim to appraise values. Unlike the empirical approach that is concerned about ‘what happened and why’ the normative approach emphasises ‘what should have happened’. It must, nonetheless, be underlined that these assumptions are not always valid because at times the two approaches might overlap. Occasionally, the normative approach may be based on empirical postulations to elicit how or what a particular situation should be or what the state of affairs in a country should have been. In addition to empirical assumptions, the normative approach also comprises the social value system or moral standards widely endorsed in a particular society on which it sets up its edifice of questions. For instance, if the issue of war is the major theme of inquiry, the normative approach may seek help from the empirical assumptions to explain the causes of war or the prospects of peace along with the basic normative question whether war as a means of resolving international disputes is justified or not.

The normative approach highlights its inclination towards a specific arrangement of things or an order that emanates from a commitment to a moral duty or universal necessity. The undercurrent of the normative approach includes questions about the nature of man. Is the nature of man good, bad or a combination of both? Whether man is a rational being or irrationality overrides his actions? Is gender equality an absolute value or there exist basic gender differences that need consideration? These are some of the fundamental posers that influence the normative approach. Moreover, normative approach takes into account the views of history in the process of inquiry or drawing of conclusions in relation with a social phenomenon. For instance, a study based on the linear view of history usually assumes that the world is marching

towards a better and positive future. An entropic view of history, on the other hand, presupposes that the world is constantly in the process of regression. A cyclic view of history assumes that nothing of substantive significance ever changes except persons at the top and the ways through which these persons get to the top.

There are certain areas of social sciences that presuppose the normative approach in their analyses. For instance political philosophies or theories of political idealism cannot be comprehended without getting to know the norms or ethical standards of the philosophers concerned or the ideologues of the theories. It is pertinent to explain that normative statements are usually beyond empirical testing. They cannot be identified, explained or verified by our intellect faculty alone. At the most one can appreciate or deride the underlying norm or point of view of the philosopher or the ideologue. Take for instance the concept of justice. There are various theories, from Plato to Amartya Sen that make attempts to explain what justice is. For some justice is 'treating equals equally and 'unequals' unequally' or 'justice is giving equal freedom and equal opportunity to all provided any departure from equal distribution will prove beneficial to the least advantaged'. These assumptions indicate different sets of value judgments of the philosophers concerned based on their moral principles but they fail the empirical tests of observation or verification. Quite often normative statements on a specific phenomenon not only differ from each other but they sometimes contradict each other. It is not, however, possible to use value-terms such as right or wrong in the evaluation of normative assumptions because they stand beyond the purview of empirical or scientific methodologies. They are true or false only in relation to the value systems they are embedded in. The recent advances in social sciences and even in exact sciences indicate that there cannot be an absolute truth in the field of social sciences or scientific principles as well. Quite a few scientific theories are true so long as they are repudiated by new theories. The most acceptable academic stance is that no theory or principle can be treated as the repository of absolute truth because the so-called scientific assumptions are also likely to be proved wrong.

There are certain other assumptions, which are essentially normative but can also be proved valid empirically. Consider a statement like, 'corruption ought to end in order to make the functioning of the government transparent and pro-people.' This kind of statement, despite being a normative assumption, satisfies the empirical testing as well because on the basis of verifiable data about the working of governments across the world it can be proved that a political system having minimum corruption has a government that is adequately transparent and committed to the welfare of the people. The empirical data shows that the opposite is

true in case of widespread corruption in a political system. A normative approach underscores the probable course of action that may uphold an innate value, the primacy of which is an end in itself. For instance, if a normative statement establishes the preeminence of values such as truth, good or beautiful or any one of them, it has served its purpose.

The most common criticism against the normative approach is that it is subjective whereas the empirical approach is objective. In view of a scholar, the studies based on normative approach, like political philosophy, reveal the fondness of the philosopher concerned about a value or a few values. A scholar may accept or reject the fondness of the philosopher for that set of values. There cannot, however, be a rational argument in the matter. This is, however, an extreme view. There are other experts who believe that a reasonably rewarding dialogue is possible between the adherents of normative and empirical schools. They point out that concepts such as freedom, equality and justice necessitate a dialogue between normative and empirical approaches.

Another characteristic of the normative approach is that it is prescriptive whereas an empirical approach is descriptive. To put it plainly, the normative approach essentially concentrates on the conditions and standards that are created by human beings and that are likely to change depending on social requirements. An adherent of the normative approach can determine their moral validity and then suggest the right course of action. For instance, theories pertaining to the forms of government are likely to undergo changes with the changes in social conditions. Additionally, the moral value like legitimacy that justifies a particular form of government may possibly remain a constant but the forces lending legitimacy to the form of government might change. In the ancient and mediaeval times it was divinity, power or heredity that provides legitimacy to the form of government; currently, people's support is the most acceptable criterion for the legitimacy of a government.

It is true that at times normative approach vindicates the socio-political or religious bias of its adherent. For instance the prominent political philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle justified the institution of slavery on account of disparities between the intrinsic capabilities and natures of a slave and a freeman. Similar prejudices also prevailed in the matter of suppression of the position of woman. Their assumptions were obviously not based on empirical studies but emanated from the value system of those times. The advancements in the fields of social and biological sciences have now established that the assumptions of Plato and Aristotle were unfounded. Another criticism that is usually directed towards normative approach is that it fails to provide a reasonable criterion to determine what is wrong or what is right. It is a valid

criticism and supporters of normative approach admit this shortcoming. They, however, point out that the empirical approach is a lopsided one because it disregards values and its adherents are not capable to distinguish between higher and lower values. The normative approach is, therefore, a very valuable approach particularly in social sciences. An argument in favour of normative approach does not necessarily mean refutation of the empirical approach. In fact, there is a need to recognise the validity and significance of various approaches in the study of social sciences.

Check Your Progress:

- Q.1. How far normative approach helps in the comprehension of political theory?
- Q.2. Critically examine normative approach to political theory.

1.3 INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

As the name suggests, a thorough investigation of political institutions in order to study the discipline of political science is called the institutional approach. The approach is almost as old as the discipline of politics and most political scientists since the times of Aristotle have defined and restricted the scope of the discipline only to the study of state and government. In this respect a particular feature of the approach is that it does not usually make use of other social sciences such as philosophy, history, or law to analyse political phenomena. It, therefore, assigns an independent individuality to the organized inquiry of political science.

Institutional approach allocates the fundamental status to the institution of state in the study of politics and its agency, the government along with its various organs such as legislature, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy are also identified for close scrutiny as important political institutions. There are also many other institutions such as political parties, trade unions, non-governmental organisations, educational institutions, religious and cultural organisations etc. which may interest a scholar who is employing institutional approach if they directly or indirectly have some bearing on political processes. In this context it is necessary to know what an institution really is. An institution, by and large, can be defined as an established or organised society, an organisation,

corporation or an establishment especially of a public nature or whose working affects a community. An institution may be a foundation, a charitable institution, a sports club or a literary body. In the words of Vernon Van Dyke: "An institution is any persistent system of activities and expectations, or any stable pattern of group behaviour."

A typical feature of an institution is its offices, agencies and the personnel associated with it are arranged in hierarchy that means each office, agency or personal attached to it is assigned specific powers and functions. It also implies that the people or the community that are likely to be affected by the working of an institution expect that its offices, agencies or personnel should function in accordance with the respective powers and functions assigned to them. If we particularly look for the definition of a political institution then we get to know that a political institution is an organisation that creates, enforces and makes governmental policies pertaining to economy and social system. It also provides for people's representation. The examples of such political institution include government and its various organs, political parties, trade unions and the courts. The term political institution may also denote the recognised structure of rules and principles within which it operates.

Thus, institutional approach in the study of political science implies a detailed study of the government, its structures, and the body of rules within which it is required to operate and also a thorough examination of its various organs. Besides, the study of political parties, their structures, ideologies and functioning that have linkages with political processes forms a significant segment of institutional approach. Similar studies of other political institutions such as trade unions and civil society institutions are also part of the institutional approach. Aristotle who is also considered the father of traditional school of politics was the first who classified the governments as per the numerical strength of the rulers and the qualitative worth of their governance. Accordingly, he identified forms of governments as monarchy, aristocracy and polity applying the numerical as well as better governance criteria; also as tyranny, oligarchy and democracy using numerical as well as erosion of legitimacy of governance criteria. Though Aristotle's classification is no more valid, its study is imperative to comprehend the historical background of political theory. The modern classification of governments such as democracy or dictatorship, parliamentary or presidential and unitary or federal is not the sudden growth of our times. These forms of government owe a lot to archetypal kinds of government that had emerged in ancient Greece, Rome and some other ancient societies. The institutional approach includes the study of all forms of governments. Additionally the institutional approach also emphasises on the inquiry of levels of government

which means whether the levels of governance pertain to federal, state or local institutions. The approach also prescribes the analysis of the powers and functioning of the organs of government such as legislature, executive and judiciary.

The institutional approach is more or less value-free in the sense that it is mainly concerned with the consideration of facts in relation to political institutions. This is a feature that is usually ascribed to a modern approach. In this respect, despite being a traditional approach, the institutional approach not only radically differs from the normative and historical approaches but appears more like a modern approach. Nevertheless, political scientists refrain from including it in the category of modern approaches because it is exceedingly concerned about description rather than analysis of political phenomena. The experts have also enlisted some other shortcomings of this approach. They are as under:

i) It is exclusively focused on political institutions. As a result, the individual, the primary actor in political process has been totally discounted in the institutional approach. It led to a situation that the study of voting behaviour and political preferences of an individual was ignored by those political scientists who advocated institutional approach in the study of politics; ii) in the area of international politics the adherents of institutional approach restrict their studies only to the investigation of international political institutions such as the United Nations and its allied agencies and completely ignore the subject-matter of international politics such as foreign policy, diplomacy, international law and so on; iii) since it is concerned with the study of only established political institutions, it totally ignores the consideration of other phenomena like violence, political movements and agitations, wars, revolution and the scourge of our times, terrorism, which certainly influence politics; iv) finally, it also overlooks the position and influence of informal groups that have an effect on the politics of almost all states.

Nevertheless, it must be underlined that institutional approach is very significant because political institutions constitute the core segment of the scope of political science. It is unimaginable to ignore the study of political institutions in any meaningful inquiry of political phenomena. It should also be made clear that no single approach is adequate in itself for the study of any social science. It is true about institutional approach as well. It is only the combination of a few significant approaches that helps in a dispassionate study of political science and institutional is certainly one of the significant approaches.

Check Your Progress:

Q.1 Bring out the significance of institutional approach in the study of political theory.

Q.2 Critically discuss the institutional approach to political theory.

1.4 BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

Behaviouralism is one of the most significant modern approaches to the study of political science. A modern approach differs from a traditional one in precisely two ways: First, a modern approach is concerned mainly about establishing a separate identity of political science by emphasizing on the factual character of politics. Two, a modern approach makes an attempt to study politics in entirety, which means it pays little attention to the formal aspects of the discipline and brings into focus such other aspects that influence and also get influenced in the political processes. Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is mainly concerned to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism underscores the systematic inquiry of all exclusive expression of political behaviour. Some scholars insist that behaviouralism implies the application of meticulous scientific and statistical methods in order to standardise means of investigation. It is also an exercise in ensuring a value-free study of the discipline of politics. It is usually argued that by the adherents of behavioural approach that political science should be studied in manner similar to the study of natural sciences. In this context, the supporters of behavioural approach insist that the main role of a political scientist is to collect and analyse factual data in an objective manner.

The major point of criticism against the traditional approaches has been that they have been deficient in applying scientific methods to the study of politics that has rendered its very claim to be a science at all. Therefore, the behaviouralists recommended the application of exacting methodology and empirical studies to make the discipline of political science a true social science. The behavioural approach has without doubt given

a totally ground-breaking purpose to the study of politics by taking it towards an inquiry based on research-supported verifiable data. The behaviouralists have challenged the realist and liberal approaches by labeling them traditional as they fail to substantiate their conclusion with verifiable facts. In order to understand political behaviour of individual the supporters of behavioural approach prescribe the methods like sampling, interviewing, scoring, scaling and statistical analysis.

The behavioural approach came to be exceedingly favoured in the study of political science after the World War II. Nonetheless, it originated with the publication in 1908 of the works of two political scientists, Graham Wallas (*Human Nature in Politics*) and Arthur Bentley (*The Process of Government*). Both these political scientists preferred to underscored the informal political processes and diminished the significance of the study of political institutions in isolation. Wallas, moved by the new findings of modern psychology, strived to introduce similar realism in the study of political science. The major breakthrough provided by modern psychology was that an individual, after all, was not that much a rational being as the traditional political scientists and classical economists had tried to make him out. Consequently, he emphasised that, more often than not, an individual's political action were not given direction by rationality and self-interest. Wallas pointed out that human nature was a complex phenomenon and for an objective understanding of human nature suggested gathering and analysis of factual data of human behaviour. The other political scientist, Bentley was credited for inventing 'group approach' in the study of politics. He also prescribed that there should be a shift from description of political activity to the application of new tools of investigation. Bentley had sought greater inspiration from modern sociology that made him emphasise the role of the informal groups such as pressure groups, elections and political opinion in political processes.

Another significant political scientist who made valuable contribution to behavioural approach was Charles E Merriam, known as the founder of Chicago School. His objection to the traditional approaches to politics was the usual one i.e. they suffer from the absence of thorough scientific inquiry. He was also critical of the works of those historians who did not take into account the role of psychological, sociological and economic aspects of human existence. He vociferously advocated an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of political science, which would endow the discipline with a true scientific character. He favoured the use of quantitative techniques in the study of politics and encouraged political scientists to treat political behaviour as the cardinal issue in the studies. Since he was a resolute admirer of democracy, he strived to employ science to disseminate the message of democracy. He

did not see any inconsistency to advance the cause of a specific form of government through an approach to politics. It was William B Munro, another supporter of modern approach who made it plain that it was improper for political science to encourage the spread of any specific form of government, democracy or otherwise. One more proponent of behavioural approach, G E G Catlin spoke of making politics a value-free social science in his notable work, *Science and Method of Politics*, published in 1927. For Catlin, the essence of politics is to be located in 'power' and in this respect he cautioned that in the analysis of power, no particular value-system should be taken into account. Catlin's idea that politics was essentially the study of power was later turned into a comprehensive study by Harold D Lasswell in the renowned work *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* that came out in 1936. It is considered as one of the most meticulous studies of power.

These were the most important attempts to transform politics into a scientific discipline prior to World War II. In the post-War period quite a few American political scientists such as David B Truman, Robert Dahl, Evron M Kirkpatrick, Heinz Eulau et al made outstanding contributions to behaviouralism that elaborated and expanded the extent of behavioural approach beyond the analysis of political behaviour. Therefore, it is pertinent to quote here the contemporary definition of behavioural approach as provided by Geoffrey K Roberts in *A Dictionary of Political Analysis*, published in 1971: "Political behaviour, as an area of study within political science, is concerned with those aspects of human behaviour that take place within a state or other political community, for political purposes or with political motivation. Its focus is the individual person- as voter, leader, revolutionary, party member, opinion leader etc. rather than the group or the political system, but it necessarily takes account of the influences of the group on the individual's behaviour, the constraints of the system on the individual's opportunities for action, and the effects of the political culture on his attitude and political habits."

In view of this definition the political scientists who subscribe to behavioural approach investigate the psychological and sociological bearings on the behaviour of the individual in a political situation. Such an approach makes it imperative to make investigation of certain processes and political aspects such as political socialisation, political ideologies, political culture, political participation, political communication, leadership, decision making and also political violence. It goes without saying that the study of most of these processes demands an inter-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary approach. Thus, in the post-War scenario behavioural approach went beyond the confines of the research of individual-centric political behaviour. In the contemporary sense it is identified with an array of points of reference, procedures and methods of

analysis. It was David Easton who set forth eight 'intellectual foundation-stones' of behavioural approach. They are:

1. Regularities: It refers to identifiable similarities in political behaviour which help generalisation and explanation of regularities in political theory.

2. Commitment to Verification: It necessitates that the soundness of theoretical statements must be subjected to verification tests with reference to relevant political behaviour.

3. Techniques: It calls for experimental attitude in matter of electing techniques. In other words political behaviour must be observed, recorded and then analysed.

4. Quantification: In order to make a precise expression of conclusions based on collected data it is necessary to quantify the recording of data wherever possible.

5. Values: The behavioural approach demands a clear distinction between ethical assessment and empirical explanations. The behaviouralists insist on this separation to make political inquiry as far as possible value-free or value-neutral.

6. Systemisation: It draws attention to establishing linkages between theory and research because research data without the support of theory is likely to become inconsequential while theory in the absence of verifiable data may become an exercise in futility.

7. Pure Science: It recommends postponing the attempts to convert politics into a pure science for the purpose of making it an applied science. It is necessary because on account of the study of political behaviour we can use the knowledge of politics to find practical solutions to the pressing problems of a polity.

8. Integration: It suggests integration of social sciences with their respective values in order to develop an all-inclusive outlook of human affairs.

David Easton made attempts to make behavioural approach "analytic, not substantive, general rather than particular, and explanatory rather than ethical." In other words his intent was to make political theory capable of making evaluation of political behaviour without involving any ethical issue. It is often described as an exercise to distinguish between facts and values. Behaviouralism has been criticized by both conservative and radical political scientists for its so-called attempt to make the discipline value-free. For the conservative the behavioural approach is a serious threat to the possibility of political philosophy.

According to Christian Bay, behaviouralism was nothing but a pseudo-political science because it did not represent 'genuine' political research. His major point of criticism was that behavioural approach attached too much importance to empiricism and overlooked normative and ethical examination of political science. The radical critics point out that it is not possible to study political science by separating of facts from values. Nonetheless, it must be stated that behavioural approach did provide a great deal of reliability to political inquiry in comparison with political generalisation. It has made it possible to make available dependable answers to political question by using systematic methods. In the opinion of Vernon Van Dyke: "The student who takes a behavioural approach is not likely to ask broad and vague questions like what caused the decline and fall of the Roman Empire...Nor is he likely to focus on ideologies and constitutions or law or upon the organizational structure of institutions." Behavioural approach accordingly is concerned more about micro-level political situations and shuns political generalisations.

Check Your Progress:

- Q.1. How far behavioural approach helps in the study of political theory?
- Q.2. Make a critical assessment of behavioural approach to political theory.

1.5 SUMMARY

In the study of Social Sciences the approaches are extremely important because they help us in identifying the problems for our study and deciding on the appropriate data to be used. An approach is a broader term that takes hold of the method i.e. how to study or inquire along with bringing into focus the relevant data i.e. what to study for the purpose of understanding the particular phenomenon. There are quite a few approaches that are employed in the study of political science.

Normative approach poses questions based on 'norms' or 'standards' in the study of social sciences with an aim to appraise values. Unlike the empirical approach that is concerned about 'what

happened and why' the normative approach emphasises 'what should have happened'.

As the name suggests, a thorough investigation of political institutions in order to study the discipline of political science is called the institutional approach. The approach is almost as old as the discipline of politics and most political scientists since the times of Aristotle have defined and restricted the scope of the discipline only to the study of state and government. In this respect a particular feature of the approach is that it does not usually make use of other social sciences such as philosophy, history, or law to analyse political phenomena. It, therefore, assigns an independent individuality to the organized inquiry of political science.

Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is mainly concerned to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism underscores the systematic inquiry of all exclusive expression of political behaviour. Some scholars insist that behaviouralism implies the application of meticulous scientific

1.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Bring out the significance of approaches in the study of political theory.
- Q.2. Discuss the importance of 'normative approach' in the study of politics.
- Q.3. Explain the impact of 'institutional approach' in the study of political theory.
- Q.4. Elucidate the features of behavioural approach and underscore its significance in the study of politics.

1.7 SUGGESTED READING

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APPROACHES TO POLITICAL THEORY-II

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Marxist Approach
- 2.3 Post-Marxist Approach
- 2.4 Feminist Approach to Political Theory
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Unit End Questions
- 2.7 Suggested Reading

2.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To comprehend the Marxist approach to political theory by taking into consideration the principal arguments of Marxism in this context.
2. To understand post-Marxist approach to political theory by analyzing the writings of major critics of Marxism.
3. To grasp the idea of Feminism and its approach to political theory.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The daunting task in elucidating the Marxist approach to political theory is to take into consideration not only the major works of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Lenin but also refer to a huge body of Marxist literature produced by Marxist intellectuals such as Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, Antonio Gramsci et al. Another difficulty that arises while dealing with a topic like 'Marxist approach to political theory' is the non-existence of explicitly political essentials in the tomes of classical Marxism. Therefore, a Marxist approach to political theory can only be pieced together by a careful process of sifting and sorting the mass of Marxist literature. In doing so, first of all, we have to understand the concept of politics that emerges from a careful study of Marxism.

A frequent refrain of quite a few scholars, even those who are not necessarily anti-Marxist, is that Marx was a great

philosopher and equally a good economist but he was an ordinary political scientist. It is an unfair assessment of political ideas of Marx. He was a political thinker who did not treat the discipline as a technical or institutional matter. For Marx politics could be explained in events like wars and revolutions and it could also be concerned about invention of forms of polity. Marxist approach to politics could also be called the “politics of oppressed” in the sense that it speaks about the political processes for those who have been excluded from the state sphere or from the bourgeois political thought. This was certainly an original contribution of Marx and his adherents that brought into focus the role of the subaltern sections of society in the political processes.

2.2 MARXIST APPROACH

Marx believed that an individual in society was, in fact, without society. The worth of an individual seems to be of no consequence which makes Marx comment that “society does not consist of individuals only but expresses the sum of interrelationship and relations within which these individuals stand.” Thus, Marxist approach to politics represents a shift from the liberal approach according to which the individual is atomised, insular and self-contained. The Marxist concept of society may also help understand the political processes. Marxists believe that all societies in history have been characterised by the presence of classes. The nature and stature of the classes at different stages of economic development kept changing with the changes in mode of production. Therefore, as per Marxism there were classes from slave owners, free individuals and slaves, feudal lords and serfs, the bourgeois (capitalists) and the proletariat (workers) who have always been struggling against each other.

All societies, according to Marx are exemplified by domination and conflict which are the result of particular features of their mode of production. Marx pointed out that class domination was an historical process that epitomized constant striving on the part of dominant class to maintain its domination within the society. Consequently, the Marxists believe that political process can only be properly comprehended if we thoroughly consider the nature of the ever-present societal conflicts and struggle for domination. Such an approach envisages politics in terms of a process of class struggles. It was because of this reason Marx said in the *Communist Manifesto*: “The history of hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.”

An important point in the Marxist approach to politics is that political process is considered to be incapable of resolving the prevalent class conflict because the politics is itself used by the dominant class to suppress the deprived class. In Marxist analysis,

so long as classes exist in society, the state and political process will continue to be used as tools of the dominant class for oppressing the dependent class commonly known as workers. The class conflict will not disappear automatically or immediately after the socialist revolution. It will persist for some time, however, it will be characterised by role reversal of the two classes. In other words, the workers, in the aftermath of revolution, will strive to suppress, even annihilate, the surviving members of the class who have been known as the capitalists prior to revolution. This is considered to be a necessity because the erstwhile capitalists are likely to instigate a counterrevolution. Accordingly, the workers will be the driving force to annihilate all class differences from society and to usher in communism which is not only a classless but also a state-less society. With the disappearance of classes political wrangling will also disappear and, as Engels points out, the state will wither away. The Marxist view is that the end of class conflict will herald the end of political process itself.

Marxists consider politics not as an original but a derivative process. Since the society stands on the economic foundation, politics is the part of the super-structure which has an auxiliary significance. In this context the observation of Marx is noteworthy: "In the social production of their existence, men enter definite necessary relations, which are independent of whim, namely (relations of productions) corresponding to determinate stage of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of the society or base, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political super structure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness." It is, therefore, obvious that in the Marxist view, the relations of production serves the foundation of society and political and legal institutions are merely parts of the super-structure. This view of politics logically influences every aspect of Marxist analysis.

There is no doubt that the Marxist approach best explains the structures and functioning of the bourgeois democratic state and its linkages with society. It is also true that there appears primacy of economic factor in the classical Marxist approach to politics but many a thinkers who sought inspiration from the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin have added new dimensions to the huge amount of philosophical, economic and political literature that is known by an umbrella term Marxism. In this sense Marxism is an ever-growing philosophy that refuses to languish and stand still. In the contemporary Marxist approach the primacy of economic factor in the explanation of society is considerably toned down. Marxist approach to political theory should be treated a twofold approach, before and after revolution. Prior to revolution Marxism provides a view of the state that is akin to structuralism wherein the classes

exist in a uninterrupted state of conflict. After the revolution, the state becomes redundant and ultimately dies.

The Marxist theories that were propounded in the twentieth century, for instance the one advanced by the Italian thinker, Antonio Gramsci argues that though economics is the foremost determinant of relations in society, it is not the only factor that ensures the dominance of the capitalists. Gramsci has brought into focus the political, cultural and ideological factors that support the dominance of the capitalist class. In this context Gramsci's concept of hegemony assumes greater significance that strives to maintain a balance between economic determinism and human prejudice and consciousness. If the classical Marxist theory is juxtaposed to Gramsci's concept of hegemony then we may get an approach that better explains society, state and the political process. It can do so because it not only makes out the fundamental structures of a bourgeois democratic state, it also positions the state in the historical context as an instrument that protects the institution of private property. Such an approach restores the autonomy to political theory.

The grounds on which the Marxist approach to political theory is criticised are similar to those on which Marxism is criticised. It is interesting to note that criticisms to Marxist approach have not only set forth by the supporters of free market economy or the agents of established religions but also by the political left, democratic socialists and social democrats. The main thrust of the criticism is that the institutions of society and state cannot be fully comprehended merely on the bases of class conflict, capitalists' domination and the proletarian revolution. Many liberal democrats and even anarchists completely reject the idea of transitory period of proletariat dictatorship. The economists, especially those who are wedded to free market economy and neo-liberalism criticise Marxian approach for discarding the institution of private property and recommending state control of major means of production. In their opinion such an approach is not only inadequate to explain political, social and economic institutions but it is also impracticable and against human nature.

Many contemporary Marxists point out that though there is huge merit in the Marxist approach, the classical Marxism suffers from certain economic, political and social ideas which have been rendered obsolete. In this context the neo-Marxists argue that the view of economic determinism does not pass the muster because of tremendous scientific and technological advances made during the second half of the twentieth century that have seriously eroded the role of the workers in economic production. Other economists, who are not necessarily anti-Marxist, argue that Marx's 'theory of

surplus value' and 'the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall' are internally contradictory.

Most of these points of criticism are, no doubt, valid. Nevertheless, it must always be remembered that Marxism is neither a stagnant philosophy nor it is a dogma. There have been extensive research works in the field of Marxism since the death of the philosopher-economist in late nineteenth century. Marx might have erred in piecing together the details of society, politics and economics because of the constraints of his times but the basic thrust of his philosophy and economics and so of the Marxist approach to political theory which underscores causes of mass poverty and exploitation and the exhortation for their removal remain forcefully convincing.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss nature of society, political process and class-conflict in the light of main tenets of Marxism.
2. Critically examine the Marxist approach to political theory.

2.3 POST- MARXIST APPROACH

The coming to power of Joseph Stalin in 1924 and the subsequent emergence of his autocratic rule, the transformation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) from the vanguard of revolution to a rigid and terrifying bureaucracy and absolute suppression of the idea of freedom in the erstwhile Soviet Union did an incalculable damage to Marxism and quite a few philosophers and intellectuals who were either Marxists or had an intellectual interest in Marxist philosophy were completely disillusioned by the Soviet model that was created in the name of Marxism. Post-Marxism in academic terms, therefore, refers to the extrapolations of classical Marxism by philosophers and theorists.

Thus, post-Marxist approach to social theory came to be recognised around 1960. It became an important tool of analysis of political theory because of the failure of the Soviet model to replicate itself beyond the USSR. The other factors that too contributed to the acceptance of post-Marxist theory included: i) students' riots of 1968 across the world; ii) the rise of Maoism and

the extensive coverage of the Vietnam War that was made possible because of the advent of commercial television; iii) some thinkers showed obtrusive scepticism about certain cardinal formulations of Marxism because of rapid advances of science and technology along with socio-economic changes all over the world; iv) structural alterations of capitalism that in turn reduced the significance of the working class in industrialised countries; v) the extreme incursion of capitalist relation of production in many areas of social life; vi) dawning of burdensome bureaucratisation as a characteristic trait of the welfare state that gave rise to new modes of protest; the appearance of mass mobilisation in the 'third world' countries which overturned the classical pattern of class struggle; vii) the damage to the crisis-ridden countries that purportedly implemented socialism and, viii) the extremely oppressive forms of governance established in the name of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Although, the writings of two thinkers, Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, majorly shaped the post-Marxist theory, the other philosophers and intellectuals too added to the economic, historical, feminist, literary and cultural dimensions of the theory. These thinkers include Judith Butler, John Frow, Richard Wolf, Ernesto Laclau, Tony Bennett et al. The post-Marxist theory, instead of underscoring the primacy of class struggle and the humanist concerns about the exploited and oppressed sections of society, brings into focus the sexual, class and ethnic division that exist in almost all societies. In this sense post-Marxism is a critique of Marxism and also presents an alternative theory. Though it is a complex line of analysis, we can still make an attempt to identify the foremost arguments of post-Marxism.

Firstly, post-Marxism claims that socialism is a catastrophe as a theory of economics and society. The subsequent theories that have either borrowed from socialism or made adaptations to explain society are equally phony. It further insists that all ideologies are sham because they are theoretically rooted in social milieus that are subjugated "by a single gender/race culture system." Secondly, the post-Marxist thinkers contend that Marxist stress on social classes is reductionist to say the least, for the classes are bound to break up. The real criteria for the political division of society are embedded in varied identities such as race, (in case of India, caste), gender, ethnicity, sexual preference etc. Thirdly, the institution of state is inimical to democracy and freedom. It has also failed miserably to give out the benefit of the welfare state. The post-Marxists want that state should be replaced by civil society that can ensure democracy with much more sincerity and also bring about social transformation for better. Fourthly, the idea of central planning devised by the socialist state also comes under scrutiny by the post-Marxists. They argue that it is basically a product of a powerful bureaucracy, which creates

roadblocks for the efficient exchange of goods between producers. They also affirm that markets (with limited regulations if not completely free) can augment more consumption and can also guarantee professional distribution.

The fifth assertion of post-Marxism is that the socialists' struggle for capturing political power is actually corrupting the political systems as a result of which authoritarian regimes keep emerging. These regimes suppress democracy, freedom and civil society. The position of the post-Marxists in this respect is that the real democratic alternative is that local organisations should strive for promoting and protecting local issues while simultaneously exerting pressure on national and international authorities. Sixthly, revolutions in the contemporary scenario are either a very difficult possibility or even if brought about, they lead to disgusting consequences. More often than not, social transformation by means of revolution leads to the emergence of authoritarian rule. The post-Marxists, therefore, suggests that people should struggle for the strengthening of democracy and protection of electoral processes. The seventh contention of post-Marxism is that classes no longer exist. The concept of class solidarity is a relic of the past ideologies that were the product of the social realities of their times. In the contemporary situation, the post-Marxists emphasise, there are 'fragmented locales' where specific groups having distinct identities and residing in specific localities are engaged in the process of self-help and sustain by means of cooperation and outside support. Therefore, the notion of class solidarity got transformed into cross-class phenomenon.

The eighth claim of the post-Marxists is that class struggle does not lead to concrete results. It can only create social upheavals, destruction and defeat. Moreover, it falls short of resolving the immediate problems. In place of class struggle, the post-Marxists recommend that the civil society should put pressure on government and international agencies for the resolution of pressing problems. The ninth argument of post-Marxism is that the position of the Marxists to deride imperialism is an extraneous exercise because imperialism is a phenomenon of the past that has outlived its relevance. The contemporary world moves along globalized economy wherein the possibility of confronting a specific or more than one economic centres does not arise. The present day world, in the opinion of the post-Marxists, is characterised by interdependence which stipulates greater global cooperation for relocation of capital, modern technology and expertise from the developed to the underdeveloped and developing countries. Lastly, the post-Marxists have a word of advice for the leaders of the popular organisations (including political parties) not to spend their energies in organising the poor. They must rather explore the avenues of external funding. It is the responsibility of the

professionals to design programmes that may attract external funding to be used for the uplift of local groups.

The critics of post-Marxists, point out that though they pretend not to have a political agenda and their arguments constitute an independent theory, the fact is that they directly or indirectly strengthen the neoliberals and injure the interests of the working class. The post-Marxists have, in reality, occupied the space that was earlier in possession of the reformists in Latin America. The critics insist that the positions of the post-Marxists are, by and large, new versions of the arguments put forth earlier by the socialists, nationalists and religious leaders. The critics also allege that the post-Marxist organisations are nurtured and financed by the world funding agencies and local governments with specific agenda to promote neo-liberalism. It is a common practice that most organisations committed to post-Marxism identify themselves as 'non-governmental' or as independent entities, although they are funded covertly by global financial agencies to disseminate neo-liberalism. Though, the critics have reasons to question the theoretical formulations of post-Marxism, the fact is that it has emerged as a valuable approach to the study of social sciences in general and political science in particular. There are certain contentions of post-Marxism that cannot be simply put under the carpet by calling them neo-liberal agenda.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss the main arguments of post-Marxist political theory.
2. Critically analyse the post-Marxist approach to political theory.

2.4 FEMINIST APPROACH TO POLITICAL THEORY

There are quite a few movements across the world, in particular, the western world that project women's issues with emphasis on creating egalitarian social conditions wherein the ideal of gender equality should be one of the cardinal values. Collectively these movements are known as feminism. The objectives of the feminist movement are broadly similar to those of the campaigns for women's rights but in recent years it has acquired ideological and theoretical dimensions that have registered an impact on social sciences. In this respect, the notion of a feminist approach to

political theory assumes significance. Accordingly, we may say that feminism makes attempts to bring into light an approach to the study of social sciences that helps establish, promote and define social concepts from the point of view of gender egalitarianism rather than the male perspective that has been the case till recently. In order to delineate the feminist approach to political theory it is essential to have a cursory look on the history of feminism and its dynamics.

Historically speaking, feminism is usually divided into three phases depending on the emphasis attached to feminist issues. The first phase, or the 'wave' as it is popularly referred to, commenced in late nineteenth century and continued till 1930s. Feminism during this phase was mainly about the suffrage, though the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting, property, sexual, reproductive rights were also on the agenda. The suffrage movement was more pronounced in the USA and the UK. In the USA, though Wyoming was the first state that granted women the right to vote in 1869, the federal government did not agree to the principle of universal franchise till 1920. The women achieved right to vote in the British colonies of South Australia and New Zealand in 1893 and 1895 respectively. However, the women in Britain had to wait for the suffrage till 1918, when thirty-year old women having ownership rights of houses were allowed to be voters. Ten years later, the suffrage was made available to all women of the age of 21 years and above. In India, the women got political rights along with their male counterparts when the Constitution of India came into force on January 26, 1950. In China, the women achieved similar rights as were made available to men after the establishment of the Communist rule in 1949.

In the countries that have Muslim majority population, Turkey, Egypt and Iran, are the only states where the feminist movement has had some impact. In Turkey, women got equal rights in 1922, when it was declared as a republic and a secular state. In Egypt, the feminist movement appeared with the formation of Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923. Its founder President, Hoda Shaarawi argued for equal legal, social and political rights for women. However, Arab feminism could become a force only with the rise of Arab nationalism. (Currently, with the conservative party, *Ikhwan-ul-Muslimin* capturing power, the future of women's rights in Egypt seems to be uncertain. It may go the Iranian way.) In Iran, the feminist movement for equal rights began with the Iranian Constitutional Revolution in 1905, when women had achieved equality in education, marriage, employment and legal matters. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979, the women have lost many of the rights that were available to them since 1905.

The second phase of feminist movement began in early 1960s and continues to overlap with the current third phase as some of the objectives of the second 'wave' have remained unaccomplished in quite a few countries. In the second phase the dominant issues have been cultural, economic and political inequalities of women that are reflected not only in their personal lives but also in the sexist power structures. During this phase, the feminist activist-author, Carol Hanisch coined the slogan 'the Personal is Political' that represented the dominant thrust of the second wave. The feminists strived to end the traditional, and in many societies almost revered, division of labour wherein woman was confined to the four walls of her home and assigned the work of raising children, cleaning, washing and cooking while her male counterpart was supposed to do business or job in the capacity of the earner, a position that made him the master of the house. Thus, the discrimination against women that begins in the household and persists in socio-political structures outside was brought into focus. It was during this period that woman's position came to be reviewed in societies where communist revolution and other reform movements were brought about.

In the third phase of feminism that began in early 1990s, was dominated by a review of the circumstances and reasons that proved detrimental in the accomplishment of the objectives of the second phase. The third wave of feminism seems to make conscious efforts to rid itself of the over-emphasis on the issues of middle-class white women. The common concerns of the feminists in the third phase appear to promote a post-structuralist view of gender and equality and to bring into focus 'micro-politics' that pervades in determining roles of women within the household and outside. The phase is also marked by a polemic between 'difference feminists' who argue that there exist significant differences between man and woman and those who hold the view that there are no innate differences between the sexes and that differences in gender roles are the product of social conditioning.

A feminist approach to political theory leads to the development of a feminist political theory that is, in fact, an extension of feminism into political theorisation. A feminist approach to political theory emphasises issues such as gender politics, power relations, sexist characteristics of political ideas and structures, women's rights, discrimination based on gender, stereotyping of gender roles, sexual objectification, oppression of the weaker sex and patriarchy. A liberal feminist theory is about equality of man and woman in the realms of politics and law that must be achieved by legal and structural reforms. On the other hand, a socialist feminist theory establishes linkages between oppression of women and exploitation of workers. A radical feminist approach to political theory advocates complete demolition

of male-controlled capitalist hierarchy that is the root cause of discrimination against women and reconstructing a society based on absolute gender equality. A Marxist-feminist approach puts forward the notion that elimination of class oppression will lead to elimination of gender oppression.

In its formative years feminism in the USA had a tendency to make common cause with the rightists in the sphere of politics as was evident from the close affinity between the National Woman's Party and the political right from 1910 to 1960. Nevertheless, in the contemporary scenario, feminism is in alliance, not merely in the USA but throughout the world, with the left-wing politics. The toughest opposition to feminism came from Nazism during 1930s and 1940s when the political and economic rights of women were done away with on the ground that the real role of a woman was to give birth to and bring up the healthy males who could protect and bring glory to the Aryan nation. In Spain, the feminists faced terrible oppression as the Catholic conservatives under Franco's autocracy established a hierarchical social order which accorded superior position to men because of masculinity and virility while assigning women a subordinate position to look after the household chores and bear children. In the contemporary world feminist movements are either under attack or non-existent in societies that are pronouncedly religious. It is largely true about the countries where Islam has its sway.

The civil rights movements across the world have also contributed to feminism as most of the feminist theorists use the idioms made popular by the black activists in the USA and Africa and also tend to connect the movements for women's rights with those of non-white people. Currently, feminist activism is also concerned with anti-racism, immigration laws in Europe, caste discrimination in India and the all pervading oppression of women in the Muslim dominated societies, in particular, the Middle East.

Thus, a feminist approach to political theory is much more than a mere description of roles of men and women in political sphere. It majorly takes into account the ideas that imply intrinsic inequalities in the dominant political theory that in turn helps develop political structures which assign positions of prominence to men and insignificant roles to women. In this context, a feminist approach to political theory concentrates on two theoretical areas viz. equality of rights and gender equality in law. The feminists strive to eliminate inequalities and injustices from political theory. The social constructions everywhere are such that accentuate gender inequalities in social, political, cultural, economic and legal spheres. A feminist approach also underlines the fact that most approaches to political theory are embedded in the notion of male superiority. By raising the slogan of 'the personal is political' the

feminism, therefore, rejects the ancient Greek social dichotomy of private and public fields. It was this dichotomy that made the Greek philosophers to exclude women from public affairs and since then political theory kept on propelling male-centric ideas. The feminist argument is that the political theory overtly dominated by male primacy has explicitly ignored the oppression of women in the household, business and commercial spheres, politics and culture because they seem to carry forward the well entrenched Greek view that women are not fit enough to be citizens.

In view of most feminists, it is only Marxism that has developed a political theory that seems to be free from gender bias. It was Engels who, after the death of Marx, wrote a book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, wherein he argued that the key to the problems of women was to be found in socialism that would allow them to join the labour market as equal individuals. Nonetheless, quite a few feminist theorists are critical of Marxism as well for Marx has not exclusively dealt with the issue of male supremacy in political theory. It is pertinent here to enlist the major contributions that a feminist approach has made to political theory. They are as follows:

- a) It has made the gender politics as the central issue in discernment of oppression. In the absence of a feminist approach the concerns of sexual politics were usually treated as non-issues because they were purportedly considered the issues of private sphere.
- b) The feminist approach to political theory helps understand patriarchy that has had a domineering effect on political theory since the times of Plato. It also underscores the fact that the course of social change begins and ends with the manner in which the private issues like sexuality, childcare, household chores and domestic authority relations are dealt with. If the social change fails to bring about a qualitative, egalitarian shift in the private sphere it is worthless.
- c) Feminism wholly rejects the anthropological theories of division of labour because they have been written from male point of view because they directly strengthen women's subordination in economic and political spheres.
- d) The male-dominated idea of division of labour has directly led to the objectification of women in public life. The man's hatred for woman, misogyny, has been a forceful trait of male-dominated societies because of which women have been reduced to objects of men's sexual desires which has blunted the genuine desires of women such as cravings for love, sex and rearing of children.
- e) A major contribution of feminist approach to political theory is its reluctance to accept heterosexuality as an absolute fact

which has been the principal theme of Victorian notion of femininity. It presupposes that the worth of a woman lies in getting married to a man and serving his sexual, emotional and domestic needs. The implication is not to underline the fact that quite a few women, by nature, are lesbians but to bring into focus the dichotomous division of men and women is false because it creates watertight compartments. The reality lies in they being equally indispensable to each other.

The feminist approach is not entirely about the five points enumerated above. The list is far from being exhaustive. However, these are certainly the major concerns of feminism in relation with political theory.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss the definition of feminism and comment on its varying nature in different societies.
2. Enlist the major contributions of feminism to political theory.
3. Critically examine the feminist approach to political theory.

2.5 SUMMARY

An important point in the Marxist approach to politics is that political process is considered to be incapable of resolving the prevalent class conflict because the politics is itself used by the dominant class to suppress the deprived class. In Marxist analysis, so long as classes exist in society, the state and political process will continue to be used as tools of the dominant class for oppressing the dependent class commonly known as workers. The class conflict will not disappear automatically or immediately after the socialist revolution. It will persist for some time, however, it will be characterised by role reversal of the two classes. In other words, the workers, in the aftermath of revolution, will strive to suppress, even annihilate, the surviving members of the class who have been known as the capitalists prior to revolution.

Thus, post-Marxist approach to social theory came to be recognised around 1960. It became an important tool of analysis of political theory because of the failure of the Soviet model to replicate itself beyond the USSR. The present day world, in the opinion of the post-Marxists, is characterised by interdependence which stipulates greater global cooperation for relocation of capital, modern technology and expertise from the developed to the underdeveloped and developing countries. Lastly, the post-Marxists have a word of advice for the leaders of the popular organisations (including political parties) not to spend their energies in organising the poor. They must rather explore the avenues of external funding. It is the responsibility of the professionals to design programmes

that may attract external funding to be used for the uplift of local groups.

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2.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Delineate the main arguments of the Marxist approach to political theory.
- Q.2. Write an essay on post-Marxist approach to political theory.
- Q.3. Make a comparative study of Marxist and post-Marxist approaches to politics.
- Q.4. Explain the core characteristics of feminist approach to political theory.

2.7 SELECTED READING

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POSITIVISM, SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND ITS CRITIQUE, CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Positivism
- 3.3 Logical Positivism
- 3.4 Scientific Method and its Critique
 - 3.4.1 Critique of Scientific Method
- 3.5 Contemporary Approaches to Research in Social Sciences
 - 3.5.1 Institutional Analysis
 - 3.5.2 Behavioural Approach
 - 3.5.3 Rational Choice Theory
 - 3.5.4 Feminist Approach
 - 3.5.5 Marxist Approach
 - 3.5.6 Post-Modern Approach
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 Unit End Questions
- 3.8 Suggested Reading

3.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the concepts of positivism and logical positivism.
2. To comprehend scientific method and also to understand its critique.
3. To grasp the significance of contemporary approaches to research in social sciences and also have an understanding of various contemporary approaches such that are adopted in contemporary research.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Positivism can be broadly defined as a theory that holds that theology and metaphysics are imperfect forms of knowledge and that knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations that can be verified empirically. It majorly believes that in social as well as natural sciences the real sources of all meaningful information are the sensory experiences that can be subjected to logical and mathematical treatment. Positivism, therefore, rejects the knowledge that is purportedly gained by introspection and intuition. Historically speaking, positivism had been in use as a philosophical approach in Ancient Greece, however, in the modern world the concept came to be widely known in early 19th century thanks to the writings of August Comte who is the pioneer of the discipline of sociology. Comte asserts that authentic knowledge can only be acquired through sense, experience and positive experience.

3.2 POSITIVISM

We can enlist five principles that get expressed intermittently in the theoretical formulations of the positivist thinkers. They are as under:

1. The first principle emphasises the unity of the scientific method, which means that the nature and mode of inquiry does not change from discipline to discipline but remain similar in social as well as natural sciences.
2. The objectives of inquiry must be to explain and predict. Quite a few positivists assert that the ultimate purpose of inquiry has to be the development of the law of universal understanding by finding out essential and satisfactory tools of inquiry for any phenomenon. In other words they hope for creating a perfect model of the phenomenon. If such a law is available then by manipulating the conditions prediction can also be made.
3. Any body of knowledge that claims itself to be scientific must be testable and research in any phenomenon is valid only if it is empirical. Research must also be perceptible by the human senses and should also be subjected to logical confirmation.
4. It is wrong to believe that science acknowledges or validates common sense. Therefore, researchers should not allow common sense to have a bearing on their research.
5. Science should be as value-free as possible because the real goal of science is to produce knowledge and not to project political goals, morals or values that might be dear to the researchers. Logic should be the only criterion for judging science and ideally scientific body of knowledge should be

true universally. In brief, statements must be true for all times and places.

Shortly after the publication of Comte's book, *A General View of Positivism* in 1848, quite a few philosophers made attempts to define and explain positivism in their own terms. The most prominent among these thinkers were the much respected French novelist and an influential thinker, Emile Zola, Emile Hennequin, William Scherer and Dimitri Pisarev. Another outstanding thinker, Emile Durkheim, is not only considered to be the founder of modern discipline of sociology but also a reviewer of Comte's idea of positivism. Though Durkheim rejected many of Comte's positivist ideas, he broadly subscribed to Comte's method by consenting to the principle that social sciences constitute logical extension of natural sciences so far as they relate to human activity. Therefore, any research in a social phenomenon may have similar objectivity, rationalism and causation that are true in natural sciences. Durkheim, in his *Rules of the Sociological Method*, first published in 1895, argues: "Our main goal is to extend scientific rationalism to human conduct...What has been called our positivism is but a consequence of this rationalism."

The critics of Durkheim, however, pointed out that his ideas of positivism suffered from overstatement and oversimplification. They insisted that Comte was the only significant positivist thinker who maintained that social phenomena could be subjected to scientific inquiry similar to the one employed in natural sciences. On the contrary Durkheim had been striving to develop a distinct sociological scientific methodology. Nevertheless, Durkheim is credited with developing techniques for social research which are useful as the foundation of methodology in a few social sciences such as sociology, political science and market research. In the present scenario, positivism may come handy for those technocrats who are of the view that science and technology may bring about social progress.

In the US, positivism is now increasingly identified with scientific method for the inquiry of a social phenomena and in this mode it is the most preferred approach to theoretical construction and empirical research in almost all social sciences. As per an estimate a sizable number of articles published in reputed research journals of social sciences of the world are based on positivist methodology. In the US, the positivist quantitative methods are usually perceived to be more scientific and reliable and, therefore, more popular than the qualitative research works. Although, most social scientists today may not identify themselves as positivists, majority of the research works published in journals of political science and especially of sociology suggest the application of positivist method.

Check Your Progress:

Q.1. Describe the concept of positivism.

Q.2. Critically assess the basic arguments of positivism.

3.3 LOGICAL POSITIVISM

Logical positivism is a branch of positivism that combines empiricism and rationalism in order to invent proper tools of scientific inquiry of social phenomena. It was advanced in the beginning of the twentieth century by the Vienna Circle, whose founding father was Moritz Schilick. The other members of the Circle included philosophers, mathematicians and scientists such as Rudolf Carnap, Otto von Neurath, Victor Kraf, Hebert Feigl et al. Logical positivism opposes all metaphysical, in particular, the ontological, and sham deductive propositions. Logical positivism does not reject metaphysics for being based on incorrect foundation but because of it is meaningless. The criterion of meaning was made clear in the writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein which presented the idea that the knowledge was meaningful so long as it could be codified in a solitary acknowledged language of science. He was also responsible for creating linkages between the Circle and the school of linguistic philosophy that was having its sway at Oxford and other British universities.

The logical positivists are best known for the verifiable criterion of meaning. They point out that metaphysical, theological and ethical propositions cannot be verified and for that reason are cognitively meaningless. It must be noted that the logical positivists make a distinction between a cognitive statement and other kinds of statement that may have emotive or figurative meanings. The logical positivists argue that scientific propositions are of two types viz. analytic and synthetic. A statement is called synthetic when something is appended to the meaning of a term that appears in the statement. All propositions, as per logical positivism, must satisfy the criterion of verifiability. Therefore, a synthetic statement can only be meaningful if it can be empirically verified; if it fails the test it is meaningless. An analytic proposition, on the other hand, satisfies logical reasoning as well as it may be quantifiable. It contains truth value that makes it understandable in the sense a scientific statement is meaningful. Analytical statement can also be

empirically verified and therefore, it is cognitive proposition. Since traditional theory cannot be empirically verified, the logical positivists reject it for its meaninglessness. The logical positivism also aims at accomplishing the goal of a 'united science' by which it means developing a common language having the capability to express all scientific propositions.

Logical positivism played a pivotal role in the development of analytic philosophy. It also influenced the philosophy of language. Logical positivism has registered its impact on political theory in two ways. First, since most of the principles or propositions of political theory cannot satisfy the criterion of empirical verifiability the discipline is meaningless. It may be in the category of metaphysics, ethics, non-rational and arbitrary area of beyond science but it cannot be called a scientific discipline. Secondly, the logical positivists recommend the adoptions of criteria of a genuine science like physics to all social sciences including political science to make them true sciences.

It was Karl Popper who argued that the criterion of verifiability as suggested by the logical positivists was too rigid and suggested that it could be replaced by the criterion of falsification. He argued that falsification was a better alternative because it did not bring on the intrinsic philosophical problems in the verification of an inductive inference and at the same time it permitted the propositions of physical sciences that are apparently scientific but failed the verification criterion. Popper was not exclusively interested in making distinction between meaningful and meaningless statements. He also did not insist that all metaphysical statements were necessarily meaningless because as per his argument a statement which could be metaphysical and therefore unfalsifiable in an era could become falsifiable and meaningful in another era. Popper rejected the concept that science had to depend on inductive reasoning or that inductive reasoning was an infallible method. In support of this claim it is often cited that if a scientist's observation suggests that Mr. A is absolutely the same as Mr. B, it will be an unreliable conclusion to say that all Mr. As are like Mr. Bs. Popper, therefore, argues that observation, even though it is copious cannot establish the truth of a hypothesis. A scientist, Popper asserts, can only disprove or falsify the hypothesis. According to him 'commonsense realism' serves as the basis of falsification.

Popper held that scientific theories were abstract formulations that could be tested only indirectly by taking into account their implications. He was of the view that scientific theory was hypothetical and got developed because of creative imagination that was invoked for finding solutions of problems that emerged in certain historical-cultural surroundings. He observes

that logically even if quite a few positive results appear at the level of experimental testing, they cannot confirm a scientific theory whereas a solitary counterview can falsify the theory. We must be aware that the term falsify, that is one of the key terms in his philosophy, does not mean that something is fake or false but it implies that on the bases of observation and experimentation it is proved false. In his philosophy of science, the logical asymmetry between verification and falsifiability is considered to be the crucial argument. On account of this thrust, Popper contends that a theory can be called scientific only if it can be falsified. This position made him declare that both psychoanalysis and contemporary Marxism were unscientific because their theories were not falsifiable.

In his famous work, *All Life is Problem Solving*, Popper made an attempt to explain the progress of scientific knowledge, which appeared to be a continuous process—how could otherwise we explain our ever-improving understanding of the universe? Popper's position in the context is that all scientific theories including the ones that are supposed to be the best, "cannot be verified by scientific testing, but can only be falsified." Certain theoretical models appear to be incapable of being shown to be false and, therefore, they are not falsifiable and in turn are unscientific. Popper asserts that the growth of scientific knowledge is an evolutionary process.

The logical positivism had always been under attack since the beginning. The earliest critics pointed out that the major flaw of the theory was that its basic canons could not be put together systematically. It was argued that the verifiability criterion of meaning itself appears unverifiable because it posed serious problems for the logical steadiness of theory. Another drawback of the theory is that negative existential claims and positive universal claims do not allow for verification. Universal claims are almost impossible to be verified. For instance how anyone claim that *all ravens are black*, unless all ravens (including of the centuries gone by and the centuries to come) are either killed or caught. It was because of this problem that the logical positivists later combined verification with falsification.

Though logical positivism occupies an important position in analytic philosophy, most philosophers have rejected it in the contemporary scenario. Today, it is considered to be dead or "as dead as a philosophical movement ever becomes." The ideas of logical positivism are now labeled as defective as admitted by A. J. Ayer who was once a prominent exponent of the theory. He said in an interview: "I suppose the most important defect...was that nearly all of it was false."

Check Your Progress:

Q.1. Examine the concept of logical positivism.

Q.2. Make a critical assessment of logical positivism.

3.4 SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND ITS CRITIQUE

It is believed that Aristotle invented scientific method because his demonstrative discourses were replete with sophisticated analysis of logical implications and it was a completely original method of analysis. In fact, we cannot separate scientific method from the history of science. The experts insist that the ancient Egyptians had used empirical method in the study of astronomy, mathematics and medicine. It is also said that Thales, the ancient Greek philosopher, while studying natural phenomena refused to rely on any supernatural, religious or mythological clarifications because he believed that every phenomenon must have a natural cause. At the same time, the deductive reasoning of Plato was also considered an important contribution to scientific method.

Nevertheless, it is widely recognised that the earliest occurrences of an experimental scientific method were developed by the Muslim scientists who were responsible for introducing experimentation and quantification within the broader area of empirical research. The earliest instances of optical and physiological experiments have been reported in the various works of Alhazen, particularly in his monumental work, *Book of Optics*, that was published in 1012. Thereafter, the scientific method was further refined and improvised in the 17th and 18th centuries. For instance, Francis Bacon, presented a new system of logic that bettered the old philosophical process of syllogism, that got expressed in his *Novum Organum*, first published in 1620. Then appeared Rene Descartes' famous treatise, *Discourse on Method* that settled on the basic principles of scientific method. Therefore, Alhazen, Bacon and Descartes and a little later John Stuart Mill made crucial contributions to the development of scientific method.

According to the *Oxford Dictionary* the scientific method is, "a method of procedure that has characterised natural science since the 17th century, consisting in systematic observation,

measurement, and experiment, and the formulation, testing, and modification of hypotheses.” Thus, scientific method is essentially the usage of various techniques for inquiring into phenomena that may lead to the acquisition of new knowledge or perfecting the existing knowledge. A method can be called scientific only if it is based on empirical and quantitative evidence which must also satisfy the specific principle of reasoning. It is obvious that the application of scientific methods to different disciplines, for instance natural sciences and social sciences, may differ in terms of procedures, however, it can still be distinguished from other methods of inquiry. The researchers resorting to scientific method first offer hypotheses by way of explanation of the phenomena to be studied and then plan experiments to test the hypotheses by means of predictions to which they arrive at after experimental studies.

An inquiry based on scientific method must be as objective as possible and must not contain any kind of bias. It is also expected from the researchers using scientific method to document and share all data and methodology with other scientists who can scrutinize and verify the research and its outcome. It must also be noted that in recent times various measures have been suggested for the perfection of scientific method that range, back and forth, from experience to imagination. The scholars, in the 20th century, devised a hypothetical-deductive model comprising four steps for scientific method. The model is as under:

1. A researcher must first consider the problem and try to understand it using his experience and earlier explanations of the identical phenomena. If he still believes that the problem under study is a new phenomenon then he should move to step #2
2. When no information or explanatory data is available about the problem concerned the researcher must try to provide an explanation himself which is called the formation of conjecture.
3. If the researcher firmly believes that step #2 is true then must deduce a prediction from his explanation/ conjecture.
4. The researcher must also explore opposite of each consequence for the purpose of disproving #2. Logically it is incorrect to move to step #3 without looking for the opposite of #2. Technically, this error is called *affirming the consequent*.

This model is credited for having brought a revolution in the scientific method. It must also be noted that it was Alhazen who had first established the significance of steps 1 and 4, more than a thousand years ago. Thereafter, Galileo demonstrated the importance of step 4 in 1638. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that this model cannot verify step #2 in absolute terms; it can only falsify. In this context the observation of Einstein is worth noting

who said: “No amount of experimentation can ever prove me right; a single experiment can prove me wrong.” The scientists also caution that the researchers must think about more carefully to free them from interpretative bias. They must also be more exact while describing their experiences.

As pointed out by Alhazen more than a thousand years ago that the ultimate purpose of scientific inquiry was to find out the truth. In accomplishing the final objective scientific method should not be treated as a single recipe. In order to be totally effective it necessitates intelligence, imagination and creativity. The scientific method is not a set of pointless principles and courses of action that a researcher is expected to follow. On the contrary it is an unending cycle of more perfect, precise and all-embracing models and methods.

Check Your Progress:

Q.1. Define Scientific Method and discuss its prominent features.

Q.2. How far Scientific Method is useful in the study of social sciences?

3.4.1 Critique of Scientific Method:

Carl G. Hempel, the German philosopher, published his work, the *Raven Paradox*, in 1965, wherein he pointed out certain flaws in the scientific method, in particular, he questioned the validity of inductive reasoning, generalization and falsifiability. Through his raven paradox he argues that if a conscientious researcher on the basis of his frequent visits to the countryside observes that every single raven that he has seen is black and on account of this observation he suggests, by using inductive reasoning, the hypothesis that *all ravens are black*, this will be accepted as a perfect hypothesis. It is not only testable but also falsifiable because the discovery of a single non-black raven will falsify the hypothesis. Then, the researcher can also plan an experiment in which thousands of ravens are observed and if all of them are found to be black the hypothesis after a series of experiments and observations by other scientists will be accepted as a law.

In the first place, the Raven Paradox objects to the process of generalization. It is obvious that all the ravens of the past, present and future times cannot be observed. Hempel pointed out that at least one in ten thousand ravens could be white or non-black. However, the chances of seeing a non-black raven by a researcher are almost negligible. Should he then postulate the hypothesis that *all ravens are black*? Secondly, though the principle of falsifiability appears to be technically plausible, practically the odds of spotting a non-black raven to falsify the hypothesis are very slim. Thirdly, the Raven Paradox puts under scanner the process of reasoning and deduction. Hempel argues the hypothesis tends to mean that every non-black object that is observed is not a raven. Now, there are end number of objects in the world that are non-black. Is it possible for any researcher to observe all of them?

Hempel, through his Raven Paradox, underscores the dangers of generalization and he also cautions the researchers to ensure carefully the falsifiability of their hypotheses. He says that if a researcher hypothesizes, "*all ravens in Norway are black*" it is more realistic as ornithologists could feasibly observe every raven in Norway." Hempel's critique of scientific method brings home the point no theory can be impervious to question and debate. All the times new evidences keep appearing which science must get used to and absorb.

Another thinker Feyrabend is of the view that science is basically anarchistic which creates its own mythology and usually tends to make claims to truth that are not within its reach. He was particularly offended by the disdainful positions of most of the scientists towards alternative traditions of knowledge. He argued that though science started as a liberating force, with the passage of time, it turned into a repressing ideology. Feyerabend observed that appropriate precautions should be taken to protect a heterogeneous society from the excessive influences of science as was usually done to protect it from other ideologies. His main argument is that historically speaking a universal scientific method does not exist and for that reason it is wrong to accord a privileged status to science that it enjoys in western society. Feyerabend reckons that scientific viewpoints are not the outcome of universal method and therefore, they are incapable of assuring superior quality conclusions. He also added that there was no rationalization in valuing claims of science more than the claims of other sources of knowledge like religion. He pointed out that successes of science owed for inspiration, to a considerable degree, to the non-scientific factors such as mythology and religion.

Martin Heidegger in his famous book, *What is Thing* also provides an excellent critique of science. His first take on Galileo Galilei and his famous Tower of Pisa experiment to prove that

objects of different sizes fall at the same speed. Heidegger pointed out that the objects, in fact, did not hit the ground at the same time but only after taking into consideration factors like air resistance it was concluded that the objects were falling at the same speed. Heidegger, therefore, asserted that the real advance that proved crucial in the progress of modern science was not observation but the mathematical prediction. To put it plainly, scientists could conduct experiments because as per their understanding they had a neutral world space to conduct them and thus keep the predictions unaffected by external factors.

It should also be underlined that there are different and in some cases opposing points of view about the definition of scientific method. We may cite certain examples to prove the point. Karl Popper claims that scientific knowledge can advance only through falsification. The obvious inference of this assertion is that no scientific theory can be immune to refutation. Another thinker, Kuhnian, holds the view that scientific knowledge develops through revolution and paradigm shifts. In other words an established scientific theory has to deviate so much that it reaches a critical point where it is suddenly turned upside down. In view of the logical positivists verifiable statements can be made which can convey what is and what is not about the world. The post-modernist thinkers contend that every text can be interpreted variously and that science does not say anything about the external world; it informs us only about the social structures of scientific communities. Thus, there is hardly a consensus on what is a scientific method.

Check Your Progress:

- Q.1. What are the basic arguments of the critics of Scientific Method?
- Q.2. Provide a critique of the Scientific Method in relation with social sciences.

3.5 CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Major social sciences comprise the disciplines of political science, economics, psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology

etc. Therefore, the contemporary approaches that are employed in political science research are similar that are engaged in other social sciences. Each social science can be approached from various methodologies. A researcher may use a variable-based approach that necessitates statistical analysis. It means he has opted for the positivist research tradition. On the other hand another researcher may choose a comparative case study approach, “in which the most-common themes are qualitatively compared.”

It is pertinent here to specify the objectives of research. The frequently identified objectives are: 1) to explore a phenomenon or problem to gain insightful and comprehensive knowledge about it; 2) to describe a problem that characteristically includes counting the incidence of one or more phenomena, and 3) to establish and/or measure causation. In social sciences, researchers opt for various approaches to accomplish these objectives. Some of the most significant contemporary approaches that are favoured by social scientists are institutional analysis, behaviouralism and rational choice theory in the category of Positivist research approaches and the feminist, Marxist and post-modern approaches in the broad category of qualitative approaches.

3.5.1 Institutional Analysis:

The approach that is commonly known as institutional analysis was one of most preferred approaches until the end of the first half of 20th century. Its popularity declined only when behaviouralism became the most favoured approach of the social scientists after 1950. Institutional analysis brings into focus social or political institutions and look at the rules, traditions or conventions that helped these institutions to emerge. For instance, a research work in political science based on institutional analysis is mainly concerned with describing formal political institutions such as constitution, legal system and government structure. The researcher may make use of comparative method while dealing with these institutions and may also discuss decisive changes that have taken place in these institutions in due course of time. In the heydays of institutional analysis, the most popular topic of political science research was ‘the concept of the state’. Incidentally other political institutions were explored because they had direct or indirect bearing on ‘the state’. For instance, government was discussed as an institution that had a close alliance with the state. According to Shepsle, “Government for the most part was conceptualized as the institutional manifestation of the state, and the agenda so set for political science carried on into the early decades of the twentieth century.”

The importance of institutional analysis in the research of political science declined by the middle of the 20th century mainly because its critics pointed out that by focusing majorly on the state and government, the approach has extremely narrowed down the scope of the discipline. Secondly, the institutional analysts would restrict their inquiries to the formal institutions whereas informal institutions and organisations and their significance and role in a polity were altogether ignored. Thirdly, the research scholars wedded to institutional analysis would, more often than not, attempt to identify factors that could help formation of a 'good government' rather than investigating good and bad political behaviour.

Despite its low esteem, institutional analysis continues to be a valid approach in contemporary research scenario because in recent years it has made a comeback albeit in a different format. Present day institutional analysts do not concentrate only on discussing political institutions by way of comparison. The contemporary institutional analysts inquire into topics such as power, its acquisition, retention and exercise in political situations and how values are shared and distributed among the members of political groups. They also explore substantive issues of institutions and their structures. According to Vivien Lowndes, new institutional analysis differs from the old one in following respects:

- From an old focus on institutions towards a new focus on rules.
- From attentiveness to formal concepts to informal definitions of institutions.
- From a static view of political institutions to a dynamic view.
- From ignored values to consideration of values as critical to comprehend institutional relationships.
- From holistic view of institutions to focusing on different segments of institutions.
- From institutions as independent bodies to a position that they are embedded in specific societies.

3.5.2 Behavioural Approach:

Behaviouralism became one of the most favoured approaches in the middle of the twentieth century and since then it has held its sway in the research of social sciences. The political scientists, who intend to improve society by bringing about a change for the better in political institutions, ensure more public participation in political affairs and get engaged in researching the social problems that emanate from politics, usually opt for behavioural approach for their research works. The behavioural approach stipulates similar scientific scrupulousness in carrying out research in social phenomena as observed in natural sciences. Psychology and sociology were the first two social sciences that

showed increasing preference to behaviouralism since 1920s. A couple of decades later, political scientists too got engaged in data-collection exercises by moving out of classrooms and libraries and interacting with the real world. Consequently, by the mid-1960s, behavioural approach came to be recognised as a leading line of research in social sciences.

According to John G. Gunnell, the objectives of behavioural research could be accomplished by “the formulation of systematic concepts and hypotheses; the development of explanatory generalization that would raise inquiry beyond mere factual empiricisms; interdisciplinary borrowing; empirical methods of research; (and) direct observation.” The comprehension of behaviour implies comparing the attitudes of the people in diverse cultural settings. It was because of this comparative method got reinforcement that in turn led to the emergence of comparative politics as a branch of political science. The behaviouralists have shifted the focus of research from political institutions to political behaviour of the people, they are not interested to know the manner people *ought* to act; instead they pay attention to the manner people do act. It was David Easton who set forth eight ‘intellectual foundation-stones’ of behavioural approach. They are:

1. **Regularities:** It refers to identifiable similarities in political behaviour which help generalisation and explanation of regularities in political theory.
2. **Commitment to Verification:** It necessitates that the soundness of theoretical statements must be subjected to verification tests with reference to relevant political behaviour.
3. **Techniques:** It calls for experimental attitude in matter of electing techniques. In other words political behaviour must be observed, recorded and then analysed.
4. **Quantification:** In order to make a precise expression of conclusions based on collected data it is necessary to quantify the recording of data wherever possible.
5. **Values:** The behavioural approach demands a clear distinction between ethical assessment and empirical explanations. The behaviouralists insist on this separation to make political inquiry as far as possible value-free or value-neutral.
6. **Systemisation:** It draws attention to establishing linkages between theory and research because research data without the support of theory is likely to become inconsequential while theory in the absence of verifiable data may become an exercise in futility.
7. **Pure Science:** It recommends postponing the attempts to convert politics into a pure science for the purpose of making it an applied science. It is necessary because the on account of

the study of political behaviour we can use the knowledge of politics to find practical solutions to the pressing problems of a polity.

8. **Integration:** It suggests integration of social sciences with their respective values in order to develop an all-inclusive outlook of human affairs.

3.5.3 Rational Choice Theory:

Rational choice theory is perhaps the most established type among the model-based approaches that are used in social sciences in general and in political science in particular. Other model-based approaches include game theory models, psychological models, mathematical models and other-choice based behavioural models. Rational choice theory model has emerged as a significant approach in political science in recent years.

Rational choice theory is also a course of action through which researchers can explain human behaviour. It is widely believed that most people make rational choices and act thereof in order to gain maximum benefits of ensure maximum protection of their interests. The rational choice theory is based on this assumption. This theory is employed more frequently in research works in economics where it is known as the process of 'maximizing utility'. In political science this approach first appeared in 1960s as a reaction to the behaviouralists' contention that human behaviour had nothing to do with personal choice but it was guided by social and psychological factors that had a bearing on human beings. In political science rational choice theory is excessively used as a research approach to explore how groups act in response to challenges in political institutions. It is also employed to the study of public policy and other similar political issues. The contemporary mode of rational choice theory as an approach of social science research seems to be closer to institutional approach than behaviouralism.

In this context it is noteworthy to know how Kenneth A, Shesles distinguishes rational choice theory from behaviouralism. He says: "In place of responsive, passive, sociological man, the rational choice paradigm substitutes a purpose, proactive agent, a maximizer of privately held values. A rational agent is one who comes to a social situation with preferences over possible social states, beliefs about the world around oneself, and a capability of employing these data intelligently. Agent's behavior takes the form of choices based on either intelligent calculation or internalized rules that reflect optimal adaptation to experience." The rational choice theorists also hold that human behaviour is directed towards a purpose. A cardinal postulation of the rational choice theory is

that human beings evaluate their actions in similar fashion the games are played where the objective is to win. The theory underlines that it is individual who makes political decision and not groups. It is only when a specific political decision may lead to maximum benefit for a group, its individual members make political compromise. Through this reasoning it becomes easier to explain the formation of political pressure groups or political parties. According to Roy Turner there are a few more conceptual keystones of rational choice theory approach which are as under:

- “People are purposive and goal-oriented.
- People prioritize their preferences (utilities).
- People make rational calculations involving their prioritized utilities and the costs of alternative decisions, and make decisions that maximize their utility.
- Political behavior---just another form of social behavior---is ultimately the result of individual utility maximization.”

3.5.4 Feminist Approach:

Feminism is about taking into consideration women’s issues in theorizing social sciences. In political science feminism began to influence theoretical discourses during 1970s. According to Arlene Saxonhouse the initial purpose of feminist research was to “document the dreadful history of misogynist statements by one male author or another, statements that have served to justify the exclusion of women from the political realm and confine them to the private world of the family.” Over time, the initial limited objective of feminism gave way to the expansion of the scope of feminism as an ideology and addition of quite a few objectives in its research. The basic postulation of feminism is that women perceive things, in particular social phenomena, in a different way than men. Moreover, it is also assumed that women by nature learn and interpret things differently. Since women were suppressed and oppressed for centuries in almost all societies that were often controlled by misogynistic forces. Consequently, women were forced to accept an inferior status in all spheres of life and particularly from the realm of politics they were completely excluded. In a sense contemporary feminism research approach is to devise appropriate socio-political strategies to liberate women from patriarchal and misogynistic forces.

Feminist researchers vigorously object to most parts of political theory because they suffer explicitly or stealthily from gender-bias for the obvious reason that most of the political theorists have been males. Most feminist researchers assert that positivist research particularly in political science smack of gender-bias and that it, “is potentially misleading at best, and insulting and derogatory at its worst.” The feminist research scholars complain

about complete exclusion of women from political phenomena such as international relations and politics, war and peace, revolutions, international political economy and global governance. They assert to enhance the role of women in these areas. Stephen A. Small points out that feminist research approach is one of the four action-oriented research approaches. The other three are the *traditional action research*, which was propounded by Kurt Lewin in 1940. The second model is known as *participatory research* that demolishes the wall between the researchers and the researched. In other words the people whose issues are being investigated themselves specify the reasons of their problems and also advance their own means to deal with them. The third is the *empowerment research* approach that implies to empower people to have mastery over their own affairs. Feminist research is also an action oriented approach because in the words of Small its basic objective is, “the promotion of the feminist agenda by challenging the male dominance and advocating the social, political and economic equality of men and women.”

3.5.5 The Marxist Approach:

The Marxist research approach is often called the first of the critical research approaches to social sciences. The underlying assumption of the approach is that a thorough understanding of the eternal struggle that goes on between the rich and the poor and the workers and the owners or capitalists can reveal the root cause of all actions of man that fall in the category of political behaviour. It is because of this reason the Marxist research approach brings into focus the disparities prevalent in society along with ascertaining the type of economic structures that are instrumental in formation of society as well as determining its level of development. It also concentrates on the research studies that endorse and strengthen the principles that may help create an egalitarian and truly free social order.

Classical Marxism is usually connected with four basic principles that are: economism, determinism, materialism and structuralism. Economism implies that economic forces give shape to social conditions. The principle of determinism refer to the capitalist production methods that apportion the role men play in their life. Materialism entails that the capitalists and operators of major means of production on the basis and for the protection of their material resources always support the ruling classes. The final principle of structuralism suggests that economic and political structures verify the actions of men. It must, however, be emphasized that modern version of Marxism is completely different from the classical one. In the words of David Marsh: “While modern Marxism is characterised by diversity, most of it rejects economism; reject determinacy, emphasizing contingency; rejects materialism,

acknowledging an independent role for ideas; rejects structuralism, accepting a key role for agents; no longer privileges class, acknowledging the crucial role of other causes of structured inequality; and, to an extent, privileges politics.”

3.5.6 Postmodern Approach:

The latest among the contemporary approaches, postmodernism appeared in the closing decades of the twentieth century. Some scholars call it anti-foundationalist research approach. The most significant principles of postmodernism are: no solitary, basic political truth exists; there is no single and absolutely certain line of research to gain knowledge; and there are no such rules that can guarantee the rationality of knowledge. Many scholars are of the opinion that postmodernism is the offshoot of the drastic changes, rather upheavals, that came about in the Western world in the aftermath of World War II. Some of these changes include the emergence of a global economy, the collapse of the Soviet Union as a counterforce to American imperialist designs, a widespread sense of disappointment and despair because of the failure of rationality to usher in the era of freedom, the rapid spread of technology, emergence and acceptance of popular culture and the bearing these changes register on human behaviour.

The postmodern approach is opted for by many political scientists and other social scientists who are skeptical about the feasibility of modern civilization. They proclaim that the positivist endeavour to discover a comprehensive ‘true’ explanation of a social event is ludicrous and worthless. Instead the postmodern approach suggest that each event should be studied separately without losing sight of the objectives of the actors, the experience of the researchers and the external event such as time and space of the event concerned. They further insist that there cannot be a solitary method that can be called as ‘the best’ to explain a social or political occurrence. In view of this, the postmodernist scholars recommend that a researcher must unravel the phenomenon concerned before undertaking the research. The researcher should also enclose the event within a broader framework that should take cognizance of the objectives of the actors and should also take note of the kind of circumstances that existed at the time of the event.

An important point of postmodernism is that it does not attach any value to any acknowledged basis of a primary assumption. For instance a postmodernist researcher does not take for granted ‘worth of democracy’, ‘sovereignty of nature’, ‘honesty’ or ‘moral behaviour’ because he holds that they are human constructs and the popular or widely acknowledged interpretations

of these concepts are merely one of the various possible connotations. Postmodernists assert that the widespread ideas associated with concepts such as *nature* or *ethical values* are not real but human intelligence is responsible for their construction. Their argument is that in different societies, different people espouse different interpretations of *nature* and all of them are equally legitimate. Same is true about ethical values. According to Paul Wapner, "Postmodern critics have shown...that 'nature' is not simply a given, physical object but a social construction---an entity that assumes meaning within various cultural contexts and is fundamentally unknowable outside of human categories of understanding. This criticism raises significant challenges for global environmental politicians."

In order to come to terms with the implication of the postmodern approach to political science, Ian Hodder recognized four strands of postmodern social science. The first one, in his words is 'the sense of disillusion' by which he means that the social scientists as well as common people in general have developed a sense of disappointment towards the output of science and scientific research. Science has failed to help humanity get rid of scourges such as war, poverty, exploitation and inequality. The second element is about the iniquities of 'modernism'. Instead of fulfilling its promise of ushering in an era of freedom, equality and better quality of life for all, modernism has brought in detachment, alienation and cynicism. Thirdly, because of rapid and unbridled advances in technology and also because of all pervading, rapid socio-political and economic changes, there remains no significant difference between 'high' and 'low' culture or for that matter between 'fine art' and 'kitsch'. The fourth significant strand of postmodern social science, according to Hodder, is about the manipulative means the interest-groups employ to manage international media, fashion and art to project the required images of political events, economic issues or social structures. Within the framework of these four strands, the postmodern research in social sciences is usually carried out.

Check Your Progress:

- Q.1. Discuss the significance of contemporary approaches to research in social sciences.
- Q.2. Briefly discuss the various contemporary approaches to social science research.

3.6 SUMMARY

Positivism can be broadly defined as a theory that holds that theology and metaphysics are imperfect forms of knowledge and that knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations that can be verified empirically. It majorly believes that in social as well as natural sciences the real sources of all meaningful information are the sensory experiences that can be subjected to logical and mathematical treatment.

The logical positivists are best known for the verifiable criterion of meaning. They point out that metaphysical, theological and ethical propositions cannot be verified and for that reason are cognitively meaningless. It must be noted that the logical positivists make a distinction between a cognitive statement and other kinds of statement that may have emotive or figurative meanings. The logical positivists argue that scientific propositions are of two types viz. analytic and synthetic.

The scientific method is essentially the usage of various techniques for inquiring into phenomena that may lead to the acquisition of new knowledge or perfecting the existing knowledge. A method can be called scientific only if it is based on empirical and quantitative evidence which must also satisfy the specific principle of reasoning. It is obvious that the application of scientific methods to different disciplines, for instance natural sciences and social sciences, may differ in terms of procedures, however, it can still be distinguished from other methods of inquiry. The researchers resorting to scientific method first offer hypotheses by way of explanation of the phenomena to be studied and then plan experiments to test the hypotheses by means of predictions to which they arrive at after experimental studies.

Some of the most significant contemporary approaches that are favoured by social scientists are institutional analysis, behaviouralism and rational choice theory in the category of Positivist research approaches and the feminist, Marxist and post-modern approaches in the broad category of qualitative approaches.

Institutional analysis brings into focus social or political institutions and look at the rules, traditions or conventions that helped these institutions to emerge. For instance, a research work in political science based on institutional analysis is mainly concerned with describing formal political institutions such as constitution, legal system and government structure. The researcher may make use of comparative method while dealing

with these institutions and may also discuss decisive changes that have taken place in these institutions in due course of time. In the heydays of institutional analysis, the most popular topic of political science research was 'the concept of the state'.

The behavioural approach stipulates similar scientific scrupulousness in carrying out research in social phenomena as observed in natural sciences. Psychology and sociology were the first two social sciences that showed increasing preference to behaviouralism since 1920s. A couple of decades later, political scientists too got engaged in data-collection exercises by moving out of classrooms and libraries and interacting with the real world. Consequently, by the mid-1960s, behavioural approach came to be recognised as a leading line of research in social sciences.

Rational choice theory is also a course of action through which researchers can explain human behaviour. It is widely believed that most people make rational choices and act thereof in order to gain maximum benefits of ensure maximum protection of their interests. The rational choice theory is based on this assumption. This theory is employed more frequently in research works in economics where it is known as the process of 'maximizing utility.'

The basic postulation of feminism is that women perceive things, in particular social phenomena, in a different way than men. Moreover, it is also assumed that women by nature learn and interpret things differently. Since women were suppressed and oppressed for centuries in almost all societies that were often controlled by misogynistic forces. Consequently, women were forced to accept an inferior status in all spheres of life and particularly from the realm of politics they were completely excluded. In a sense contemporary feminism research approach is to devise appropriate socio-political strategies to liberate women from patriarchal and misogynistic forces.

The Marxist research approach is often called the first of the critical research approaches to social sciences. The underlying assumption of the approach is that a thorough understanding of the eternal struggle that goes on between the rich and the poor and the workers and the owners or capitalists can reveal the root cause of all actions of man that fall in the category of political behaviour.

The most significant principles of postmodernism are: no solitary, basic political truth exists; there is no single and absolutely certain line of research to gain knowledge; and there are no such rules that can guarantee the rationality of knowledge. Many scholars are of the opinion that postmodernism is the offshoot of the drastic changes, rather upheavals, that came about in the Western world in the aftermath of World War II. Some of these changes include the emergence of a global economy, the collapse of the Soviet Union as a counterforce to American imperialist

designs, a widespread sense of disappointment and despair because of the failure of rationality to usher in the era of freedom, the rapid spread of technology, emergence and acceptance of popular culture and the bearing these changes register on human behaviour.

3.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Critically evaluate the core arguments of positivism and logical positivism.
- Q.2. Define scientific method and explain its utility in the study of political theory.
- Q.3. Discuss the positivist research traditions such as institutional and behavioural to the study of political theory.
- Q.4. How far post-modern approach is relevant in the research of political theory.

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THEORIES OF STATE –CLASSICAL, PLURALIST AND NEO - PLURALIST

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Force Theory and Divine Origin Theory of State.
- 4.3 Social Contract Theory – Hobbes and Locke, Its limitations.
- 4.4 Social contract Theory as developed by Jean Jacques Rousseau
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Unit End Questions
- 4.7 Suggested Readings

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the significance and importance of the institution of State.
- 2) To analyze the classical theories of State. Force Theory, Divine Origin Theory and Divine Right Theory of kings.
- 3) To understand and critically evaluate the Theories of Social Contract as expounded by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.
- 4) To understand the significance of the idea of liberalism and to analyze Locke`s Theory of Constitutional Democracy.
- 5) To study new dimensions of popular sovereignty in the changing technological age and to grasp the meaning of Rousseau's Theory of State.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Of all the terms that occur in the study of political theory, the term “State” is the most significant one. It is central to the study of politics. There is no theory in the subject of politics which does not by one way or other refer to the institution of State. The concepts which are central to the study of politics like liberty, equality, political obligation revolve round the concept of State. Various

theories of State like liberalism, socialism, Marxism and even anarchism study state as central theme.

State is basically an organized political institution that has ultimate power over the members residing in its fixed geographical limits. So a fixed territory becomes a hallmark to the existence of state. It was Machiavelli who first used the term state. He used to express it as an institution which has authority over men. Although society consists of many groups and associations, it is the state which has a final say in all matters. The power of the state is called sovereignty.

The state is a product of certain historical factors. It is not only a political institution but a social system. To understand the system one has to study the historical origins of that institution.

4.2 FORCE THEORY AND DIVINE ORIGIN THEORY OF STATE

Most of the classical theories which explain the origin of state are speculative in nature. As there is no historical evidence and hard facts that can help to deduce the reasons that prompted human beings to establish a power structure – state-thinkers resorted to speculation. The earliest speculation theory is the Theory of Force.

This theory treats force as the foundation of state. Consent, reason, rationality and such other factors are not needed. What is required is mere brutal force. It is an old dictum of “might is right”. Physical strength or brutal force is the foundation on which state rests and expands. The theory speculates a situation of wandering tribes. The tribes would be constantly wandering in search of food. Then there would be fights with other tribes. The stronger tribes would defeat the weaker tribes and the state emerges. The vanquished tribes are subjugated. The victorious tribe will establish its authority. Once victorious, the tribe would strive to conquer as many small tribes as possible and firmly establish its role. So a large state with fixed territory came into being.

We can clearly understand that this theory glorifies war and aggression. Vanquished tribes are treated as slaves. Since it is force which was the prime factor for the emergence of state, all efforts are made to sustain it. The preservation of the strength of state is the primary aim. A ruthless suppression of all opposition or dissent is “justified”. A strict obedience to all the laws and orders of the tribal chief is the essential character of this state. There is hardly any scope for freedom, or a different set of values other than those decided by the state. In fact, there is no difference between

state, society and government. It is all one centralized power structure. State will decide on all social matters like customs, morality, religious beliefs and so on. This theory was later on used by the Dictators and warmongering states.

Divine Origin Theory and Divine Right Theory of State:

In the earliest days of human history, with a very limited knowledge of natural surroundings, the human mind was attributing to the will of a Super Natural Power for all that is happening around it. Floods, famines, earthquakes and such other natural calamities were attributed to the wrath of God. It is no wonder then the cause for the origin of an established power structure – state – was attributed to the will of God. God is above all of us. He knows what is good for human beings. In order to save the human beings from self-destruction he created an organized power structure. This would establish laws and order, protect the weak from the strong and pave the way for human progress and happiness. By living in state and through the state alone human beings can achieve their salvation. Dying for one's country is a religious duty. Treason is equal to sin. 'Motherland is superior even to heaven and all its pleasure' so proclaim religious texts. We have many religious texts, which explain the theory that the state is created by God. In Mahabharata Shantiparva, the origin of state is explained as follows. In the earlier days of human civilization human beings were constantly at war with each other. There was no law and order. There was no protection for life, property of the weak people. So the people approached God, who created a state and appointed a king to rule over them. So king is the representative of God. We have this reference in many other religious books. It is emphasized that king has an element of *Vishnu* in him.

Since God had created the state and appointed king as His representative, obedience to king is obedience to God. It would be inviting the wrath of God. If we don't follow His Commands. The same logic applies to the orders of a king, as he is God in human form. King can do no wrong. Whatever king did was for the good of the people. Even an autocrat king who makes people suffer, by passing bad laws is also created by God. May be God wanted to punish the people for their sins and bad deeds they had committed, so a bad king was sent to rule over them. The lives of the human beings are invariably bound by the whims and fancies of the ruler who is God on the earth.

This divine origin theory of state, transformed itself into Divine Right Theory of kingship. Kings were claiming that they got power through God. In Britain, a writer Filmer wrote a thesis on *The Power of King*. It was published around 1680. The work in a way

defended the regime of Charles II. Filmer's theory states that having created Adam, God gave him authority over his family, the earth and its products. Adam was the first king and the present kings derived power from him as hereditary rights.

Similarly James I, who ruled Britain declared the *Laws of free Monarchies* which has following points. (1) King derived, power straight from God (2) Kings have no obligation to people. (3) Laws being the product of king's mind, they are not above the king. (4) King had complete power over the life and death of their subjects.

The power of kingship is hereditary. King is the source of intelligence and only a few 'selected and chosen' people, with a lineage of *royal* blood would be kings. Disobedience to king is tantamount to sin and punishable with death.

4.2.1 Limitations of the Theories:

The theory of Force is too narrow. It does not take into consideration various human factors that make people to work as a group or a community. Force is not the only factor that unites a community. In fact the absence of force or coercion unites people more strongly. Social harmony, co-operation, willing to share joys and sorrows, bring the people together. These aspects have been totally neglected by Force Theory.

War is not the only factor that creates state. International trade, discovery of new sea-routes, new islands can create the state. Many a time, out of administrative compulsions, new states have been carved out of large sized empires.

Force theory led to dictatorships around the world. It negated the value of freedom. Human dignity, individuality and concept of responsive government are totally absent. The purpose of the State is too narrowly defined. The end of the state is to promote human happiness not to curb their freedom and keep them under constant fear. Punishment and the fear of punishment are the least important factors that promote order in a society. The realization that law is for our own good makes consent and reason as the basis of law.

The Divine Right Theory is totally unscientific and cannot be taken seriously. It emerged during the period when religion and religious thoughts dominated human mind. Knowledge was restricted to a few privileged classes. Masses were ignorant. They were misguided by religious thinkers. They frowned at any discovery. All new ideas were curbed. There was stunted growth of human mind. It created a band of blind followers who forget to question authority and source of authority. It helped unscrupulous

rulers to persecute their misrule in the name of God. Their cruel acts went unquestioningly. The theory gave a license to kings to loot the people in the name of God.

The later writers particularly the social contract theorists exposed the shortcomings of Divine Theory. They tried to offer a reasonably logical theory to explain the origin of the state.

Check your Progress:

Q. 1. Explain the significance of state. critically evaluate the Force theory and Divine Right theory of state.

4.3 SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY- HOBBS, LOCKE ITS LIMITATIONS

Social contract theory made consent as the basis of state. Individual is central to the formation of state. A shared concern for better living prompted people to form a political association and invest power in it. The theory stressed the concept of equality. Each individual was sovereign before the state was formed. Then state represented the collective sovereignty of the people. This theory postulates the end of the state as providing a better life for people.

Although a vague reference to the idea that people who had no state found a state through contract could be found in *Shantiparva of Mahabharata* or in writings of Greek writer Glaucon, it was systematically developed by three modern thinkers. They are Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) of England, John Locke (1632-1704) of England and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) of France. These three writers developed a systematic theory of the origin of state. These writers share certain common features in their theoretical analysis of the social contract theory of state. They also exhibit some differences. The common features are the existence of state of nature before state came into existence and the factors that prompted the formation of contract to create state. The writers, however, differ on the conditions of life in state of nature, terms of the contract and the powers of state once it is established. The theory nevertheless had a great impact on subsequent political thinking.

4.3.1 Social contract theory as developed by Thomas Hobbes:

Thomas Hobbes (1581-1769) was one of the greatest philosophers produced by English speaking people. He was born in the family of Anglican clergy man and had a long life. He was well versed in the subjects like Philosophy , History, Mathamatics and was a multi-linguist. As a tutor in Royal family, he got an opportunity to travel far and wide in Europe.

In his life-time he witnessed the Civil War in Britain. There were continuous wars between parliamentary and monarchical forces. He was the supporter of monarchy. Charles I was beheaded and monarchy was abolished in England. This incident had great impact on his thoughts and subsequent writings. He argued that anarchy or the lawlessness situation is the most dangerous and the worst situation a human society could face. Human actions need to be systematically and even ruthlessly curbed for the benefit of society.

His idea of origin of state could be found in his famous work *Leviathan*. This describes an absolute state which is sovereign both within and without. How and why such a powerful political institution came into existence is the question one should ponder. Hobbes had pessimistic view of human nature. For him human beings are always selfish, greedy and aggressive. With such a dark picture of human nature Hobbes builds up the theory of origin of state.

State of Nature:

There was a time in the history of human civilization when people lived without a government or state. In this 'state of nature' each and every individual was sovereign. There was no master above them. The state of nature was gloomy and sordid. Social life was not existing. There were no shared values like justice, notions of right and wrong. The only rule was power--physical force – the basis of all action. You could take a thing if you have power and keep it as long as you have strength. There were continuous fights among human beings. These factors were responsible for this warfare.

Competition, diffidence and glory guided human actions. Competition for securing scarce natural wealth compelled the primitive man to invade. Diffidence forced him to fight for his survival as there was no trust between human beings. The third factor glory induced him to fight for reputation. So, basically violence was at work in state of nature. The state of nature is a state of war. A war of every individual against every other. In such a situation there would be scope for industry, innovation, culture,

and art. In short, according to Hobbes, "the life of human beings in state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, selfish and short."

This state of nature was governed by certain natural Laws. Life and property were inalienable rights. No one should be denied them. But to make laws effective we need a centralized authority which is above all. Since in state of nature each individual was master over himself, a way had to be found by which the individuals could pool their sovereign rights together and create new power structure. Thus the state is formed. The point to be noted is all individuals in the state of nature decide to surrender their sovereign rights to a third party. In a hypothetical way each person says to other, "I authorise and give up my right of governing myself to this man or this assembly of men, on this condition that thou give up thy rights to him and authorise all this action in like manner."(Hobbes).

So a state was formed or a centralized power structure came into existence. Individual would lose his sovereignty. Following are the features of this contract.

- 1) The parties to the contract are individuals and not groups.
- 2) The ruler is not a party to the contract. He is an outsider.
- 3) The contract once signed is final. There is no way one can back out from the contract. The sovereign state thus emerged is final arbitrary of all disputes. The command of ruler is law.

Strict obedience to the command of ruler is the sacred duty. Even bad laws need to be complied with because the alternative is anarchy, lawlessness' and a return back to the dark days of state of nature.

However, although individual surrenders all his rights to a sovereign master- an outside agency- he still has right to life and property with him. No state can ask an individual to kill himself or confiscate his property. Yet, the state has right to regulate the property and punish the criminals.

The state once established would be a final entity. Individuals have no right to appeal against the orders of the sovereign. The subjects have no right to change the government. The powers of the sovereign are too vast. Hobbes opposes the division of sovereignty. The state thus formed with the consent of individuals becomes the supreme governing body. It covers all aspects of human life. Freedom is what is permitted by state and to do what is not prohibited by state. As the sovereign is above law, there is no power to control him. Political obligation is based on reason. Since any disruption in the power structure of state might

bring back state of nature individual would obey the state, out of his own interest. Thus, Hobbes' theory explains the origin and formation of an absolute state.

4.3.3 John Locke's social contract theory: a guidance to Liberal state:

John Locke is called as the father of Liberal Theory of Democracy. His writings had a profound influence on the concept of liberalism. The modern ideas of constitutionalism, right of citizens, welfare activities of the state, and the democratic power of people to effect and change the government could be discovered in his writings. Perhaps the greatest contribution of Locke to the set of human values is his plea for religious tolerance. Modern secular democratic states are founded on the basis of religious tolerance. In multi-religious, multicultural societies, the value of religious tolerance is too clear to need an explanation.

Life and Times (1632-1704):

John Locke was born in the family of a puritan Somerset lawyer in 1632. After his education at Oxford he became a tutor at Oxford. However he did not continue for long and showed interest in medicine. He came in contact with Lord Ashley, became his physician and personal assistant. Lord Ashley was active in British politics and Locke had a good experience of political life of those times. In 1683, Locke went to exile in Holland because he was to be prosecuted for his support to Monmouth's rebellion, which wanted to curb the Royal Powers. During the exile he met many outstanding thinkers, who shaped his thinking. At that time he completed, "*Essays Concerning Human Understanding*". After the Glorious Revolution he returned to England in 1689. William of Orange was invited to occupy the throne following its vacation by King James II. After his return to England Locke became very famous. He was appointed as commissioner of Appeals.

His contemporary events had a great impact on Locke's thinking and writings. That was the period when people resorted to peaceful change of rulers without bloodshed. A new breeze of democracy and freedom was blowing. Significant recognition of individual freedom, the capacity of ordinary man to understand the complex state matters and a general economic prosperity around Europe, made Locke to have an optimistic and rosy picture of human nature. Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*, gives a clear picture of this assessment of the theory of state.

Like all the earlier thinkers who visualized the emergence of state from an analysis of human nature, Locke also begins his analysis. Unlike Hobbes who could see only negative side of

human nature, Locke views human nature from a positive angle. Human beings are basically good natured, decent and co-operative. They are not always selfish, many times altruistic.. They are essentially peace loving.

With such a rosy picture of human nature it is not surprising that Locke should view State of Nature as one of paradise. Though individual free from authority of ruler in state of nature, his conduct is governed by Laws of Nature. From natural law an individual gets Natural Rights. Individuals realise these laws of Nature by reason. All individuals in a State of nature get certain rights- i.e life ,liberty and property. As they have natural right, the human beings in state of nature also have certain natural duties. Nobody has the right to dominate others. All are entitled for equal sharing of natural endowment.

But there are always some corrupt elements in human society. Their selfish deed might disrupt the otherwise peaceful nature of the state of nature. Though the state of nature was well founded on twin principles of liberty and equality peace was not secure. Because there were always some men who are by nature 'vicious and degenerated character.' So an institutional framework was needed to make the life of society more secure and peaceful. An established law, impartial Judiciary, the willingness of the executive to effectively implement the accepted laws., were required to make the conditions in state of nature more meaningful and secure. So the individuals decide to organize a state. From society to state is a natural and logical transformation.

There is view that Locke's theory explains two contracts. At first free individuals living in a state of nature, decide to form a society. This is "original contract." After society came into existence, a sense of mutual co-operation developed among the members of that society. Their actions were regulated by natural Law. They respected natural rights of others. They were industrious but not greedy. They were "social beings," not Hobbesian type of warmongering animal type. This 'civil society' creates a "state" through a contract. But the nature of this "state" is totally different from that of Hobbes. Firstly the members who constitute the government to administer the society are the members of society only. They are not outsiders. The state thus constituted does not get absolute powers. This is second difference. The individuals in the society would still keep; certain natural rights with them and surrender their sovereignty partly to the state. Most important thing is the society has the ultimate power to repudiate the contract entered into. Either a new government is installed by peaceful methods or the government is thrown out in violent form and society may slip back into state of nature for sometime till some alternative arrangements are made to install a new govt. In a way

Locke's theory of state pictures modern constitutional democracies. In a well established liberal democracy, the constitution and the election machinery process could be a contract. People are supreme. They can either renew the contract with the existing ruler or install a new one. In extreme cases of constitutional break down, there could be peoples' revolt, a situation where no government exists- till such a time a new ruler is installed by society.

Ultimately it is the society which is supreme. State is only a representative body with specific powers and responsibilities. There would be periodically reviewed by the people. The purpose of the State is to guarantee Natural rights and make their implementation effective. There are large areas of human life in society which are outside the control of state.

Locke gives the individuals the sovereign rights to revoke the social contract and enter into a new contract. He specifies the following circumstances where such an eventuality may emerge.

- I) There might be a ruler or set of rulers who establish their own arbitrary will in place of the established laws.
- II) When the rulers prevent the legislature from assembling and acting freely for the purpose for which it was established.
- III) when by the arbitrary power of the ruler the elections and the method of elections are altered without the consent of the society.
- iv) The prince or ruler sometimes may fail to protect his countrymen from foreign aggression. In such cases he had delivered his subjects into foreign power domination so naturally the people have a right to disown the ruler.
- v) A situation where the person who had the supreme executive power neglected the laws already enacted and could not be executed.

Locke's state is a state based on pluralism. He emphasized a higher law which is above state law. While he grants the right of the people to revolt against an unjust ruler, he specifically emphasizes that people should resort to this only when they realize that revolution would result in a better social order. This should not be used for tiny mismanagement of public affairs. But the very fact that people have this right is significant. It is a defense against arbitrary rule. Government based on consent coupled with right of people to rebel was the "best fence against rebellion".

4.3.2 Limitations of the Theory:

Hobbes' Theory of state of nature lacks historical proof. Right from beginning men lived in groups. It is not very clear how a

solitary living would create a civic consciousness for the creation of state. The theory is too narrow. It bases fear as the only base of obedience to law. The rulers' misdeeds are overlooked and citizens are at the mercy of rulers. It is anti-democratic, anti-liberal and paved way for the growth of fascist state. When Hegel proclaimed "state is a marching God on earth." He is only giving an ideological refinement to Hobbes theory. Maintaining Law and order is not the only function of the state. But for Hobbes it is the fuction. In the process, the interests of the subjects for whom the state in created is pushed to back ground.

Although Locke's theory is an improvement in many ways, yet his social contract theory also has some limitations. Though his assessment of human nature is drastically different from Hobbes'-the same limitation-how would individuals who had no political knowledge develop the idea of state-applies to him. There is also some confusion about the "original contract theory." Did Locke mention two contracts one for society and one for state, or is it critics' interpretation.

In many places Locke implies that the state is the result of the consensus of the majority. This leaves a serious lapse in the theory. What happens to minority? Those who could not and did not give their opinion on the formation of state? Should they blindly adopt themselves to a new power structure? Who would guarantee that their concerns would be addressed to?

Modern thinkers like Edmund Burke and Jeremy Bentham criticize natural rights theory. For them rights are only those legal provisions recognized by state when there is not legal sanction for violation of a right, that right is just as good as non-existence.

Locke was also attacked by the Marxists for his insistence that right to property is natural right and it is the sacred duty of the state to protect it. For Marxists property is the results of exploitation of poor by rich and Locke's theory only gives legitimacy for propertied clases to suppress the poor.

These are some limitations of the social contract theory developed by Hobbes and Locke. It emphasized equality and made man as the centre to state formation.

Check your progress:

Q. 1. Critically analyze Hobbes' and Locke's theories? Bring out similarities and differences?

Q. 2. 'Locke's Theory is the foundation of Liberal Democracy
Discus.

4.4 SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY AS DEVELOPED BY JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Rousseau is a champion of " Popular sovereignty." It is often said that without Rousseau there would have been no French Revolution. Because the very foundation of the French Revolution--popular sovereignty found a theoretical explanation in Rousseau's writing. While appreciating the advantages of a Democratic form of government, Rousseau found serious lapses in the Representative model. Here the citizen exercises his sovereign right only for a few seconds - during voting. At that point of time he has absolute freedom to transform his sovereignty to whom so ever he likes. But, then till next elections he is only a mute spectator to all the misdeeds of his representative to whom he has willingly delegated his power of sovereignty To over come this short coming Rousseau visualized a system where government affairs are run on regular referendum. People will be actually governing themselves not through their representatives. The essence of this philosophy is the capacity of human beings to manage their affairs. The basis of the state is the popular will, not mere law or force. Rousseau wanted to give an ethical basis to the foundation of the state structure. There is a clear domination of state over society in Hobbes' theory, a clear demarcation of powers and functions between state and society in Locke's writing. But in Rousseau's writings we find a new trend emerging, society will transform itself into state. State will be an extended political hand of society. State will implement what society wills and society wills what is good for entire community. There would not be any conflicts between society and state. In fact they are one and same, what binds them together is the sprit of 'General Will.'" While analyzing the concept of 'General will," Rousseau makes a historical review of human progress through ages. His assessment of human nature, about the reasons for its degeneration from one of compassion to greediness, makes all interesting readings. Subsequent questions like why society needed state, what would be the nature of such a political system are answered. In fact Rousseau's treatment of these

issues are highly radical to the point of controversies and contradictions.

Life and Times:

Like all the social philosophers Rousseau's life and times influenced his writings. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was the greatest thinker France had produced. His father was a watchmaker and Rousseau lost his mother within a month of his birth. A disintegrated family background, had an impact on his life and thinking. He was a born protestant and converted to catholic by de-walans, whom Rousseau befriended. At the age of 30 Rousseau went to Paris and befriended Diderot. In fact, Rousseau's vagabond life, his affairs with many women, his unconventional approach to the institution of marriage, his views on sex and family life, had some bearing on his writings.

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

Rousseau's writings include *'Discourses on Inequality, The Social Contract, Emile*. He faced the wrath of the rulers of his time. He was to be prosecuted for religious blasphemy. He went to hiding to avoid imprisonment. In 1778 he died leaving a rich heritage of literature on politics, history and human civilization.

Thinkers like Plato and Locke influenced Rousseau. Plato's concept of the ethical basis of the state and supremacy of the community in guiding individuals' actions, together with Locke's theory of natural rights had an impact on his writings. Rousseau proceeded with his analysis of human nature. Rousseau in a way picturizes two stages of human life. The early stage of solitary life and the second stage of group living. The early stage of solitary life, contrary to Hobbes' description was one of peaceful conditions. There could be no "War" in a situation of isolations. According to Rousseau, in a world of "natural men" men roamed alone and had at most only' the most occasional and fortuitous meetings and connections. Men in this primitive conditions had hardly anything to

quarrel about. Primitive, non-social man would be neither egoist nor an altruist, in any moral sense, he would pre-moral.

With the advent of civilization, group life started and with that many complications arose. Rousseau's famous quotation "man is born free but found himself in chains, everywhere," explains the fall of man from an ideal position of natural free individual to a selfish person pursuing narrow selfish desires.

The first result of joining the group life is to carve out a separate identity for himself. The day an individual started to fix fences around a piece of land and claimed that piece of land belonged to him he drew a distinction between himself and the rest. So all the inequalities that society inherited started from this selfish desire of an individual to carve out a separate identity for himself. Money, trade and commerce, only widened this cleavage, so the social divisions of rich and poor, high and low, clever and dumb appeared on the scene. They are all artificial inequalities created by society. These created a false prestige and status. Men forgot their 'original nature'. Earlier they were healthy, good, dumb and roughly equal to one another. Now they became sickly, evil, intelligent and highly unequal. This is the result of "social; life." The "Progress is nothing but adding more misery to human beings. Civilization had only multiplied the desires and inability to fulfill them made human beings unhappy. Material progress ushered by modern technology, reflected artificial inequalities, was corrupting and wrong.

In order to overcome these shortcomings of group life, men decide to create an institution which would lessen the selfish character of the individual, kindle a light of social co-operation and establish a social order based on justice. So the emphasis is creating a "Right Social order." It is possible to achieve this. Because beneath the artificial civilized human being lies the natural human being. He has a distinct quality- going back to primitive stage. The quality of compassion, in him makes it painful for him to witness the suffering of any fellow- being he could recognize as resembling himself. That feeling has not yet dried up. In fact it is a stimulating force that drives him to do something for the members of his Community. Thus a background is formed to create a social contract.

In this new social order- state-equality would be the basic foundation stone. Despite the artificial inequalities created by the modern civilization, all human beings possess equal power in creating a new social order. So all the members of the society surrender their individual sovereignty to themselves. The contract is among themselves. A society in a way transforms itself to a state. That means an individual gives up his power to the community. Since he is also a member of that community, what he

loses as an 'individual' he would gain a "member of the society." So nobody has lost any thing. What has happened is the "social goodness" priority outwitted individual preference. Here Rousseau introduces his famous terms "General will" and "Common good". Common good is the end for which the new social order is created and the "General Will" is the motivational force to achieve it.

In Rousseau's thought every individual is a split personality. There is a 'particular will' which makes him to pursue his selfish desires, even at the cost of the social good, and the 'General will' which views the community well being as a desired objective. The formation of a new state through the contract should help to evolve the General Will. General Will will represents the will of the community as a whole. It reflects "Popular Sovereignty." Rousseau Proclaims "General will is always right. It can never be wrong."

The General will will be the source of all laws. It cannot be represented by anybody. Rousseau had the concept of "participatory Democracy" when he talked of General Will. Freedom means not following the arbitrary orders of others, but following one's own will. If the community passes the law which reflects the will of entire community, that cannot be called arbitrary. Because the individual is also a party to the formation of General will. So what is required is the spirit of reconciliation between individual actions and community welfare. It is possible only when direct democracy takes roots.

Since General Will represents the common good, any opposition to it would be disservice to the community welfare. In those conditions, we should presume that an individual under the impulses of "Particular will" had behaved that way. So he needs to be free from his selfish desires and made to see the advantages the Community is getting through that particular Public Policy. In these circumstances the use of coercion is justified 'Some times men are forced to be free' Rousseau proclaims. One can easily discern the dangerous implications from such thesis. If you proclaim, that after the community will has arrived at a public policy and opposition to it is based on selfishness and its suppression is 'Justified, then naturally it turns out to be a handmade device for dictators. Every ruler would proclaim the opposition to his policies are not reflection of "Vox populi" (voice of people) but of a greedy selfish voice, which need to be curbed in the interest of "People."

The problem of discovering General Will is complicated and Rousseau did not provide any institutional mechanisms to it. Is General will the majority will of the community? Is it unanimous will? Or is it wisdom of certain members of the Community who have risen above particular will and give guidance to the community?- an idea Plato developed in Republic (the Guardians).

Many thinkers argue that Rousseau started as a great champion of 'Democratic Will' but eventually paved the way for elite dictatorship. It is not uncommon for the dictators to proclaim that they "represent General Will", and opponents are enemies of people,".

Yet despite these shortcomings Rousseau sounded a warning that the real democracy cannot be substituted by representative system. Because "General will cannot be alienated nor represented." People should be constantly watching the legislative will. General will could be treated as vocal public opinion, it is such a strong force, that no government can afford to ignore it. Rousseau's ideal of direct democracy though not feasible in modern complex industrial Societies, it could still be tried as an experiment in small rural settings.

Rousseau's social contract is a contract by the entire society to give a better state for themselves.

Check your Progress:

Q.1. Critically Examine Rousseau's concept General will?

Q. 2. Compare and contrast Locke and Rousseau's theories on state.

4.5 SUMMARY

The theories of state have been central to the study of politics. Broadly speaking they are classical traditional theories and modern theories. The traditional theories like Divine origin theory, Force theory, though unscientific explained the origin of state from the perspective of Law and order. The function of state is to maintain order and use of coercion is justified. They have only the aspect of "stability" as the core function of state. As contrast to them, the social contract theory treated state as not natural but artificial creation by society. All the three thinkers, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau stressed the concept of "equality" while the formation of contract. The functions of state have been far more widened. The state is bound to honour the contract. It has got authority not from God but from society. The three thinkers however differed in their assessment of the functions and powers of the

state. While Hobbes stressed legal sovereignty, Locke pleaded limited government and Rousseau wanted participatory Democracy. The theories were modified by later thinkers.

4.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss the Force theory of state. And bring out its impact on the concept of Totalitarianism.
- Q. 2. The Divine origin theory and Force theory strengthened the authoritarian nature of state-comment.
- Q. 3. Bring out the salient features of the social contract theory as developed by Thomas Hobbes.
- Q. 4. 'Locke is the fore runner of Liberalism'- comment.
- Q.5. What are the limitations of Rousseau's theory of General Will?

4.7 SUGGESTED READING

- 1) Cole G.D.H., *Jean Jacques Rousseau: The Social Contract and Discourses* London, Every mows Library, 1963.
- 2) Barry, Norman, *An Introduction to Modern Political Theory*, London, Macmillan 1981.
- 3) Nozick, Robert, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell 1976.

THEORIES OF STATE ELITE, PLURALIST, NEO- PLURALIST, MARXIST AND NEO-MARXIST THEORIES OF STATE

Unit structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Elite theories of state
- 5.3 Pluralist and Neo-pluralist theories of State-Ideological basis of pluralism its relevance to modern times
- 5.4 Marxist Theory of state. Salient features of Marxism-criticism
- 5.5 Neo-Marxism. New Dimensions in the theory of Marxist theory. Relevance to modern times
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Unit End Questions
- 5.8 Suggested Reading

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the concept of elitism and critically evaluate the Elite Theory of State.
- 2) To evaluate the ideas of pluralism and neo-pluralism. Their impact on the theories of state.
- 3) To estimate the Marxist theory of State.
- 4) To critically review the relevance of Marxist theory in the changing conditions.
- 5) To understand the Neo-Marxist theory of State.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Classical theories of state were more speculative in nature. They visualized certain reasons for formation of state. They did not study the State as it is. They had a formative approach of idealizing the institution of state as 'it ought to be'. Many social,

historical, and psychological factors that contribute to be formation of State were not addressed.

The social contract thinkers though tried to give a historical account of formation of state, were not able to substantiate the role of other forces that play a role in creating a political set up. Society consists of many forces one need to study the social system to fully grasp the institution of state. Elite theory with psychological analysis, pluralist theory with emphasis on decentralized power structure and Marxism with play of economic forces, try to give a new interpretation to the theory of state.

5.2 ELITE THEORIES OF STATE

Elite means the cream of society. In every society there would be a small minority who are well educated, rational, intelligent and have a grasp on the complex matters of public policy. We normally tend to divide between 'masses' and 'classes'. Elite would carve out a separate life for themselves. Their tasks, their preference would set standards Although this is very anti-thesis to the concept of equality, one should admit that in the history of all societies this division between popular and elite existed'. Rousseau's writing are a scathing attack on this division. He supported popular culture. With the growth of socialism the idea that the social groups could be distinguished on the basis of culture or education or status was rejected. Yet the elite theory had its supporters and even today certain political set ups could be called elitists in their approach. Being elitist does not necessarily mean being right or correct. It only means they have power and opportunity to make decisions with little opposition and with self imposed righteousness, they could do and undo policies, the consequences of which would be taken by 'masses'. The situation in France, before the French Revolution could amply prove how foolish "the elite" could be.

There are many reasons why elitism develops in a society. There are ideological factors. Like Aristotle defending slavery. For him slavery is natural. By nature some are free and others are slaves. So it is the duty of 'free' to guide and educate the slaves. We had the concept of "Chaturvarna" in the Hindu philosophy which gave the Brahmin caste a dominant position intellectually, and the king was called a replica of god. In modern days the Imperial powers, justified their colonial rule on the basis of "white man's burden" or making "the world safe for democracy" and so on.

Elite sections were normally well off economically. Either they had estates, royal patronage or inherited wealth. So they had lot of leisure to ponder upon metaphysics, culture, art and

principles of state policy rather than bother about their daily 'bread'. So, while the "masses" were struggling for their next meals the 'elite' would build up theories for next generation.

In earlier days education was the monopoly of a few sections and the elite grabbed the opportunities and were well versed in all disciplines of life. Plato in his *Republic* envisaged a system of rule by Guardians. The top intellectuals would steer the state ship and other classes would be happy if they discharge their duties assigned by the Guardians. Here freedom means doing one's duty as decided by the ruler. The idea of elite theory of state could be found here.

The elite theory was successfully used by fascist dictators. The elite theory of state basically believes that the administration and management of government affairs is too complicated to be managed by ordinary people. Democracy and representative forms of government limit the hands of the rulers. They had to seek formal approval for all their actions. Democracy as a system is too slow. It vests power in the hands of ignorant masses who are too lethargic to take initiative in compelling matters of state. So it is best that the state matters are left to "Chosen Few" and the people should give consent to their decision.

We find references to this elite theory in the writings of Pareto, Mosca and Michels. They were strongly anti-democratic and dismissed the wisdom of ordinary man. They considered the idea of people representing their authority through election as fiction. There is no such thing as majority rule. Ultimately a small section will rule in all societies. It is the elite that rules, controls key resources and takes major decisions. In a way it is true. Even in representative democracy government, the final decisions are taken in the cabinet. Parliament debates them and gives its approval. Compared to the number of electorates the number of cabinet member is very small. Even in the cabinet, there might be very important ministries like national security, nuclear weapons, where discussions are narrowed down to a few. Policy discussions are always confined to a few. Once they are finalized parliament and public are informed more for ratification than to solicit information as input to the policy. If we build up a structure of policy making, we find on the top elite exists and at the bottom the mass. Normally policy makers send out orders to masses. But in democracy there are different power centres in between, like free press, policy moulders, trade union leaders, Political Parties, and Public Opinion makers. So it is a two way process. Not only do policy makers send down the policy decisions down to the people, they also get feedback from the different centres of power. So though the policy making is done by small elite even in democracy the inputs to its formation comes from a variety of sources. This is

essence of the Pluralistic democratic structure. In non-democratic regimes there is only type of communication from policy makers to the people : top to bottom. Because there are no inputs from any section, the decisions are fast and simple. Since people hardly have any say in the policy process the implementation is effective. That is why non-democratic regimes are welcomed by elitist theorists. As mentioned earlier policy making may be elite oriented even in the free societies, but there is a safety valve of public opinion which gives an opportunity to policy makers to backtrack some hasty decisions they have taken. Such an opportunity is non existing in non- Democratic Setups.

Figure 1
Democratic ELITE POLICY Making System

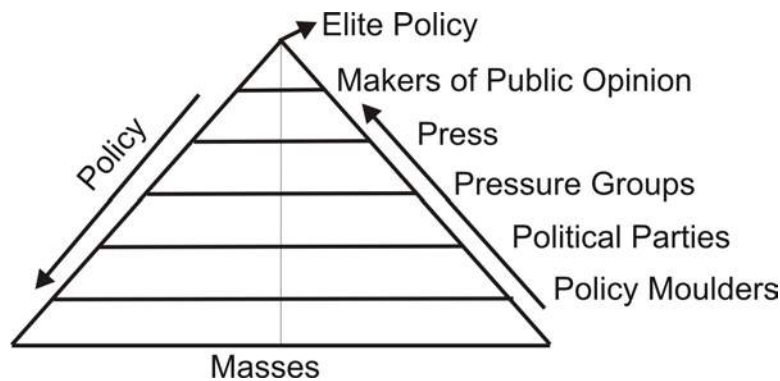
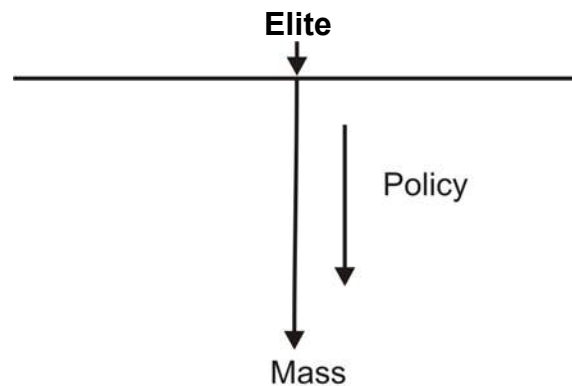


Figure 2
Non Democratic/ Authoritarian Elite Policy Making System



One may argue that since in both systems the elite takes policy decisions, the difference between them is only a matter of degree not of kind. Yes it is true. It a matter of degree and degree is very important in politics.

The classical elite theorists like Jose Ortegay Gasset (1883-1955) in his work *The Revolt of Masses* praised elitism and deplored the mass mediocrity of Democratic Society. He argued

that it is the duty of the masses to follow the elite. A properly constituted relationship of the elite and the masses is the key to nation's well-being. So we have a system of ruler and the ruled. The roles are clearly defined. The ruler would decide and the ruled would follow. The writer had a poor opinion on the caliber of the masses, who are real source of strength in any society. The elitist theory had a contempt for ordinary citizen.

Another writer Mosca, said in 1939, " In all societies- from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawning of civilization down to the most advanced and powerful societies - two classes of people appear – a class that rules and class that is ruled. The first class, always less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second the most numerous class is directed and controlled by the First". (Mosca-1939).

Such types of writings paved the ways for fascist regimes. During the second world war Italy and Germany exhibited these anti-Democratic tendencies. With the defeat of fascism and Nazism, and the growth of liberal democracy in the west and the spirit of socialism in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe one expected the Elite theory is long dead. The colonial countries revolted against the Imperial Powers and got their independence. In the independent struggles of Asia and Africa the " ordinary man" took the lead. The "Satyagraha" of "Gandhiji showed how uneducated, poor people, have the desire and will for political freedom. The principle of socialism stressed the significance of equality. All the distinctions based on colour, race, gender are condemned. The declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations is another ideal that brought home the point that there is no permanent, elite and ordinary classification in any society. Given an opportunity anybody could climb the ladder. However there are some writers who argue that the principle of elite rule still exists, even in modern liberal democracies. For instance Joseph Schumpeter, an American economist, tried to build up a theory that democracy and elitism are compatible. Modern democracies only give a wide choice for the electorate to select the elites who rule them. Citizen is too busy in his personal matter to have time for state matters. Even in the most advanced democracies the percentage of voters ' turn out would never exceed above 70%. State affairs is hardly matter of top priority for a citizen. Even those who exhibit an active and keen interest in civic affairs can hardly make it to the top of policy making body. Elections can hardly be called a people's view on policies presented by authorities. Because there are many pressures and pulls. Factors like colour, race, money and charisma of leader influence the voters. In a country like India caste, regional pulls override ideological

considerations. Again the elected representatives could hardly grasp all complicated state matters like foreign policy, Import-Export policy, international trade treaties and so on. No new government can overturn the policies of previous government overnight. Normally the commitment to foreign government continue. This is being taken up with the assistance of permanent civil service. This is non- elected, professional body of experts, who will be running the affairs of state for all purposes. These government officials are not elected by the people. Yet they play a crucial role in formulating and implementing policies that have a bearing on the citizen. So a real authority is being exercise by them, without accountability to the people. Of course their conduct is regulated by the departmental rules which prescribes an appropriate action for misuse of power. But in these deliberations, people have no voice. A routine administrative machinery with certain self regulations and controls operate and govern the state structure. Thus an elite oriented system, away from people's control is working in democracies.

Schempter also makes an interesting observation. Historically the decisions arrived in a non – democratic way appear to be more effective than the democratic decisions; people's support to the former is greater. For instance the Religious settlement which Napoleon Bonaparte imposed on France at the beginning of 19th century was accepted by people without much protest. Today secular govt are finding it difficult to introduce certain measures aiming at modernization.

In democracy there are groups of elites. What democracy does is it provides a competition among various elites. Liberal Democracy is an endeavour for selecting decision makers and ensuring their legitimacy through the election system. People are not rulers, they are nothing more than “producers of government”.

Another writer James Burn in his book, *Managerial Revolution* (1941), argued that, “a managerial class dominated all industrial societies”. It is a feature of modern industrial societies, where decision taking requires specialized technological knowledge” so the elite group by virtue of its technical and scientific knowledge and administrative skills with an ability to take quick decision always dominate in all countries- capitalistic as well as socialistic systems.

C. Wright Mills, in his book, *The Power Elite* (1956), made an excellent study of the American Political System. He concluded that the American Political structure is dominated by the business and the military. This is known as “Military- Industrial Complex”. This complex dictated government policy and is largely immune from the compulsions of electoral politics.

Thus in modern complex world rule by experts is inevitable. Every section in the society would demand efficiency and promptness. This requires some specialized agencies to master the administrative mechanism. So the government and administration may become a distant force working away from the citizens. Yet Democracy has an inbuilt mechanism to check the wrong doings. That is the elections. We also have the existence of counter elites like the free press, non political intellectuals, pressure groups. A free society where more than one elite exists, is a guarantee against the manipulative politics of the ruling elite. The Watergate Scandal is an example how the American press created a strong public opinion against the U. S. President, who is the most powerful person in the American system. A free society where Pluralistic Culture prevails is the best guarantee for freedom and citizen's concerns.

Check Your Progress:

1. What do you mean by elitism ? Discuss the elite theory of state.

5.3 PLURALISTIC AND NEO-PLURALISTIC THEORIES OF STATE

Pluralism as a concept has great significance in political science. As the term denotes it is opposed to a "singular" aspect of given set of ideas. There can be more than one opinion on any aspect of social thought. Truth is never the monopoly of a single vision. Truth had to be discovered by studying pluralistic aspects of given thought. No opinion is completely true or false. Each contains an element of truth or partial truth. A true seeker of knowledge would study various aspects of different opinions on a given subjects and arrive at a rational thought.

Democracy as a rule believes in pluralism. Pluralism exists not only in the world of abstract ideas and thought but even in the day to day life. People speak different languages, follow different religions, their culture and upbringings are different. All these divergent views on social matters are the manifestation of different social factors. Democracy is duty bound to honour and preserve this Pluralistic structure of the Society.

While liberals welcome the pluralist nature of the Society fascists and communists dismiss this feature as a disruptive force. fascists in particular argue that pluralism wrecks the state structure, individual's loyalty is divided to different associations in a society. Such a tendency is not conducive to the growth of a strong state with patriotic citizens. So most of the dictators like Hittler followed a policy of genocide. It is systematic attempt to wipe out the pluralistic character of society and establish a single cultures, racial entity.

The argument of the communists is as follows. The divisions and diversities we observe in the society are apparent. They are not real. They are the manifestations of the class struggle. All the divisions in the society could be explained in terms of the economic domination of one class over other. When socialism takes roots, these 'pluralistic features disappear.

Plurality of Associations:

We know for certain that man being a social animal needs some associations to satisfy his needs. We have primary and secondary associations. The primary associations are family, religion, caste and so on. Here the relationship is based on blood, membership is compulsory, which is acquired by birth. There exists a face to face relationship and the behavior of individual is regulated through mores, customs and traditions. Normally the ends of the primary association like family are allpervasing. The secondary associations are formed for a specific purpose. Trade Union, sport club, Spiritual association, and the like are examples. They all play a small role in the overall development of individual personality. They differ from primary associations on many accounts. Membership is voluntary the purpose is narrow, and written laws regulate the behaviour. A person could be a member of simultaneous associations at the same time.

This is the picture of society. Primary associations and secondary associations functioning in their respective spheres and catering to the needs of the social man.

Pluralist Theory of State:

We have already studied how different theories of state explored the nature and origin of the state. Basically state is a power structure controlling and regulating the activities of its members. Pluralists view the state as one of the association in the society. We have primary and secondary associations, state is a secondary association with larger share of power than other associations. It is not the result of a contract. It has evolved along with other social groups. It is not above the society nor outside the society. It is in the society. The need of a powerful organization to

control the diverse and often contradictory interest pursued by different associations made the institution of the state a necessary. Some political thinkers call state 'as a necessary evil' implying the minimum role this association should perform. Basically it is an impartial observer trying to settle the differences within the society. Take for example the case of dangers to public health through smokings. There might be "Tobacco growers" association which demands subsidy for farmers. Similarly many cigaret manufacturing companies encouraging the smoking habits. In the same society there might be a citizen's active group educating the people against the dangers of smoking and threatening the cigaret companies with legal damages. Democratic politics allows free action for all these associations. State would be asked to play the role of a neutral umpire. It may impose more taxes on manufacturers, insists on statutory warning being printed on packets, and also may provide subsidy and offer export incentives to tobacco growers. The Cancer Research Foundation may also get grants. The capacity of the state is judged by the fact that how best it satisfies different, varied interests and allow the game to continue. It is often said politics is 'who gets, what and how'. It means providing scope for different associations to play their part, to pull their strength with the state apparatus and to get things done. In this process some associations may be more powerful and effective than others. The fact is political life is a game played by different associations to achieve their goals and state though, a super association, is only an observer. There is no ethical basis for state. Nor it is the ancient one. There were associations like family, community before state came into existence. State is just one of the associations not the association, nor the sole association of great importance. There were and are many associations which have larger aims and greater scope of operations. This pluralistic view of the state developed around the First World War period. During the war the state demanded everything from its citizens. Even the lives of citizens was asked to protect the state. But Right to life is a 'natural right'. It is not given by state. In fact, state came into existence to protect it. Even absolutist thinker like Hobbes denied this right to state. After all wars are results of certain policies followed by the policy makers, nobody can vouch for the 'perfectness' or 'purity' of these policies. Many a time hasty decisions, misreading of events, personality problems of leaders push the nations to war. Why should people be made scapegoats for misdeeds of rulers. The anti-Vietnam war that shook U.S.A. around 60's is a reflection of pluralist thought viz. state has no monopoly of obedience from its members. It is just one of the associations in the society.

Pluralism is basically an attack on the absolutist theory of state. Austin in his Monistic theory or legal theory of sovereignty provided a legal basis for his absolutism. According to him

sovereignty of the state is absolute, unlimited, inalienable, indivisible and can be clearly located. Pluralist theory is a direct attack on all these issues. Power or sovereignty can never be absolute. There are many limitations on its exercise and effective use. No state can prohibit the natural forces from operating. There are customs, traditions cultural believes which would act as natural limitations on the exercise of state's power. No state in India for example can make beef eating compulsory, nor any muslim state can pass a laws making idol worship mandatory for all. Because these believes are strongly rooted among people. The believes were there among the people before the state as an institution of legal power took the shape. The sovereignty of state is certainly limited by these believes. Once again philosophically speaking state can at most control the outward behavior of the individual. It is powerless to control the internal feelings of an individual. The principle of "satyagraha" asks the citizens to obey to the "inner voice" not be afraid of state's brutal power. Satyagraha gives legitimacy to disobey the state if the person is convinced that the action of the state is in contrary with his inner voice. In a way satyagraha-moral anger-or anger based on truth limits the sovereignty of the state.

According to pluralist the sovereignty of the state should be limited. It is divisible and cannot be clearly located. Pluralism is a movement of labour, economic, religious and professional associations and unions for the fulfillment of their demands against state's supreme power. Sovereignty does not belongs to state alone. Each association is sovereign within the area it operates. While the Anarchists want the institution of state to be abolished, the pluralists want the state but with in limited powers.

Prof. H.J. Laski argued that with the growth of federalism the idea of absolute sovereignty has become irrelevant. Because constitutionally the powers of union and the state are clearly divided and earmarked, making the assumption of absoluteness of state power is a wrong notion. Under the theory of checks and balances, the power of state is divided into three important wings of the government viz. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. Each of these wings are sovereign within the area of their operation. So the plurality of power centres exists in a system based on Constitutional democracy. The powers of the state are also limited by the factors like international law, conventions and organizations, human rights activism and NGOs.

K.C. Hsiao argues "the pluralist state is simply a state in which there exists no single source of authority, no united system of law, no centralized organ of administration, no generalization of political will: on the contrary it is a multiplicity in essence, it is divisible in parts".

The argument that a society cannot stay together without the sovereign power of the state is not historically tenable. If we analyze the feudalism in medieval Europe we get a strange picture of various groups simultaneously existing without a centralized authority called state. It had many centres of power- the clergy the nobels, the mercantile class. The state sovereignty as we define today was absent. The 'state' had neither 'internal' nor 'external' power. The feudal Lords shared internal power and the Holy Roman Empire restricted the external power of the state. Privilege of priests, Nobles prevented the state to tax them, there by curtailing the financial power of the state. So the state was a non entity in a well organized feudalistic social structure.

Broadly speaking two schools of thought had emerged on pluralism around 20th century – the British and American. British philosophers like Frederic William Maitland, John Neville Figgis, G.D.H. Cole and Harold J. Laski developed this pluralist thought. There was also a German theorist Otto Friedrich VonGierke who shared these views. The essential feature of this school of thought is that in modern democratic set-up no single association can cater to all the needs of the citizens. As the interest of the citizens vary and multiply, they need variety of groups and associations. A citizen is also a worker, a parent, he has some cultural tastes, and shares some political ideology. Accordingly he would be a trade union member, member of a parent. Teacher Association, a political party activist and so on. For the multipersonality development of an individual the free play of associations is important. That is the reason why democracies recognize the freedom of association as fundamental right. These associations operate independently of state but vital for the functional government. Pluralists want the power of the state to be lessened so that the associations can operate more freely. The freedom of individual is best protected in a situation where the power of the state is widely disbursed among number of autonomous groups. British pluralists reject the concept of absolute sovereignty of the state and regard the groups to the core factor in the operation of state.

The American pluralists give importance to the “ interest group”. The pressure groups which prop up in response to a particular policy is more effective in influencing the policy of the state. Most of the studies in America, concentrate on the role of interested groups and pressure groups. These groups differ slightly from association pattern of British type. The associations have a long history of existence, and wide range of interrelated interests and continue to cater to guard the freedom against state encroachment. Where as the pressure groups are issue oriented, have limited area of operation and narrow interest. They are more concerned ‘ to get things done in their way, by applying pressure,

than to bother long term consequences. Basically both British and American pluralists distrust state. Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* clearly explains the notions of pluralism in the American society. According to him democracy depends on a plurality of secondary associations outside the state. They prevent democracy-which is based on the rule by the majority-being converted into a tyrannical rule of the majority.

A prominent pluralist Nelson W. Polsy, describes the *American Society in 1980* "as a collection of hundreds of small specific interest groups, with in completely overlapping membership widely differing power bases and a multitude of techniques for exercising influence on decisions salient to them."

American writer Robert A. Dahl used a term "Polyarchy" to describe the American political system. It is a system where plural centres of interest exist. Each of these centres has some influence on policy making, with no single group enjoying monopoly.

There is a difference between plurality of identity and plurality of interests. The plurality of identity refers to factors like religion, language, culture, race, by which different ethnic groups are identified in a society. The members of each ethnic group would like to guard their identity from being encroached by other group. While plurality of interest refers to factors like business, labour, health and such issue oriented groups. It has been argued that the plurality of identity is the character of less developed democratic societies, while plurality of interests indicates the character of more advanced democracy.

We should also make a difference between pluralistic character and corporate character of a society. In dictatorship, the authorities may some time create certain institutions of associations and allot of them specific functions. _ we had "Guild" systems. But this is not pluralism. Because in pluralistic society the formation of associations is voluntary . the membership is not compulsory-they function free of state control. Where as in corporate polities the groups are more organized centrally controlled, and a compulsory membership with uniform pattern operate. Here the "associations" are created by government to assist its functioning. Where as in pluralism associations are formed for peoples' interest.

5.3.1 Political obligation under pluralism:

Political obligation means showing loyalty to the state and obeying the laws passed by it. Why should individual obey the state? For the Absolutists individuals' obedience to state is his moral duty. An individual has no existence outside the state. But for the pluralists, individual's personal views are more important than

the dictums of state. After all state has come into existence to make the life better go the citizen. The end of the state is the happiness of its citizens. Accordingly an individual could judge the performance of the state before his obedience is solicited by the state. Because society is a combination of plural, groups, state does not have the monopoly of Citizen's obedience. It is true state is in a privilege position and can get its order implemented with force. But that does not give any ethical justification for getting the loyalty from the people. A state must earn Citizens' loyalty by its performance. Again if a citizen obeys the law his obedience is not only influenced by his reverence to state, but also to the sociological and ethical content of the law. Before a particular law is passed, there would be a social movement, to educate the public opinion on the need of such a law. Without the public acceptance law would be a dead letter. So if an individual does obey the laws "willingly," the credit to his behaviour should go to various social associations who have steadily built up a broad consensus on the need for such legislation. The basis of state Law is punishment. But punishment alone cannot guarantee citizen's willingness to follow the law. what is required, is social opinion backing the law. The role of different groups and associations in formulating such a social opinion is to be taken into consideration while judging the grounds of political obligation.

5.3.2 Critics of pluralism and Neo-Pluralist thought:

Many critics feel that the pluralist theory of state is unsuitable to the developing nations, where the state is required to play a major role in transforming the socio-economic conditions of its people. Leaving these things to some associations would only worsen the lives of the unorganized sections of the society. C. Wright Mill argued how even in a developed democracy like America all group are not on equal footing. Some groups are more resourceful, have very close access to the policy making machinery and get the things they want. While the rest may be left far behind. It is like social Darwinism- the survival of the fittest. In such a system there would be no social Justice. When issues are not equal, the pluralist theory of state does not hold.

Around 1970's the Western democracies faced sever crises. There were economic discontentment, unemployment, and racial prejudices. The fabric of Democratic structure was facing serious assault from the unrest of the youth. That was the time when many thinkers felt the old pluralistic model had failed. The situation required the formation of strong centralized power structure, which would take quick decisions and get them implemented effectively. What was required was a uniform policy. Excessive use of technology and Centralized planning was the need of the hour. It is obvious the formation of such an institution would ring death bells

to pluralistic model. The whole talk off multiple voluntary associations operating outside state control, yet showing some influence on state, would remain meaningless.

There were other thinkers who insist that in the days of Market Economy, the economic policies be left to the market forces. The state has no role to play now. In fact the welfare activities undertaken by the state are an obstacle to the effective operation of market forces. The Market Economy with its own inbuilt mechanism will adjust the pulls and pressures. The state has no role to play. So two extremes are Centralized state and another minimum state. In both cases pluralism suffers. The fate of small associations would be at the mercy of technocrats or market forces. It looked as though pluralism has ended.

But around this time anew school of thought emerged. This is known as Neo-pluralism. According to neo-pluralists, pluralism is essential in multi cultural, multi social societies. In the market Economy. The role of the state is for more important. While free Economy and marker oriented policies are needed to tide over international Economic crisis, the supervisory role of the state cannot be minimized. The international financial institutions, though operate freely, are ultimately accountable to the state. The welfare of its people is the priority of any state. No state can give up that responsibility to please some outside Economic forces. The existence of smaller associations like the consumer forum, Human Right watch, Green Peace movement are a reflection of the neo-pluralist trends in modern democracies. They are acting against the encroachment of international, multinational corporations and guarding the rights of consumers, farmers, children and other unorganized sections. While technology is the most important factor to solve modern days problems, it should not lead to 'Technocracy' or centralized state administration, where citizen's privacy could be violated. So the media should take up the case of protection of citizen's right. The constitutional safeguards like PIL (Public Interest Litigation) Right to Information can play a crucial role in strengthening the pluralistic fabric of the society.

Check your Progress:

Q. 1. Critically examine the pluralistic theory of state ?

5.4 MARXIST THEORY OF STATE

Of all the theories of state, the Marxist theory can be treated as a scientific analysis of power structure. It tries to correlate the forces of socio-economic trends in a society with the organized power structure i.e. state. According to this theory the interplay of socio-economic forces determine the state structure. The state is an artificial structure built on society. It will collapse when the hitherto suppressed social classes rise in revolt and grab the power. This theory had been developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Influence of Hegel:

Karl Marx, and Engel's thoughts were influenced by Hegel a great German Philosopher. He developed a system Known as 'Dialectics'. According to Hegel, "What is real is rational and what is rational is real." To arrive at 'Real', a process of elimination should start to weed out unreal. This he called dialectics. There are three stages of dialectics - Thesis-Anti-thesis and synthesis. At any given time the accepted assumption could be a thesis. Immediately there is an opposition to it-Anti-thesis. A synthesis would soon emerge, trying to find a higher truth, containing good elements from both the assumptions. This synthesis in due course would become another thesis, to be challenged by a fresh anti-thesis, leading to a new synthesis. This process is continued till the stage where the final and absolute truth is discovered. Hegel used the system of dialectics to built up a case for absolute state, which is "marching God on Earth." For instance, if we consider individual as thesis then family would be anti-thesis, and community would be synthesis. Then the community which has become thesis would be challenged by the interests of village. So village becomes anti-thesis, this may lead to a new synthesis of a higher group. This process goes on till we reach the final organization called 'the State'. That is final it represents universal absolutism. It is a synthesis of all the virtues of family, common village and so on. The state is rational and has a proclaimed will for realizing itself through history. It is eternal .

This Hegelian analysis of the state is criticized by Marx and Engels. They used the same dialectic method to produce an alternative theory of state. This method came to be known as Dialectic Materialism is opposed to spiritual Dialectics of Hegel.

Dialectic Materialism:

Marx applied dialect is to the material world. Here the economic factors of the production of wealth is of paramount importance. The mode of production and exchange is the final factor that determines all social change. In the history of mankind we find two classes- one, which has monopolised all the factors of

production and two, service class. There is bound to be antagonism and conflict between these two classes. All other factors, which contribute to be growth of society – culture, religion, tradition – have no significance. It is the economic factor alone that determines the social history of any society the forces that have monopolised the factors of productions- Land, Labour, Capital, and Organization would determine the course of history. In fact all aspects of social history can be attributed to the material aspects.

The nature of society is one of conflict. There is no scope for social harmony and co-operation, which can facilitate the emergence of a political structure called state. The conflicts in society are not of cultural type – race, religion, or colour. They may appear to be so, but beneath all the conflicts lies the basis element of economics. There are only two classes - haves and have nots. The dominant class which has the control of all economic avenues for wealth, while the service class produces wealth but cannot own it. Right from the primitive society to modern industrial societies this is the pattern. Marx proclaimed, “the history of hitherto existing societies is the history of class Struggle.” In the primitive societies it would be a conflict between slaves and slave owners, in feudal system between serfs and land lords and in the industrial societies between labour and the capitalist. At each stage of this history, the class consciousness develops. It takes its full form in the advanced capitalistic structure. Labour gets organized, gets educated on exploitation by capitalists and forges unity of the working class. This necessitates the formation of a political organization __the communist party – which will take the class struggle to its logical conclusion. But there exists already an organized power structure – the state. This has the coercive power. A clash between two centers of power emerge. State – and its power structure is always with the property owners and wealthy class. All the agencies of state – law, police, courts, army and entire administrative set up will be watchdogs of the interests of the wealthy classes. State will function as vehicle for the progress of the propertied class. Economic policies will be so formulated as to give maximum benefit the rich. Any demand for better working conditions from labourer would be put down by state with force. In the process the gulf between the rich and the poor widens. State will be acting as the custodian of property classes. Poor will be alienated.

Marxists view state as an instrument of exploitation. It is based on force not consent it is not natural. It is an artificial creation by the wealthy sections to safeguard their interests. The poor people have no say in the, affairs of state. In fact they have to fight against it and destroy the power structure of exploitation. State is not neutral. it is partisan for the interests of wealthy who use it to pepectuate economic domination and exploitation.

Human liberation comes from political emancipation. It is possible when individual is freed from religion and private property. The concept of “ class” symbolizes , collective unity, like m” Nation” in Hegel’s theory. Each class produces its own ideology. Ideology is a cementing factor for the class system. Because the ruling class has all the advantages of monopolizing the economic and political power it produces a dominant ideology in the state. To counter this the working class need to develop an ideology of its own. It comes in the form of inevitability of the class struggle and a rejection of official ideology.

There is one aspect of capitalistic economic model. I. e. severe competition. In this cut throat competition, the principle of the survival of the fittest operates. As a result more and more capitalist sections will be driven to join the labour class. A time would arrive where rich class dwindles to a minority and the ranks of working class or’ proletariat ‘as they are called will swell. The profit earnings would fall. The labourer would be getting only starvation wages. As the unrest among labour spreads state would use its coercive force to suppress agitations. But the organized force of working class would rise in revolt and capture the state.

The state which has hitherto acting as an agent of the rich would work for the poor. The working force who are now in control of the Power apparatus, would use the power for the process of leveling. Abolition of private property nationalization of all industries collective agriculture, and Centralization of Economic and political power would result. Each would contribute his might for the social wealth and would get what is needed for him for a decent living. A process of transformation starts in the society. With the abolition of private property, the economic equality is achieved, the alienation of individual would come to an end. A new spirt of social co-operation emerges. Class antagonism and class wars becomes a thing of past. A society based on co-operation—one for all and all for one – would take birth. A new individual is born. In such a system there is no need for law or law enforcing bodies. A society which has achieved Socialism does not need coercive laws, police, courts and so on. These things were needed when man was greedy for property. But now ne lives in a community of collective ownership, shares his joys and sorrows and he is a new individual. So the state – which was only a super structure built on society by propertied class to serve their interests- would wither away. According to Marx this process or revolt of masses, establishment of socialism and withering away of state, would definitely result-but it may first happen in a well advanced industrialized country. Because it has well established infrastructure-the trade unions, the class conscious workers, an effective political organization - like communist party. But contrary to Marx’s speculation, the revolution took place in backward Russia. The state did not wither away. It got

strengthened. There was dictatorship of communist party. Lenin gave a new dimension to Marxist theory of state. In advanced stage of capitalism, it expands outside and finds colonies to continue economic exploitation. So until and unless the poor workers in these colonial countries rise in revolt and establish worker's rule, the state would continue to exist. So till a world communist movement materializes, 'state' even in a communist system would function. Instead of world socialism, we may have to settle for "Socialism one's own country."

Critics: Modern critics like Robert Dahl point out many inconsistencies in Marx's idea of state. Normally a state – Democratic state – functions on three presumptions. (i) there are always conflicting interests in all societies. All are not necessarily class conflicts. Groups articulate their interests and wants, in a pluralistic structure; (ii) the state resolves these conflicts on the principle of majority interests; (iii) the political majority would never be monopoly of a single group with the provision for freedom to form political parties and periodic elections conducted in free atmosphere. All these presumptions are absent in Marxist state theory.

The idea of social harmony which was supposed to emerge in a post – revolutionary society is totally unrealistic. The introduction of universal adult Franchise in Germany in 1866, the reforms in Europe in 1867, 1884 and various welfare measures undertaken by 'state' disproved the Marxist idea that "state is an instrument of oppression controlled by bourgeoisie minority to oppress the proletariat " majority." Marx's theory of state did not provide for a blueprint to the working of a socialist system of state. Basically state's emergence is the culmination of many factors. While stressing the sole factor of economics., Marx's theory did not do adequate Justice to the study of state.

5.5 NEO – MARXISM

Looking at certain limitations of the traditional Marxist theory a new interpretation is given to the traditional theory. This is known as Neo-Marxism. The Neo-Marxists were disillusioned with the Soviet brand of communism. The "state" became powerful and pursued a policy of oppression, leading to alienation of people. The "new" society which would be based on economic equality and social co-operation was nowhere to be seen. The precondition for the establishment of socialism did not emerge. What emerged was the dictatorship of the communist party dominated by powerful elite. Dissent was suppressed to strengthen the position of party elite. The domestic and foreign policies pursued by the soviet authorities, reflected the image of "a nation – state " eagerly guarding its "National interest", rather than an ideal internationalist

policy, aimed at fighting capitalism and colonialism. Together the anti-colonial movement in Afro-Asian countries, exhibited a strong sense of nationalism nullifying the Marxist dictum, "Workers of the world unite."

Against this background the neo-Marxist school emerge in Europe. They reinterpreted Marxism according to changing circumstances. They questioned the central thesis of Marxism that the state is a super – structure. State is not completely dependent on the base. It has some autonomy. It functions on its own. It acts catering to the needs of market economic pulls, rather than deliberately siding one section of the society. Today we can observe how in communist countries like China, state, is pursuing the policies to attract the foreign investment to speed up globalization, and acting independently of "society". State is not a 'super structure' on society's foundation. It is an independent unit functioning autonomously with its own priorities. It is no longer an institution taking care of the interests of the wealthy sections of society and suppressing the poor, but an active player adjusting its priorities to the goals of efficiency, competitiveness and such other neo-capitalistic demands.

Because of all these developments a critical analysis of the super- structure is made by Neo-Marxists. In 1923 Frankfurt school was established. It was critical of both capitalism and Russian model of development. An alternative path of development was conceived. They, while taking into consideration issues like economic exploitation, inequality, alienation, stressed the technological domination rather than capitalistic domination. Broadly speaking the neo-Marxism has two angles. The scientific angle is concerned with the structure, ideology and other related issues. The humanist angle looks of the problems of alienation, and related issues like Justice, human emancipation, Human Rights and so on.

Neo-Marxism recognizes the concept of nationalism. It believes nationalism is a cementing force among the workers. The old notion that the workers of the world would unite and fight the forces of exploitation is too fabricated to be true. The revolts in Hungary Czechoslovakia, Poland, suggest the deep impact the forces of nationalism have on the people. Neo-Marxists supported a thesis called " Euro communism." Each socialist " nation" would pursue its own brand of socialism according to the local needs. They are not to be guided by the commands of the soviet union.

The leading Neo-Marxist, Gramsci, pointed out how in a modern state, the "domination" by the ruling class is achieved more by elicitation of consent than by coercion. The ruling class develops a culture of its own and the oppressed classes accepts it either

consciously or unconsciously. This cultural “ hegemony” has a tactical consent so Gramsci argued there is need to create a counter ideology from society to match against official ideology. The term ideology is a broad term to include., culture, tradition believes and so on. It is a sort of “ popular culture against elite culture.” In the development of this popular ideology, the role of the communist party is minimum. The non-party elite in the society should play an active role in developing ideology. For instance the opposition to American involvement in Vietnam was manifested in America by academicians, scholars who were non – party members. So the neo – Marxist would not agree to the view of communist party domination and plead for a pluralistic version of society.

In the concept of class consciousness there are differences between the traditional Marxists and Neo – Marxists. While the traditional Marxists divided the society into two antagonized classes of rich and poor, the neo – Marxists feel in modern economic structure there are many classes. For instance we may have a managerial class, officers’ class and workers class in a modern industrial structure. These class divisions would cement unity among the selective classes rather than working to forge a unity among all classes against the capitalists. For instance a person working in a managerial cadre would befriend with a person of similar level than the subordinate worker. His class consciousness is determined by economic status. This point needs to be considered.

Since Neo – Marxist state is a pluralistic version, with the emphasis on democratic principle of autonomy for social groups and freedom for ideological differences, such a state cannot wither away.

Check your Progress:

Q. 1. Critically Examine the neo- Marxist theory of state.

5.6 SUMMARY

The Elite theory of state stresses the complexities involved in the administration of state. It requires specialized knowledge to run the administrative affairs. The common man maybe left a behind in government affairs. So a more pro-active role is required by citizens.

Pluralists theory stress the importance of associations and groups. It seeks to limit the power of state. State is only one of the association. It has a moral role to play to better the lives of citizens. Then only it can get citizens' loyalty. Neo- pluralist theory highlights the technological challenges to a democracy. A vigilant media, public opinion should prevent the state from encroaching citizen's freedom.

The traditional Marxist theory treats state as instrument of exploitation and seeks its destruction as pathway to new society. While Neo – Marxists theory emphasize the pluralistic character and stresses the need for new ideology.

5.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Is elite Theory of state relevant to modern Democracies Substantiate.
- Q.2. What are the basic features of the pluralist theory of state? Estimate the impact of Neo – pluralism on modern Democracy.
- Q.3. Critical review the Marxist theory of state? How neo – Marxist differ from Marxist.

5.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Barry, Norman, *An Introduction to Modern Political Theory*, Lodon Macmillan, 1981
- 2) Held David, *Political Theory and the Modern State : Essays on State Power and Democracy*, Cambridge, Polity Press 1989.
- 3) Heywood Andrew, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, Houndmills, Macmillan, 1992.

6

KEY CONCEPTS: POWER AND AUTHORITY

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Meaning and Nature
- 6.3 Power Theory
- 6.4 Forms of Power
 - 6.6.1 Political power
 - 6.6.2 Economic Power
 - 6.6.3 Ideological power
- 6.5 Authority
 - 6.5.1 Objectives
 - 6.5.2 Introduction
 - 6.5.3 Meaning & Concept
 - 6.5.4 Sources or forms of Authority
 - 6.5.5 Types of Authority
 - 6.5.6 Distinction between Authority and Power
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Unit End Questions
- 6.8 Suggested Reading

6.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit explains:

- The concept of power
- Explains meaning and nature
- Discusses various theories

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of power in relation to national and international politics is regarded as the most significant area of basic research in political science. The idea of power has recently acquired importance in a special way in the realm of political theory. The meaning of politics has changed from one of being 'study of state and government' to that of being a 'study of power'. Curtis rightly says, 'the study of politics is concerned with the description and

analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised and controlled, the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which decisions are made, the factors which influence the making of those decisions, and the context in which those decisions take place. In the words of O. P. Gauba, 'power transcends the realm of formal institutions to focus on the real motives and objectives of human beings which lie behind all political activity and institution building.'

6.2 MEANING AND NATURE

Defining the term power is not an easy task. Different writers have taken different view in specific context. Its real meaning, as a result, seems to hover from Friedrich's description of it as 'certain kind of human relationship' to Tawny's emphasis on the identification of power with the capacity of the individual, or a group of individuals, to modify the conduct of others in the manner which one desires'. He however, identifies power with 'some future apparent good' and Harold Lasswell associates it with 'influence.' Bertrand Russell has defined power as 'the production of intended effects.' In other words, power denotes the ability of a person to fulfill his desires or to achieve his objectives. H. V. Wiseman defines power as 'the ability to get one's wishes carried out despite opposition.' Stephen L. Wasby has similarly observed 'power is generally thought to involve bringing about of an action by someone against the will or desire of another.' At the same time, a Marxist like Mao Tse-Tung claims that, 'power comes from the barrel of the gun'. On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi prefers to substitute the force of gun and bomb with the power of love and truth emanating from the will of the people.

The word power is used in different senses and context. We often speak of power of ideas, economic power, executive power, military power, etc. Thus, the term 'power' seems to behave in almost the same way as the word 'ability' or 'capacity'. The English word 'power' in fact, is derived from certain Latin and French words which mean 'to be able'. Thus, in this sense power is taken to denote the whole spectrum of those external influences that, by being brought to bear upon an individual, can make him move in a required direction.' Bertrand Russell's observation is also significant who takes power as 'capacity of influencing the actions of others.'

The sense of the term 'power' sometimes becomes interchangeable with several related themes like control, influence, authority, force, persuasion, coercion, domination, etc. used by different writers in different situations. As a result, it becomes difficult to say as to what the word 'power' precisely conveys. Max Weber, for instance, says that power and authority are different as the latter conveys within its fold the sense of legitimacy. Similarly,

force and power are not alike as the former necessarily involves some brutal manifestations that may, or may not, form an integral part of idea of power.

Thus, while emphasizing the important points of distinction between power and other related themes, one may therefore, say that 'power' is a faculty or capacity to conquer in a contest whereas force is an adjunct and not an essence of power. The capacity to manipulate the will and activities of others to make them conform to the power seeker's will is the central point of emphasis in power. Power can also be derived from established constitutional and legal procedures. In the ultimate analysis, international politics is therefore, the manifestation of power. Ideology may only be in a sense, the mask for covering the uglier image of power.

Similarly, 'force' is different from 'power'. 'Force' is the most brutal manifestation of power. Its techniques are restraint, coercion, physical threat, intimidation, blackmail, terrorization and military domination. Hence, 'power' is a latent force; force is manifest power.' Influence', on the other hand, represents the sublimation of power. It is a category which represents the indeterminate exercise of power. It may be due to social prestige, intellectual eminence, moral worth and the like. It is, more or less an amorphous entity. The most important point of distinction between the two is that while influence is persuasive, power is coercive. We submit voluntarily to influence, while power requires submission.

In the same way, 'authority' represents the moralization of power. It may include the legitimization of power through the provision of legal sanction to it. Control is regarded as more comprehensive than power though it represents something less concentrated than power. In terms of categorization, control could be legislative, executive, judicial, financial, administrative and popular. In other words it could be described as more or less equivalent to power with an exception that it is less concentrated in the intensity of its manifestation than power.

6.3 POWER THEORY

The 'power theory' finds an appropriate manifestation in the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. According to Hobbes, the quest for power is the principal cause of competition among individuals. In the race to acquire more and more riches, honors and commands, their interests collide. In order to achieve their goals, the competitors resort to killings, subduing and repelling their opponents. Despite the struggle for power, men like to live under a common power.

After Hobbes the power theory was reiterated by Hegel who made the sovereign authority so absolute that he, i.e. the

sovereign, could disregard the ethics of international morality. Power and its urge were emphasized in the nineteenth century by many writers. The list could include German thinkers like Nietzsche, Treitschke and Bernhard who further elaborated the Hegelian thought on power. In the 20th century, another German thinker Eric Kaufmann pursued the similar thought in relation to power.

In the present age, a reference may be made to Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau who in his book, *Politics Among Nations*, says, 'International Politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim.'

The power theory found its more pronounced manifestation in the emergence of Fascism in Italy in 1922 when Mussolini declared 'nothing against the state, nothing above it.' In reaction to such assertions Prof Charles Merriam – the Father of the Chicago School –sought to examine the premise of power theory in detail. Despite its significance, power theory lays too much emphasis on the fact of power in physical terms alone. However, power includes within itself much that may not be covered by the compass of physical power. One may refer to power of soul, power of mind, power of ideas and thus justify what great sages from Buddha to Gandhi have uttered.

The psycho-analytical theory identifies power with influence and the role of the influential. The idea of power in this sense has been discussed by American writers like Harold Lasswell, Abraham Kaplan and Robert Dahl who while making a comprehensive study of politics emphasized more the study of the influence and the influential. Lasswell and Kaplan discuss the scope of political science in terms of 'power as a process.' Lasswell argues that political processes operate throughout society and that any attempt to limit political analysis to certain specific political institutions would be inappropriate.

From sociological perspective, the term power has its particular appellation in the context of a social process. In this process several organizations and units subsist and they compete for what Easton says, 'securing the authoritative allocation of values.' Thus, power in the sense of social power, indicates 'the capacity to influence or control others.'

A study of power in this context brings about a significant change in the meaning of politics. Politics no longer remains the study of state or government alone. It becomes a study of the society in its widest sense. It includes organizations like families, trade unions, business houses and political parties, etc. Thus, in this context, the concept of power, control, influence, coercion,

persuasion, manipulation, etc., become central to the study of politics.'

The sociological theory connects the phenomenon of power with the element of 'legitimacy'. It implies that power of any social organization right from the family to that of the state should be acceptable to the concerned persons. Commands issued by the men in authority roles should be acceptable to the people otherwise they will not be effective.

The liberal-democratic theory identifies power with developmental and extractive capacities. According to this theory, power signifies the capacity of an individual that may either refer to his ability to develop his personality or to extract advantages from the like abilities of others. In this way, power as a capacity has both developmental and extractive capacities. It therefore, carries normative dimension in the former and empirical in the latter.

The Marxian theory identifies power as the instrument of class domination. According to this theory, power is an instrument that connects economics with politics. In this sense, politics signifies a sphere of social activity in which two contending classes engage in a struggle for the control of the state. Thus, political power or class power is the pervasive power which a dominant class exercises in order to maintain and defend its predominance in the civil society.

Elite theory, in contradiction to Marxian theory identifies power as having its source in political and bureaucratic organizations. This theory argues that politics cannot be properly studied without identifying the ruling class or the governing and non-governing elites and measuring their respective roles.

6.4 FORMS OF POWER

6.6.1 Political Power:

The analysts of power cannot restrict themselves to the realm of 'political power.' Economic and ideological forms of power also play a significant role as the support bases of political power. 'The concept of political power', in the words of Alan Ball, 'is key concept in the study of politics for if politics is the resolution of conflict, the distribution of power within a political community determines how the conflict is to be resolved, and whether the resolution is to be effectively observed by all parties.'

In order to identify the nature and the essential features of political power it is necessary to distinguish between the formal and informal organs of such power. Legislature, executive and judiciary

that are traditionally recognized organs of power in a state, represent the formal organs. Executive and Legislature, taken together, make laws, policies and decisions that regulate the allocation of values in a society. Thus, formal organs of political power play an effective role in a state.

Informal organs of political power are also important. They take the form of political parties in power and in opposition. They also represent a large number of pressure groups, public opinion, popular movements, etc. The political power is not the prerogative of the formal organs of the state alone. It is a known fact that in independent democratic states, public opinion, popular movements and organized interests directly influence the decision-making processes. Even in the international sphere, organized groups of nations exercise their influence on the super powers and make them change their economic and foreign policies.

6.6.2 Economic Power:

Economic power is the power that comes from the possession of material things, especially the major means of production and distribution. It is a significant factor that influences politics. Those who possess economic power in a liberal democracy exercise their influence on politics in variety of ways. The pressure groups that represent them are stronger, more organized and more vocal. Besides, the big business houses extend a large amount of financial help to political parties and even to the candidates seeking elections. The political class – the recipient of such help pay lip service to the interests of the masses but are secretly safeguard the interests of their financiers.

6.6.3 Ideological Power:

Ideological power helps to provide a more subtle base of political power. The set of ideas promoted by the ruling class in relation to the system of government constitute political ideology. The political ideology provides legitimacy to the ruling classes and helps them maintain their stronghold on political power. Political ideology not only upholds and promotes a set of beliefs, but it is always action oriented. It puts forward a 'cause' for which people are not only prepared to fight but even sacrifice their lives. However, ideology is often devoid of reasons. It picks certain convenient formulae and elevates them to the level of 'absolute truth' by exploiting people's sentiments. Thus, ideological power represents more often the manipulative power of the dominant class which holds sway on the thinking and emotions of the people.

6.5 AUTHORITY

6.5.1 Objectives:

This unit explains

- The meaning and concept of authority
- Discusses sources or forms of authority
- Elaborates on types of authority
- Distinguishes between authority and power

6.5.2 Introduction:

Authority like power is a key concept closely associated with politics. The English word 'authority' is derived from Roman word 'auctor' that meant advice. The concept of authority involves 'reason' and depends upon 'the capacity of reasoned elaboration'. Thus, the man who possesses authority, has capacity for reasoned elaboration. In other words, the man who exercises authority, has the capacity to give clear logical and convincing reasons for his decision or judgments.

6.5.3 Meaning and Concept:

The concept of authority conveys a sense of duty on the part of its holder. Authority demands an adherence to the various norms, principles and procedures that give him recognition. Viewed in this sense, authority can never be absolute. Authority is always conditioned by certain norms and principles, and is thus, self-regulated. If the norm and the principles, on basis of which, the authority is recognized, are violated by its holders, or ruler himself, it will lead to chaos, lawlessness and anarchy. The norms and principles may be in the form of time-honored traditions, widely shared values of life, or publicly recognized procedures, which give recognition to authority. Command and obedience, in this way become natural.

Authority is always expressed for regulating external behavior of individuals, or groups of individuals, by and through speech and written words and not by brute force. The authority of a parent, for instance, rests upon the fact that the parents are able to give 'reasoned elaboration' as to why the child should, or should not, do certain things. Where this capacity on the part of parents is absent, the parents may exercise coercion or force, over their children but not authority.

Authority consists of two important components: Power and Legitimacy. Legitimacy of a rule or decision implies that the

members of society treat that rule or decision as beneficial to society as well as to themselves. They therefore, willingly tend to abide by it. Authority hence, is the most effective instrument of exercising power in the sphere of politics.

Need of an authority in every organized life:

Every organized life requires a set of authority. A social organization like a family or a school, or a university, or a church, or an economic institution, such as a business company, or an industry, or a political institution like government, can function effectively only if there is a seat of authority, based on certain norms, rules and principles, which are observed with a fair degree of willingness. Such an authority can command obedience without use of brute force. The term 'authority' indicates the people who are considered as having the right to make pronouncement and thus such persons have the right to receive obedience as well.

Holder of an authority as an agent of organization:

The person, who holds authority in reality, acts for and on behalf of the organization in the capacity of an agent. He functions on the basis of some well established and recognized principles and disobedience to such an authority, therefore, will suggest a violation of the norms, rules and principles of the organization. In the case of the state, disobedience to the authority will be interpreted as a violation of the constitution of the state.

Myths, theories and procedures as foundation of authority:

Myths, theories and procedures serve as the foundation of authority. Obedience to authority is sought through crude methods, sometimes through myths and sometimes by means of some theories and procedures.

The theory of the divine rights of kingship was recognized in ancient and medieval times in support of authority. Moreover, hereditary rights, religious anointing and other symbolic justifications were put forward in support of an authority.

Recognition of the Right to Rule:

Allan Ball says, 'political authority is the recognition of the right to rule, irrespective of the sanction the ruler may possess. Thus, it is always better and convenient to rule by means of legitimate authority, which gets habitual obedience rather than by means of coercion, which usually leads to agitation politics.

6.5.4 Sources or Forms of Authority:

According to Max Weber, the forms of authority are as follows.

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

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

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

The rational –legal form of authority emanates from the political office held by an individual, where he is appointed through the prescribed procedure. In other words, legal-rational authority is attached to an office which automatically extends to the individual holding that office. This form of authority is generally found in democratic system of government. It is established by and through the constitution of the state.

Characteristics:

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

iii. Charismatic Form of Authority:

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

iv. Spiritual Form of Authority:

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

6.5.5 Types of Authority:

Prominent types of authority are as follows:

i. De Jure Authority (legally constituted authority):

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

ii. De Facto Authority (Person/s who in fact exercise authority):

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

iii. Intermediate Authority (Extra-Constitutional Authority):

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

6.5.6 Distinction between Authority and Power:

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

i. Authority is an embodiment of reason:

Carl J. Friedrich says, 'authority is the embodiment of reason and depends upon the capacity of reasoned elaboration. The man who possesses authority has capacity for reasoned elaboration.' In other words, the man with authority has capacity to give convincing reasons for what he does or for what he wants

others to do. Americans e.g. accept the authority of their President as they believe that he has an access to information that others do not or should not have so easily. This gives him the capacity to give convincing reasons for his decisions.

ii. Power refers to compliance by force, threat, bribe, propaganda and fear, etc. :

In contrast to authority, power is the way of regulating social behavior and conduct of an individual by means other than 'reasoned elaboration'. By exercising power, a man secures compliance by means of brute force, threat, bribe, propaganda, fear of injury or fear of putting obstacles in the way, etc.

iii. Link between authority and power:

There is an intimate connection between authority and power. As long as the rule or system is respected by people, the exercise of authority is relevant and adequate. The Government of India exercises authority because most Indians accept to be governed by laws and rules. However, a handful of anti-social elements, criminals, extremists, terrorists and secessionists refuse to accept and respect the laws and the Constitution of India. The Government in such cases exercises both authority as well as power. The police, para-military and armed forces represent power of the government in a special sense. It is therefore, essential that every government must have sufficient power to maintain its authority against those who refuse to respect it. A government based on authority but without power may be overthrown by a handful of armed rebels.

iv. Loss of authority without power:

Authority in the state may decline or even disappear in the absence of power. If a government does not have enough power in the form of military strength or armed forces, it will not be able to quell or suppress rebellions or revolts, if any, within the state or tackle challenges in any form, to it by an armed and determined group.

The authority in the state may also decline if the government itself loses the capacity to govern the country by 'reasoned elaboration' due to emotionalism, favoritism, nepotism, corruption and other mal-practices. Such a government may forfeit the right to receive obedience from the majority of the people.

In contrast, the loss of power within the state may take place as a result of weakening or loss of military strength or armed forces or national wealth.

6.6 SUMMARY

We began initially with the description of meaning and nature of the concept of power. An attempt was made to define power. It was followed by an elaborate explanation of various theories on power highlighting different perspectives on power. In this section focus was more on liberal democratic, sociological perspectives and Marxian concept of power.

It was followed by discussion on another important concept of politics authority. In this part the basic meaning of the term authority was explained and various concept attached to it. An attempt was made to highlight the need of an authority in every organized life. We also explained how a holder of an authority exercises it more as an agent of the organization he represents. Then there various myths, theories and procedures linked to the concept of authority.

In this section we explained the sources or forms of authority. An attempt was also made to explain the characteristics of authority. The description of types of authority is also an essential component of this topic. The topic ended with an explanation about the distinction between authority and power.

6.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

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

6.8 SUGGESTED READING

1. Gauba, O.P. (2010), *Political Ideas and Ideologies*
2. Johari, J.C. (2006), *Contemporary Political Theory*
3. Wadhvani, Manohar (2008), *An Introduction To Politics*

4. Ramaswamy, Sushila(2003), *Political Theory- Ideas & Concepts*
5. Heywood, Andrew (2007), *Politics*
6. Mohan, Sudha (2005), *Urban Development: New Localism*
7. Oommen T.K. (2004), *Nation, Civil Society & Social Movements*
8. Bhagwat Mahesh (2009), *Major Issues in Contemporary Politics*
9. Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics (2009).

KEY CONCEPTS: LEGITIMACY AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Theories of Legitimacy
 - 7.2.1 Idealist Theory
 - 7.2.2 Prescriptive Theory
 - 7.2.3 Liberal Theory
 - 7.2.4 Marxist Theory
- 7.3 Political Obligation
 - 7.3.1 Objectives
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 - 7.3.3 Meaning and Concept
 - 7.3.4 Theories of Political Obligation
 - 7.3.4.1 Divine Theory
 - 7.3.4.2 Consent Theory
 - 7.3.4.3 Prescriptive Theory
 - 7.3.4.4 Idealistic Theory
 - 7.3.4.5 Marxian Theory
 - 7.3.4.6 Conservative View
 - 7.3.4.7 Gandhian Perspective
- 7.4 Summary
- 7.5 Unit End Questions
- 7.6 Suggested Reading

7.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit explains:

- Explains the meaning and concept
- Discusses various theories of legitimacy

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The stability of a democratic political system depends not only upon economic development but also upon its legitimacy and effectiveness. While effectiveness is judged according to how well a system performs the basic function of government, legitimacy includes the capacity to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political institutions or forms are the most appropriate for society. Thus, legitimacy is the foundation of political power in as much as it is exercised both with a consciousness on government's part that it has a right to govern and with some recognition by the governed of that right.

David E. Apter provides an interesting notion of what legitimacy is. He maintains that legitimacy is 'related to a set of conception held by significant member of the polity about the rightness of a political pattern. Legitimacy is thus a behavioral term referring to a set of limits on a governmental action. It is with reference to legitimacy that right conduct in office is defined. When legitimacy is withdrawn, government is weakened.'

Thus, if a political system has to survive and sustain, it should be acceptable to the people so that they may render their obligation to it. The rulers must either make an attempt to bring the real power relationship into conformity with existing legitimization, or to revise the legitimization in terms of the existing or some of the preferred power relationships. We describe a government as legitimate which at a given moment and in a given country, corresponds to the idea that the general populace has about a legitimate order.

The theories of a legitimate political order reflect the social structures and specially the class situations. They tend to justify a form of government that meets the requirements of those for whom it is meant. If the governed believe that their rulers are legitimate, they are inclined to obey them spontaneously. They recognize that the obedience is due to them. A legitimate government is one in which people feel an obligation to obey whereas no such obligation is felt towards a government considered as 'illegitimate.'

While the concept of political legitimacy and effectiveness has its application in every political system, it has its special significance in a democratic system that is set to rest on the 'general will.' There are instances to prove that even rulers like Caliph Harun-al Rashid used to move in disguise to know the mood and mind of the people. Even in modern time dictators have made serious and concerted attempts to secure legitimacy to their system.

The idea of legitimacy and effectiveness involves within itself the study of political system from a sociological point of view. As political system is a part of the wider social organization, the people do not obey authority just for the sake of obedience; rather they do so for purposes they believe to be secured by its operations. Political scientists may therefore, investigate any kind of power, but for the study of the political system, its relevance to legitimization is of crucial importance.

7.2 THEORIES OF LEGITIMACY

7.2.1 Idealist Theory:

The credit for political legitimacy goes to the idealists thinkers who attempted to visualize in terms of a perfect order, in which, in the words of Rousseau, man who is born free remains without chains even after being a member of the political community. A reference could be made to Socrates, the wisest man of ancient Greece, who stressed his doctrine 'virtue is knowledge' so as to imply the excellence of the aristocracy of intellect. The idea however, took an elaborate form in the political philosophy of Plato who in his 'Republic' sketched the model of an ideal state headed by a philosopher king with the supreme authority of implementing the principle of 'justice'.

Only such a political order is legitimate, as it is 'just'. In such a political order each individual performs his duties at the appropriate place and in which the ruling class is uncorrupt as well as incorruptible. Aristotle discovered the idea of political legitimacy as essentially connected with the end of the state that lies in the realization of 'good life'.

7.2.2 Prescriptive Theory:

According to prescriptive theory, the authority is legitimate if it is sanctioned by custom. It means that the sanction of political legitimacy is contained in the force of tradition. In other words, in the demonstration of the validity of authority one should be guided by the lessons of history coupled with what Russell Kirk says, the force of 'will and intelligence'.

According to Edmund Burke, the self conscious conservative of England, whether an institution is legitimate or not, should be decided by the weight of tradition. Political institutions grow and develop over a long period of history and as such, the source of their acceptability to the people finds place in the well-established traditions of the land. A newly established order having no roots in the past would therefore, be unworkable and for this reason unacceptable to the people.

7.2.3 Liberal Theory:

Max Weber of Germany (1860 – 1920) is regarded as the first social theorist to discover the applicability of the notion of legitimacy. Indeed, he was the first to use the term for classifying and comparing the socio-political phenomena. He assumed that legitimacy is based on belief and elicits obedience, and he insists that the ruling group must be legitimate.

Weber emphatically asserts that the basis of every system of authority 'is a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige.' His classification of the types of legitimacy is regarded as the basis of investigation of the nature of authority in contemporary civilization. He mentions three types of legitimate authority: rational-legal, traditional and charismatic. Rational-legal authority rests on a belief in the legality patterns of normative rules and rights of those elevated to the authority under such rules to issue commands. Traditional authority is derived from an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them. Charismatic authority rests on the devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him.

It is important to point out that rational legitimacy, which Weber identifies with legality, is the only type of legitimacy to survive in the modern world.' In this sense every single bearer of the power of the command is legitimized by the system of rational norms and his power is legitimate so far as it corresponds with the norms.

7.2.4 Marxist Theory:

Karl Marx's theory of political legitimacy and effectiveness is found in his idea of class war. In this doctrine he denounces the ruling bourgeois class as a conspiring group of the capitalists and their hired lackeys consciously exploiting and dominating the working class. According to him the social authority of the ruling class hinges solely on economic factors. The fact of political legitimacy and effectiveness thus, finds place in the economic domination of the capitalist class that emanates from its legal right and physical ability to exploit the labor.

The fact of political domination can be understood in states being an instrument of exploitation and oppression by one class over another. In the capitalist society, the state is in the hands of the bourgeoisie that legitimizes its actions by means of parliamentary or judicial sanctions. The effectiveness of the

bourgeois' rule is ensured by the existence and working of the army, police, bureaucracy, court, press, etc. According to the Communist Manifesto, the modern state is a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.' A socialist state is therefore, a legitimate order that aims at the elimination of exploitation and oppression by one class over another by establishing a class society.

The notion of political legitimacy thus, constitutes the complimentary part of the concept of political obligation. People, in general, obey the state, because they treat it as a legitimate organization. Not only this, they also pay with their lives for the sake of carrying out, what Laski calls, 'the will of the state.'

7.3 POLITICAL OBLIGATION

7.3.1 Objectives:

This unit explains:

- Explains the meaning and concept
- Discusses the various theories of Political Obligation

7.3.2 Introduction:

Why do people obey the state? Why should they obey authority? When and under what circumstances and conditionality should they come forward and register their disobedience? These are some of the questions that arise in regard to the issue of relationship between a legitimate political order and the collectivity of citizenship. Answers to such questions have been given by many thinkers and statesmen in different ways. Political philosophy inquires into the logical and moral grounds of political obligation so as to determine its proper scope and limits.

7.3.3 Meaning and Concept:

The term 'obligation' originates from a Latin word 'obligate' implying something that binds men to perform what is enjoined. In the world of politics, it takes the form of a bond between man as a citizen and the authority under which he lives 'to perform an act, or a number of acts, for the governing authority.' In other words, it means that as a political creature, man is bound to live under some authority and it becomes his duty to obey its commands. In this respect, when 'the authorizing rule is a law, and the association a state, it is called 'political obligation.'

The idea of political obligation, or acceptance of the commands of the 'men in authority' is essentially connected with the pattern of man's life in an organized whole. It may be said that

there could be no life if there is no order. Since order implies obedience, there can be no order if there is no acceptance of it.' The principle of political obligation, is therefore, based on the maxim of common prudence. As Bern and Peters observe, 'there are plenty of good reasons for accepting authority in general, though they may not always apply in particular. In fact, the people not only obey the laws of the state or 'the commands of the sovereign', they also scrutinize those orders in terms of the satisfaction they seek from life. Sometimes however, they may reject them on the ground that they are a denial of those satisfactions. Obedience is the normal habit of mankind. However, marginal cases recur wherein the decision to disobey is painfully taken and defended.

The idea of political obligation not only expects people to obey the authority of those in power, it also desires them to be critical about the way authority is exercised. They should scrutinize the actions of their rulers and disapprove any invasion on their freedom. Thus, the idea of political obligation also involves the idea of resistance to authority. Even great liberals like Locke, Green and Laski have recognized the circumstances under which people may demonstrate their resistance and go to the extent of changing the political order. Thus, the legitimacy of political obligation depends on the way it is used. Any invasion of a sphere where political authority is inappropriate might be grounds for disobedience or, in extreme cases, for resistance.

7.3.4 Theories of Political Obligation:

Significant theories of political obligation are discussed below.

7.3.4.1 Divine Theory:

A number of theories have been put forward on the subject of political obligation. The oldest theory finds its place in the religious doctrines whereby the source of obedience to authority is traced in the matters of faith. Upon this theory the necessity and significance which stands above and apart from the citizen and the governing authority is that of the Divine Will and ordinance. 'I am obliged to obey the governing authority because I am obliged to obey God and because any governing authority is essentially an emanation and delegation of divine authority.' The authority of the ruler therefore, 'stems not simply from inheritance according to custom, or from popular acclamation. The true source is divine, and his authority is therefore independent of both human choice and custom.'

In other words, the theory of divine right of kings holds that the authority of the sovereign is derived from God; hence obedience to the state is as imperative as obedience to God. The early hints of this theory are found in the ancient Indian political thought. In Europe this theory was developed during the ascendancy of monarchy. Its chief exponent was Robert Filmer (1588-1653). In the recent times, this theory was upheld in pre-communist Tibet and some tribal kingdoms. It is seldom invoked in the modern state.

Besides, such a doctrine had its affirmation in the teachings of the Bible. St. Paul said that the authority of the prince 'comes from God' and St. Thomas added that a ruler 'who fails to act faithfully, as the office of kingship demands, deserves to suffer the consequences.' King James I of England claims that the ruler has derived his authority directly from God. Even if he were wicked, the subjects have no right to rebel against him. The people are thus bound by the religious injunction to obey the authority of the king.'

7.3.4.2 Consent Theory:

The divine theory was replaced by the 'Consent Theory' which underlined the sanction of political obligation in the 'Will of the People'. In other words some theorists regard individual's consent as the proper source of political obligation. According to this view, 'man is born free'; he can be expected to obey a ruler only with his consent. Thus, a government can exercise its power only with an explicit or implicit consent of its citizens. This theory is based on the hypothesis of a contract entered into by men living in the 'State of Nature' whereby political authority came into being. Thus, the authority of the state is based on the consent of the people. The terms of that contract were morally binding on those who made the compact. Now, these are equally binding on their successors. The political authority therefore, is dependent on the consent of the people.

The idea of social contract found its affirmation in the works of Hobbes and Locke of England in the seventeenth century and then in the works of Rousseau of France in the following century. Though the views of the three social contractualists differ in matters of details, they adopt the same framework so as to prove the contractual nature of the origin and establishment of political authority. Thus, according to them, the political authority is derived from a contract whereby the people are collectively bound to obey it so long as the government works for the general good. In the words of Locke, 'No one can be subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent.' The social contract, thus, justifies the conception that if the ruling authority has to be legitimate, it must rest ultimately on the consent of the governed.

7.3.4.3 Prescriptive Theory:

According to this theory, both political authority and reverence to it are based on the principle of 'customary rights'. It is the fact of the long possession that ripens into an institution wherein lie the source of its legitimacy. As the authority of the ruler has its source in the fact of the prescriptive possession, so the fact of the popular obedience has its sanction in the reverence to the institutions of the past. Jean Bodin says that as the authority of the patriarch is based on the fact of historical prescription, so the authority of the king finds its source in the fact of long possession. An established practice has a significance of its own in view of the fact that it embodies the wisdom of the past. The people obey their rulers because the fact of obedience has become like a well established convention. The affirmation of this theory is also found in the writings of Hegel who ascribed to it a metaphysical dimension. In his 'Philosophy of Rights' he says that the idea of morality 'evolves concretely in the customs and institutions of nation- states. According to Edmund Burke, 'we revere tradition and every tradition has a divine character on account of being a long established possession.

7.3.4.4 Idealistic Theory:

The idealists initially created an unconditional and unlimited obligation, but subsequently they sought to modify their stance. G.W.F. Hegel (1770- 1831), famous exponent of idealism, eulogized the state as 'the incarnation of divine reason' and 'march of God on earth.' He argued that when individual obeys the state, he essentially follows the divine reason and thereby exercises his freedom. Hegel therefore, postulated an unlimited obligation without drawing a clear distinction between the state and government.

However, it was T. H. Green (1836-82) in the idealist tradition who declared that government cannot claim an unconditional obedience of its citizens. Green argued that individual owes his allegiance to society, not to the state and government. Accordingly, the organized power of society should be recognized as political authority for the purpose of determining political obligation. Green' concept of political obligation is based on his concept of the 'common good'. He pointed out that it is society, not the state, which is pivot of the common good.

The idealists trace the source of political obligation in the innate rationality of man. It can be visualized in their tendency to regard man as a 'political and rational creature' and the state as 'a self-sufficing community', identical with the whole society. As such, there can be no anti-thesis between the individual and the state.

The life of an individual isolated from his fellow beings is like a life against nature. Thus, an individual can seek his best possible development in society alone. That is, it is by living in society and with it by obeying the commands of the state that he can realize all that he has in him to be, only by an inter course with his fellows. It is by realization of social duties and the fulfillment of the public obligations that he can develop his full life. In other words, the source of political obligation is contained in obedience to the state that is not an alien entity.

7.3.4.5 Marxian Theory:

Marxian theory is very different from all other theories of political obligation. The Marxian theory sanctions the case of political non-obligation in the pre- revolutionary stage, total political obligation in the revolutionary stage and its eventual conversion into social obligation in the post revolutionary stage of social development. In other words, the case of political obligation is integrally connected with the character of authority. In the Marxian theory of politics, the state is described as a 'bourgeois institution' in the capitalist society. It is described as an instrument of power in the hands of the working class after the successful revolution to consolidate the socialist order in a way preparing its own 'withering away' to happen in the final stage of socialism.

7.3.4.6 Conservative View:

The thinkers subscribing to the conservative view uphold obedience to the state or political authority for practical reasons. David Hume (1711-76) argued that the advantages of obedience to any type of political authority outweigh the disadvantages of having no government at all. He therefore, upheld unconditional political obligation in view of practical utility of a government. Edmund Burke (1729-97) similarly argued that politics was a matter of 'prudence and practicability'. Defending the case of social continuity, he contended that revolution is undesirable not only because it involves violence and destruction, but also because it results in misuse of power by those who manage to capture it. Political obligation, according to Michael Oakeshott (1901-90), is incidental to the political activity which arises from the normal social life, rather than from the pursuits of any transcendental objectives. Thus, the conservative view of political obligation is based on legitimacy rather than on consent or morality.

7.3.4.7 Gandhian Perspective:

Mahatama Gandhi identified significantly severe limits of political obligation. It is clearly indicated by his principle of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience refers to a situation whereby its

adherents deliberately disobey an unjust authority and an unjust law. Civil disobedience may be resorted to as a protest against an unjust policy of government or in order to draw attention of the government to a demand for political reform. It is important to note that the term 'civil disobedience' was first coined by an American writer – Henry David Thoreau (1817-62) who argued that people must register their protest against any injustice perpetrated by their own government.

Mahatma Gandhi made an attempt to combine the principle of civil disobedience with his principle of non-violent struggle and satyagraha during India's struggle for freedom. Gandhi set a practical example of civil disobedience when he led the march to the seashore in 1930 to defy the ban on making salt by the Indians. However, scholars believe that the civil disobedience should be resorted to only against a tyrannical regime, foreign rule or unjust government.

7.4 SUMMARY

We began with a discussion on political legitimacy. We attempted to introduce the topic with an appropriate background of the topic. We sought to understand the basic meaning and the significance of the study of the concept of legitimacy. The analysis of several definitions of the idea of legitimacy helped us understand essential features of legitimacy.

The preliminary discussion was followed by discussion on various theories of legitimacy. We learnt about prescriptive, liberal and Marxist theories. In the later part we tried to understand the meaning and concept of political obligation. The analysis of various definitions helped us understand the primary and essential notion behind the political obligation. We also learnt about several theories of political obligation. The discussion on divine, consent, prescriptive, idealistic and Marxian theories must have helped us clarify our concept. The Gandhian perspective on civil disobedience made us learn about this as tool which was used during the freedom struggle.

7.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss the concept of legitimacy and its various theories.
- Q.2. Explain Max Weber's views on legitimacy with a focus on its applicability.
- Q.3. 'Karl Marx's theory of political legitimacy is found in his idea of class war.' Discuss
- Q.4. Discuss the meaning and concept of Political Obligation.

- Q.5. What are the various theories of political Obligation? Discuss the significance of Consent Theory in the modern world.
- Q.6. Analyze the Jean Bodin's views on Political obligation with reference to Prescriptive Theory.
- Q.7. Discuss the features of Divine Theory as the oldest theory of Political Obligation

7.6 SUGGESTED READING

1. Heywood, Andrew (2007), *Politics*
2. Mohan, Sudha (2005), *Urban Development: New Localism*
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4. Bhagwat Mahesh (2009), *Major Issues in Contemporary Politics*
5. Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics (2009)
6. Gauba, O.P. (2010), *Political Ideas and Ideologies*
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8. Wadhvani, Manohar (2008), *An Introduction To Politics*
9. Ramaswamy, Sushila(2003), *Political Theory- Ideas & Concepts*

LAW, LIBERTY AND RIGHTS

Unit Structure

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8.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit explains:

- Explains the meaning and concept
- Discusses various sources and theories of Law
- Analyses the classification of law

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The difficulty in having a precise definition of the term 'law' arises from its use in a variety of senses. In the field of political theory, laws are concerned with regulating man's behavior as a member of an organized society. Laws generally deal with external conduct and are enforced by a system of compulsions.

8.2 MEANING AND CONCEPT

The word 'law' etymologically comes from the old Teutonic root 'lag' which means to lay, to place, to set, or to fix something in an even manner. Law is, for this reason, something positive, or imposed. It is something laid down or set. Thus, the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as 'a rule of conduct imposed by an authority.' Law also conveys the idea of a valid custom to which any citizen can appeal, and which is recognized and can be enforced by a human authority.

Keeping in view the variety of its senses, law as distinguished from theory, is described as: the normal expression of conventional morality, or of that part of it, which the state should enforce; or

- a system of rules by which the interests of a dominant class are safeguarded; or
- a system of rules held to be binding or obligatory; or
- a system of rules aimed at realizing justice; or
- a system of rules discoverable by reason; or
- a command of the sovereign; or
- what judges decide in the courts; or
- system of rules backed by coercive sanctions;

However, in the most widely understood sense, the term 'law' signifies "a body of rules enforced by the courts".

8.3 SOURCES OF LAW

The cause of variety in the senses of law finds its place in its sources that may be enumerated as below.

Custom: In every community the earliest form of law can be traced in the well established practices of the people. These practices developed because of the utility that inhered in them. In due course, a practice became a usage which in turn acquired the form of a custom. Primitive communities attached great significance to the observance of their great customs. Even now custom seems to play an important part and the modern law is very much based on the custom of the people.

Religion: Religion as a source of law finds its sanction in the religious scriptures of the people. Since time immemorial people have reposed their faith in the power of some supernatural agencies. They have tried to lay down rules for the regulations of their behavior so as to be respectful to their deities. As a result, the words contained in the holy books and their interpretations constitute the religious law of people. Most of the principles of religious law were translated by the state in terms of specific rules. Thus, we have the personal laws of the Hindus, Muslims and the Christians, etc.

Adjudication: As the process of social organization became complex in response to the growth of civilization, the force of custom declined. Disputes regarding customs were referred to the 'wisest men' of the community' who delivered their verdicts. The decision formed precedents for future guidance. As judges became the 'wisest men' of the community' their decision came to have a special sanctity. As these decisions were given in writing, they constituted what came to be known, the case- law.

Equity: One more important source of law is contained in equity - an informal method of making new law or altering an old one depending on fairness or equality of treatment. In simple words, it means equality or natural justice in cases where the existing law does not apply properly and judgment has to be given according to commonsense or fairness. Thus, as a source of law, equity arises from the fact that as time passes and new conditions of life develop, positive law becomes unsuitable or inadequate to the new situation. To make it suitable, either the old law should be changed or adapted by some informal method. Thus, equity enters to fill the void. In the absence of a positive law, judges decide the cases on general principles of fairness, reasonableness, commonsense and natural justice.

Legislation: In modern times, however, legislation has become the most prolific source of law. It means placing of a specific rule on the statute book of the land. It reflects the will of the state as declared by its law making organs. Whether it is in the form of a royal decree, or an ordinance promulgated by the head of the state, or assented to by him after being passed by the legislature, it has the validity of the law of the land. It then, has to be implemented by the executive and enforced by the judicial departments of the state.

Standard Works: The source of law may also be traced in the scientific commentaries in which leading thinkers, jurists and Statesmen express their views on important points of law. These commentaries are recognized and treated as binding by virtue of being the decisions of the 'wisest men of the community. The opinion of the great men are also accepted by the courts and incorporated into the law of the land as well.

8.4 THEORIES OF LAW

8.4.1 Natural theory:

This theory considers law as eternal, universal, constant and immutable discoverable by the rational faculty of man. Being universal, it has the merit of prevailing everywhere; being eternal, it has its validity at all times; being constant, it is the same at all places and under all circumstances; and being immutable it cannot be changed by any power on earth. Nature is the author of this law, and as such, it is based on right reason. The natural law thus, is the higher law and civil law must conform to it in order to be valid.

8.4.2 Analytical Theory:

Analytical theory maintains that the laws with which the jurists or political scientists have to deal are the commands of a determinate political authority. As this theory is also known by the name of the doctrine of 'legal positivism', it designates that only those norms are juristically valid which have been established or recognized by the government of a sovereign state in the forms prescribed by its written or unwritten constitution. No 'divine law' and no 'natural law' is juridically valid, according to legal positivism unless so recognized by the state or its government. Among the exponents of this theory, the name of the French thinker Jean Bodin occupies the first and foremost place followed by Thomas Hobbes of England.

8.4.3 Historical Theory:

Historical Theory treats law as a result of the silent forces at work in society. In other words, law is neither authored by nature

(or God), nor is it a deliberate creation of the state. In a correct sense, it is the result of the inevitable but imperceptible social development. Thus, it is independent of, and anterior to, the state. As such, the function of the state is not to create law but merely to recognize and enforce it. Thus, an exponent of this theory, like Gustav von Hugo rejected the traditional theory (natural theory) of law and in its place put a conception of laws determined by characteristics and experiences of a particular people.

8.4.4 Sociological Theory:

The sociological theory of law should be treated as an extension of the historical theory on this subject. It argues that law is the product of social forces and, for this reason, must be studied in the light of social needs. It denies that law is made by an organized body of men or, that it is just the command of a determinate sovereign. It should be judged by its results than by certain abstract standards. Thus, the state does not create law, it only imputes legal value to a rule or practice that grows out of social needs. The name of Duguit in France, Krabbe in Holland, Roscoe Pound and Justice Holmes in Unites States and Laski in England are associated with this theory.

8.4.5 Marxian Theory:

The Marxian Theory of Law first integrates law with the state and then integrates both with the economic and social structure of community. According to Marx, the economic structure constitutes the real basis upon which the political and juridical super structures are built. Since legal relationship are footed in the material conditions of life, laws merely express the will and interests of the dominant class. Thus, the statutes of the state are the forms wherein the dominant class in a given society imposes obligations on all other classes to conduct in a manner advantageous and pleasing to itself. Due to this, the legal system of a 'socialist' country is at variance with that of a liberal-democratic country. According to Lenin, law is considered as the expression of what is expedient for the construction of socialism and to fight for it.

8.5 CLASSIFICATION OF LAW

A classification indicating essential varieties of law could be presented in the following manner.

Natural and Positive Law:

While the former is abstract on account of being authored by nature or some supernatural agency, the latter is concrete for the reason of being a creation of man. While the natural laws are

understandable by the rational faculty of man, the positive law can be easily understood as it is written and has its place into the statute book. It is called positive, for its terms are quite specific. While the natural law has its sanction in respect for or fear of some metaphysical power, the positive law is enforced by the sovereign authority.

National and International Law:

A law formulated by the sovereign authority and applicable to the people living within its territorial jurisdiction is called national or municipal law. It determines the private and public relations of the people living in a state. Different from this, international law regulates the conduct of states in their intercourse with each *other*. Both are man-made laws. However, the difference between the two lies in the fact that while the former has the force of a sovereign authority on its back, the latter derives its sanction from the good sense of the civilized nations of the world.

Constitutional and Ordinary Law:

While both are laws of the state, they differ from each other in respect of sanctity attached to them. While the former has a higher status on account of being a part of constitution of the land, the latter occupies a lower place and has to keep itself in consonance with the former. The former may be partly written by some constitutional convention, the latter is a creation of the legislative organ or of some other authority having delegated powers.

Civil and Criminal Law:

While the former deals with a civil wrong committed by a person with an intention to harm the interests of another like non-payment of dues and violation of the terms of a contract, the latter relates to a criminal act of a person like theft, robbery and murder. In both cases, the procedure is different.

Private and Public Law:

While the former is concerned with the relations between individuals, the latter involves the state. Public law is concerned with the organization of the state, the limits on the function of the government and the relations between the state and its citizens. Private law regulates relations between individuals only.

8.6 LIBERTY

8.6.1 Objectives:

- Discusses the meaning and concept of liberty
- Explains various kinds of liberty
- Brings out points of distinction between liberal and Marxist notions of liberty

8.6.2 Introduction:

The term 'liberty' comes from the Latin word 'liber' word meaning free. J. S. Mill treats liberty as something absolutely immune from restraints at least in the 'self-regarding sphere of human activity. Laski however, describes it as the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves." Thus, it is important to reconcile the idea of liberty with the provision of restraints . Also, if liberty is to be differentiated from license, or man's right to do what he wills, the issue of restraints becomes important. At the same time it is important to remember that if restraints can preserve liberty, these can destroy also .Thus, reconciliation between the two in a harmonious manner is important. In this light two points need to be noted; (i) the real meaning of liberty changes from age to age; and (ii) liberty lives within restraints and liberty of each individual is necessarily relative to that of others.

Liberty therefore, means the absence of constraints and not the absence of restraints and limitations. It does embrace the area of man's choice and, at the same time, calls for the proper justification of the limits or restriction on such an area. T.H. Green describes it as power to do or enjoy, something that is worth doing or enjoying in common with others. The meaning of liberty, thus, involves within itself both the individual and social sides of man's existence. Moreover' as the social life requires a network of regulations, the idea of liberty also needs due restraints. In the words of Leo Strauss 'Restraint is, "therefore, as natural as freedom."

Freedoms are opportunities which history has shown to be essential to the development of personality. The meaning of liberty also necessitates the enumeration of certain provisions for its achievement. Laski mentions three guarantees for this purpose. They are;

- Liberty can never exist in the presence of special privileges.
- There can be no liberty when the rights of some depend upon the pleasure of others. The common rules must bind those

who exercise power as well as those who are the subject of power.

The incidence of state of state action should be unbiased.

Negative and positive concepts:

The real meaning of liberty is involved in the dilemma of its negative and positive aspects and dimensions. In this regard, the question of the proper relationship between liberty and authority becomes significant. The negative dimension of liberty is contained in an affirmation of the 'absence of restraint' which in idealist terms means to hinder the hindrance to good life." In this realm, Prof Bernard Bosanquet's version becomes pertinent when he says, "Liberty is an essential condition of life whereby man can seek the best possible development of his 'self.' While attempting to answer a pertinent question as to when a man is free he distinguishes between one's 'actual self' and the 'higher self' that in fact guides and directs a rational purpose. Thus, liberty according to Bosanquet, is 'a state of mind' instead of an 'absence of physical restraint.'

Even a person of socialist orientation like Laski treated liberty initially as set of restraints that seek to limit the authority of the state. However, later he revised his views when he introduces the element of 'moral development' of the personality of the individual in the real meaning of liberty. Again, in 1929, he seems to have further updated himself when he stated, "I mean by liberty the absence of restraint upon the existence of those social conditions which are the necessary guarantees of individual happiness". However, Prof Isaiah Berlin identifies it with the 'free choice' of an individual. In this sense, liberty is the absences of obstacles to the fulfillment of a man's desires"

8.6.3 Kinds of liberty:

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

8.6.3.1 Natural Liberty:

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

8.6.3.2 Social Liberty:

It relates to man's freedom in his life as a member of the social organization. It refers to a man's right to do what he desires, in compliance with the restraints imposed on him in the general interest. Thus, civil or social liberty consists in the rights and privileges that the society recognizes and the state protects in the spheres of private and the public life of an individual. The social liberty includes the following sub-categories:

Personal Liberty:

It is an important sub-category of social liberty. It refers to the freedom of choice in those areas of a man's life where the results of his efforts mainly affect him.

According to Blackstone personal liberty consists of

- Personal security not only of health and life but also of reputation
- Personal freedom especially of movement and,
- Personal property or the free use, enjoyment and disposal of all acquisitions. Sir Earnest Barker who identifies personal liberty with civil liberty says that such liberty consists in (a) physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health and movement of the body (b) intellectual freedom for expression of thought and belief; and (c) practical freedom for the play of will and exercise of choice in the general field of contractual action and relations with other persons.

Political Liberty:

It refers to the power of the people to be active in the affairs of the state. It requires two things – political education and free supply of news. Thus, political liberty consists in provisions for universal adult franchise, free and fair elections, and freedom for the avenues that make a healthy public opinion.

Economic Liberty:

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

Domestic Liberty:

It is more a sociological concept which refers largely to the man's family life. It implies that of all association within the state,

the family is the most universal. There was a time when the authoritarian state was reflected in the authoritarian family. Thus, with the advent of democracy, liberty pervaded the sphere of family life as well. The domestic liberty therefore, consists in:

Rendering the wife a fully responsible individual, capable of holding property, suing and being sued, conducting business on her own account and enjoying full personal protection against her husband;

In establishing marriage on a purely contractual basis; and;

In securing the physical, mental and moral care of the children, partly by imposing definite responsibilities on the parents and punishing them for neglect, partly by elaborating a public system of education and hygiene.

National Liberty:

It primarily refers to national independence. It fundamentally implies that no nation should be under the subjection of another. The Americans for example, gained national liberty in 1776 and the Indians in 1947. Thus, national movements or wars of independence can be identified as struggles for the attainment of national liberty. For this reason, love for national liberty is identified with patriotism. Love for one's country is deep-rooted in human heart as a result of which millions of people lay down their lives for the sake of the honors and security of their motherland.

International Liberty:

This ideal of liberty covers the world as a whole. Thus, in the international sphere, it implies renunciation of war, limitation on the production of armaments, abandonment of the use of force and pacific settlement of disputes. It also desires adequate curbs on the strength of military force, so that it may not crush the liberties of the local people.

8.6.3.3 Moral Liberty:

In the context of moral liberty, it is suggested that though a person may have all the kinds of freedom, he lacks the essential quality of a human being in case he does not have moral freedom. This type of freedom lies in man's capacity to act as per his rational self. Every individual has a personality of his own and, unless he seeks the best possible development of his personality, and, at the same time, desires the same thing for others and more than this he pays sincere respect for the real worth and dignity of

his fellow beings, he is morally not free. Moral liberty, is, thus, necessarily connected with man's self-realization.

8.6.4 Liberal versus Marxist Notions of Liberty:

It is important to throw some light on the liberal vis-à-vis Marxist interpretations regarding the meaning and nature of liberty. In Anglo-American countries, liberty has often been identified with constitutional government, political democracy and the orderly administration of common law system.

According to Hobhouse, 'the real meaning of liberty constitutes the heart of liberalism.' However, a marked change has been witnessed in the direction of socialism in the present century as a result of which the idea of individual liberty has been integrated with the good society. To Marx, however, there can be no real freedom unless the system of capitalism is replaced by the socialist system. The bourgeois order with its system of private property and wage slavery unleashes the whole era of unfreedom. It throws men at the mercy of blind forces of the market-producers at all levels in society. Thus, liberty is crucified upon a cross of gold.

Obviously, what Marx has said in regard to the real meaning and the nature of liberty cannot be acceptable to the bourgeois thinkers and writers. The writings of Milton Friedman have endeavored to defend 'free market liberalism'. While portraying the model of a welfare state, he clearly attacks the premises of Marxism in which liberty is thoroughly sacrificed at the alter of a coercive social and political order. His deepest concern is with 'socialism' that he undertakes to prove as 'quite inconsistent with political freedom'. Despite the fact that liberal and Marxist interpretations differ in kind, both strongly advocate the idea of liberty. Essentially speaking, there is truth in both the interpretations.

8.7 RIGHTS

8.7.1 Objectives

- Discusses the meaning and concept
- Explains the nature of rights
- Elaborates various theories of rights
- Discusses various kinds of rights
- Analyses various safeguards for the realization of rights

8.7.2 Introduction:

The concept of rights finds its manifestations in the liberties of the individuals on the one hand and in the scope of state activity on the other. In simple words, 'a right is a claim of an individual recognized by the society and the state.' Rights, however, are just like moral declarations unless they are protected by the state. The state, therefore, translates the socially recognized claims or moral rights into terms of law and thereby accords them legal recognition. A definition of the term rights involves the fact of political recognition that connects the claims of the individuals with the sovereign authority of the state. According to Gilchrist, 'rights arise from individuals as members of society, and from the recognition that, for society, there is ultimate good which may be reached by the development of the powers inherent in every individuals.' In the words of Laski, "rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek to be himself at his best.'

8.7.3 Nature of Rights:

Rights are implicit in the conscience of man. They are morally recognized claims of the individuals. However, legally recognized claims of the individuals get proper protection. Thus, rights have a moral character. Rights are significant and regarded as essential to self-realization and the society gives its tacit approval to them.

Rights and duties are logically co-related. In fact, they are like a coin having rights on the one side and duties on the other. Thus, the enjoyment of rights is conditional on the performance of duties. No one can expect that his rights will be safeguarded unless he recognizes and respects corresponding obligations towards others.

Rights, in a sense, have a pre-political character. They may be independent of the state but not of society. Social recognition comes first. Historically, the selfless claims of the individuals of the individuals became well-established usages and customs, which were subsequently, translated by the state in terms of law.

Rights have a natural and social-utilitarian character. They are natural in view of the character of a civilization the facts of social existence demand their recognition. They have social-utilitarian character because they are of value both to the individual and to the society. They are also useful to the ends the state seeks to serve..

A man is expected to exercise his right in a way that he does not harm the rights of another. The exercise of a right, calls for the

observance of a duty. A man possesses rights so that he may seek the best possible development of his personality and, contribute to the social objectives..

8.7.4 Theories of Rights:

Natural Theory of Rights:

From time to time various explanations regarding the origin and nature of rights have been put forward have led to the emergence of a number of theories. The earliest explanation in this regard was put forward by the 'natural theory of rights'. According to this theory, the nature is the author of certain rights that have a universal, rational, eternal and immutable character. Further, it holds that rights belong to man by nature. They inhere in him. They are as much a part of man's nature as the color of his skin.

The origin of the natural theory of rights goes back to ancient Greece. Later, Romans held that civil law should conform to the law of nature. During the middle ages the law of nature became the law of God. In the seventeenth century social contractualists accepted this version to establish a proper relationship between the liberty of the individual and the authority of the state. John Locke termed right to life, liberty and property as natural rights. According to Locke, the main function of the state is to protect these natural rights of the individuals. The individuals have every right to resist, even overthrow the government in case the rulers violate the sanctity of the natural rights. These rights cannot be surrendered to any authority. Thus, the rights are an integral part of human personality. If any government seeks to encroach upon them, people can revolt against the authority to preserve their natural rights.

In the 18th century, some of the important political documents found their basis in the theory of natural rights. For instance, the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 declared that, 'all men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights'. Similarly, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1791 declared, 'men are born free and live free and are equal in their rights.' Even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 says, 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.'

Legal Theory of Rights:

According to this, rights are neither absolute nor given by nature. They are the creations of the law of the state. Hence, the state is the only source of rights. It provides the machinery to

guarantee the enjoyment of rights. Rights are dynamic as they change with the law of the land.

The legal theory of rights which is also called the positive theory of rights, finds its exposition in the works of Jeremy Bentham who decries natural rights as 'rhetorical nonsense' and insists that rights are the creature of law and of organized society. The legal theory is, therefore, partly correct in asserting that rights are no rights until they are secured by the state. Mere social recognition is not enough. There has to be a coercive authority to give protection to the moral rights. Law, therefore, serves the desired purpose.

Idealist Theory of Rights:

The idealistic, or personality theory defines a right as that 'which is really necessary to the maintenance of material conditions essential to the existence and perfection of human personality. In simple words, it means 'that without rights no man can become the best self that he is capable of becoming. Thus, it is the right and duty of every human being to develop his potentiality. Hence, a right is a claim based on the rational will of man, and, for this reason first recognized by the society and then translated into law by the state. Barker rightly says, "Human consciousness postulates liberty; liberty involves right; rights demand the state".

Thus, the idealistic theory looks at rights from a highly moral point of view. Rights are rooted in the mind of man. They are powers granted to him by the community in order that he with others may realize a common good of which his good is an intrinsic part. A right must establish two things – the individual claiming it, must be able to convince society that in doing so he is not interfering with the like claims of his fellow beings, and that he must be able to convince society that his claim is absolutely necessary for his self-development. Thus, a right 'is a freedom of action possessed by a man virtue of his occupying a certain place and fulfilling a certain function in a social order.' Critics however, regard this theory too abstract to be easily understood by an average person.

Historical theory:

According to this theory, rights are the creation of time. They are based on long established usages and customs. The essential sanction behind a right is a tradition or customs recognized on account of its long observance. Sociologists like Maclver signify the role of customs in creating rights of people. Law of today, according to them, is nothing but the crystallization of age old customs into the form of legal sanctions that the state enforces with coercive

power at its command. Critics however, regard this theory as partly correct. They say that all rights are not the result of the well-established customs. Had this been so, slavery would have been in existence as a matter of right by virtue of being based on a long established tradition.

Social welfare theory:

The social welfare or social expediency theory of rights implies that rights are the creation of society in a sense that they are based on the consideration of common welfare. Rights, according to this theory are conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number. Rights are thus the conditions of social good. Thus, the claims which are not in conformity with the general welfare would not be recognized by the society and this fails from being designated as rights. According to Bentham, rights are of utility both to the individual and the society. Laski, an exponent of this theory, puts the principle of utility so as to mean that nothing but social welfare is the test of rights. The critics of this theory regard it as highly ambiguous. They further say that it seeks to sacrifice individual good at the altar of social welfare.

8.7.5 Kinds of Rights:

Rights are of different kinds. Barker groups them into three main heads relating to fraternity, equality and liberty and divides the last one into two categories – political and economic. He prefers to put rights to public assistance, education and public employment under the head of 'fraternity'. He includes rights to be treated equally in the eyes of law and matters relating to justice, taxation and admissibility to honors and office of public employment under the second category of 'equality'. Finally, he lists well-known political and economic freedoms under the category head of 'liberty'. However, Laski puts them into two broad categories-general and particular. To discuss the specific kinds of rights in a simple form, a classification could be presented in the following manner.

Moral Rights: Moral rights are the claims recognized by the conscience of the community. For instance, a teacher has a moral right to be respected by his students. Moreover, moral rights have the support of the good sense of the society. There is no coercive power to enforce them. Thus, one cannot move the courts for seeking an enforcement of a moral right. The moral rights are like pious principles whose enforcement depends upon the good sense of the community. When moral rights are recognized by state and translated into legal terms, they become legal rights enforceable by the coercive power of the state. Any violation of law invites punishment.

Civil Rights: These rights relate to the person and property of the individuals. They are called 'civil' rights as they relate to the essential conditions of a civilized life. This includes a number of rights like those relating to life, personal liberty, thought and expression, property, religion and the like. Of all the civil rights, right to life is the most important, since enjoyment of all other rights depends upon it. It implies that no person can take the life of another. Not only this, a person has the right to save his life even by killing another in case his opponent has the intention to kill him. It is called right to 'self- defense.' So significant is right to life that suicide is a crime and a person trying to commit it, is held liable for punishment. Thus, a person accused of committing murder gets the punishment of death. This right however, is not absolute and the state may restrict it in 'national interest'.

The right to personal liberty is the next most important civil right. It includes abolition of slavery, free movement, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention. Then, the next important civil right is the right to think and express. An individual should have freedom to think and express his ideas by tongue or print or any other acceptable way. This right therefore, includes freedom of publication broadcasting and telecasting. Right to property is another important civil right. It means right to hold, transfer or dispose-off property by a person. Equality before law and its equal protection also constitutes an important civil right. Right to freedom of religion is also significant civil right. According to this right, a person should have right to profess and practice any religion as per his conscience.

Political Rights: These rights relate to a man's participation in the affairs of the state. This includes the right to vote as in a democratic state all citizens who have attained the age of 18 years (in case of India) must have the right to choose their rulers. This category includes right to contest elections that take place from time to time where by people choose their representatives. This category also includes right to hold public offices. All able and qualified citizens irrespective of any difference on the grounds of religion, race, caste, creed, etc. should have the right to hold a public office. It also includes the right to address individually or collectively petitions to the government embodying their grievances. Finally, this category also includes people's right to appreciate or denounce the actions of their government so that they may renew their confidence in their rulers or change them in case they forfeit their trust or goodwill.

Economic Rights: This category of rights relates to man's vocation, his engagement in a gainful employment of his choice so as to solve problem of food, clothing and shelter. Every person should have the right and opportunity to work so that he may earn his livelihood. Besides this, he should have the right to rest and

leisure. It also includes the right to form trade union so as to protect and promote their specific interests. Workers should have right to bargain freely for remunerative work. This category of rights also includes the right of the workers to have a say in the general control and running of the industry.

Human Rights: Human Rights have assumed a significance of its own ever since the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the Human Rights Commission and their adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. Human rights are more a declaration of 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations' which is quite comprehensive. Human rights are more a modified version of what was once called 'natural rights coupled with certain civil rights. It incorporates a host of other rights that have their necessary connection with moral or natural and civil rights.

8.7.6 Safeguards for the Realization of Rights:

Mere conferment of rights on the citizens is not sufficient. There should be proper safeguards for their realization. They could be listed as provided below.

Important rights of the citizens should be provided in the basic law of the land generally called as 'Fundamental Rights.' By including basic rights in the category of fundamental rights, the state accords them constitutional protection and empowers the courts to issue the writs for their enforcement.

The rule of law is another important safeguard. Rule of law has too important characteristics. First, it ensures equality before law and its equal protection. It refers to the fact that every citizen is under the same legal obligation irrespective of differences based on religion, caste, creed, wealth, race, sex etc. Second, it guarantees personal liberty so that no person can be arrested without valid cause and that he cannot be punished unless the case is decided against him by a competent court.

Another safeguard is free and honest press so that people have an uninterrupted and straightforward dissemination of news. If the facts are not presented in their true perspective, or they are deliberately distorted, the judgment of the people is likely to be incorrect. A free press is also expected to safeguard the rights of the people. Newspaper is also the effective means to check political despotism. People may write in the columns of newspapers about the lapses on the part of their rulers.

In order to prevent the abuse of authority, the state should follow the principle of decentralization of powers. Local government should enjoy power to deal with the local issues. Similarly matters of regional importance should be dealt by the regional or provincial government.

It is important that governmental authorities consult different agencies representing the varied and specific interests of various section of society before taking any decision. It would not only help in understanding the problems from the side of those going to be affected but also seek their due participation. Persons concerned, thus feel more satisfied and secure in terms of protection of their rights.

A state should also not unnecessarily interfere in the legitimate domains of voluntary groups. Similarly, religion being a private affair, state should refrain from interfering in the matters of religious organizations. It should also not intervene unnecessarily in the domain of voluntary associations as it is likely to violet the rights of the people.

However, the eternal vigilance continues to be the most important safeguard. It means that people must be always vigilant to fight for their liberty. They must understand the threat to the security of their rights and fight for the defense of their rights.

8.8 SUMMARY

In this section, we began with the definition of the term law and its etymological analysis. We also made attempted to describe law in its various senses. It was followed by an enumeration of the various sources of law. We tried to understand custom, religion, adjudication, equity, legislation and other recognized and standard works on law as the sources of law. In order to comprehend various theories of law we analyzed various theories of law with special focus on natural, analytical, historical, sociological and Marxian theories. In order to understand and indicate essential varieties of law we studied the classification of law with special stress on natural and positive law, national and international law, constitutional and ordinary law, civil and criminal law and private and public law.

In the following part, we took up the topic on liberty where we understood the basic concept of the term liberty. We also analyzed negative and positive concepts of liberty. In an attempt to understand various varieties of law, we discussed special kinds of liberty wherein we focused on natural liberty, social liberty and moral liberty. Within the ambit of social liberty, we discussed personal, political, economic, domestic, national and international liberties. Our discussion on liberal versus Marxist notions of liberty further threw light on the various interpretations of liberty.

The discussion on rights began with appropriate definitions of rights followed by a detailed analysis on the nature of rights. The elaborate discussion on the theories of rights focused attention on

natural theory of rights according to which nature was regarded as the author of rights. The legal theory of rights, as we discussed, tells us that the rights were in fact the creations of the state. Similarly, we understood the idealistic, historical and social welfare theories of rights. It was followed by a discussion on various kinds of rights which focused attention on moral, civil, political, economic and human rights. Lastly, the section also dealt with various safeguards for the realization of rights.

8.9 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Define law. Discuss various sources of law.
- Q.2. Discuss the meaning and concept of law. Explain its various theories.
- Q.3. What is law? How would you attempt a classification of law?
- Q.4. Define liberty. What are the special kinds of liberty? Discuss
- Q.5. Bring out points of distinction between personal and political liberties.
- Q.6. Highlight points of distinction between liberal and Marxist notions of liberty.
- Q.7. Define rights. How would you describe the nature of rights?
- Q.8. Explain the concept of rights. Discuss its various theories.
- Q.9. What are Rights? Discuss different kinds of rights.
- Q.10. Discuss Harold Laski's definition of rights. What safeguards would you suggest for the realization of rights?

8.10 SUGGESTED READING

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POLITICAL IDEAS: JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Unit Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Meaning and Concept
- 9.3 Theories of Justice
 - 9.3.1 Philosophical Theory
 - 9.3.2 Natural Theory
 - 9.3.3 Legal Theory
 - 9.3.4 Marxist Theory
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 - 9.7.1 Objectives
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- 9.10 Unit End Questions
- 9.11 Suggested Reading

9.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit explains:

- Explains the introductory meaning and concept
- Discusses various theories of Justice
- Analyses the concept of economic justice

- Discusses the concept of political justice

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'justice' is assigned different meanings by different people at different times and different places. Its implications also vary from man to man on account of their varying interpretations. Further, the idea of justice is a dynamic concept. Its implications therefore, change with the passage of time. Hence, what was justice in the past may be injustice in the present and vice-versa. It is also possible that the justice of today may become the injustice of tomorrow and vice versa.

9.2 MEANING AND CONCEPT

The traditional view of justice in the contemporary period has given way to the concept of social justice. The problem of justice in the modern times is more concerned with determining logical criteria for the allocation of goods, services, opportunities, benefits, power and honors as well as obligations in society particularly in a country which is facing a situation of scarcity. Justice is fundamentally a problem of moral philosophy. However, since it is implemented by a political order, it becomes a problem of political philosophy as well. The term justice implies the quality of being just, right or reasonable. In other words, it is opposed to what is unjust, wrong or unreasonable.

9.3 THEORIES OF JUSTICE

9.3.1 Philosophical Theory:

The term justice has its different connotations in different contexts. Various theories hence have been propounded to highlight the meaning and significance of justice in diverse spheres. Justice in India has been identified with the 'Dharma' having its English equivalent in the idea of 'righteousness'.

The philosophical interpretation of the term justice in western political thought is available in Plato's theory of justice as mentioned in his famous book 'Republic'. Here justice in terms of philosophical connotation implies a life of people conforming to the rule of functional specialization. The original philosophy underlying this philosophy is that one man should practice one thing only and the thing to which his nature is best adapted. Thus, justice here signifies 'doing your own work and not meddling with what belongs to others.'

Justice as conceived by Plato, therefore, has both individual and social aspects. While it asks the individual to take up only that occupation to which his nature is best suited, it is also expected and required that the society must assign that work to him that is in conformity with his natural aptitude. Plato further says that as the justice of the state means that each of the three elements retains its place, so the justice of the individual means that reason, spirit and appetite all keep their proper bounds.

The philosophical interpretation of justice takes an empirical direction at the hands of Aristotle who says, 'injustice arises when equals are treated unequally, and also when unequal are treated equally.' The idea of Aristotle came to lay down the foundation of what is now, called the doctrine of distributive justice.

9.3.2 Natural Theory of Justice:

The natural theory of justice was first, enunciated by the Stoics and then it was, borrowed from them by the Roman lawyers. This theory treated justice as an ideal of absolute value whereby the right order could be established. What the Stoics meant by nature was, that the ruling principle in the universe was 'reason'. Their idea of living 'in agreement with nature' was therefore, a canon of living according to the norm which man ought to realize'.

This idea was later, borrowed by the Roman lawyers who took justice as an ultimate end. The distinctive contribution of the Roman lawyers lies in their integration of the idea of 'natural justice', with the positive law of the state. As a result the 'civil law' and 'law of nations', as they called it, were insisted upon to be in conformity with the law of nature.

The idea of natural justice was mixed up with the myth of divine sanction with the advent of Christianity. What the Stoics and the Romans meant by 'nature' became 'God' to the church fathers. As a result, religious canons became handy instruments to distinguish between the just and the unjust. St. Augustine linked up the idea of justice with the precepts of the Christian religion. St. Thomas ruled that in case the civil law was contrary to the natural law, it was not binding on the 'conscience of the ruled.' In the eighteenth century great revolutions of America (1776) and France (1789) show that the natural rights based on the principles of 'natural justice' were regarded fundamental as endowed by the 'creator' of the human race.

9.3.3 Legal Theory of Justice:

According to legal theory, justice lies in the enforcement of the 'positive law'. It further, implies what is given by the courts in

the form of interpretations of statutes or verdicts delivered. The idea of justice in this sense comes very close to the world of law. John Austin insists that law must function as an instrument of justice, on the one hand, and as an instrument to suppress mischief, on the other. In this sense, justice becomes the immediate purpose of law, and law without justice will become an instrument of oppression.

The idea of justice requires a happy synthesis of the principles of natural justice with the premises of positive law. In this sense, justice requires that, (i) the accused should know the nature of the charges leveled against him; (ii) he should be given reasonable opportunity to state his case either himself or through his lawyer; (iii) the tribunal or the court trying the case should be fair and impartial; (iv) the proceedings of trial should be conducted in a free and fair manner.

9.3.4 Marxist Theory:

Viewed from an ideological stand-point, the idea of justice may be divided into two categories - Liberal and Marxist. Legal theory of justice described above, belong to the former category. It takes justice in terms of law as pronounced by the state through its accredited government. Dean Roscoe Pound emphasizes that justice and its administration must always be according to the law of the state. Justice Holmes of the United States asserts that justice is not merely technically confined to the proclaimed law it must also reflect the un-proclaimed custom and conscience of the society in which justice is administered. Thus, morality, religion and custom in practice are powerful aids of the liberal ideology of justice. Further, liberal view seeks to bring about a harmonious synthesis between the abstract precepts of natural justice and the concrete premises of positive law. In case of conflict, the matter should be decided in such a way that the interest of the community is sub-served. Thus, the meaning of justice should be revised to meet the changing requirements of a civilized social life. Lord Hailsham of the United Kingdom rightly observes, "The principles of justice do not change, but their application in terms of law must alter with changes in circumstances... Law remains an instrument, not an end in itself. Law is means to achieve justice.'

Fundamentally different from the liberal view, the Marxist view of justice, integrates the idea of justice with the doctrine of class war. According to this view, the laws are needed by the bourgeois class to keep itself in power. Obviously, after, the successful revolution, the entire system is changed. During the dictatorship of the proletariat, laws are needed to effect the transformation of the bourgeois society into a socialist order. Since all powers are with the Communist Party, the courts have to toe the

line of the party in power. Thus, the judiciary in a communist country is 'committed' to implement the ideology of scientific socialism as expounded by Marx and developed by Lenin.

While liberal interpretation of justice is quite flexible and places judiciary in a 'free' position, the Marxist view desires it to be committed. As a result, while the former is too flexible, the latter is inherent with very rigid postures. While the former is necessarily connected with the premises of the 'rule of law', the latter constitutes a negation of the same.

9.4 SOCIAL JUSTICE

Justice in common terms relates to the settlement of disputes through judicial bodies. Thus, the term 'justice' has a positive character and by virtue of which law of the state and justice of the courts become very close affairs. This sort of justice has three broad dimensions - social, economic and political. With the penetration of democracy into social and economic spheres, the meaning of justice has expanded itself to cover all walks of human life. Many people feel that the rights of an individual should be reasonably restricted in the wider interest of his community so that the ends of social justice are properly achieved. Thus, it is widely recognized that the well-being of society depends on the coordination and reconciliation between the rights of the individual and interests of the community. Also in case of a conflict between the two, the latter should prevail over the former.

The concept of social justice is a very wide term that covers within its fold everything pertaining to the norm of 'general interest' ranging from the protection of the interests of the minorities to eradication of poverty and illiteracy. It not only relates to the observance of the principle of equality before law and independence of judiciary, it also relates to the eradication of social evils like those of pauperism, disease, unemployment and starvation. In the backward countries of the world, the idea of social justice enjoins upon the state to make concerted efforts for the improvement of the lot of the down-trodden and weaker sections of the community. It also demands harmony and co-operation between labor and capital, a minimum wage and other benefits that improve the standard of living of the people. Thus, ideal of social justice envisages promoting the welfare of the people by securing and developing a just social order.

9.5 ECONOMIC JUSTICE

While social justice demands eradication of social evils, most of them find their place in the economic sphere as exploitation of

the workers by the capitalists or concentration of national wealth into fewer hands are the fundamental causes which give rise to many unjust social practices and adversities. It is perhaps rightly stated, 'freedom is meaningless if it prevents the achievement of economic justice. To a hungry man or to a man who is denied human dignity, political freedom is an empty word. The problem of today is how to bring about economic and social justice.

The idea of economic justice means non-discrimination between man and man on the basis of economic values. It implies adequate payments for work without any discrimination. It also enjoins freedom for all in the spheres of production and distribution of goods subject to the conditions of general welfare. It also demands that the state of national economy be reshaped in a way that the benefits are made more and more available to the common person. In this way the idea of economic justice comes to imply a socialistic pattern of society.

Economic justice is also an important concept of the modern age of science and industrialization. Planning has become the chief mode of bringing about the state of general welfare. However, at the same time, it is important to suitably restrain the authority of the state so that the people are saved from the economic tyranny of the planners. Thus, the case of economic justice continues to be a matter of controversy between the liberal and the Marxist thinkers.

9.6 POLITICAL JUSTICE

Political justice is an important dimension of positive justice. The idea of political justice desires a free and fair participation of people in their political life. It therefore, involves the guarantee of universal adult franchise. What the policy of the state should be, and how the society should be organized in political and economic directions, are matters, which should be decided by the people themselves.

The notion of political justice requires that the state must protect and preserve the rights of the individuals so that he may develop his personality as a citizen and thereby contribute his share to the welfare of the political community. In this connection, a reference may be made to the views of Justice Brandies of the American Supreme Court who strongly pleaded for the protection and sanctity of individual thoughts, emotions, and sensations by legal recognition.

The idea of political justice, obviously, desires a liberal - democratic order in which rights of the individuals, including those of the minorities, are well protected. Thus, it makes itself coterminous with the case of a full-fledged democratic order

wherein the prevalence of the right to dissent and duty to tolerate are upheld with utmost care.

9.7 EQUALITY

9.7.1 Objectives:

- Discusses meaning and nature
- Explains various kinds of equality
- Focuses on political equality
- Discusses economic and legal equality

9.7.2 Introduction:

Equality is an important theme of normative political theory. It is a subject that cannot be studied in isolation. In fact, the subject of equality constitutes a concomitant of the principle of liberty, on the one hand, and of justice, on the other. It is due to this that great thinkers as well as revolutionaries have treated it as an integral part of their movement for liberty and social transformation. The Founding Fathers of the American Revolution adopted a declaration of independence in 1776 that inter alia, said, "... all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights." Similarly, the National Assembly of France adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789 which inter alia, reiterated that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

9.7.3 Meaning and Nature:

Equality is a multiple dimensional concept. It possesses more than one meaning. In general terms it means that 'whatever conditions are guaranteed to me, in the form of rights, shall also, and in the same measure, be guaranteed to others, and that whatever rights are given to others shall also be given to me'

According to Oxford English Dictionary, the term equality dignity implies the following;

- i. the condition of having equal dignity, rank or privileges with others;
- ii. the condition of being equal in power, ability, achievement or excellence;
- iii. fairness, impartiality due proportion, proportionateness;

Further, equality does not mean identical treatment as people differ in want, capacity and need. A mathematician, for instance, cannot be given an identical treatment with that of a brick

layer. Similarly, equality does not mean an identity of reward. It no doubt, implies fundamentally a certain leveling process.

The idea of equality has two sides- positive and negative. In a positive sense, equality means the provision of adequate opportunities for all. The term 'adequate opportunities' however is not a synonym of the term 'equal opportunities' as men differ in their needs and capacities and also in their efforts. They need different opportunities for their individual self-development. In a negative sense, equality means the absence of undue privileges and arbitrary discrimination based on race, religion, and sex.

Equal opportunities for all, according to some scholars in fact refers to appropriate opportunities for all. The idea of equality of opportunity demands that factors like wealth or birth or class should not determine or limit one's opportunities. It means that each person should have equal rights and opportunities to his own talents or to lead a good life and develop his personality. J. Rees however, says while natural inequalities of physical strength, beauty etc. has to be accepted but social inequalities are alterable. In this background the concept of reverse discrimination or compensatory justice favoring some oppressed communities with a view to undoing centuries old injustice done to them or to raise them to the level of others, has also been justified. However, there are differing views, which state that granting privileges to individuals because of their race or sex is as discriminatory and unjust as denying them opportunity and jobs for the same reasons. In the end, it must be acknowledged that the idea of equality implies that all human beings should be treated equally in respect of certain fundamental traits common to all like human nature, human worth and dignity, human personality, etc. Immanuel Kant, the father of modern idealism rightly says, "treat humanity in every case as an end, never solely as a means."

9.7.4 Kinds of Equality:

Equality as a multi-dimensional concept has different kinds as mentioned below:

Natural Equality:

The concept of natural equality implies that the nature has made all men equal. In ancient times, the stoics of Greece and Roman thinkers like Cicero and Polybius contradicted the principle of natural inequality as advocated by Plato and Aristotle by insisting that all men were equal according to the law of nature. In the modern age Rousseau stated that the moral innocence of man perverted by the civilizing process. Marx also desired that every man should be treated equally.

Social Equality:

The term social equality refers to its relevance in the sphere of man's social existence. Here, equality implies that the rights of all should be equal. It also means that all should be treated equally in the eyes of the law. Thus, the respect shown to one man should be determined by these qualities and not because of some traditional or ancestral privileges. Hence, there should be no discrimination on some artificial ground. Laski rightly says, "There is an aspect in which the things without which life is meaningless must be accessible to all without distinction in degree or kind. I have no right to have cake if my neighbor because of that right, is compelled to go without bread"

Political Equality:

The idea of political equality refers to access of everyone to the avenues of power. All citizens irrespective of their artificial differences should have an equal voice in the management of public affairs or in the holding of public offices. Thus, every adult citizen should have the right to vote, to be elected, to hold a public office, to appreciate or criticize some act of commission or omission of his government, etc.

Economic Equality:

It implies equality in relation to economic power. There should be no concentration of economic power in the hands of a few people. Distribution of national wealth should be such that no section of the people becomes over-affluent so to misuse its economic power or any section starves on account of not reaching even up to the margin of sufficiency.

Legal Equality:

Legal equality means that all people are equal in the eye of the law and that they are entitled for its equal protection. Thus, the principle of legal equality implies equal protection of life and limb for everyone under the law, and equal penalties on everyone violating them. In other words, 'equals in law should be treated equally by the law.'

International Equality:

The idea of international equality implies that all nations of the world should be treated equally irrespective of their demographic, geographical, economic or military compositions. Thus, the principle of internationalism requires that all nations of the world should be treated on identical terms whether they are big or

small in terms of their size, location, natural resources, wealth, military, potential etc. It further, implies that international disputes should be settled through pacific means in which every nation has a right to discuss matters in a free and frank manner and that the use of force is ruled out from consideration. In economic terms, the concept of international equality demands that the benefit of scientific and technological achievements should be shared by all. In terms of humanism, it implies that traditional evils like those of slavery, forced labor, primitive backwardness etc. should be eradicated.

9.8 CIVIL SOCIETY

9.8.1 Objectives:

- Discusses the meaning and concept
- Explains various theories briefly
- Relates Civil Society Organizations with the State

9.8.2 Introduction:

The term civil society refers to the set of intermediate associations which are neither the state nor the extended family. Civil society generally includes voluntary associations and firms and other corporate bodies. Though, the term has been used with different meanings by various writers since the eighteenth century, it gained public attention in the 1980s as an attempt to establish civility in society. It was seen as the opposite of despotism, a 'space' in which groups can exist and something that would ensure better and more tolerable conditions of existence. The concept of civil society, thus, gains recognition both as a 'social value and a set of social institutions.'

Civil society is used both as a normative concept and as an empirical description. As a normative concept, it prescribes the conditions for effective governance. As a descriptive concept, it identifies certain viable social activities, civic dispositions and non-state institutions that are linked to development.

The idea of civil society is in fact an old theme found in the writings of political philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, Hegel and Marx. But it was Gramsci who studied this subject in detail. Thus, there have been many variants on the notion of civil society. However, the most important institutional component of civil society comprises voluntary groups such as community groups, cooperatives, unions, associations, self-help groups (SHGs), foundations, social service agencies, as there is no such thing as 'the civil society'. There are hence, Hobbesian and Hegelian, Marxian and Gramscian conceptions of civil society. However, they

share one thing in common- they all refer to the sphere of social life, which falls outside the state.

There are three dominant theories of civil society; (a) neo-conservative (b) pluralistic (c) neo-Marxist. These theories provide important perspectives in the interpretation of civil society. The neo-conservatives argue that civil society is independent and superior to the state. It is the focus of freedom, efficiency and flexibility. For them, the goal is to strengthen civil society in order to weaken the state's grip on economy and society.

Pluralists tend to follow Alexis de Tocqueville, who viewed civil society as the location of associations formed for other than primordial ties. They assume that civil society can work in tandem with the state, acting both as a defensive counter – balance to the state and as a critically constructive partner of the state.

Neo-Marxist who draw on the work of Gramsci, take civil society as a terrain where classes, the state, intellectuals and non-state organizations struggle. For neo-Marxist, civil society is a site of both oppression and possibility, a location that needs to be democratized while it, in turn, is used as base to democratize the state. The interest in civil society therefore, reflects both reaction against government and a desire to reconstruct energetic government on stronger ground.

Further, the civil society is seen more as groups and individuals that are at interface between the state and the rest of the social order. Civil society is therefore, not an alternative to government, but the free space in which democratic attitudes are cultivated and democratic behavior conditioned. It is also a space where the social and political elements in a society come together. Civil society has therefore been the site at which, most interactions between the state and society took place. This is the site at which, according to Neera Chandhoke, 'society enters into a relationship with the state.'

The word civil society is often used to indicate the important initiatives undertaken by the 'actors/organizations' in civil society for making a positive difference to the lives of certain sections in society. The most important civil society organizations have been the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs). Some of these NGOs play the role of being important actors or partner in the development paradigm. The term NGO initially conveyed a negative meaning. Today, however, broad definition of the term holds that every organization in society that is not part of the government and which operates in civil society, is an NGO. Thus, this includes such organizations as political groups, labor and trade unions, religious bodies and

institutions, cultural societies, chamber of commerce, etc. Conventionally, although, the word NGO referred to any organization operating outside the government and political sector, it has now become acceptable to think of an NGO as the more formalized, registered, non-profit organization created primarily for development purposes.

9.8.3 Civil Society Organizations and the State:

Some civil society organizations have been taking up the cause of the vulnerable sections in urban areas, sometimes independently, by providing alternatives to the formal development model. However, their role assumes importance when along with the state actors, they collaborate with the formal government structures, making the delivery system more workable and viable. Their functional mode may involve three strategies:

- a. 'Persuasive strategies' involve bringing the issue to the attention of the authorities. The action involved would be through surveys and collection and presentation of evidence and petition;
- b. 'Collaborative strategies' entail an open interaction with authorities through lobbying of local government offices, departments and other decision making bodies;
- c. 'Confrontational strategies' involve encounters with the government that would take the form of rallies and marches.

Together, these strategies constitute a repertoire of action. The kind of action that the group undertakes may vary over time as the group may move from persuasive to confrontational, if the government does not respond to its demands. But, it could also graduate to cooperative collaborative strategies with the state, if it perceives the apparatus of the state is providing a congenial atmosphere for such collaborative endeavors.

An important change is the attention paid to that process which has enabled the conscientisation, mobilization and organization of the hitherto neglected and excluded sections of society. This countervailing development process is also referred to as 'another development.' This is the notion of 'empowerment' that was emphasized upon by the noted Brazilian educationist, Paulo Freire, thus providing the impetus and inspiration to a large number of people and groups, especially some of the more committed NGOs.

Many civil society groups adopting this idea stressed the need for conscientisation. Primarily, this idea refers to the creation of an environment that would facilitate the challenging of the 'givens' and also the 'questioning' of conditions that create and

continue the poverty and the subordination of large sections of the urban poor. This process was sought to be accomplished through learning and action.

There are a wide variety of groups in society contributing to various aspects and issues in civil society. Social movements for instance, seek to mobilize social power appealing to justices, survival and identity. Most of the 'new' social movements are not new, but have new features, particularly more participation of women. Social movements, however, also include those movements that have a very clear objective of bringing about political change.

9.9 SUMMARY

In this part, we began with the various implications of the term justice and its varying scope of definition in different times. In order to understand the concept of justice better we discussed various theories of justice. The philosophical theory of justice tells us the diverse directions the efforts were made to interpret and clarify the concept of justice by different philosopher in the ancient times and even later. Similarly, the natural theory of justice informs us that how living in agreement with nature constituted the basic aspect of this theory. In the same way, the legal theory of justice let us know that the enforcement of positive law in fact was justice. Finally, the Marxist theory of justice enlightened us that how the idea of justice is actually integrated with the doctrine of class war.

In this section, we also understood the concept of social justice and how the idea of justice will be incomplete without social justice. Similarly, we also came to know how important the idea of economic justice is as the issue of social justice is essentially dependent on the idea of economic justice. One cannot achieve social justice without paying attention to the issues of economic justice. We finally discussed the the idea of political justice as an important dimension of justice through which state protects and preserves the rights of the individuals.

We began our discussion on equality with an analysis of its meaning and nature. Equality as a multi-dimensional concept has multiple meanings. We also discussed various kinds of equality with special focus on natural, social political, economic, legal and international equalities. In this section we also dwelt on the concept of civil society. We discussed the idea of civil society as both an empirical and normative description. The dominant theories of civil society informed us about its varying perspectives. We also attempted to understand the obvious linkages of civil society organizations with the state and how it is contributing to the society as a complementary social force.

9.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss different meaning assigned to the concept of Justice. Elaborate various theories of justice.
- Q.2. Discuss the idea of justice as dynamic concept. How its implications change with the passage of time?
- Q.3. Define Justice. Discuss the legal theory of justice.
- Q.4. What is justice? Discuss its broad dimensions with special focus on social justice. Q.5. How would you relate the idea of social justice with economic justice?
- Q.6. Discuss political justice as an important dimension of positive justice.
- Q.7. Discuss equality as multiple dimensional concepts.
- Q.8. Define equality. Discuss various kinds of equality establishing it as multi dimensional concept.
- Q.9. What is civil Society? Discuss its dominant theories.
- Q.10. Discuss the contribution of civil society organizations in collaboration with formal governmental structures.

9.11 SUGGESTED READING

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NATIONALISM

Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Definitions of nationalism
- 10.3 Features of nationalism
- 10.4 Right of self-determination
- 10.5 Types of nationalism
- 10.6 Supranationalism
- 10.7 World Government
- 10.8 Nationalism vis-à-vis ethnic resurgence
- 10.9 Summary
- 10.10 Unit End Questions

10.0 OBJECTIVES

Some scholars argue that nationalism is the new religion. As people would live and die for religion during the medieval era, in modern world people are passionate about nationalism. It teaches and preaches love for one's motherland. Also it has created a system of nation-state which has endured till today. In this unit we should be studying the emergence, growth, types of nationalism. Though nationalism is a powerful force, after the emergence of the UNO in 1945, it is steadily losing its importance as we are moving into the age of supranationalism. The unit talks about future of nationalism.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is regarded as one of the most powerful ism of modern world. It has been defined by various scholars in various ways. Quite often it is assumed to be 'a state of mind, permeating the large majority of people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality the source of all creative energy and the economic well-being the supreme loyalty of man is, therefore, due to his nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possible by its welfare' Hans Kohn.

Nation is derived from Latin word 'natio', which means 'birth'. This gives it a racial and ethical meaning. Hence scholars like Burgess defines

nation 'as a population of an ethnic unity inhabiting in a territory of geographic unity'.

It is consciousness of belonging together in a group which possesses certain common characteristics. It is a state of mind, a psychological concept which is very difficult to define'. Nationalism can also be defined as 'a force which holds a community in a defined territory together for the maintenance of rights against arbitrary powers with the State and preservation of its independence against aggression from without'

10.2 DEFINITIONS OF NATIONALISM

There are numerous definitions of nationalism given by many scholars. We must look at some important definitions mentioned below:

Barker offers a broad and realistic definition 'a nation is a body of persons inhabiting a definite territory and thus united together by the primary fact of living together on a common land'.

Ramsay Mair has a definition 'a nation is a body of people who feel themselves to be nationally linked together by certain affinities and cannot tolerate subjection to other'.

In the dictionary of International Relations, Graham Evans and Jeffroy Newnham defines nationalism as a term used in two related senses 'in the first usage, nationalism seeks to identify a behavioural entity-the nation- and thereafter to pursue certain political and cultural goals on behalf of it. In the second usage, nationalism is a sentiment of loyalty towards the nation which is shared by people'.

Alfred De Grazia defines 'nationalism combines love of country and suspiciousness of foreigners. Love of country comes from shared values and suspiciousness of foreigners comes from the belief that foreigners do not share such values in the same strength. The first shared value is the love of familiar place, the neighbourhood, the land, the homes, the valleys and the mountains, all of the surroundings that one loves because they have been part of oneself from infancy'

In the classical sense, nationalism encompasses two phenomena: [1] attitude that the members of a nation take with their identity as members of the nation [2] actions they take to achieve or sustain some form of political sovereignty.

10.3 FEATURES OF NATIONALISM

Scholars have identified following features:

[1] Nationalism is a psychic attitude of political homogeneity. [2] It is a kind of mass consciousness that gives the State the proper form for its expression. [3] It has led to the coincidence of political boundaries with ethnic, linguistic or cultural frontiers. [4] It involves in the realization and full expression of nationality. [5] It expresses desire for national self-

sufficiency. [6] It involves the submergence of the individual into nationality and the consequent sacrifice for the State. [7] It has a cultural facet. Various national groups put forward their rival claims for cultural superiority. [8] It stands for the principle of 'one nation-one state' and hence advocates the right of self-determination.

Evolution of nationalism:

The early phase of human history indicates that among the ancient people, the Greeks and the Jews had some characteristics of nationalism. However the nationalism in the modern sense has evolved during the 18th and 19th centuries. In the modern history, England and France evolved national feelings during the Hundred Years war. Then came Renaissance and Reformation. These made the English conscious that they are a distinct national unity. In case of France, the French Revolution 1789 played an important role in building up national sentiments.

In this context we must also mention two writers who are regarded as the arch-priests of nationalism. The first is Joseph Mazzini, the Italian writer and politician. Though he primarily supported the cause of Italian nationalism, Mazzini later thought that each nation possessed certain talents which collectively formed the wealth of human race. The other scholar was Fichte who had delivered his famous 'Addresses to the German Nation'. This had stirred up enthusiastic spirit of nationalism.

After dominating the politics of Europe and spreading across the Europe, the nationalism traveled to the people of the East. In the 20th century, the nationalism became the powerful creed with the people of Asia and Africa. There were nationalist movements in almost all parts of Asia and Africa to free themselves from bonds of slavery. The guiding star of these nationalist movements was the principle of self-determination.

10.4 RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The right of self-determination means that each nationality should have its separate state. John Stuart Mill put emphasis on this principle. The President of USA Mr. Woodrow Wilson had also said that 'self-determination is not a mere phrase, it is an imperative principle of nation, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril'. The victory of Allied forces in World War I is regarded as the triumph of the nationalism. These nations were champions of self-determination, which means right of individuals to determine the sovereign state to which they would belong and the form of government under which they would live'.

The end of World War I saw the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman empires and birth of many new nations. The Paris Peace Treaty, 1919 which redrew the boundaries of the European states, took into consideration the principle of self-determination. However this principle was not fully implemented in Paris Peace Conference. Many German territories were left under the control of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Italy and certain people of Hungary were

pulled out of the country and were handed over to other states. Some Lithuanian nationals were shifted to Poland and Czechoslovakia. It is very difficult to adopt this principle. Disgruntled nationalism for Germany and Italy after World War I was responsible for the World War II. It is clear by now that aggressive or extreme nationalism is dangerous to world peace.

Nationalism under democracy and totalitarianism:

Nationalism grew in democratic countries like UK, France and USA spontaneously. The base was principles like liberty, equality and justice. In these countries a person's freedom was fully recognized and a person could move freely. This can be described as 'peaceful nationalism'.

On the other hand in totalitarian countries like Germany, Italy, the nationalism grew on the basis of militant and aggressive spirit. There were no peaceful methods here. The dictators like Hitler and Mussolini encouraged their countrymen to develop 'aggressive nationalism'.

Merit and demerit of nationalism:

Though today nationalism is universally popular, one must note the merits as well as the demerits of nationalism. The merits are as under:

Merits:

- [1] It infuses the spirit of patriotism in the minds of the people. If a country is under the yoke of foreign rule, the people can be united for attaining freedom under the banner of nationalism. Inspired by the national feelings, the people in India fought against British Empire and won freedom in August 1947.
- [2] Nationalism can mobilize and unify people under a common bond. It has achieved much and has integrated large groups into nation. It helps to establish social unity.
- [3] Nationalism generates finer virtues like patriotism among men. Men, under the impulse of national sentiments, sacrifice their lives for the nation. Many poets, orators and painters have been inspired by the spirit of nationalism.
- [4] Nationalism breeds legitimate pride and self-respect in a country. It creates a healthy spirit of competition among the nations. Suppressed nationalism is a threat to world peace. For example, German nationalism which suppressed after the World War I ultimately led to the World War II.
- [5] The feeling of nationalism unites the people and they work hard for the economic prosperity of the country. They bear the burden of extra taxes for national interests. It enables the country to face the economic or political crisis effectively. Every nation faces an economic or political crisis once or twice in its history. If the people have national sentiments, they will have unity, and the spirit of self-

sacrifice. With the help of this spirit, the people of a country will be able to face the crisis boldly.

- [6] It creates the feeling of heroism and self-sacrifice. Every nation has to make several sacrifices for the attainment and preservation of its freedom. The history of freedom struggle in every country is replete with examples of people sacrificing their lives at altar of national salvation. India is no exception. The stories of such heroes always inspire people.

Demerits:

- [1] Nationalism leads to acquisition of other's territory. It becomes a weapon in the hands of selfish and power-hungry politicians. Nationalism in the hands of Hitler in Germany became a great curse to the whole world.
- [2] It may lead to exploitation and finally results in imperialism. Ravindranath Tagore wrote, 'nationalism is an organized self-interest of whole people and the organization of politics and commerce for selfish ends and an organized power for exploitation'.
- [3] It is narrow, blind and intolerant. It is based on the principles that 'my nation is always right and other nations are always wrong'. Aggressive nationalism is a threat to world peace. Prof. Laski was of the opinion that nationalism 'is built on conditions which are in the atmosphere of contemporary civilization, fraught with grave danger'.
- [4] Economic nationalism has led to commercial competition among nations to acquire more and more colonies. Thus, the motive force of modern imperialism has been spurred by the economic nationalism. It has resulted in the exploitation of colonies by 'superior nations' but at the cost of poor nations. Here too, extreme form of economic nationalism is known as 'autarchy' which aims at complete economic self-sufficiency. This type of economic nationalism is an immediate cause of international tension. Autarchy is a dangerous policy. It does not bring any good either to the nation which practices it or to the other nations of the world. This sort of nationalism led to the burning of wheat in the USA and the dumping of surplus coffee into the sea in Brazil, while millions were starving in other parts of the world.
- [5] In the totalitarian state, nationalism has led to the establishment of statism. Individuals have been sacrificed at the altar of the State. In this sense, totalitarian nationalism has not proved conducive to the enjoyment of freedom and individual liberty. The State as the supreme embodiment of national spirit has swallowed up the creator. 'Nationalism is the arch-enemy of the human race. It is the old win of tribalism in new bottle of territorial sovereignty'. Likewise, Mr. Emery Reves has observed 'the modern Bastille is the nation-state, no matter whether jailors are conservatives, liberals or socialists. That symbol of our enslavement must be destroyed, if we ever want to be free again'.

- [6] Nationalism is antithetical to internationalism. Aggressive nationalism has rendered peaceful organization of international relations impossible. National prestige has impelled the States to seek the solution for their problems through force and violence.

10.5 TYPES OF NATIONALISM

One can mention political nationalism, cultural nationalism, ethnic nationalism. In political nationalism, an attempt to use the nation ideal to further specific political ends. In cultural nationalism, emphasis is placed on regeneration of a nation's distinctive civilization, stressing on the need to defend or strengthen, say for example religion, language or the like. On the other hand ethnic nationalism overlaps with cultural nationalism as it implies a stronger sense of distinctiveness and exclusivity.

Changing Nature:

Today nation-state has become a basic pattern throughout the world. It has replaced the old concept of State based on bonds of nationality strengthened by national frontiers. This process of evolution of the State brings into focus the concepts of nationality, nation and the State. One needs to clearly understand these concepts.

Nationality:

Till recently, nation and nationality were used interchangeably. Now they are two distinct terms. Nation has become a political in meaning as a consequence of universal acceptance of the principle of 'one nation-one state'. It means a political unity—a body of people distinct from others having their own distinct and separate political identity. But nationality has no reference to political unity. It serves to indicate the totality of the natural qualities that characterize the nation, without the idea of legal status which is connected with the term 'nation'. James Bryce defines nationality 'a nationality is a population held together by certain ties as for example— language, literature, customs, etc. in such a way as to feel itself a coherent unity distinct from other populations similarly held together by like ties of their own.' Whereas a nation is a nationality', which has organized itself into a political body either independent or desiring to be independent'. Nationality thus indicates common spiritual or psychological sentiments among the people having some common affinities or a socio-cultural complex'. It is like a religion, a matter of feelings, thinking and living in pursuit of such a conviction.

Nation:

Latin word 'natio' is the root of the word nation. In Latin natio means birth or race. This gives the term a racial or ethnical meaning. Etymologically a nation is a people descended from a common stock. Burgess and Leacock defines nation in a racial sense. They talk of 'ethnic unity', which means a population with common language, literature, common customs, traditions and common consciousness of right and wrong.

However race and nationality are two distinct terms. There is no pure race anywhere in the world. Hence nation as such has no racial significance. What makes a group of people a nation is not necessarily a community of race, language, religion, but a sentiment of common mass-consciousness or like-mindedness. Language and religion are not necessary conditions. Swiss has no common language, no common religion and yet they constitute a nation. Similarly in 1971 East Pakistan became Bangla desh though the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan had common religion. This is why one must study the definition given by Barker which is more realistic. Barker defines nation as 'a nation is a body of people inhabiting a definite territory and thus united together by the primary fact of living together on a common land'.

Nation and State:

Modern nation-state is limited by national frontiers. But state and nation are different. A mere organization of people under one government does not make them a nation. Before World War –I , Austro-Hungary was one state, but it was not a nation. A nation signifies consciousness of unity reinforced by psychology and spiritual feelings. Nationhood is subjective and statehood is objective.

10.6 SUPRANATIONALISM

By the time World War II ended, the world was reorganized where the nation-state was the basic unit. The end of World War II also saw the process of decolonization picking up momentum. It also ended Czar's Russian empire, Austro-Hungarian empire as well as the Ottoman empire. Consequently by mid-20th century, the map of the world began to get stabilized. To avoid the possibility of the World War III, the global leaders decided to start a body of nations. Thus was born UNO in October 1945. Before the UNO, there was the League of Nations which was established after the end of World War I. The League did not survive as the important America was not member of the League. But the UNO has survived till today. Some scholars argue that with the arrival of the UNO, the days of supranationalism have begun. It is nothing but a super body which exercises jurisdiction not over any single state but within an international area comprising several states.

Before the UN, there have been supranational bodies in the history of the world. The most common supranational bodies have been empires, ranging from the ancient empires like Egypt, China and Rome to the modern European empires like Britain and France. The end of cold war in 1991 saw the end of modern empire of the USSR.

However modern supranational bodies have a different character. Such bodies are more often than not are voluntary associations. This is because the nations realize the importance of mutual co-operation, without sacrificing national interests. Such bodies are best described as international federations.

In this context we need to mention 'intergovernmentalism', which is the weakest form of supranational co-operation. It covers any form of

state intervention which preserves the sovereignty and independence of each nation. The classic examples are GATT established in 1948, WTO established in 1995. These are new for a for tariff discussion. Similarly after World War II, the rival alliance systems were created. The US-led NATO in 1949 and USSR-led Warsaw Pact in 1955 respectively could be mentioned.

In addition to these military alliances, there are numerous regional organizations designed to promote common political, social and economic interests. The OAU, OPEC, etc. are such alliances.

10.7 WORLD GOVERNMENT

Much before the UN was born in 1945, German philosopher Immanuel Kant [1724-1804] argued that there should be no war and the future of humankind be based on 'universal and lasting peace'. For this to become reality we should aim for 'world government'. It would be the highest form of supranational organization. It would be global state, which would be above all other states. It would be a 'state of states'. Kant had developed an early version of world government in his proposal for a 'league of nation'.

The argument for world government is quite clear and familiar. The seventeenth and eighteenth century thinkers like Hobbes, Locke painted the picture of 'state of nature' to support a sovereign power. These thinkers further argued that the rational individuals would willingly enter into said contract for peace, security and prosperity. Same arguments could be advanced to support world government in modern era. Like rational individual, even the nations would enter willingly into contract to establish a 'world government'. But major obstacles in this way would be 'development'. Economically and militarily advanced governments would reap the benefits from anarchic international order. Such nations may be reluctant to concede power to a supranational body like 'world government'. This has become obvious in the post-cold war era where quite often where America has been bypassing UN when it suits their interests. Before attacking Afghanistan, America involved UN in this process as it suited the American interests to get the UN on board. But same America bypassed UN and attacked Iraq in 2003. America had no authorization from UN for this attack.

The possibility that the UN could develop into some form of world government depends a lot on high international trust and co-operation. Unfortunately the powerful appeal of nationalism would be another hurdle, quite difficult to cross.

Nationalism in 21st century:

Parallel to the emergence and growth of nationalism, some thinkers have been writing obituaries of nationalism. Karl Marx was one of the important thinkers who took position against nationalism. He wrote, 'national differences are vanishing'. That was in the mid-18th century. In mid-20th century the argument was advanced that now that the map of the world has more or less settled, what is the need of nationalism?

The end of World War II also witnessed emergence of more and more international bodies like IMF, NATO, etc. These bodies have been dominating the world politics. Globalization has had a far-reaching impact on nation-states. It has created an integrated global economy. Now MNCs influence the economic policies of nation-states. Globalization has also impacted cultures all over the world. Today is the age of Coca-cola and McDonald. In this context, can any nation-state remain unaffected when people in many countries watch same movies, eat same foods and enjoy same sports? No wonder some scholars believe that 21st century would see the final eclipse of political nationalism.

And yet two factors perhaps would ensure the continuity of political significance of the nation. First, there is evidence that because globalization weakens traditional life, national bonds, it may actually fuel emergence of ethnically based and sometimes aggressive forms of nationalism. Globalization may generate 'particularism' based on region, religion, ethnicity or race. This is already happening in countries like former USSR more specifically Yugoslavia. It is also coming to surface in countries like UK, Spain and Italy. Second, globalization may add to the appeal of nationalism. In other words, globalization may not make nations irrelevant but force them to reinvent. States like Singapore, Malaysia and Canada have undergone such a process of self-affirmation. These nations have refashioned their national identities by fusing elements from their past with a future-looking orientation.

10.8 NATIONALISM VIS-À-VIS ETHNIC RESURGENCE

After World War II, there has been three developments have impacted the concept of nationalism. These are pointing us towards different directions. The first trend could be identified as consolidation which resulted in making nation-state as the main actor for political authority. The trend of increasing the number of nation-states could be witnessed very easily. The number of nation-states before World War II and after it ended would convince us that nation-state has become main actor today. Today we are talking about nearly 192 nation-states in the world. The second development takes into account the ethnic assertion. Parallel to the consolidation of nation-state, we notice revival of minority nationalist movements demanding autonomy either within the state or a separate nation-state. Such demands lead to conflicts. Take the case of the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam [LTTE] has been waging a bloody war against the Sri Lankan state for a separate nation-state. One can also notice that this trend has gathered momentum in the 1970s when in England various groups like Scottish, Welch started demanding autonomy. In Canada, the Quebec province has been holding referendums for opting out of Canada. India has been living with the problem of separatism in Kashmir since its birth.

The issue of ethnic resurgence got prominence after disintegration of the USSR. The map of Europe once again changed drastically. The rise of these ethnic movements could be explained as the loss of group identity. Similarly let us not forget that the states which were created after end of World War II had not taken into reckoning the principle of self-determination. The creation of what is popularly known as 'Newly

Independent States [NICs] was more as a reaction against colonial dominance. Consequently once they became independent, tension began to come to surface among various ethnic groups. The disintegration of USSR as well as Yugoslavia shows us that these states were artificially put together and once that glue disappeared, the constituent elements came apart.

The third development relates to the process of globalization. Post-1991, the global economy has become highly inter-dependent. As a result today nation-states have to operate in this inter-dependent world where every nation-state is dependent on others for various reasons like information, technology, commodities, drugs, data, etc. This is two-edged sword. It gives nation-states enormous opportunities but on the other hand, it dilutes the sovereignty of nation-states. Then there are transnational bodies like UNO, WTO and IMF which have to be taken into account. This is why some scholars are talking about emergence of new world order. Yet nobody can predict whether we are moving towards one world culture or whether we are looking forward to 'glocal' [global + local] culture. This is where the importance of 'supranational' comes into picture. The individual nation-state will either resist it or adapt to it or would get absorbed in the supranational culture. At the same time another school of scholars argue that despite globalization, the struggles for self-determination could continue with new vigour. Though today many countries are democratic, they have not been able to resolve the problems within their societies. And more often than not, these democratic countries have to use force against their own people. It simply shows that even in 21st century, the force of nationalism has not lost its appeal. In future the nation-states will have to function and move in international fora and at the same time, negotiate with the movements inside the country. One can quote the example of the European Union. Despite common culture and common religion, they have not given up their individual identities and territorial integrity.

It can be said that the globalization is creating a different type of nationalism. In many cases today, nationalism emerging as a reaction to the process of homogenization. Hence it ends up as a struggle for identity politics. This is why it could be roughly predicted that nationalism would certainly survive the process of globalization.

10.9 SUMMARY

Above discussion should bring to us the importance of nationalism in modern world. Today world is neatly divided into various nation-states. Nationalism gives a powerful motive for people to come together, live together, laugh and die together. It becomes a powerful reason to people preferring to stay together. In case the country is under foreign dominance, then people fight for the freedom of the country. They derive inspiration from nationalism.

We have gone through the history of nationalism and how it all began in Europe. Later we studied how it travelled to other parts of the world. We looked at various types of nationalism. The most important phase began with the end of World War II and emergence of UNO. It is

generally believed that after UNO has come into existence, the days of supranationalism has begun. Then we have moved into 21st century which has brought into discussion ethnicity-based nationalism. We also studied the impact of globalization of nationalism.

10.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q. 1. Comment about nationalism in your own language.
- Q. 2. Discuss the merits and demerits of nationalism
- Q. 3. Explain the features and evolution nationalism
- Q. 4. Comment on
 - [a] supranationalism and
 - [b] World government
- Q.5. Discuss the future of nationalism in 21st century.

CONTEMPORARY DEBATES IN DEMOCRACY

Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives.
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Meaning and Definition of democracy
- 11.3 Historical growth of democratic ideals
- 11.4 Types of democracies
- 11.5 Essential features of modern liberal democracy
- 11.6 Challenges to Democracy
- 11.7 Summary
- 11.8 Unit End Questions
- 11.9 Suggested Reading

11.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the basic philosophy of democracy
- 2) To analyze the historical factors which helped the growth of democracy.
- 3) To formulate various theories about different forms of democracy.
- 4) To study the challenge that democracy faces in the contemporary world.
- 5) To evaluate the significance and importance of democracy to the present conditions.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Of all the concepts none is more enigmatic and controversial than democracy in Political Philosophy. It means different things to different people. It is a broad canvas where various issues are presented. It is a form of government, a way of life, or method of adjusting differences in the society and so on. We also have the concept of economic democracy where the concept of economic

equality is highlighted as against the ideas of sacredness of the concept of private property and the inherent right of an individual to create and possess wealth with least hindrances either from state or from Society. Both these concepts can be termed as economic democracy. Though the Marxists term the economic equality as Peoples Democracy and the Right of private property as 'Capitalist – Democracy'. This dichotomy between the right of an individual to amass wealth and the idea of equitable distribution of social wealth is just one of the many apparent contradictions that feature democracy.

For instance the consideration of majority rule – which is the central theme of a democratic system – clashes with the views of minorities and their rights. Should not the views of minorities be given a serious consideration while determining the social and public policies. But by adhering to the views of minorities a democratic government might face a majority back lash. In India we have the term “minority appeasement” “vote bank politics” being constantly used by certain political sections who feel majority is being ignored. The central issue is can a minority differ from a majoritarian opinion and live freely and fearlessly. That is the real test of a democratic political set up. It is often said it is very easy to proclaim democracy but difficult to sustain it over longer time. This problem is more pertinent in the ex colonial countries and the third world of Asia and Africa. Here we find authoritarian totalitarian regimes being propped up where once democracy was proclaimed.

Because democracy requires certain discipline both from the rulers and the ruled. It takes long time to develop democratic temperament more so if the society is authoritarian. The essence of democracy is individual dignity and freedom. But this value may come into conflict with another core principle of democracy rule by majority.

- What is the most significant character by which we judge a system. A system where an individual's sovereignty is respected. as J.S. Mill would like to have or where collective wisdom of people is given a primary rule as Rousseau argues. The concept of popular sovereignty, voice of people, are as much democratic as the notion of individual's freedom. It is obvious that excessive emphasis on individualism will create selfishness sometimes leading to anarchy and over emphasis on peoples power would lead to collectivisation and poses a threat to freedom. It is not uncommon that the communist regimes and the authoritarian rulers always use the term. “People” to defend their anti-democratic policies. In modern days, we have a debate ranging between “individual rights” vs ‘Group rights” more or less emphasizing the same dilemma. The right of a group to have its own way of life, culture, religion is certainly democratic. Similarly the right of an

individual to dissent from group morals. Both are democratic. The question is how to guard the encroachment of group's power over individuals choice. This is a challenge to modern democracies. In view of these overlapping issues, we need to clearly spell out certain broad features which could be called the essence of a democratic system.

11.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY

Like many political terms democracy is also of Greek origin. The root "cracy" is derived from the ancient Greek word "KRATOS", which means power or rule. Democracy would mean rule by Demos people at large. In this context it may be mentioned that term was used in a negative sense in ancient Greece. It was an undesirable rule – rule of ignorant and uneducated masses, which would bring untold miseries to all. After all ruling state is a specialized skill. Only very few possess it. Rich people, aristocrats with wealth and good education would always be better rulers than the ignorant masses. Plato in fact, condemned democracy. He had a reason to do so. It was the democratic Athens which put Socrates to death. Other thinkers like Aristotle found unrestricted democracy will result in "mob rule". However as the various popular movements unfolded in history with the spread of liberalism coupled with French and American Revolutions the idea of democracy got much reverence and came to be treated as a desired goal.

The much quoted definition of Lincoln on democracy – has three types of democracies explained in it. The phrase government of the people refers to the concept of direct democracy. In this system, people will actively involve themselves in public affairs and rule themselves. There are no differences between rulers and ruled. They are one and same. The phrase "by the people" is reflection of Representative government. In modern industrial urban set up, an ordinary citizen neither has time nor capacity to directly participate in government affairs. He therefore delegates his 'sovereignty' to a representative. The representative acts on behalf of the citizens who elects him. However the citizen still has the ultimate power. He can recall his representative, if he is not happy with his performance. In a way the representative governmental system gives a legal recognition to the transformation of 'popular sovereignty to "legal sovereignty". There are of course certain limitations in this system. Long time back Rousseau decried the practice of elections employed in England arguing that "the people of England are free only when they elect their members of parliament as soon as they are elected the people are slaves, they are nothing". Such views pointing out the limitations of elections, representative system are seen in the writings of Indian political thinkers like Jayaprakash, Vinobha and Gandhi, who would prefer a

direct democracy in each village – called panchayat system. There are different views on the practicability of such a system.

The third phrase in Lincoln's definition of democracy as "a government for the people", emphasizes the welfare state. All political thinkers always emphasized this purpose of the state. State is not an institution of coercion but an agent of social welfare. It has a moral responsibility to bring a remarkable change in the lives of people. The coercive instruments of law, punishment are only means to achieve the end of "greatest happiness to the largest numbers". If all the states do it, then what is the difference between democracy and other forms of government? A noble aristocrat or benevolent dictator may also be pursuing welfare measures for his people. What is absent in these "non democratic welfare states", is the freedom to differ from the policies of rulers, the right to criticize the shortcomings and the ultimate power of changing the rulers. This central point in the democratic set up of the power of an ordinary citizen to remove the mighty rulers is all that matters most. It makes democracy a unique system where the real sovereignty always exists in the hands of the ruled. In democracy the state or government is not the master but a servant of the people. It is the people who decide what they want. A noble dictator with all good intentions may formulate certain policies, and the citizens would be forced to accept them as good, even if they don't feel so. Because under these regimes any dissent or difference of opinion is treated as treason. The simple rule that guides these regimes is, rulers know what is good for people. The ruled should obey it in their own interest. This philosophy is inhuman and very anti-thesis of individual's dignity and self respect. A citizen has a separate individuality and the duty of the state is to provide a proper environment – through certain pro-active measures – to develop that individuality into a full fledged personality. Since democracy is based on the principle that "the wearer of the shoe knows where it pinches" it guarantees the citizen the right to say 'no' to whichever policies state may introduce and whatever may be the noble intention. In India we are witnessing farmers refusing to give up their land for big corporates or expressing opposition to nuclear plants. The intentions of the govt may be genuine, the need to find alternative sources of energy, we need to industrialize the nation to create employment and such related things – but it is the farmers whose land has been taken and people staying near nuclear plant who had to face the hazards. So they should have a right to say no or alternatively demand a fair amount of compensation. Whatever might be the final outcome the voice of the affected must be heard. Since it is the ordinary man who has to bear the brunt of the consequences of policies, he should have a right to say yes or no. In this way we can argue that democracy is a natural form of govt. Of course the need to gain consent for the policies is felt by all governments. They resort to emotional blackmailing-like

appealing to sentiments of people-our nation is in danger so we must produce nuclear weapons and get approval. sometimes brutal force is applied. Consent is secured at the point of gun. Stalin's collectivisation and Mao's policies are examples. The intention may be genuine but consent is not freely given. The fear of punishment or being misinformed through false propaganda may give a temporary approval to the policies of ruling elite of a non-democratic system. But in the long run it would have a serious consequences on the regime itself. The revolt of masses against authoritarian regimes currently underway in middle east, is a classic example of power of the people. It is rightly said, "you can fool some people some time, most people most times but not all the people all times". Democracy never allows this fooling of people as transparency of government policies is its essential feature. Also, there is an institutional mechanism in a democratic system to get peoples consent. Periodic elections, referendum, an atmosphere of free discussion prevent any policy being imposed from above. It always evolves within.

The welfare oriented public policy being a feature of democracy is of recent origin. In the earlier stages capitalism and democracy were coupled together. At that stage of history democracy meant more freedom for individual it was basically a revolt against all forms of controls and orders. The full development of an individual is possible only when controls either from society or state cease. The government represented biggest obstacle to the freedom of individual. The best safeguard for individual's freedom is limiting the powers of state. "That government is best which governs least", was the moto of earlier thinkers like John Locke. J.S. Mill would want freedom not only from government but also from all social organisations. State was an individual centred democracy. State was described as a "Night watchman", a necessary evil. State has to maintain law and order internally and protect the people from foreign aggression. The rest of the functions be left to individuals. But a situation where state would be a mute spectator to the economic and social forces operating would be a fertile ground for social injustice and economic exploitation. There was social Darwinism at work. The poor, the marginalised sections and unorganized masses were at be mercy of the wealthy sections. Democracy meant luxury for rich and a curse for pool. State had implications externally. The capitalist greed for new markets resulted in colonialism and imperialism. The rivalry between colonial powers led to wars. Then there was growth of rival ideologies of communism, fascism. These ideologies promised quicker results. Marxism especially promised economic Justice to the exploited and blamed "capitalistic Democracy for all the evils." A famous Russians Revolutionary Trotsky declared. "Democracy to be irretrievably bourgeois and counter revolutionary" A communist party secretary declared in Hamburg in 1926 that "he would rather

burn in the fire of revolution than perish in the dung heap of Democracy." The fight against colonialism also took a radical turn where equality became forefront in place of individual freedom. The countries which were ruled by colonial powers wanted a new set up where state would take more pro-active role in mitigating poverty rather than remain a night watchman. Communism, socialism became attractive. State was under these challenger that democracy exhibited its characters of self correction.

There are two aspects that govern the operation of democratic political system. One the regular political action of bargaining, wherein different groups, put forward their demands in an atmosphere of competition and get their demands satisfied. This is a normal political activity, about which Lasswell described politics is about "who gets what and how." But there is a larger aspect of democracy. That is visionary politics. This we call it self-correcting aspect. New challenger require a visionary approach. It is this visionary approach that made the European nations to retrospectively look at the drawbacks of free economic policies and capitalistic mode of production. The evils of free enterprise were clear. Economic disparity, exploitation of labour and concentration of wealth in a few hands. It also led to unemployment. So a policy was formulated. State became a central player in economic activity. The purpose of state is "to make lives better." Progressive taxation and state sponsored welfare activities became order of the day. Effective legislation was introduced, limiting the hours of work, providing minimum wages and safeguarding worker's interest. State took the responsibility of providing basic requirements like food, cloth and shelter to the citizens. Old age pension, unemployment allowances were introduced. State's activities multiplied yet it did not become a totalitarian setup. The principle of freedom of choice remained. What the new democratic system did was to provide basic infrastructure to cater to social needs leaving the freedom of choice to its members. For instance state may provide liberal grants to educational sector, but it would not interfere in the content of education. The fact that in U.S. Universities, there are courses on communism or critical study or U.S. economic policies – despite these institutions receive grants from the govt – clearly show that controlling the mind is not what a democratic state would attempt to do. The subtle difference between state which is basically a legal institution with coercive power and society – which is a combination of many voluntary associations and has a pluralistic approach is strictly maintained. State will help society but would not dominate it. It gives enough freedom for society and its associations to develop without interference. This is essence of freedom of choice. The new democratic set up sustained it. Democracy firmly believes in pluralism. It allows different often contradictory views to prevail and flourish in a society. Where complete freedom is given. In such an

atmosphere of churning of different views could lead to find a way to the new challenges. Wherever Democracy failed it is lack of this visionary approach.

So the modern Democratic government is not a negative government It is pro – active yet puts its own limitations in operating. Joseph Schumpeter in his work, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, clearly gave this new meaning where he said, “Democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote”

Check your Progress:

Q.1. Define the concept of Democracy and critically evaluate its significance.

11.3 HISTORICAL GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

Although monarchy was an established pattern for a long time, we could still discern certain elements of Republicanism in some parts of the world. For instance in Vedic time, historians have recorded in ancient India there existed “Ganas.” These Ganas are small size political units. The leader of Gana was elected. The ruler or king was an elected one but not hereditary like in monarchies. But just electing ruler does not make the system as democratic. The twin principles of liberty and equality must be seen operating before we can proclaim any system as democratic. We also knew for certain that the principle of universal adult franchise did not exist then. There is a slight difference between democratic and Republican forms of govt. Nowadays some countries like India and U.S.A. are both Democratic and Republic while China is Republic without being democratic. Britain is democratic and not Republican. Basically we call a system Republic where head of the state is elected and not hereditary. Whereas democratic Republics possess all the prerequisites of a democratic system like free elections, right to participate in elections, Right to criticize government and so on. Some totalitarian states may be Republic but not democratic, while some states may be democratic but not Republic while others are both.

The active participation of people in public affairs is the essential feature of a democratic system. If we stretch this point a little further, we can conclude that the Direct – Democracy may be the best method where in people actively control government affairs. It removes the “middle men” in public policy making. Citizens would be politically conscious. In a free atmosphere, when the issues are debated freely a general consensus would emerge on what is good for the whole society. In a direct democracy, a citizen would keep aside his selfish interests and would vouch for “common good. Because there are no pulls and pressures of party system, no fear of losing elections; it is an assembly of freemen debating which policy would be better in promoting “common good.” Such an atmosphere provides intellectual freedom, with no fear of repression. Since all are equal nobody needs to fear of others. In a way there is not only ‘freedom of speech’, but “freedom after speech” in these assemblies. Nobody would be physically harmed for expressing dissent. In a way the system of secret ballot is a blot on the true spirit of democracy. It only shows people are too fearful to speak openly or exercise choice. They are afraid of repercussions if they openly express their voice and so they opt for secret voting. Ideally speaking direct democracy is the best system. It has an ethical basis of fearlessness.

The idea of direct democracy also stresses the need to arise a genuine public opinion that cuts across all partisan views. Rousseau’s concept of general will is a description of a system where an assembly of freemen would arrive at what is good for all. Though the idea may look too idealistic to be implemented in day to day political life, it is possible to discern such efforts to arrive at a consensus. The committee system in modern parliamentary democracies is an example. In a committee members from different political parties including treasury benches and opposition will be there. They would deliberate on a particular issue and arrive at a decision which is non – partisan and reflects a general consensus. Similarly during wartime “national governments” will be formed wherein different political sections sink their differences to project a “national policy.” But these are exceptions. There is also a basic difference between the direct democracy and committee system. In committee the participation is limited to elected members only. While direct democracy envisages the entire population to be the policy makers.

This system was supposed to be in practice in Athens. The cornerstone of Athenian Democracy was the direct and continuous participation of all citizens in the life of their city – state or polis as it was called. But this direct or participatory democracy had serious limitations. The system of participation was exclusive. Only Greek males were considered as citizens. Women, slaves and non Greeks were excluded. There is also a tall order on the behaviour

of the citizens. They should never entertain their personal interests and always should put the interests of community in forefront. But is it possible? A people that would never misuse government power, would always govern well – perhaps would not need to be governed. If we analyze the above statement we can safely conclude that there was never and would never be a true democratic government. Would it be possible for people to be continuously assembled to devote their time to public affairs? Even if we assume – for argument sake – it is possible, how many prerequisites are needed. First a very small state, where the people can readily be got through and where each citizen can know the rest. A great simplicity of manners which can prevent business from multiplying. Next a large measure of equality in rank and fortune. In the absence of such arrangements there cannot be equality of rights and authority. Rousseau argues that for success of a direct – democracy apart from above mentioned factors the most necessitating factor is absence of luxury. Luxury corrupts at once rich and poor, the rich by possession and poor by covetousness. It sells the country to softness and vanity.

In view of such a tall order, which expects the citizens to be always virtuous, Rousseau remarks “were there a people of Gods, their government would be democratic so perfect government is not for men.”

However this should not prevent the human race from striving to establish an ideal govt. The history of various revolutions and Upheavals only show the tireless endeavor of human beings to achieve a perfect govt set up.

Check your Progress:

Critically Review the limitations and merits of Direct Democracy.

11.4 TYPES OF DEMOCRACIES

We tend to treat liberalism and democracy as one and same and often use the term 'liberal democracy'. However historically this was not the case. There were several “Liberals” who had a contemptuous view of the ‘masses’ the real rulers in a democracy. The seeming similarity of liberalism and democracy is because of

the values they represent Individual freedom, diversity, equality peaceful approach to solving social and political problems are common to both liberalism and democracy. However this attitude is of recent origin. Earlier the ideas of liberalism and democracy clashed. Traditionally 'liberals' opposed democracy. It was only at the end of 19th century that the liberals reluctantly conceded to some of the major demands of democracy like equality in political sphere. Universal adult Franchise, right to contest electors which are essential to Democracy were not to the liking of liberals. Their main concern was "Right to property" which they claimed as natural. They wanted it to be protected from monarchs. Infact after second world war many liberals pleaded for an elite type of govt. rather than democratic. They preferred a technocratic government as the issues were too complicated they doubted the wisdom of ordinary man to understand it. The mass participation in public affairs was discouraged. But all states would like to call themselves democratic. This was a trend in post world war II. Because there is a virtue in that name. John Dunn argues, "all states today profess to be democratic because a democracy is what is a virtuous for a state to be." In view of the divergent meanings associated with the terms Robert Dahl uses the term "polyarchies" instead of democracy. According to him, "Democracy liberalism and capitalism are all alternative names for the same thing." This view is challenged by others.

Historically speaking the Liberals were not democrats. The conservative critics of Liberals accused them as 'being Democratic' it was a slur. If we analyze certain basic elements which constituted classical liberalism and contrast with today's conceptions of democracy we find how contradictory these two ideologies are! John Locke the father classical Liberalism never thought it fit to plead for universal Franchise. In his classic volume Two treatise of government, we find him pleading passionately for voting rights to white men, landowners and merchants. The ordinary man and his rights were never mentioned. If we study the British constitutional history, we notice how the term "Democracy" was conceived as a dangerous trend that could destroy the well established conventions. King Charles (1600 – 49) accused the British parliament of his time – which has taken him as a prisoner – "harboring to bring Democracy." However it did not mean that the anti – monarchical forces were anywhere sympathetic to 'common man.' It is a historical record that neither Oliver Cromwell, who led the war against monarch nor his puritan gentry believed in Democracy. At that time in England there was a social movement called "Levelers" with a leftist orientation. But their programs clearly stated to exclude "servants" and "Paupers" from Franchise. The 'Cromwellers', were alarmed that the egalitarian ethos of Liberalism might challenge the privileges of aristocrats with the demand for a share in political power through extended franchise. The American

theorist de Tocqueville (1805 – 59) described the American government of his time as “Democratic.” But the only democratic aspect that could be observed as late as 1860 was the principles of checks and balances.

As mentioned earlier the traditional liberal’s concern was the need to “safeguarding private property.” Since the kings used to loot the property of rich for their selfish desires it was but natural that the wealthy sections – who were termed as liberals – wanted to build a protective ring in the name of natural Rights to protect their wealth from Royal encroachment. So all their opposition to absolute power of government and the demand for liberty and freedom boils down to a single point of “Right to property.” For them property right is essential to survival of democracy. Modern days democratic ideals like economic equality, Justice and protection against economic exploitation were not to be found in traditional liberal theory of democracy. Madison, one of the founders of U.S. constitution records in Federalist Papers that democracy is incomplete without Right to property. Because it gives security and protection. Thomas Jefferson opined that “voters should be male farmers who owned property.” Nobody could claim United States to be democratic during that period, with existence of slavery and expropriation of property and wealth of native Americans or Red Indians as they were called. The concept of equality was anathema for the thinkers of that period. Infact a U.S. government publication in 1920 condemned democracy. It ran “Democracy a government of masses attitude towards property is communistic negating property rights results in demagoguism license, agitation, discontent and anarchy.” The modern democratic ideals of “extending the power base to include marginalized sections to have a say in public affairs.” Is too radical for traditionalists. Their ideal is exclusiveness of a few wealthy and educated class from all encroachments whether by sovereign government or society. Infact J.S. Mill wanted individual sovelgnty as against ‘community good.’ That is their conception of freedom and democracy. Basically they were conservative. Tension, writes “Liberals did not intend innovation of universal rights to all adults.”

Despite its short sighted approach on social issues, traditional liberalism stressed the need for individual dignity freedom and warned against the autocratic powers of absolute government. There points were developed by later writers to provide a modern democratic theory.

Check your Progress:

Q.1. Bring out the Relationship between Liberalism and Democracy.

11.5 ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF MODERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

During second world period certain fascist powers coined a term known as “Guided Democracy.” That system was abusing democracy. It was a façade to justify autocrat rulers. It believes in the superiority of leaders to guide people for their betterment. The ruled are duty bound to obey the rulers for their own good. Such false theories are presented in some dictatorial regimes in Afro – Asian and Latin American countries. Similarly the talk of people’s democracy in communist countries. These are deceptive terms. These regimes lack certain basic features which constitute a genuine democracy. The following are the conditions required to call a regime democratic.

- 1) The existence of more than one political party. We have noticed how the existence of a single centralized party would result in stifling opposition and it can never contribute to the growth of democratic ethos. While the existence of multiple political parties would result in political instability and frequent elections a well established two or three political parties with clear cut ideologies is a prerequisite of Democratic politics. The system gives a choice to the citizens to try different political parties. They can change the rulers if dissatisfied with the present regime and the method would work as a warning to the ruling elite to be careful and not to take the public support for granted.
- 2) Regular elections under an independent supervisory body is the second feature. There should be periodic elections which should be conducted peacefully. There should be constitutional provision to conduct elections at regular intervals. The other corresponding rights that go with this provision, is right to vote, right to contest elections freedom to form political parties and an opportunity to propagate one’s political views. In some countries there is a provision for government financing election expenses to prevent the money power from corrupting the system.

- 3) Since Democracy believes in freedom of thought, it is necessary that a democratic state should be a secular state. Any theological indoctrination supported by ruling regimes goes against the very spirit of free thought. A citizen in a democracy has a right to practice any religion or remain as an atheist. Nobody should compel him. Normally secularism means govt will be neutral in religious matters and gives religious freedom to its citizens.
- 4) The free play of different social and political ideas, results in fostering the Democratic temperament in a society. A citizen should cultivate the habit of tolerating different ideas even if he does not necessarily agree with them. Truth is not the monopoly of any one section in a society. It needs to be discovered in an atmosphere of free exchange of ideas. This is the central theme of Democratic thought. So a Democratic government is also duty bound to provide for such a free atmosphere. So the institutional arrangement like free press, academic freedom, freedom of information, Right to get access to government policies are some of the measures that can generate free thought. Any type of censorship on books, political bodies and films and such other media would be anti-democratic in nature.
- 5) Since modern states are multi cultural multiracial and multi-religious in their composition a Democratic govt is duty bound to protect this diversified, pluralistic society. This is being achieved through a policy of reservation for minorities to prevent majoritarian hegemony. Also a policy of affirmative action will be initiated for the uplift of disorganized groups. So, the clear declaration of minority rights, a welfare oriented government policy with a touch of positive discrimination is the salient feature of a modern Democracy.
- 6) There should be the institutional safe guards for the freedoms enjoyed by the citizens. These freedoms are their natural rights. They are not provided by the state. People get these rights by birth. Government will provide proper institutional backup for their sterilization. These institutional arrangements are the independent Judiciary, constitutional provision for Fundamental Rights and a provision for separation of powers in govt to avoid concentration of power.
- 7) Liberty and equality are two cornerstones on which the edifice of Democracy is built. The concepts like rule of law, equality before law, absence of special privileges, non-discrimination on basis of birth, caste, race or gender is essential for Democracy.
- 8) Democracy believes in the capacity of an individual to manage his affairs and in his capacity to play an effective role in public

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

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

This is opposed by radicals that this provision would result in economic inequalities and exploitation. But a collectivization kills the individual incentive. We need to find a via media. Individual's right to make property may be controlled, so that the twin policies of economic equality and individual's right to become rich are achieved. This is achieved in democracies through a policy of progressive taxation and welfare policies. Any forceful acquisition of property is termed as anti-democratic.

Check your Progress:

Q.1. What are the essential features of a modern democracy.

11.6 CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

Modern democracies are facing serious challenges. These challenges stem from within and also from without. Internally citizen's lack of interest in public affairs is a biggest challenge. The percentage of voting is much below even among the educated sections. Public affairs seems to be the last priority of modern citizen. Modern problems are too technical and requires expert's views and citizen becomes disinterested. This situation could be exploited by powerful sections to influence the govt to make policies in their favour. The growth of corporate sector market economy is clear sign of vested interests exploiting the democratic setup. In some of the third world countries the existence of poverty

is a biggest challenge to democracy. Between bread and liberty the tendency seems to be to opt for the former. Authoritarian regimes promise quick economic progress and people are being attracted towards anti-democratic regimes. Lack of good leadership committed to the growth of democracy is a feature in most of the third world countries. Again these societies are traditional and authoritarian and are not conducive to the growth of democratic temperament. It is group culture that dominates over individual choice. The powerful forces, of caste groups, religious associations, with their backward looking ideologies are playing havoc with the noble ideas of democracy. It is the society which decides whom a person should marry and individual's choice is severely frowned upon. The growth of "honour killings" opposition to any demand for changing Muslim personnel law is just one example, how even a democratic country like India is unable to live up to the ideals in face of social opposition. Most of the so called democratic societies have not yet reconciled to the idea of a multicultural society. The minorities are living in fear. Any proactive action is resented as "vote bank politics." Religious bigotry unfortunately is rising its head. Not only in Asia even in European countries, animosity against racial minorities is rising. The situation reminds the anti-Semitism of pre – second world war. The growth of terrorism is a biggest challenge to democracy. To curb terrorism democratic governments will be compelled to take strong measures which will result in curbing freedom of individual. Some times using force, and even suspending normal legal remedies have become order of the day. Who is a terrorist and who is innocent? It is a dilemma for the executive. The draconian measures like preventive arrests, special courts, encounters, all reflect a sorry picture. Can democracy perform its duty of securing citizen's life and honour without resorting to extra legal measures in combating terrorism? This is the question. The terrorism has also an international angle. What is terrorism to one country may be termed as fight for freedom and self determination by another country. After all the right of people to have independence is essence of democracy. The case of Kashmir is a classic example of international terrorism challenging democracy. When foreign powers take interest in "fostering democracy" in other countries the situation soon slips out of hands and in making regions safe for democracy poor and innocent citizen die. The situation in Afghanistan and Iran where hundreds of people die because. European powers want to plant democracy is a classical example how neo-colonialism is a growing challenge to democracy.

There are no ready – made solutions to challenges faced by democracy. One can only hope with maturity of mind and a humanitarian approach, these problems may find a solution.

Check your Progress:

Q.1. Make a brief note of the challenges faced by Democracy.

11.7 SUMMARY

Democracy is not only a form of government but also a way of life. Earlier thinkers emphasized the individualistic feature of democracy. The need was to control the powers of government. More freedom to individuals would result in more democracy. But the concept of equality and the dangers of powerful sections misusing freedom and exploiting weak sections was not given importance. The post second world war changed the concept of democracy. Now the emphasis is on social and economic equality. New issues like Gender Justice, minority rights, human rights come to the forefront. Multicultural societies require a new approach of proactive action. This is being done.

Like all systems Democracy has its own virtues and draw backs. The ideals of freedom, equality, social justice, individual dignity are virtues of democracy. But democracy is too slow to act no quick decisions are taken. The lengthy process of consultations mar the effective implementation of a policy. Again it is very difficult to achieve national unity in a democracy as contrast with a fascist state. The problem of balkanization and disintegration is more in a weak democracy. Elections are fought on the power of money. The wealthy sections control govt either directly or indirectly. Many cynics say democracy is power for rich and shouting rights for poor.

Yet democracy is far more better than any other form. It has power for self correction. It gives on opportunity for individual to prosper. It is for citizen to utilize that opportunity. The international body U.N.O. is an example how efforts are made to solve crisis through debates and discussions. Of course it may not be very effective. But the alternative is war and destruction. For human prosperity and peace Democracy is inevitable.

11.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

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

11.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Hoffman John and Paul G. *Introduction to Political Theory*, Pearson, New Delhi, 2006
- 2) Dunn J (Ed), *Democracy the Unfinished Journey*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992
- 3) Macpherson C.B., *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, Oxford University Press. Oxford, 1977
- 4) Dahl R., *Dilemmas of pluralist Den*, Yale University Press, New Havens, 1982

12

CONTEMPORARY DEBATES: FORMS OF REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

Unit Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 The types of representations
- 12.3 Traditional Thinkers' views on representation
- 12.4 Contemporary issues of representation
- 12.5 Conclusion.
- 12.6 Unit End Questions
- 12.7 Suggested readings

12.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To analyze the significance of representation in a democratic set up.
- 2) To understand the functions of a representative in a democracy.
- 3) To formulate the theories regarding the non-representation of marginalised sections.
- 4) To understand the views of various thinkers on the Representative system.
- 5) To offer some remedies to the limitations of the present representative system.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The word “representation”, in ordinary language means portray or to make present – for instance we would say an author’s book represents’ certain values. Or the painters picture represents’ a school of painting – here what we mean is that by studying that

book or looking at that picture we can understand the values the writer want to project, get an idea of the historical significance of a particular period. When we say Moghul painting, we tend to identify that picture as pertaining i.e. culture of Moghul timings. In a way it is a miniature of larger thing. However in politics the term has a different meaning. It means an individual or group stands on behalf of a larger group. For instance it has been said that Gandhiji “represented” India at the Round table conference. By this statement we mean the hopes, aspirations and desires of vast ‘population of the country were being reflected by Gandhi. When Gandhi spoke, he spoke for entire country. Through Gandhi people saw India so he represented India. Similarly a lawyer represents his client. Since client has no legal knowledge he entrusts his case to a lawyer who for all practical purposes represents his client. The examples could multiply.

As with the case of client who has no legal knowledge or time, so is a modern citizen in a democracy. He is too preoccupied with his day to day problems to effectively participate in public affairs. This work is assigned to professional politicians. They would win his confidence and become his representatives and will participate on his behalf. They are his delegates, representatives but not masters. The real meter is the citizen. Since the days of direct democracy are no longer possible, most of the democracies have opted for the representative model.

12.2 TYPES OF REPRESENTATION

Modern democracies based on the system of representation is called representative democracy. Here citizens rule through their delegates. Delegates have a minimum tenure of 5 years or less. Citizen can either renew it or terminate the contract depending upon the performance. In some cases a mandatory provision would prevent a delegate from seeking reelection. For instance in USA, no president can seek the office for more than two terms. This mandatory provision is to prevent misuse of office by perpetuating it.

Representation broadly is of two types territorial representation and functional representation. In the territorial representation the country is divided into geographical areas of nearly equal population. They are known as constituencies. Voters in these constituencies will exercise their franchise and elect their representative. Normally each citizen has a single vote. Equality of voting rights is an institutional guarantee. In democracy all citizens have equal share in the running of administration But we find some traditional liberals like J. S. Mill, while arguing for extending franchise rights to working class and women, was not prepared to give same weightage to the opinion of workers to that of educated

class. In particular he believed the opinion of educated class is superior to that of the uneducated or illiterate. So he suggested "plural voting" system. The scheme envisaged four or five votes to holders of learned diplomas or degrees two or three to the skilled or managerial workers, a single vote to ordinary workers and none at all to those who are illiterate. Such a policy of discrimination would not be accepted in modern democracies. Though each country prescribes certain minimum qualifications regarding age residential necessity and a clean record with police to get voting rights. It so happens that sometimes the boundaries of a constituency may be redrawn, like creating a new district, or there may be influx of population and the area may have to be divided for administrative efficiency. Under these eventualities, all care should be taken that such redrawing of boundaries does not result in undue advantage or disadvantage to any political party. For instance in India, if a separate district is carved out where a majority of people belong to one particular caste or creed, a party that speaks for that particular caste can easily get elected. That is not good for democracy, where representation believes in equal opportunity for all. The people who argue for the system of territorial representation, argue that this system provides a rapport between people and the representative. He can nurture his constituency by constantly touring it. He will know their problems by firsthand. People also know their representative more closely. But the critics point out, that a society consists of many interest groups-like farmers, merchants, labourers who cannot be represented by a single person. So they argue for functional representation. Under this scheme people belonging to different occupations or functions, will elect their representative on the basis of profession. For instance doctors will be elect doctor to represent their case and so on. The voting would be on the basis of the interest of the profession. A labour representative would participate in the deliberations of labour policies and would vote as a representative of labour. Such a system would really, represent the interest. Moreover in the geographical/territorial representation some strong leaders will virtually take over the constituency and no alternative leader would emerge. The way Nehru family nurtured Raibareli is a classic example. It becomes monopoly of a clan and certainly not conducive to democracy. There is also a problem that in territorial representation, the local issues may dominate national issues and compel the representative to take a narrow view. But the critics of professional representation point out the system is too narrow to cater the general interests of a community. Most of the issues are inter-related and could at best be represented by a general candidate. Although in Britain the Guild Socialists campaigned for functional representation, this system actually is not being practiced in any democratic country. It was in the fascist countries around 1930-40 that such types of functional representation was practiced. They were called corporations. The corporation was not democratic, the fascist dictators would

nominate experts in each field to frame policies. It was a functional division but no representation by people. People had no say in the nomination of such representatives. These representatives were far removed from people and their aspiration. They were an elite whose main function was to make the rulers happy. Efficiency and quick results rather than people's sentiments and ambitions was the sole guiding factors of these corporations. Since people have not elected them, cannot question their actions they cannot remove them. These corporations may represent a particular section in a society – mostly economic and business groups but in no way can be called as representatives of masses.

There is another aspect of representation known as communal representation. In this system people belonging to one particular community will elect a representative from their community. Other members have no right to vote. The idea behind this system is only a community member can represent the community interests. Since other members of a different community may not have either interest or sympathy for the problems of the community being represented, their power to elect a representative is denied. During British rule this system was introduced by MacDonal and came to be known as "Communal representation". Under this scheme in those areas where Muslims were in majority, only a Muslim could stand for elections and all the voters will be Muslims only. Similar communal electorates were made available to the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the Dalits. However, because of the stiff opposition of Gandhiji the separate electorates were surrendered by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar under the provisions of Poona Pact. While some areas were called general areas where a mixed population would vote. The policy was a design by the imperialist powers to weaken the forces of Indian Nationalism and has implications of creating deep divisions in the country. The demand for a separate state for Muslims in the name of Pakistan had its seeds sown in the separate electorate system. There was also a similar demand for separate electorate system for lower caste Hindus, but Gandhi successfully prevented that demand and suggested a policy of "Reservation", under which certain percentage of seats will be reserved for backward sections of Hindu society. While the candidate should be from that caste, voters will have a composite entity. This is a method of pro active policy to provide political power to the marginalized and weaker sections. As a matter of policy the reserved constituencies will be rotated after some period to prevent them from being monopoly of a few sections. There are critics of this reservation policy. Their argument is it is against natural polity of equality. A person may be political activist and quite popular in an area. For him it is the most easiest thing to get elected. But if that area is reserved for a particular caste and he not belonging to that caste would lose an opportunity of winning elections. Some cynics also claim that the

representatives elected under reservation are dummy. The real power is exercised by big landlords who control them. These type of criticisms will only point out certain shortcomings. In principle reservation is a policy of giving political empowerment to disorganized and marginalised sections. In the spirit of democracy and social Justice such policy of Reservation in Representation is required. There is a policy of nomination in representation. The executive nominates certain people representing a particular section or group. In India president nominates two members from Anglo-Indian communally to Lok Sabha and some artists, sportspersons to Rajya Sabha. This nominated representatives safeguard particular group interests. We can say while the elected representatives represent a broad general view, the nominated one would speak for a specific field. It is same as corporatism but with a democratic touch. A lot of consultation, debates go on before a decision is taken on nomination.

All types of representative methods have their advantages and limitations. But the need for representative system is inevitable because of large scale democratic systems. The method of Reservation is a safeguard against monopolization of political power by powerful sections. But reservation itself cannot guarantee political empowerment. It is only a means. It gives an opportunity for marginalised sections to be politically more active and to create second line leadership. Using these methods they should create a mass based political structure, so that in future they could capture political power out of their own efforts without reservations. Ultimately the honesty, integrity and hard work of a political leader will make political empowerment of a community possible. If the leaders are selfish and use the reservation of representation to perpetuate their family rule we will return back to feudal system. In democracy equality of opportunity is necessary.

Check your Progress:

Q.1. Define the term " Representation" Discuss various methods of representation and point out their merits and shortcomings.

12.3 THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION AND TRADITIONAL POLITICAL THINKERS

If a democracy means the supremacy of the people can that supreme power 'sovereignty' be represented by others. On this question several opinions had been expressed. Thomas Hobbes the profounder of the earliest social contract theory, while conceding that power rests with people argued that for the safety and security of the individual it is necessary that sovereignty is transferred to one person or body of persons. But in Hobbes theory the representation becomes one time affair. The people after transferring the power to the ruler become only ruled without nay power. The only duty is to obey their "representative." Since for Hobbes "a bad law is better than no law at all" he would insist that sovereignty be given up to security by people. This method of representation is reactionary and lead to dictatorship. Although we dislike this system because of its anti democratic content we must be aware that the underdeveloped democracies in the third world exhibit this pattern. By electing a representative, people have discharged a democratic duty and then virtually vest all power to him. The only difference is in elected democracy the tenure is limited while in Hobbes theory it is for ever. But even this subtle difference vanishes when we analyze the election pattern in these countries. Very rarely does a regime change occurs and if not the ruler, his clan will be bestowed with power. This raises a fundamental question about the relationship between elections and representation. Normally some political thinkers view that the system of elections and the representation are interlinked. So the erected members are called people's representatives, solely because of their victory at be elections. But can we really term them so? For instance if candidate 'A' gets 51% of votes while the candidate 'B' gets 49% 'A' is elected. Then whom does 'A' represent? The entire population of the area? Or a partial one? There can be another picture. In a multiparty contest, the total number of votes polled against a winning candidate could be more than the actual votes he got. But because votes are divided among many splinter groups, a candidates declared as a victor though a majority-again a sacred word in democracy of people have infact did not vote for him. Then how can he say he is the representative of people? There are also cases where non competitive elections are held. There is only one candidate can he claim to be representative of people. In authoritarian, single party systems elections are a facade. People should endorse the official nominee. The multiparty system or single party system is far from satisfactory method of representation.

Apart from the system of elections, there are problems in viewing any form of elections as the basis of representation. An

election is only representative if its results can be interpreted as granting popular authority for particular forms of government actions. This is termed as mandate. A political party which gets majority can claim that it has got “mandate” from people to pursue certain policies. So mandate is a legal recognition that a winning party has the power to be a representative of the people. But this argument has many loopholes. Many a time government may be compelled to take on spot decisions to meet unforeseen international events. Nobody could claim the government has popular mandate on those decisions. For instance in the world market there might be severe fluctuations compelling a govt to take certain hard measures like cutting down subsidies, to tide over the economic crisis. The decision would certainly hurt the people. We can hardly claim that there is a mandate for government’s unpopular decisions. Then how can we justify the argument that elections are a method whereby the representation of the people is sanctified.

Again if we look at the pattern of the elections we will discern many shortcomings. Apart from the fact that the children, mentally ill people, do not have right to vote, even among the eligible voters there is a large number of them who would not exercise the right to vote. For a large extent voters are influenced by irrational factors like religion, caste and charismatic personality of leaders. In fact, in modern democracies the advance of technology makes such a dent into the thinking capacity of a citizen that there seems to be no difference between a democratic and dictatorship government in brain washing the citizen and making him to accept a particular candidate as his representative. The electronic media like T.V. will focus more on the personality of a leader than the issues to be debated. Whatever might be the case the conducting of elections by itself is not the real test of producing representation to the people.

Rousseau was the first person to decry the system of representation. Although Locke another social contract thinker, envisaged a system of people repudiating the contract if the representatives failed to live up to expectations, we all know how remote such a possibility is there. Some thinkers view that the provisions like referendum, recall frequent elections will somehow ‘justify’ Locke’s assumption that the representatives of people will be careful in discharging their duties.

But Rousseau had a different view on the idea of representation. He condemns election system and argues that when people start delegating their sovereignty that would be the end of civil society. We can summarize Rousseau’s views on representation from his social contract theory. Representation and popular sovereignty are mutually incompatible. Rousseau argues the election of representatives puts an end to the liberty of the people. With the system of representation “public services cease

to be the chief business of the citizens and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons the state is not far from fall." The people, when asked to fight a war to save their country "pay troops and stay at home". When it is necessary to meet and discuss public issues, "they name the deputies and stay at home", People become idle and money corrupts them. "By reason of idleness and money they end by having soldiers to enslave their country and representative to sell it", Rousseau bitterly remarks. With the growth commerce money power increases. And "personal services are replaced by money payments." The word "finance" is a slavish word. This was not known in ancient city states. "In a country that is truly free the citizens do everything with their own arms and nothing by means of money." In modern days of representative democracy a citizen would pay money in the form of taxes so that someone else is discharging the duties he himself should have done. According to Rousseau in an ideal state the citizens "far from paying to be exempted from their duties would even pay for privilege of fulfilling them, themselves. Enforced labour to be less opposed to liberty, than taxes. Making a contrast between an ideal city state system and modern representative govt, Rousseau further writes "in a well ordered city every man flies to the assemblies. Under a bad government no one cares to stir a step to get to them, because no one is interested what happens there, because domestic cares are all-absorbing." We all know the attitude of a modern citizen in a democracy which Rousseau predicted long time back. "Good laws lead to the making of better ones, bad one brings about worse. As soon as any man says of the affairs of the state what does it matter to me the state may be given up for lost," warns Rousseau.

The method of having deputies or representatives of the people in the national Assemblies is the abuse of government. This attitude is the result of the lukewarm patriotism, the activity of private interests and vastness of state.

According to Rousseau "General will" is the common bond that unites a political community. It is sovereign and can never be alienated. It can never be represented. "The deputies of the people are not and cannot be its (General will) representatives. They are merely its stewards and can carry through no definitive acts." Observes Rousseau. According to him "every law the people has not ratified in person is null and void and in fact not a law." The idea of representative is modern it comes to us from feudal government. In ancient Republics and even in monarchies the people never had representative. The word itself was unknown. It was in Rome mainly due to a great multitude that the tribunes began usurping the power of people in executing the laws. For Rousseau everything that is not in the course of nature has its disadvantages, civil society most of all. He had high regards for ancient Greece system

where people did all that they had to do. Living in a mild climate, with no natural greed, their concern was liberty. But of course there was slavery. We cannot defend that system of slavery. Rousseau concludes “modern people believing themselves to be free have representatives while the ancient people had none. In any case the moment a people allow to be represented it is no longer free. It no longer exists.”

James Mill the utilitarian philosopher has a totally different view on the, representations system. In his famous essay “on Government, he commends the system as the grand discovery of modern times.” He candidly confirms that “in the representative system alone the securities for good government are to be found.” It may appear for simple reasoning that “a good government is impossible.” Because the people as a body cannot perform the business of government for themselves. So they must entrust them to some one individual or set of individuals it is quite possible that such individuals “will have the strongest motives to make a bad use of them.” So we may conclude that a good government is impossible. But James Mill does not think so. He argues while he individuals who have been vested with the government business can misuse the power “it is possible that checks may be found sufficient to prevent them”, upon the right constitution of checks all goodness of government depends.” James Mill argues “since the community itself is incapable of exercising government powers and must entrust them to some individual or combination of individuals the community itself must check those individuals, else they will follow their interest and produce bad government. But how can the community check? It can act only when assembled. So it is incapable of acting. The community therefore will choose Representatives. And these representatives of the community operate as a check.

So we find James Mill suggesting a system by which the community would first entrust the executive power to a small body and then a larger body of representatives would function as a watchdog to prevent the misuse of power by the king or rulers or aristocrats. To make this system effective James Mill makes two propositions.

- 1) The checking body must have a degree of power sufficient for the business of checking.
- 2) It must have an identity of interests with the community otherwise it will make a mischievous use of its power. The power a representative body possess must be sufficient to “overcome”. James explains the proposition as under.

“If a king is prompted by the inherent principles of human nature to seek the gratification of his will, and it he finds an obstacle

in that pursuit he removes it of course, if he can. If any set of men oppose him, he "overcomes" them if he is able and to prevent him they must at the least have equal power with them" James explains this with the position of British Monarchy of his times. Here House of commons, which is the representative body of the community has sufficient power to overcome the combined power of king and House of Lords.

There is also the possibility of the representatives misusing their power. James Mill is aware of the possibility and tries to address the issue. "Each representative may be considered in two capacities. In his capacity of representative in which he has the exercise of power over others, and in his capacity of the member of the community in which others have the exercise of power over him." To prevent the misuse of power by representatives James Mill suggests that by "reducing the duration, the objective can be achieved." "The smaller the period of time during which any man retains his capacity of Representative, the more difficult it will be to compensate the sacrifice the interests of the longer period by the profits of misgovernment during the shorter." Again taking the example of Britain of his time, James Mill concludes. "This is an old and approved method of identifying as nearly as possible the interests of those who rule with the interests of those who are ruled. It is in pursuance of this advantage that the members of the British House of commons have always been chosen for a limited period. If the members were hereditary or even if they are chosen for life, they would employ for their own advantage the powers entrusted to them they would go as far in abusing the persons and properties of people."

So James Mill thinks the present system of periodic elections will limit the abuse of power by representatives and entrusting them with equal power to that of executive would act as a check on the misuse of power by executive what would happen if the representatives and rulers are at logger heads? Will a government function at all? These questions need to be answered by looking at various developments in specific countries.

There is one specific aspect about this Representative system. With all the limitations and drawback present day democracies are all representative. But what is actual duty of a representative? Is he mere a spokesman of his voters? Or can he have his own views on specific government policies. Should he act as a rubber stamp of his voters or express his intelligence and act in a way that would actually benefit his people. The people in a short sight may not see the benefits of a policy which would have long term benefit. So should a representative vote by "compulsions of populism" or exercise a rational option and vote according to his intelligence? Does he have freedom to judge an issue on merits of

simply voice the opinion of the people who voted him. Edmund Burke, the 18th century philosopher, in his speech at the conclusions of the poll on 3rd November 1774 answered these questions clearly. Making a neat distinction between “delegates” and “Representatives.” Burke emphasizes the duty of Representative is far more sacred. We can summarize the main points of his historic speech as follow. “It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closet correspondence and the most unreserved communications with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him, their opinions high respect, their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfaction to theirs to prefer their interest to his own”. After explaining the intimacy that ought to exist between a representative and his constituent members, Burke clearly states where the representative should act in an autonomous manner. Addressing the voters, Burke says, “His (Representative's) unbiased, his mature judgment, enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set to men living your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays, instead of serving you, it he sacrifices it to your opinion. While agreeing that expressing an opinion is the right of all men, and also concurring the view that a representative should always be willing to hear it, Burke says it is wrong to expect a representative, to treat these opinions as "Authoritative instructions or mandate issued which he should blindly obey." Explaining the nature and composition of the House of representatives and contrasting with some international organization like Congress of Ambassadors, Burke makes a distinction between the functions of a diplomat and that of representative. In the Congress of Ambassadors, there are different and hostile interests. Each country's ambassador would take a narrow and partisan view and plead for his country's interests. But the parliament is “deliberative Assembly of one nation with one interest. Here not local purposes, not local prejudices, would guide the representatives. What matters is the general good resulting from general reason of the whole”. When people elect a representative, he is not a member of any particular constituency, but he is a member of parliament. Then If the local constituent should have an interest or should form an hasty opinion, evidently opposed to the real good of the rest of the community, the Member for that place, ought to be as far as any other from any endeavour to give it effect.”

In other words, Edmund Burke proposes an elite conception of democracy as opposed to populist version. In his days where literacy has at low level and franchise was limited, the rule of an elite representative could be justified, but whether the same proposition applies now is a matter of debate. But Burke warns

against mass opinion and pleads for rational approach to solve public issues. To that extent it is relevant.

Check your Progress:

Critically review the traditional theories of representation. What are their limitations?

12.4 CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION

Representation is involving contemporary political writes also. The American political philosopher Hannah Fenichel Pitkin, in his work on “the concept of Representation”, brings out new focus. We tend to treat government to be representative "by demonstrating that its subjects have control over what it does." Pitkin agrees that all government actions are formally attributed to its people. But the difference between representative government and other types is there is a substantial content to this attribution in representative system. Here people are not merely "passive recipients" of good policies and actions. People really act through government. The character of a representative government is that the government, is not only in the control of the people but also it is responsive to people. Explaining the concept of substantiveness, in representation Pitkin, argues, in a representative government, people must be capable of action and judgment, capable of initiating government activity, so that the government may be conceived as responding to them. Since the people are the ultimate masters they should have capacity of judging the good action. They need not express their wishes openly, might not formulate, them but “they should be capable of doing so”. It is normally expected such wishes ought to be fulfilled unless there are strong reasons to demonstrate that the fulfillment of such wishes would go against their own interest. For instance a government might control gun licence, or be firm on drugs, for the peoples interest. But this should be exception rather than rule. So a machinery is required for the “expression of wishes of the governed”, and government must respond to these wishes, unless there are good reasons to contrary. Pitkin emphasizes that “there need not be a constant activity of responding but there must be a constant condition of responsiveness, of potential readiness to respond.” If a government

acts only when popular wish is expressed that is not sufficient. Many a time the popular wishes may take a violent turn and if government responds post facto violence an impression will be created that a government will respond only when public acts violently. That should not be the case. Government should always be prepared to act in anticipation if 'peoples' wishes. So long as people feel that they could initiate action, if they so desired, we can say people are acting through government. We should not proclaim that a government is not representative, the day it frustrates people's wishes. It is a long term systematic arrangements by institutions and the way in which it functions. No particular act either catering to people's wishes or refusal to adhere to it can be criteria to determine whether a government is representative or not. A writer John Plamentaz points out that a dictator might choose to do what his subject want and nevertheless not be a representative. "only if he institutionalizes this decision so that there is not merely occasional response when he pleases but regular systematic responsiveness does he become a representative." In other words we need elections free and fair, regularly conducted. Elections restores the capability of people to express their wishes. In a way they have potential to rule but would not directly discharge that power. So a representative system presupposes the potential responsiveness from the governed. They have access to power rather that its actual exercise. The ruler aware of that potential respond to the wishes.

In other words Pitkin's theory envisages an educated and politically active citizens and a prompt government to heed to the requirements of the govt. A rapport of understanding between the rules and the ruled with institutional arrangements like free elections regularly conducted can make a system representative.

Anne Philips in her book **The politics of presence** points out the inadequacy of the traditional representative method. She pleads for policies of presence where by the hitherto excluded and marginalized sections be heard in the democratic set up. In a multi cultural and pluralistic society no one representative can claim to be spokesman of divergent groups. If there are some agreed policies like old age pension unemployment allowance environment issues anybody can represent a section. But " how can men legitimately stand in for women when what is at issue is the representative of women per second" asks Anne. Anne takes an issue of representative of working class. There are two opinions. One would say a person who is well versed in labour matters can represent the labour. Although he is not a worker himself he represents labour interest. This is challenged by others who would argue only a labourer can speak for labourers. Today the demand for group rights is emerging. "Adequate representation is increasingly interpreted as implying a more adequate representation of different

social groups that make up the citizen body.” This demand is the result of many social movements. These movements express separativeness, identity of a group. Although, the principle of equality is ideal there are inequalities which cannot be erased. “women do not want to change their sex or the Black people colour of their skins, as a condition for equal citizenship, nor do they want their differences discounted in an assimilationists imposition of sameness.” Anne Philips writes.

These groups of Black, Feminine Rights are autonomous. They are confident and would not want a “unity of shared concerns.” In other words, Anne suggests the present representative method needs to be changed to provide more group representative. Then what would happen to social unity the bedrock of any Political System? We would only be legitimizing social tensions and rivalry of social groups by going for group representation.

This problem has been addressed by Iris Marin Young in his work “Justice and politics of Difference.” He visualizes a system of “Rain Bow Coalition.” Different social locations and experiences create different representatives among the social groups or existing social institution. That is why we find some groups take advantage of certain existing governmental, institutional provisions, like free legal aid, medical insurance while others lag behind. So real Justice demands giving representation to various groups in different social and political institutions. So what is required is “specific representation of social group. The representation based on ‘ideology’ or ‘specific interest’ though has some advantage would hardly be sufficient to provide Justice to certain social groups that are neglected by the social structure. Defining social group as “a collective of people who have affinity with one another because of a set of practices and a way of life.” Young points out how each social group differs from the rest by their separate cultural forms. Strongly pleading for representation to social groups the writer insists that this representation be provided only for “oppressed or disadvantaged groups.” Because “the privileged groups are already represented. Their voice, experience, values and priorities are already heard and acted upon.” Young is confident that once it is made clear that group representation would only be for oppressed and disadvantaged groups, “the fear of an unworkable proliferation of group representation should dissipate.” Young also pleads that the idea of group representation be implemented even among the organizations fighting for social Justice. For instance the Black caucus should give specific representation to women and the women’s caucus to Blacks. In other words young is suggesting a policy of mutual understanding among the less privileged groups of their problems. A policy ‘social cohesion’ and ‘unity’ might emerge. But this unity among the exploited and underrepresented sections

should in no way undermine their autonomy. Young makes a clear distinction between the “traditional coalition” and now emerging “Rain Bow coalition.” “In traditional coalition diverse groups work together for specific ends. It is also understood the difference between them will not surface lest purpose for which they are united will suffer. This is a model for welfare state, where small groups would set aside their specific demand and join hands to achieve a general end. But in the Rain Bow coalition, “each of the constituent groups affirm the presence of others as well as the specificity of their experience and perspective on social issues. Ideally a Rain Bow coalition affirms the presence and supports the claims of each of the oppressed groups and arrives at a political programme.” This is done not by suppressing differences and voicing unity but by “allowing each constituency to analyze the economic and social issues from the perspectives of its experience.” This requires that each group should maintain its autonomy and formation of grass root organizations achieve unity.

While the ideal of Rain Bow coalition is laudable, it is still not clear how a diversified groups with conflicting interests would arrive at a mutually agreed decision while asserting their interests? But democracy believes in persuasion, self correction and peaceful unity. So it is possible rather desirable to have social Justice for unorganized groups without harming their cultural identity and exclusiveness. Young’s “Rain Bow coalition” is one such experiment in that direction.

Check your Progress:

1. Critically Review the modern thinkers views on Representation.

12.5 SUMMARY

The vastness of states make direct democracy a thing of past. Many methods have been coined by political philosophers to achieve the twin objectives of administration and accountability. People should have a say in the administration although they would not directly rule. So a representative duly elected will work for people. But does he have freedom to act independently? Burke says yes and pleads that a greater autonomy for representative in voting on policy matters actually benefits the governed. Other

thinkers like James Mill plead for institutional checks and balances to avoid misuse of power either by govt or representative.

The inadequacy of universal adult franchise to represent the weaker sections have been highlighted by modern thinkers. They plead for group representation. In this theory of group representation the twin objects of social Justice and the need to maintain the separate cultural identity of each and every group is sought to be achieved. This is known as “Rain Bow coalition.”

While traditional thinkers like Rousseau held the view that the General will can never be represented and the representative system is a fraud modern writers like Michal Bakunin an anarchist supports that view. Representatives inevitably become distant from those they represent. For Anarchists any type of organization negates freedom. They would prefer “spontaneous form of politics”, but it is doubtful whether it is possible in modern large scale democracies.

12.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Define the term ‘Representation’? critically Review various Representational methods ?
- Q.2. What are the functions and limitations of a Representative? A Explain in the context of Burkes view.
- Q.3. Bring out the significance of “Group Representation” in modern democracy.

12.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Elofson W.M. and John woods A., (Eds.), *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke* vol. III, Clare Don Press Oxford, 1996
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- 3) Birch, A.H., *Representation*, Basingstoke Palgrave, Macmillan 1972.
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POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND LIBERALISM

Unit Structure

- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Meaning, Definition and Characteristics of Ideology
- 13.3 Political Ideologies
- 13.4 Liberalism
 - 13.4.1 Core Ideas of Liberalism
- 13.5 Neoliberalism
- 13.6 Summary
- 13.7 Unit End Questions
- 13.8 Suggested Reading

13.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the meaning, definition and characteristic of 'Ideology'.
2. To comprehend the concept of 'political ideology' by distinguishing it from 'ideology'.
3. To study the concept of 'Liberalism' and the core ideas associated with it.
4. To examine the basic principles of Neoliberalism.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Ideology is the bunch of normative principles, by and large, pertaining to philosophy, politics and society. It must also be pointed out that abstract ideas in themselves do not make up ideology but they certainly are certainly the substantive segment of an ideological structure. Ideology may also be called a collection of ideas, or beliefs regarding the social, political, economic and cultural issues which spells out the worldview of a person, group, state or society. In other words ideology epitomises the commitment of its aficionado in the bunch of principles of which it is composed of. Ideology is the normative means through which changes could be brought about in socio-political sphere or it may be exploited to justify the continuation of the existing socio-political order. In the fields of politics and economics, in particular,

ideological stances play a pivotal role. Though the sets of ideas in various social sciences such as philosophy, politics, economics, history, sociology etc have been existence since the beginning of intellectual activities of humankind, the usage of the term 'ideology' itself is of recent origin. It is usually believed that the term got the currency in the aftermath of the French Revolution when various groups of the revolutionaries having varied, and often, opposite viewpoints on philosophical, social, political and economic issues entered into heated debates and arguments with each other. According to scholars it was Destutt de Tracy who coined the term 'ideology' in 1796 in the backdrop of verbal clashes on standpoints that were going on among his contemporaries. It is apparent that the term is the combination of two words, idea and logy. By combining the two de Tracy attempted to create a 'science of ideas'. The 'science of ideas', according to de Tracy, comprises ideology, general grammar and logic. Later, de Tracy's ideas proved the main source of inspiration for the French revolutionaries who transformed the Revolutionary Government into a democratic polity with rationalism as a predominant value.

13.2 MEANING, DEFINITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF IDEOLOGY

The *meaning* of ideology is, therefore, is that segment of the 'science of ideas' that determines its subject-matter. In other words, any viewpoint that is presented in an incoherent language and illogical manner cannot qualify to be called an ideology. It must also be noted that immediately after its prevalence, the term ideology was also used in a derogatory sense by Napoleon Bonaparte to ridicule his political opponents whom he preferred to call the 'ideologues'.

Another French scholar, Hippolyte Taine presents another *meaning* of ideology in his famed work, *Origin of Contemporary France*. He establishes an analogy between ideology and the method of Socrates through which he would teach philosophy to his pupils. Taine, however, pointed out that ideology differs from Socratic method of teaching in two respects—first, it presents itself in the common language that can be widely understood and, two, it avoids citing patterns based on observation that is the common procedure in practical science. In the contemporary world ideology has come to mean a value-free term that makes the analysis of a set of value-loaded ideas possible. Though the term still has its relevance in philosophy, its contemporary usage is predominant in politics and economics. It must also be added that it is not proper to make value judgments on account of factual realities about various ideologies. No ideology in itself is either right or wrong. It is, in fact, a subjective preference, indicating the norms and standards of its

advocate. A believer in a particular ideology does not make his choice of norms on the basis of an inductive process. His belief in a set of his ideas is beyond the purview of factual scrutiny. It is more about *what ought to be* rather than *what is*. According to William A. Mullins identifies the four basic characteristics of ideology. They are: “ i) it must have power over cognition; ii) it must be capable of guiding one's evaluations; iii) it must provide guidance towards action and, iv) it must be logically coherent.”

A simple of *definition* of ideology can be—it is a collection of ideas that reflect the aspirations and values of an individual, group, state or society. The most reasoned statement of Karl Marx with reference to ideology can be found in *The German Ideology*, which he wrote jointly with Frederick Engels. They contend that ideology corresponds to the “production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness” by men. These ideas comprise the mode of politics, laws, ethical standards and religion. Marx and Engels argue that ideology serves as the superstructure of a society and most importantly “the ruling ideas” at a particular stage of history are in fact the ideas of the ruling class. In their words: “The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of their dominance.” A Marxist thinker, Terry Eagleton points out that an ideology may legitimize itself “by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable...” Eagleton claims that the most widely accepted *definition* of ideology has been provided by John B. Thompson, who states: “To study ideology is to study the ways in which it serves to sustain relation of domination.” Louis Althusser, a French Marxist philosopher, underscores that “ideology...is indispensable in any society if men are to be formed, transformed and equipped to respond to the demands of their conditions of existence.” It is not the propensity of the Marxists alone who define ideology as a set of ideas cherished by the dominant class; some non-Marxist scholars too hold the similar view. For instance, Karl Mannheim, a non-Marxist intellectual, contends that ideology seeks to preserve the status quo.

It must also be noted that ideology does not have a solitary mode of usage. It is used differently depending upon the socio-political situation and the objectives and aspirations of its adherents. According to David Minar, the term ideology is usually used to mean six different manners. They are: “a) as a collection of certain ideas with certain kinds of *content*, usually normative; b) as the *form or internal logical structure* that ideas have within a set; c) by the role in which ideas play in *human-social interaction*; d) by the role that ideas play in the *structure of an organization*; e) as

meaning, whose purpose is *persuasion*; and f) as the *locus* of social interaction, possibly.”

Check Your Progress:

- Q.1. Explain the meaning of ‘Ideology’ and discuss its various definitions.
- Q.2. Define ‘Ideology’ and discuss its characteristics and various modes of usage.

13.3 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Political ideologies constitute one of the core components of the study of Political Science. It is through the study of political ideologies that the students of the discipline of politics get to know how *power* is variedly located in different polities. A political ideology serves as the guiding force in matters of apportion of power and the objectives to be achieved by locating power in the manner congruent to the core of the ideology. Thus, political ideology can be defined as a set of ideas that are essentially about the governmental form, economic system and structure of society. It should also be noted that every kind of political order legitimizes its existence and continuation on the basis of its political ideology. In this sense political ideology is a constant irrespective of form of the government. In a democracy that implies the existence of competing political parties, political ideology plays a more conspicuous role because each political party adheres to a political ideology. In this sense we witness a series of contests between numerous of political ideologies in a multi-party democracy. It is another matter whether a particular political party steadfastly sticks to its declared political ideology or not. It is for this reason observers of leading democracies find difference in theory and praxis of political ideology. It is an area that falls in the category behavioural approach to the study of politics. In theory, our focus should be majorly on the set of ideas, principles, doctrines, symbols and myths that collectively constitute political ideology of a political group, institution or class.

A political ideology is a significant tool in analyzing the political ends and to some extent the political processes of a polity. In case of almost all the non-democratic political orders, political

ideology serves the interests of the tyrants, monarchs, dictators, oligarchs, military juntas and party bureaucrats to legitimize and perpetuate their rule. In democracies, it helps electorates make informed political choices. In this context we must refer to the two dimensions of political ideology viz. the ends or goals and the methods through which the ends can be best achieved. Every ruler, even a tyrant, declares that the ultimate purpose of his rule is to achieve certain goals that according to his political ideology are in the interest of the nation and the people. In conjunction with this, he also asserts that the means that he has opted for are the best that will yield the desired objectives. In democracies the similar exercise is done by political parties. Nonetheless, a democratic polity is morally superior because the means of achieving the declared objectives are based on the principles of political egalitarianism, accountability and political justice.

Political ideologies are concerned with almost all the significant aspect of society. In addition to the core issues like governmental form, economic system and social structure, political ideologies are also concerned about religion, race, language, education, health care, labour laws, criminal laws, national security, social security, trade and commerce, immigration and foreign policy. The respective stances of the rulers and especially of the political parties on these issues determine the kind of their political ideology. One must be careful not to confuse political ideology with political strategies or individual issues that may be taken up by political parties from time to time for electoral gains. Though a political party, more often than not, campaigns for certain issues or plans political strategies which are compatible with its core ideology, it may occasionally sponsor certain issue in view of popular sentiment of common people about it. It can be better defined as populism rather than political ideology.

It is also surprising that political parties are usually classified on account of their position on economic systems rather than on political issues. For instance, the most popular typology of political parties is categorizing them as Left, Centre, Right, Left-of-the-Centre or Right-of-the- Centre. In this political spectrum Left epitomises Communist/ Socialist, Centre stands for an economic ideology that combines the features of socialist and free market economies (mixed economy) while Right represents Capitalism/free market. It is obvious now that a Left-of-the- Centre political party is the one that believes in mixed economy but as a rule tilts towards socialism. Similarly, a Right-of-the-Centre party despite the fact that it sponsors mixed-economy but frequently turns in the direction of free market economy.

In political terms political parties are likely to adhere to one or combination of more than on political systems that can be

identifies as: Absolutism (ruler or a ruling clique that has unlimited powers.), Anarchism (absence of government, laws, police or any authority. A system that works on self-regulation), Aristocracy (rule of the elite), Autocracy (absolute rule of an individual), Conservatism (preserves status quo, supports free market economy and stands for minimum government intervention in socio-economic matters), Democracy (People's government that function through elected representatives.), Dictatorship (rule of a person who controls absolute powers), Fascism (rule of a brute majority defined in terms of race, religion or ethnicity that enslaves minorities and working class), Monarchy (rule of a king or queen wherein power to rule is transferred on the basis of heredity), Oligarchy (rule of a group of wealthy people that monopolises all power.), Theocracy (religious rule wherein all the powers are wielded by the priest-class of the dominant religion.) etc.

In the contemporary uni-polar world, which is characterised by the unabashed show and use of military power by the USA, a couple of intellectuals have already declared the death of ideology by defining the current preeminence of the USA as the final victory of liberal democracy and free market economy. Francis Fukuyama, an American social scientist of Japanese origin, is the most popular representative of this school of thought. Nevertheless, it must be underscored that this tendency of rejoicing over the ideological clash is not a new one. Fifteen years after the end of the World War II, a British intellectual, Daniel Bell, did a similar exercise by writing a book, the *End of Ideology*, in which he had argued that Socialism and Capitalism, the two dominant ideologies of the nineteenth century were no more relevant because the post-War world had opted for the ideal of Welfare State that borrowed the best features of the two competing economic systems. Subsequent developments proved him wrong. Similarly, Fukuyama's passionate advocacy for globalisation of market economy and liberal democracy that he did with much grandiosity in his *End of History and the Last Man* also proved to be short lived. The rise of fundamentalism in the Muslim-dominated world, the emergence of China as an economic giant with a non-democratic and ostensibly Communist political system and the economic slump in the USA and some other Western countries are some of the developments that have rendered the impulsive optimism of Fukuyama about the triumph of market economy and liberal democracy erroneous. Political Ideology seems to possess an uncanny streak for survival since the beginning.

Check Your Progress:

Q.1 Define Ideology.

Q.2 Discuss the significance of 'political ideology' in the contemporary uni-polar world.

13.4 LIBERALISM

Though liberalism is a well-known political doctrine especially in the context of democracy, it is not exactly a well-structured ideology in the sense Marxism, socialism or fascism are. It is more like an umbrella school of thought that is based on the ideas of liberty and equality that themselves may have varied subtexts relative to worldview of the liberal thinkers defining them. The term is rooted in the Latin word *liber*, which means free. Thus, the English term 'liberalism' entails the existence of a democratic order wherein people enjoy various sorts of freedom besides being politically and socially equal. Liberalism that is majorly associated with Western liberal democracies invariably favours free market economy or markets with limited and reasonable state control, constitutionalism, free and fair elections, freedom of religion and protection of human rights.

Liberalism as a political ideology, in fact, made its appearance after European Renaissance and its resultant phase, the Age of Enlightenment, which had demolished many metaphysical theories that, until then, had their sway in almost all human affairs. For instance, the Divine Origin Theory that had politically empowered the church and justified absolute monarchy as a legitimate form of government came to be discredited in the writings of John Locke who was the earliest British liberal thinker and is rightfully called the father of liberalism. In place of Divine Origin Theory, Locke presented his Theory of Social Contract that had significant liberal principles such as natural rights of people including right to life, liberty and property, rule of law and a government with the consent of the governed. Subsequently, liberalism was the driving force behind American and French Revolutions whose perpetrators were hugely inspired by liberal ideas to cause the downfall of unjust and oppressive rules. Quite a few governments in Europe and Americas became committed to liberalism in the nineteenth century. Though liberalism had to face serious challenges from other political ideologies such as communism and fascism in nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it

managed to withstand the onslaughts. As a result of this, in the present day world liberalism has a dominant presence in many countries.

13.4.1 Core Ideas of Liberalism:

Though a few ideas that are essential notions of liberalism such as equal rights of men, freedom of speech and freedom of the governed could be traced in some of the philosophical and intellectual traditions of Ancient Greece, as a political ideology it is a modern concept that emerged in the seventeenth century. Since then it has stirred the intellectual faculties of quite a few thinkers across the world who put forth a sizable body of various and sometimes differing ideas that constitute the principles of liberalism. Nevertheless, the wide array of ideas makes the task presenting a compact definition of liberalism a daunting exercise. It is not surprising, therefore, that one notices "separate and often contradictory streams of thought" as part of liberalism.

In spite of the fact that liberalism appears to be an amalgamation of varied and differing notions, we can still identify some core ideas that are the essentials of the ideology. It is widely held that liberalism is "a philosophy about the meaning of humanity and society." According to John Gray, a renowned political thinker, individualism, egalitarianism and universalism are prominent components of liberalism. Individualism asserts the dignity and worth of individual that should not be undermined because of the coercion of society. An individual despite his social standing, political views and economic status must have the freedoms that are available to everyone in a democratic polity. Egalitarianism is one of the cardinal principles of liberalism. In the absence of social and political equality one cannot imagine the existence of a liberal democracy. It must, however, be underscored that liberal thinkers do not usually stress on economic egalitarianism for quite a few of them believe that any project that seeks to establish economic equality conversely injures the principle of individual liberty. However, all the liberal thinkers do not hold such a view; a few of them, in response to the problems of the underdeveloped and developing nations, approve of economic equity rather than economic equality. Social equality is characterised by weakening the primacy of racial, religious, linguistic, (in case of India, casteist) and gender differences for the sake of a society based on true social egalitarianism. Weakening of religious primacy is a very significant factor because it helps establish a secular society and polity that is one of the hallmarks of liberalism. The principle of universal adult suffrage epitomises the gist of political egalitarianism. Additionally, the electoral process must be truly transparent and free wherein political parties representing varied

political ideologies should have complete freedom to compete and contest.

The three famous thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment viz. Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau laid down the foundation of political liberalism. Of the three the first two are significant from the point of view of early phase of liberalism. Though their theories of Social Contract differ from each other in many respects, they were among the earliest thinkers who released socio-political affairs from the clutches of religion and helped develop political discourse on secular lines. Hobbes theory of social contract revealed the origin and ends of the state and also ascertained the justification for the existence of political authority. However, Hobbes was not exactly a liberal thinker as he held that absolute monarchy was the ideal form of government. John Locke's prominence as a founding thinker of British liberalism is because of his insistence on certain natural rights such as right to life, liberty and property, which according to him are inalienable and the political authority cannot abrogate them under any circumstances. Moreover, Locke had underlined the rights of the people to constantly monitor the functioning of the political authority and remove from power a corrupt ruler. His social contract was based on the availability of natural rights to the people and rule of law which have ultimately become the core principles of liberalism. Locke's advocacy for a responsible political authority helped develop the concept of a limited government, another principle of liberalism that was very much favoured by the liberal intellectuals till the end of the nineteenth century.

Among the prominent liberals who expounded their thought between seventeenth and nineteenth centuries particularly in England, the contributions of two of them is monumental in the history of liberalism. Adam Smith lived and wrote at a time when industrialism was in the initial stages. Through his concept of *laissez-faire* he advocated a bare minimum state control in the economic affairs. He fervently argued for commercial activities that should be absolutely free of state interference. John Stuart Mill originally belonged to the school of utilitarianism. However, the publication of his remarkable essay, *On Liberty*, in 1859 made him one of the tallest liberal thinkers. Dealing with the most significant principle of liberalism Mill argued, "the only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way." Thus, the combination of *laissez faire* with the passionate advocacy of Mill for liberty produced the kind of liberalism that was firmly embedded in capitalism. During the twentieth century Friedrich Hayek, who later came to be associated with neoliberalism, was the prominent exponent of this brand of liberalism. In his book, *The Road to Serfdom*, published in 1944, Hayek contended that creation of free markets serves as a

deterrence to the emergence of a totalitarian government. This is, however, considered to be a negative version of liberalism. In the late nineteenth century, a British thinker, Thomas Hill Green presented his positive version of liberalism by rejecting the cardinal idea of negative liberalism that an individual is always driven by self-interest. Green also emphasised on the moral facet of human personality. He provided enough space to society and state in ensuring individual liberty and human dignity. Green's views majorly influenced the modern version of liberalism.

Most liberals believed that limitation on governmental authority would automatically ensure the corresponding increase in the freedom of the people. Consequently, thinkers such as Baron de Montesquieu and James Madison put forth theories of 'separation of powers' suggesting that the powers of the three organs of the government--legislature, executive and judiciary--must be separated to circumvent the possibility of a government turning into an absolute dictatorial machinery. The adherents of social liberalism have an abiding faith in a limited constitutional government that also makes available social services with the purpose of protecting equal rights of the people. Modern school of liberalism which is often called Social Liberalism, recommends a larger and effective role of the government in the economic affairs of the state because in the absence of economic and material benefits, mere constitutional guarantees of individual rights become a charade. Modern school of liberalism firmly establishes a link with a liberal democracy which is diametrically opposed to what Mills called as the tyranny of majority. Modern liberals such as Alexis de Tocqueville keenly insist that a democracy committed to liberalism must create proper safeguards to protect the right of the minorities.

Liberty and equality have always been the central ideas of liberalism while various thinkers have kept adding other notions such as pluralism, toleration etc. to the doctrine. For free market proponents like Smith, Mill and Hayek liberty, especially in economic affairs, is of paramount importance while socially committed liberals such as Voltaire equality should have primacy over liberty. In the words of Voltaire "equality is at once the most natural and at times the most chimeral of things." The belief that any state project to establish an egalitarian society necessarily leads to the denial or undermining of individual liberty is fallacious. In fact the two notions are complimentary to each other and in the absence of any one of them liberalism turn out to be a charade. The real test for a liberal polity is, therefore, to ensure liberty of the people along with guaranteeing equality. In this context John Rawls theory of social justice assumes to have greater significance. Rawls' theory is a brilliant endeavor to fuse the concepts of liberty and equality in such a way that the concept of social justice becomes a reality. The essence of the theory is consisted of the

two principles. The first one speaks about each one having the same claim over basic liberties that are available to every other member of the society. The second principle provides that social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: a) they are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; b) they are to be the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society. Rawls believed that his theory of social justice can be truly translated into reality in constitutional democracy wherein markets do exist with state regulation. John Rawls has been the foremost liberal thinker of the twentieth century.

In its history of three hundred years, liberalism has attracted admiration and condemnation from intellectuals and thinkers depending on their ideological affiliations. It is quite strange that while a group of scholars argue that liberalism is in fact the driving force behind feminism while another group holds the contrary view emphasising that a democratic polity having liberalism as the operating principle does not effectively step up the process of realization of feminist objectives. A major attack on liberalism came from Edmund Burke who by criticising the ideals of French Revolutions viz. liberty, equality and power of rationality had in fact defended conservatism. The advocates of conservatism assault the concepts such as liberty, progress and material well-being of the people on the ground that they damage the traditional values of a community. The supporters of classical Marxism reject the idea of a state based on liberalism for, in their opinion, it invariably helps capitalists, the exploiters of the working class. In any case the ultimate objective of classical Marxism is to establish a classless, stateless socialist society. The idea of social democracy developed in the twentieth century that attempts to invalidate the glaring defects of capitalism by means of pro-people reforms. It also accommodates the institution of state by allotting it significant role to bring about the desired social and economic reforms. Presently, quite a few democratic states have committed themselves to the objectives of social democracy.

Check Your Progress:

- Q. 1. Write an essay on the concept of liberalism.
Q. 2. Critically examine the core ideas of liberalism.

13.5 NEOLIBERALISM

Opposed to the concept of social liberalism or social democracy is the ideology of neoliberalism that passionately supports economic liberalisation, free trade and open markets. It majorly addresses the economic issues in a liberal polity by advocating abolition of state-controlled business ventures and thus paving the way for complete privatisation of economic sphere. It must be pointed out that though free market exponents had always been in the forefront to attack state-controlled economy, they could develop an aggressive theory of capitalism in the form of neoliberalism only when the erstwhile USSR showed sign of economic and political decline in the late 1980s. Since then the term of neoliberalism has been in excessive use in the lexicon of political and economic literature. Nevertheless, the term "neoliberalism" was originally coined by the German scholar Alexander Rüstow in 1938. He defined the concept of neoliberalism as "the priority of the price mechanism, the free enterprise, the system of competition and a strong and impartial state." Neoliberalism as an ideology was popularised by the Chicago school of economics and was later passionately promoted by US and West European governments by unabashed economic and military interventions particularly in hapless developing and underdeveloped world. Thus, in the initial phase of economic globalisation, neoliberalism has been the ideological force behind its ardent exponents. Neoliberalism implies a limited role to the institution of state by advocating complete deregulation of economic activities, doing away with social welfare projects, abolition of all kinds of subsidies even in the areas of health, education and housing and abolition of progressive labour laws.

David Harvey in his *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* writes: "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets." It is interesting to note that neoliberalism expects the state to play a proactive role in creating conditions favourable to free markets and private entrepreneurial activities. It also demands that the state should perform the defence and police duties obviously to protect the material interest of the business class. However, neoliberalism does not allow the state to play any role whatsoever in the field of

social welfare or undertake projects to uplift the lot of the poorer sections of society.

Friedrich Hayek, who emerged as the main supporter of neoliberalism made a strong plea for the prevalence of rule of law in a neoliberal democracy. It is obvious that the capitalist class can only hope to protect its material gains only in a state where rule of law prevails. The protection of law enforcing agencies is not a basic necessity for those who do not own any property. Hayek has, however, shrewdly disguised laws behind the facade of traditions. He labels traditions as laws and the practice of traditions as rule of law. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hayek, a supporter of limited government, strongly advocates the coercive power of the state to restrain "deception and fraud" that might be detrimental to the interests of big business houses. Hayek has also backed the principle of equality before law for it treats all including the ruling elite and the destitute members of society equally. He is, however, silent about the principle of equal protection of the laws for obvious reasons. He is a fervent supporter of individual liberty and holds that every individual is responsible for his actions. Taking a cue from Hayek, some neoliberal commentators believe that if an individual is accountable for his actions then voluntary slavery which an adult person willfully joins cannot be termed as illegal.

Another notable neoliberal thinker Milton Friedman argues in his famous work, *Capitalism and Freedom*, that state controlled economy not only results in sluggishness in economic development but also impair the conditions necessary for the enjoyment of political freedom. He believes that economic freedom is the most significant component of the very concept of freedom and its absence is synonymous to the denial of freedom. He contends that state-controlled economy, more often than not, shows the way to political repression. Nonetheless, the economic slump that commenced in the USA and the industrialised world in 2008 has proved quite a few arguments of the neoliberal economists as inaccurate. The process of globalisation that was seen as the triumph of neoliberalism is on the wane to the extent that most Western countries are slowly but firmly introducing certain economic policies that remind us of protectionism.

Check Your Progress:

- Q. 1. Define neoliberalism and discuss its principles.
- Q. 2. Critically assess the concept of neoliberalism.

13.6 SUMMARY

Ideology is a bunch of normative principles usually about philosophy, politics and society. The meaning of ideology is it is that segment of 'science of ideas' that determines its subject-matter. A simple definition of ideology can be--a collection of ideas that reflect the aspirations and values of an individual, group, state or society.

Political ideology constitutes one of the core components of the study of political science. Political ideology can be defined as a set of ideas that are essentially about the governmental form, economic system and structure of society. A political ideology is a significant tool in analyzing the political ends and to some extent the political processes of a polity.

liberalism is a well-known political doctrine especially in the context of democracy. It is not a well-structured ideology but is more like an umbrella school of thought that is based on the ideas of liberty and equality. Liberalism entails the existence of a democratic order based on the principles of liberty and equality. During the 17th century, Adam Smith established a close link between liberalism and laissez faire. John Stuart Mill underscored the principle of liberty in the 19th century. French thinker Montesquieu developed the concept of 'separation of powers' to ensure a responsible government that respected freedom of the people. Besides, liberty and equality, pluralism, toleration and human rights are important ideas associated with liberalism. American thinker John Rawls has made a remarkable attempt to fuse the two principles of liberty and equality in his theory of social justice.

Neoliberalism is an ideology that passionately supports economic liberalization, free trade and open markets. Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman are the main exponents of neoliberalism. It aims at limiting the role of the state to promotion of free trade, defence and policing. It opposes the role of the state in social welfare and projects that are designed for the uplift of the poor people.

13.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. What do you understand by ideology?
- Q.2. Explain the concept of political ideology.
- Q.3. Write an essay on liberalism.
- Q.4. What are the core principles of neoliberalism?

13.8 SUGGESTED READING

- 1. Hardin R., *Liberalism, Constitutionalism and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999
- 2. Harvey L., *Critical Social Research*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1990
- 3. Heywood, Andrew, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, Houndmills, Macmillan, 1992
- 4. Sandel, M., (Ed.), *Liberalism and Its Critics*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1984
- 5. Skinner, Quinton, *Liberty Before Liberalism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998
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- 7. Gramp, W. D., *Economic Liberalism*, New York, 1965.

MARXISM AND SOCIALISM

Unit Structure

- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Dialectical Materialism
 - 14.2.1 Historical Materialism
- 14.3 Critique of Capitalism
 - 14.3.1 Commodity Fetishism or Alienation
 - 14.3.2 Surplus Value
 - 14.3.3 Exploitation
 - 14.3.4 Contradictions of Capitalism
- 14.4 Proletarian Revolution
 - 14.4.1 Dictatorship of the Proletariat
 - 14.4.2 Withering Away of State
- 14.5 Introduction to Socialism
- 14.6 Origin and Meaning of Socialism
- 14.7 Core Ideas of Socialism
- 14.8 Summary
- 14.9 Suggested Reading

14.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To study Marxism thoroughly by reviewing all of its core principles.
2. To comprehend the origin, meaning and the major ideas associated with Socialism.
3. To make a comparative study of Marxism and Socialism.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

No other economic-political ideology has had so much impact all across the world as Marxism had during the twentieth century. Prior to the collapse of the USSR in the late 1980s more than half the population of the world was living under various sorts of communist regimes, all of which officially claimed to be based on Marxist ideas. Marxism is in essence an economic philosophy that presents its own worldview about social and political phenomena.

The concepts involved in Marxian theory are: a) materialistic interpretation of history; b) a dialectical approach to understand social change and, c) a critical assessment of the history of capitalism. Most ideas that jointly go by the name of classical Marxism are based on the writings of Karl Marx (1818-1883), a German philosopher, economist, sociologist, historian, journalist and revolutionary socialist whose ideas had tremendously shaped the progress of almost all areas of knowledge and they still continue to have been influential in various disciplines of knowledge. In 1848, Marx in collaboration with Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) wrote a slim booklet of twelve thousand words, *The Communist Manifesto*, that was to change the course of world history permanently in less than seventy years after its publication. Engels was a political philosopher of German-English descent who met Marx in September 1844, and their friendship produced a remarkable body of revolutionary ideas. Besides the Communist Manifesto, the two friend also co-authored *The Holy Family* and had also brought about a revolutionary political newspaper from Cologne that had a short life because it was banned by the German authorities. Though Marx produced a huge amount of books, his most celebrated work is *Capital*, a critique of capitalist economy, in three volumes. Marxism is an ever-increasing increasing ideology. Many scholars across the world keep interpreting, reinterpreting, adding new dimensions and adapting the classical theory of Marxism in different settings and at different times. What we are going to discuss here are the basic ideas of classical Marxism to which Karl Marx himself preferred to call scientific socialism.

14.2 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

The foundation of Marxism is what is known as philosophical materialism according to which the universe and all things that are included in it are natural and therefore put up with the laws of nature. the implication of such a view is that there is nothing in the universe that can be called supernatural. Marx and Engels sought inspiration from various sources and combined them with their basic view of philosophical materialism to build up their own idea of dialectical materialism. The term dialectics is derived from the Greek Word *dialego*, which means to debate or to discourse. In ancient Greece the philosopher applied the method of dialectics to find out truth by considering the contradictory arguments about a given premise. Thus, dialectics is a logical method of argument through which a disagreement can be resolved. It has been in use since long as Plato has employed the method to write his dialogues of the *Republic*. Besides Plato, Marx was also influenced by the writings of a couple of German philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, G. W. F. Hegel and Ludwig Feuerbach. In the context of the dialectical materialism he turned Hegel's dialectic of the ideas into dialectic materialism. Hegel presented a three-fold dialectics of

ideas to describe three stages of social development. Hegelian dialectic comprises a *thesis* that leads to the creation of a counter force i.e. *antithesis* and the consequential conflict between the two is ultimately resolved by *synthesis*.

Though Marx was inspired by the Hegelian dialectic, he rejected Hegel's idealism for the defence of his materialism. In his magnum opus, *Capital*, Marx says: "My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e. the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the *demiurgos* of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." Similarly Engels is of the opinion that nature is dialectical. Thus, dialectical materialism in essence asserts that all that exists in the universe is material and the process of evolution is continually on all across the universe. It emphasises that universe is a unified entity wherein all phenomena are not only connected to each other but also depend upon each other. the most important assertion is that it is only through scientific research that the truth of the universe can be unraveled.

So far as materialism is concerned Marx and Engels were inspired by Feuerbach but, as they have modified dialectics to suit their purpose they did the same in case of Feuerbach's idea of materialism. Feuerbach had embedded his concept of materialism in idealistic and religious-ethical bedrock. Marx and Engels borrowed the essence of the idea and developed their scientific-philosophical notion of materialism. Justifying the modification Engels had commented that though Feuerbach was a proponent of materialism, he was stuck in the traditional-idealist mode and that "the real idealism of Feuerbach becomes evident as soon as we come to his philosophy of religion and ethics."

Dialectical materialism asserts that since entire nature is a single entity, all the natural phenomena are interconnected and because of which no single natural phenomenon can be properly understood in isolation. We can comprehend natural phenomena only in relation to the entirety of nature. Secondly, according to dialectical materialism nature is constantly in the process of change. It is moving, mutating and expanding. Such a view of nature rejects the metaphysical idea according to which nature is in a state of rest and immobility. As per dialectical materialism an attempt to find meaning in nature should also take into account its perpetual mobility and mutation. In order to emphasise the point Engels said: "All nature, from the smallest thing to the biggest. from grains of sand to suns, from protista (the primary living cells)

to man, has its existence in eternal coming into being and going out of being, in a ceaseless flux, in un-resting motion and change." Therefore, dialectical materialism considers natural phenomena as interconnected segments of a totality of nature as well their distinctive characteristic of perpetual mobility.

Thirdly, dialectical materialism insists that any quantitative change necessarily leads to a qualitative change. Such a position is also opposite of the metaphysical viewpoint according to which the process of development is a straightforward course of growth leading to no change in the essence of the original phenomenon. According to dialectical materialism the process of quantitative change not only brings about a qualitative change but it sets off a series of rapid changes in which one phenomenon leads to another in a natural process. Therefore, dialectical materialism presents an onward and upward course of development process and rejects the notion of circulatory movement of development in which past phenomena keep repeating. Engels pointed out that "nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical, that it does not move in an eternally uniform and constantly repeated circle. but passes through a real history. Here prime mention should be made of Darwin, who dealt a severe blow to the metaphysical conception of nature by proving that the organic world of today, plants and animals, and consequently man too, is all a product of a process of development that has been in progress for millions of years."

Fourthly, dialectical materialism reveals that all natural phenomena possess their inbuilt contradictions. Their negative and positive traits are inherently stored within them because of which the extinction or death of a phenomenon naturally generates something new which sustains the onward course of development and the process of qualitative changes. In this context the observation of Lenin is pertinent. He said, "In its proper meaning dialectics is the study of the contradiction *within the very essence of things*." Dialectical materialism is, therefore, a negation of the metaphysical viewpoint of nature and its development. Its core point is that nature is a material phenomenon which is in constant motion generating new phenomena in its onward and upward process of development. The onward march of nature is in accordance to the laws of movement of matter and not because of what Hegel calls a driving force or universal spirit.

Marx insisted that matter is an objective reality that is independent of human consciousness and exist outside it. In this sense matter is of primary importance while human consciousness is secondary which derives from and reflects the material realities. Therefore, idea or thought is, in fact, a product of matter, the most perfect form of which is human brain, the source of all thoughts. According to dialectical materialism, it is meaningless to separate

idea or thought from matter. According to Engels, "The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality...Our consciousness and thinking, however supra-sensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter."

The idealists thinkers hold that the nature is composed of things, many of which are beyond the faculty of comprehension of human mind. The metaphysical view is also similar to this. However, according to dialectical materialism every natural phenomenon can be understood by human mind. The need is to observe, compare, experiment, practice, in short get engaged in scientific pursuit that can ultimately reveal the truth of every natural phenomenon.

14.2.1 Historical Materialism:

An exercise to understand historical/social developments by employing the tool of dialectical materialism is known as *historical materialism* in Marxist terminology. Some Marxist scholars prefer to call it materialistic interpretation of history. It is obvious that material conditions, for instance geographical realities, do influence the course of social development. However, according to historical materialism the impact of geographical environment is not of a seminal nature because social changes appear at much faster pace than the changes and development of geographical phenomena. Citing from European history Marx pointed out that during the last three thousand years three different social system appeared viz. the primitive communal system, the slave system and the feudal system. However, during the same period geographical environment almost remained as it was in the past and whatever changes that took place in geographical realities of Europe were insignificant.

Moreover, historical materialism holds that even growth in population, which is also a material reality of a society, does not determine the nature of a social system. Population growth may accelerate or retard the process of development of society, however, it cannot be the major determining factor in social development. The reason is that population growth does not provide an answer to the changes in social systems. In other words, an increase in population fails to explain that why a primitive communal system got transformed into the slave system and why the slave system was replaced by the feudal system. The growth in population does not result into the emergence of a higher kind of social system. For instance, Indian population is more than five times the population of the USA but that does not make Indian social system higher than that of the USA.

The obvious question that arises is, if geography and population growth are not the determining forces of social transformation then which is the determinant force? According to historical materialism the modes of production of material values, are the real forces that bring about change in social system. In order to live and improve living conditions people produce things of material values. The instruments of production that are put to use in producing things of material values require for their operation labour skills and all these factors may be jointly defined as the productive forces of society. Another facet of the process of production is the cooperative venture in which all men take part to exploit nature to create material values. Thus, production is not an activity that can be carried out by an individual in isolation. It is a task that can only be accomplished by cooperation of men and that is why it is known as social production. In order to produce material values men join hand with other men in a relationship of mutual help which is not based on any kind of exploitation. The relations of production may be of hierarchal nature or may change from one kind of relation to another kind of relation of production. Nevertheless, despite hierarchy and ever changing characteristics, the relations of production remain fair and just. To quote Marx: "In production, men not only act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place."

Historical materialism suggests that an important feature of production is that it keeps changing. At different stages of development different modes of productions keep appearing. Consequently, with the change of mode of production social system, political institutions, spiritual life and the views of the people also change. Therefore, the nature of a social system is determined by its mode of production. This is a very significant point because according to this viewpoint the real history is not the record of the lives of kings and queens and their exploits, expeditions and intrigues. The real history is the story of the development of production, of the producers of the material values of the labourers who have always been the major force in producing material values.

Furthermore, every change in the mode of production bring about change in men's relation of production and their economic relations. Though relations of production depend on development of productive forces, they do react upon the development of productive forces which may either accelerate or retard it. The significant point is that relations of production should be in conformity with the development of productive forces to ensure

maximum growth of production. Otherwise, a mismatch between relations of production and the pace of growth of production will result in crisis of production and destruction of productive forces. In order to prove the point Marx cites the example of capitalist mode of production in which private ownership of the means of production is in conflict with the productive forces. It is, according to Marx, bound to result in the destruction of productive forces which can make a social revolution imperative to define new relations of production in accordance with the kind of productive forces. This will lead to the creation of a socialist system. Thus, according to historical materialism five types of relations of production are identified in history viz. primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist.

Check Your Progress:

- Q.1 Define 'dialectical materialism' and discuss its significance in understanding nature.
- Q2. What do you understand by 'historical materialism' and how does it help in the study of history?

14.3 CRITIQUE OF CAPITALISM

Though capitalism is an inevitable and much progressive stage in history, according to Marxism, it is bound to collapse because of its internal contradictions and ultimately will be followed by socialism. In view of Marxism, capital is a "social, economic relation" between people and not a relation between people and things. Private ownership of the means of production, which is an integral feature of capitalism helps only the bourgeoisie (capitalists) to keep amassing wealth whereas the real producers of material values, the proletariat (workers), get poorer. In other words the owners of means of production are the parasites who do nothing but go on increasing their wealth by exploiting the workers. Marxism raises a basic question: Why something, a material value, costs twice or thrice as much as something else? The answer can be found in 'the labour theory of value', according to which all commodities are the products of labour. Now, the question is how

can commodities that are produced by different kinds of labour can be compared and put into ratios? The answer of Marx that we find in the *Capital* is "whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds of labour expended upon them."

14.3.1 Commodity Fetishism or Alienation:

In view of Marx the exchange value of a commodity can be called equivalent of its price only if "socially necessary labour-time" was put in its production. The 'money-form' not only reduces the heterogeneous labour to abstract labour-time but it may not be even rational. This point can be understood by considering labour-production situation under feudalism. The land is owned by the landlord. The peasants till the land and do the harvesting. Then the landlord makes the decision how much portion of the produce he is going to take and how much should go to the peasants. Marx observes that in feudalism "there is no necessity for labour and its products to assume a fantastic form different from their reality" because the payments are made in kind. Thus, the relations of the agriculture workers with their production remain personal and real. In capitalism the labour-production relationship turns into 'commodity fetishism' which is a kind of alienation, a situation in which exact social relations between men are reduced to an absurd form of a relation between things. This degenerates the worker into a commodity who is for sale 'on the market'. In capitalism men lose the very essence of humanness and are reduced to mutually interdependent commodities that are embroiled in generalised exchange. According to Marx political economy from Adam Smith to Locke "has never asked the question why labour is represented by the value of its product and labour-time by the magnitude of that value. These formulae, which bear it stamped upon them in unmistakable letters that they belong to a state of society, in which the process of production has the mastery over man, instead of being controlled by him..."

14.3.2 Surplus Value:

In societies that are not under capitalism the concept of social surplus is well known. Social surplus is actually surplus labour or the labour time that is not put to use to maintain the worker. According to Marxism, the social surplus in capitalism gets transformed into 'surplus value'. It can be plainly defined as value created by the proletariat (worker) but is not used for his 'maintenance'. The workers by putting in their labour convert the raw materials into commodities that fetch far more value in terms of money than what has actually gone into its production. It is the labour of the worker that is for sale on the market. In capitalism no bourgeoisie (capitalist) hires a worker whose product is of lesser

value than his wages. Marx was not oblivious of the machines that help in producing commodities. He points out that machines do help in enhancing the efficiency of workers, however, machines too need workers for getting operated. Moreover, machines are not self-existent. They also require what Marx calls as "concealed labour power" because they are also produced by human workforce. The noteworthy point is that the surplus value of a commodity is created by the labour of a worker and under capitalist economy it does not go to the worker but pocketed by the capitalist. This in essence leads to the next important point that is exploitation.

14.3.3 Exploitation:

It is a well-known fact of history that proletariat (workers) have always been exploited. Marx too acknowledge the fact. He observes that the exploitation of the working class in slavery and feudalism has always been too obvious. In capitalism, however, the things get a bit complicated. Since social relations get transformed as 'impersonal' and disguised, exploitation too assumes the impersonal and disguised form. Marx concedes this much that under capitalism proletariat s (workers) get the wages as per their capacity to produce. In this sense workers are not swindled by the employers. It is also true that workers are not employed against their will. Force is usually not used against the workers to make them work. The decision of the worker to join the workforce is his own. He voluntarily makes himself available for work in return of wages. Nevertheless, Marx argues that under capitalism instead of open and naked slavery it is 'wage slavery', a different kind of slavery. In 'wage slavery' the worker lives under the illusion of being free to sell his labour but ultimately he has to sell it to those who own the means of production and the sources of life. The most obvious factor of capitalism is the domination of the bourgeoisie (capitalists) over the economic and social systems. It must, however, be underscored that capitalism cannot survive in the absence workforce that create all material values. The surplus value generated by the workers is pocketed by the capitalists openly because under the capitalist system it is legitimate for the owners of means of production to amass the surplus value by calling it 'profit'. Marx, therefore, holds that there is definite and systematic exploitation of workers under capitalism. The exploitation keeps increasing with the expansion of capitalist economy. For instance, if a capitalist exploits, say 100 workers by pocketing the surplus value, he is most likely to open another industrial unit with the capital that he has amassed as 'profit'. With another productive unit now he is exploiting 200 workers and so on. It is obvious, therefore, that the most industrialised society under capitalist economy is also the most exploitative society.

14.3.4 Contradictions of Capitalism:

The most conspicuous contradiction of a capitalist economy is between the amassing of wealth by the capitalists that has been generated as a social product. The capitalist keep increasing the exploitation of the working class by expanding the means of production that is made possible because of the constant misappropriation of surplus value. The workers, the real producers of commodities in capitalism are never in a position to make use of most of the commodities they produce. For instance, most workers engaged in automobile industry are not in a position to buy cars. This is also true about other commodities that remain beyond the reach of workers on account of their low wages. Secondly, a situation of recession badly ruin the workers more than the capitalist. With the first sign of recession workers get laid off that further deteriorates their already precarious conditions. Capitalists hardly suffer in a situation of depression or recession because of their assets and also because the government under capitalism is always at service to come to the rescue of the capitalists. Therefore, the government usually give relief to the capitalists in the form of tax breaks, subsidies, bailouts etc. Marxism asserts that under these contradictions that are inherent in the capitalist economy, capitalism will cave in under its own weight.

Check Your Progress:

- Q. 1. Write an essay on Marxist Critique of Capitalism.
 Q. 2. What are the attributes of capitalism and how Marxism make a critical assessment of them?

14.4 PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The exploitation of the proletariat at the hands of the bourgeoisie is bound to lead to a situation in which the proletariat will be left with no alternative but get rid of the yoke of bourgeoisie exploitation by bringing about a violent revolution. Karl Marx advocates that the working classes across the world should overthrow the bourgeoisie and the productive forces everywhere should be collectively owned. Marx and Engels point out that class struggle has always been in existence at all stages of historical development. In the Communist Manifesto the two revolutionary

philosophers emphasise: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Capitalism that has emerged after extremity of feudalism has brought in new form of exploitation which is more subtle, disguised but also more absolute and unrelenting. The two classes constantly in the state of struggle under a capitalist economy are the bourgeoisie (the exploiters) and the proletariats (the exploited). As society becomes more industrialised with the expansion of capitalist economy, the exploitation of the proletariats too increases reaching a point where the exploited workers will get united against the bourgeoisie and dismantle the foundations of capitalism. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels exhort the workers of the world to get united for getting free from capitalist exploitation and to usher in an era wherein the working classes become the rulers. The famous words of the *Communist Manifesto* are: "The Communists... openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social contradictions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. *Working men of all countries, unite!*"

A violent revolution guided by the proletariat is an essential and inevitable stage in the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. According to the Marxist revolution works like a midwife to socialist society. It is the only course that helps decimation of the oppression of the bourgeoisie and usher in an era of dictatorship of the proletariats. Marxism does not dither to recommend the use of violence to end the dominance of the exploiters. Marxists believe that the very institution of state is a structure of violence that maintains its oppressive control with the help of its coercive mechanisms such as military and police. A cursory glance at world history can make us realise that the ruling classes, the exploiters of the ruled, have always established and sustained their dominance with the help of the violent and coercive mechanisms that are the vital components of state. Marxism would have preferred to establish the rule of the proletariats by peaceful means, however, they are of the fact that the ruling classes, the exploiters never surrender their power of their own accord. On the contrary, the moment they get wind of any threat to their dominance they use the worst kind of violent force to suppress the revolutionaries. It is, therefore, necessary for the proletariats to annihilate the bourgeoisie in a violent revolution to establish their own dictatorship.

14.4.1 The Dictatorship of the Proletariat:

After bringing about a violent revolution, the proletariats have to establish a dictatorial rule of their own. In all the relevant documents of classical Marxism (scientific socialism) we find clear references about a proletarian revolution and thereafter the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariats. Any deviation from the inevitable path is considered opportunism or revisionism by the classical Marxists. The Marxist hold the view that dictatorship of the proletariats is a necessary condition in all the societies that have been under the oppression of capitalism and where the working classes have brought about the revolution in order to create a socialist society. The dictatorship of the proletariats is a socialist state in which the working classes are in complete control. The term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was actually coined by Joseph Weydemeyer, a Prussian military officer, a journalist, politician and Marxist revolutionary, and later adopted by Marx and Engels. The dictatorial rule of the workers is, according to Marxism, is a temporary phase during which the remnants of capitalism and the counter-revolutionary elements will be thoroughly wiped out. It will also be ensured that capitalism does not raise its head even in future. The proletariats will put together a social structure that will be absolutely socialist without the presence of classes. Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariats will be followed by a classless and stateless society that can truly be called a socialist society.

14.4.2 Withering Away of State:

The final destination of a socialist society to get rid of the institution of state. The phrase *withering away of state*, which is usually quoted to refer to the stateless society, was actually used by Engels who made it absolutely clear that the institution of state had always been a necessary evil. In his words: "State is at best an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the proletariat...cannot avoid having to lop off at the earliest possible moment, until such time as a new generation, reared in new and free social conditions, will be able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap-heap." The justification for finishing off the institution of state is that during the phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat the antagonistic classes will be abolished and thus a new society, a socialist society, a classless society will come into existence that will have no use for the coercive institution of state. In the *Communist Manifesto* state is portrayed as a mechanism of class rule. In the absence of classes, it loses its utility. At the final stage of proletarian rule state will decline and collapse because, the *Manifesto* declares, "the state is unnecessary and cannot exist in a society in which there are no class antagonisms."

Check Your Progress:

Q.1 Why according to Marxism 'proletarian revolution' is inevitable on the way to a socialist society?

Q.2 Discuss the post-proletarian revolution phase of Marxism.

14.5 INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM

The concept of socialism poses a problem of comprehension because of its various definitions. Many scholars have offered various versions of the concept which differ with each others in many respects. Nevertheless, there are also common elements that appear in the descriptions of the scholars. There are forty definitions of socialism in the *Dictionary of Socialism* and if we make an attempt to identify the common elements included in these definition we can enlist these: criticism of the institution of private ownership and control of capital from social point of view; collective control of means of production and also of distribution and exchange of material values; society based on the principle of social justice. A scholar, Bhikhu Parekh, in his famous book *The Concepts of Socialism* names four main principles that are usually associated with a society that is based on the concept. They are sociality, social responsibility, cooperation and planning. Another writer Michael Freeden mentions five principles that are common among the various versions of the socialists. Firstly, society is not merely an assortment of individuals but something more substantial than that. Secondly, welfare of human beings is necessary and desirable purpose of every society. Thirdly, human beings by nature are active and productive. Fourthly, all human beings are equal and lastly, history has a forward and progressive course and human beings are capable of bringing about positive change in conditions if they so desire.

14.6 ORIGIN AND MEANING OF SOCIALISM

The idea of a socialist style of living or a closely-knit community living is very old. It is believed that in ancient Persia primitive socialist institutions did exist. We can also discern socialist ideas in political philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. So far as the coining of the term 'socialism' is concerned the credit goes to Saint Simon. The term was employed by Simon to reject 'individualism' that was a cardinal principle of liberalism. He was very much impressed by the emerging epoch of science and technology in which he saw the potential opportunity of establishing an egalitarian society by eliminating the evils of capitalism such as stratification of society into classes. He was a passionate supporter of an equitable society in which each one would get the ranking according to his capacity and the reward as per her contribution to social production. On account of the potentialities of science and technology he could visualise a progressive and prosperous society that only needed the administrative efficiency and expansion of industrialism to establish a socialist society.

Besides industrialism and administrative efficiency, the earlier socialists also thought of creating a rationally managed economy that should be founded on proper planning to ensure multilateral material and scientific progress. Thus, planned economy is a significant part of socialist economy. The contributions of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Louis Blanc and Saint Simon to the earliest socialist thought in the modern world are universally recognised. They were, in fact, moved by poverty and deprivation that appeared in western societies as a spin-off of Industrial Revolution. Their conscience pinched them to devise reliable measures through which the wretched conditions of the have-nots of society could be made better. Consequently, many of them suggested that the terrible poverty of the people could be removed by introducing socio-economic reforms. Robert Owen believed that the situation could improve by dividing society into smaller and manageable communities, no member of which would own private property. Robert Owen contended that human nature, thought and action were largely shaped by the social environment and for that reason he advocated reforms in social environment. Another socialist thinker, Charles Fourier differed with Owen on this count. He was an advocate of individualism and believed that individual freedom in all the aspects of human life could not only enhance a person's creativity but also make him happy. In the middle of the nineteenth century the socialist ideas of Owen and Fourier were put to practice in Europe and America. For instance, Owen who himself was an industrialist purchased a large tract of land in the state of Indiana in the USA and established on it a social organisation named New Harmony in 1825. It was prototype of a socialist society having self

reliance, community ownership of property and cooperation as its operative principles. The experiment, however, failed leaving Owen badly impoverished. The committed socialist as he was, Owen later got engaged in organising trade unions and promoting cooperative business ventures.

A confusion may arise because the term 'socialism' is also freely used to describe the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Marxism is also defined as communism and scientific socialism. The perplexity is the result of the times during which these ideas were being advocated. Socialists such as Saint Simon, Robert Owen et al were promoting their socialist ideas before Marx and Engels could develop a systematic theory of socialism. But Marxism differed with the earlier socialists in many respects. The notable differences are in regard with dialectical materialism, class struggle, violent revolution and withering away of state, the essential ideas of Marxism are not to be found in the concept of socialism preached by the earlier socialists. Another difference is on the issue of atheism. Marxism is purely a materialistic interpretation of human existence in which religion does not have a place. Though, all socialists are not religious but some of them profess religion. Socialism insists on transforming a capitalist and exploitative society by means of reforms and evolution whereas Marxism advocates a violent proletarian revolution to overthrow a capitalist society. It was Marx who called his theory as scientific socialism and the theory of his predecessors as utopian socialism.

Check Your Progress:

Q. 1. What is socialism?

Q. 2. Discuss the origin and meaning of socialism.

14.7 CORE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM

Like Marxism, socialism is also an economic ideology that believes in the abolition of private ownership of means of production and state control over economic resources of a state. Socialism emphasises the fact that human beings are essentially social beings and therefore most of their productive actions are possible in cooperation with other members of society. In this sense the commodities that human beings produce are social outputs. Socialism, therefore, holds that society is justified to have social control over material values, property and commodities because they are the products of social cooperation. This point of view is diametrically opposed to the position of the capitalists who consider private ownership of means of production and property sacrosanct and by amassing wealth perpetuate their domination over ruling elite and social institutions. The liberal democracy that trumpets individual freedom and fair and equal opportunities for all is a political system that for the most part favours the capitalist class because they possess the material means to exploit the opportunities. Fair and equal opportunities for all can be called a judicious principle if all the members of society fairly equal. In a society where a numerically smaller group has taken control of almost all the material resources of society, the sounding off about individual liberty and equal opportunity for all sound like a cruel joke. Socialism contends that true freedom and true opportunities for all can only be possible if the private ownership of material resources is replaced by state control of all means of production.

All the socialists do not agree on the issue of what should be taken over by the state and what should be allowed to be privately owned. Sir Thomas More, the renowned English humanist, in his celebrated treatise *Utopia* (1516) recommends that almost everything except a few items of personal use should be socially controlled. On the contrary some other socialists hold that only the major means of production should be taken over under social control and comparatively medium sized businesses, houses, farms, shops etc can be allowed to be owned by individuals. Proudhon, the renowned French politician, economist and philosopher in his work, *What is Property?* (1840) famously declared, "property is theft." Proudhon advocated the creation of a society in which all its members would have a joint claim over land, natural resources and other means of production to lead a cooperative, productive life. The operative principle of such a society, according to Proudhon, would be mutualism which would help people exchange commodities and socially created products on the basis of mutually executed contracts. These interaction among individuals would be free from state intervention because Proudhon was the first important thinker belonging to the modern era who declared himself an anarchist for whom state remained a

coercive institution. Classical Marxism too holds similar view about state.

As per socialist economy, the goods should be produced and services must be made available for satisfying the needs and requirements of society. In other words the motive behind production and services must be social utility. Such an economic view is in total contrast of the capitalist economy which believes that the motive of production and services should be profit making for the individual capitalist. Socialist economy recommends that the means of production should either be owned by workers cooperative units or socially owned. The workers should also manage the means of production with the ultimate objective of producing commodities for the benefit and use of society. In a socially owned unit of production there is no place for managerial hierarchy. Nevertheless, hierarchy among the technocrats based on the level of technical knowledge is acceptable. The list of prominent philosophers, scientists, litterateurs, politicians, economists, social scientists, intellectuals and artistes who sincerely believe in socialism is very long. Here it is suffice to note what one of the greatest scientists of all times, Albert Einstein, has to say about socialism. "I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate (the) grave evils (of capitalism), namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow-men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society."

Check Your Progress:

Q. 1. Discuss the basic ideas of socialism.

Q. 2. What according to you are the core principles of socialism?

14.8 SUMMARY

Marxism, in essence, is an economic philosophy. The concepts involved in the Marxian theory are: a) materialistic interpretation of history; b) a dialectical approach to understand social change and, c) a critical assessment of the history of capitalism. There are, however, various subtexts within each of these broader categories of concepts. According to dialectical materialism the universe and all things that are included in it are natural and therefore, they put up with the laws of nature. Though Marx borrowed the Hegelian method of dialectics, he rejected Hegel's idealism for the defence of materialism. Marx and Engels developed their own scientific and philosophical notion of materialism which believes that entire universe is a single materialistic entity that can only be understood in totality. Embedded in dialectical materialism is the concept of historical materialism which means that the modes of production of material values are the real forces that bring about change in social system. According to historical materialism five types of relations of productions have been identified in history viz. primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist.

Marxist critique of capitalism is an important element of classical Marxism. Capitalism, assert the Marxists, is though a much developed, progressive stage in history, it is bound to collapse because of its internal contradictions. In capitalism 'labour-production' relationship turns into commodity fetishism or alienation. It degenerates the worker into a commodity.

Surplus value is another significant feature of capitalism. Surplus value of a commodity is the creation of the labour of a worker but under capitalism it is pocketed by the capitalists. Marx calls it exploitation. Thus, the exploitation of the workers, according to Marxism, reaches a maximum point in the most industrialised society. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is inevitable. The proletariat will finally bring about a violent revolution to destroy capitalism. For a temporary period workers will establish their dictatorship only to create a classless, stateless, socialist society.

Socialism is also an economic ideology that stands for abolition of private ownership of means of production and state control of markets. Socialist ideas are very old as some of them can be found even in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. In the modern age Saint Simon, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Proudhon and Louis Blanc have been the prominent thinkers who developed the notion of socialism. Though there are certain common elements between Marxism and socialism, the two ideologies mainly differ with each other in respect with the method of transformation of a

capitalist society into a socialist one. Socialism, instead of a violent revolution recommends reforms and evolution to create a socialist society.

14.9 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss in detail the core principles of Marxism.
- Q.2. Critically examine the ideas of Marxism.
- Q.3. Define Socialism and discuss its main principles.
- Q.4. Make a comparative study of Marxism and Socialism.

14.10 SUGGESTED READING

- 1. Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi
- 2. Jon Elster, *An Introduction to Karl Marx*, Cambridge, England, 1986
- 3. Michael Evans, *Karl Marx*, London, 1975
- 4. McLellan, David, *Marxism After Marx*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007
- 5. Etienne Balibar, *The Philosophy of Marx*. Verso, 1995
- 6. Horvat, Branko, *The Political Economy of Socialism*, 1982
- 7. Peter Lamb, J. C. Docherty. *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*, Lanham, Maryland, UK
- 8. Russell, Bertrand, *A History of Western Philosophy*, Touchstone, 1972.

15

FASCISM, COMMUNITARIANISM, GANDHISM

Unit Structure

- 15.0 Objexrives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Etymology and Definition of Fascism
- 15.3 Basic Principles of Fascism
- 15.4 Introduction to Communitarianism
- 15.5 Origin and Etymology of Communitarianism
- 15.6 Basic Ideas of Communitarianism
- 15.7 Introduction to Gandhism
- 15.8 Basic Ideas of Gandhism
- 15.9 Summary
- 15.10 Unit End Questions
- 15.10 Suggested Reading

15.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the origin, definition and basic principles of Fascism.
2. To comprehend the concept of Communitarianism.
3. To study the core principles of Gandhism.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Fascism, as a political ideology, usually has a harsh and negative connotation. It stands for radicalism, authoritarianism and ultra-nationalism. Fascism aims at creating a nation in which all individuals should have a common ancestral and cultural identity and it should a totalitarian form of government. It presupposes the existence of a national community having purity of race as its distinctive quality and abhors the presence of people of other races or the progenies of inter-racial marriages. In political terms, it detests pluralism and imagines establishing a monolithic society comprising of a people who are considered to be physical fit, disciplined and ever prepared to sacrifice everything for the enrichment and glory of the nation. It advocates ideological indoctrination of the common masses and to use their force either

for subjugation or annihilation of the minorities whose members are perceived to be "the other" belonging to foreign races, religions and culture.

Fascism had played havoc in Europe immediately after its appearance as a political ideology first in Italy and later in Germany in the first half of the twentieth century. It was started as an ideological movement in Italy during the course of World War I by a political group who preferred to call itself as national syndicalists. Fascism reject the political views of both the Rightists and the Leftists because its political programme differs completely with the two ideological groups. Its major thrust is to establish a totalitarian rule of a national community whose members are perceived to be naturally superior than the people belonging to other races and culture whom the fascists consider people of low or inferior races. Though Fascist maintain that their political agenda is different from the Rightists, their programmes and practices reveal that they can actually be called a far-right ideological group.

15.2 ETYMOLOGY AND DEFINITION OF FASCISM

The term 'Fascism' is derived from the Latin root word *fasces* that stands for the description of an image, a bundle of rods tied around an axe, which was a symbol of the civic magistrate in ancient Rome. The image of the *fasces* epitomized strength through unity. It is matter of common knowledge that a single rod in itself remains weak and can be easily broken into pieces but it becomes the part of a strong entity when it joins with other rods to create a bunch which cannot be easily broken. Thus by adopting the name of Fascism, the proponents of the ideology in twentieth century aimed at emotional unity of the people of Italy by reminding them of the past glory of the Romans when all the members of the nation were supposed to be uni-racial, disciplined, strong, political masters of the entire Europe and parts of Asia and Africa, warriors and much superior than all other races. The Fascists of Italy had also claimed that their nation could regain its lost glory and grandeur if their political agenda was wholehearted supported by the genuine and pure Italians. It was a shrewd and cunning move on the part of the pioneers of Fascism to emotionally blackmail the people of Italy.

Fascism is defined in different terms by the scholars mainly because after its first appearance in Italy in the beginning of the twentieth century, similar concepts appeared in other countries which obviously differed in details with the original Italian version. Roger Griffin defines fascism as "a genuinely revolutionary, trans-class form of anti-liberal, and in the last analysis, anti-conservative nationalism", which is rooted in the imaginary racial and cultural superiority of a nation. In the words of Mussolini "Fascism is a

revolutionary doctrine against liberalism since it wants to reduce the size of the State to its necessary functions." Another expert Robert Paxton in his book, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, expresses that fascism is "a form of political behavior marked by obsessive preoccupation with community decline, humiliation, or victimhood and by compensatory cults of unity, energy, and purity, in which a mass-based party of committed nationalist militants, working in uneasy but effective collaboration with traditional elites, abandons democratic liberties and pursues with redemptive violence and without ethical or legal restraints goals of internal cleansing and external expansion."

On account of these representative definitions we can discern a few features of fascism like it is a political ideology that rejects liberalism, communism and conservatism. The other feature is that it aims in building up a nation that is consisted of the ostensibly superior people in terms of race and culture and to govern such a state with the help a totalitarian and dictatorial authority. Thirdly, fascism despise the presence of racial, religious or ideological minorities in their nation. "The other" people should either be enslaved or completely annihilated. Fourthly, fascism stands for regulation of economic activities by the despotic authority so as to transform the fascist state into a prosperous and industrially advanced state. Fifthly, fascists present a very romantic albeit imaginary description of the past glory and prominence of its nation in order to emotionally exploit the susceptible common people to mobilise their support for the implementation of their ideology. Sixthly, fascism recommends use of violence against people of other races, religion and culture to cleanse the nation of the fascists and it also prescribes war as a desirable means for the conquest and annexation of other states that are under the control of the 'low and inferior people'. Lastly, fascism propagates and promotes the idea of society dominated by a masculine, virile and macho traits especially to attract the youths.

Check Your Progress:

Q. 1. What is fascism?

Q. 2. Define fascism and discuss its features.

15.3 BASIC PRINCIPLES OF FASCISM

On account of its theory and its application in Benito Mussolini's Italy and Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany we can identify certain core principles of fascism. The foremost principle is nationalism. An obsessive attachment with the geography and people of an organic nation, which is defined as nationalism is very dear to the fascists. Fascism believes that a nation remains weak and oppressed because of the presence of people of inferior and foreign races, religions and cultures in the midst of a superior nation which forms the bulk of the majority of a state. The presence of 'the other' within the boundaries of a state leads to racial and cultural conflicts that weaken a nation. Thus, instead of the class struggle as propounded by the communists, the fascist emphasise racial and cultural struggle that goes on in a society. The fascist definition of a nation is a group of people who belong to one race, one religion and one culture and in a given geographical territory they constitute the majority. The fascists argue only the members of such a nation can share an emotional and spiritual bond with each other and with the territory they reside in. Mussolini declared in 1922: "For us the nation is not just territory but something spiritual... A nation is great when it translates into reality the force of its spirit."

In respect with foreign relations a fascist state openly advocates expansionism and occupation of foreign lands as an integral part of the foreign policy. The fascists regard imperialism as a necessity as well as the characteristic of an energetic and spirited nation. According to *Italian Encyclopedia* of 1932: "For fascism, the growth of empire, that is to say the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality, and its opposite a sign of decadence." It was this particular principle of fascism that created huge devastation in terms of life and property not only in Europe but the world over in the two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century. Hitler and his Nazism had emerged as the worst face of fascism in the inter-war period in Germany and under the leadership of Hitler the Nazis blatantly pursued a policy of expansionism because, as per their logic, they were creating a 'living space' for the German nation. Related to a foreign policy that unabashedly believes in the occupation of foreign lands for the benefit of the fascist state, are the principles of violence and militarism without which the conquests of foreign states cannot be possible. Use of force and promotion of militarism are the virtues of a state as per the ideology of the fascists. The ideals like non-violence or pacifism are, according to the fascists, signs of a coward and meek nation. On this issue Mussolini spoke: "War alone brings up to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it."

The third important principle of fascism is that it favours a totalitarian state ruled over by a despotic authority and vigorously opposes liberal democracy. Delineating the totalitarian feature of a fascist state Mussolini stated: "The fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, fascism is totalitarian, and the fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people." Such a totalitarian state for being effective should have a strong and forceful form of political rule. It is for this reason fascism rejects democracy, which can neither be strong nor an effective form of government to implement the fascist political agenda. In Germany, the Nazi fascists propagated during the inter-war period that it was because of pluralism that the German nation suffered in the World War I and it would suffer again if a strong political order was not opted for. Carl Schmitt, a theorist of Nazism observed that a "strong state which guarantees a totality of political unity transcending all diversity" was needed to do away with a "disastrous pluralism tearing the German people apart." The fascists prefer a ruthless demagogue to take charge of a fascist state. His commands should be indisputably obeyed by all and whose actions as 'the leader' of a fascist state must be beyond public censure or accountability. Therefore, Mussolini was such a leader, *Duce* in Italy and Hitler was *Fuhrer* in Germany.

Fourthly, social Darwinism, according to which a socially and biologically strong nation can alone have the right to rule and subjugate the lands and people belonging to weaker nations, is a significant principle of fascism. Fascists recommend the creation of such a nation by annihilating the members of foreign stock because they are not only 'the other' but also necessarily belong to inferior and weak races. As Darwin had suggested that the biologically fittest specie alone can survive, the fascists too argued that the strongest and the ablest race had the natural right to dominate the people of weaker races. According to Alfred Rocco, an Italian fascist writer, "Conflict is in fact the basic law of life in all social organisms, as it is of all biological ones; societies are formed, gain strength, and move forwards through conflict; the healthiest and most vital of them assert themselves against the weakest and less well adapted through conflict; the natural evolution of nations and races takes place through conflict." In Nazi Germany, the Aryan race to which most Germans belonged was projected as the martial race that had a natural right to subjugate the people of weaker races and rule over the entire world. In order to create a strong and healthy nation of the Germans the Nazis, as per an estimate, massacred close to three lakh physically weaker and disabled people.

Fascism can thrive only on propaganda and a concerted programme of indoctrination. Therefore, the fifth significant principle of fascism is to indoctrinate people by making extensive use of media, education, public speeches and written material. Propaganda had been an effective means of indoctrination for the fascists of Italy and the Nazis of Germany. Complete control over education is a prime objective of the fascists because by disseminating false stories about the past glory and grandeur of a so-called pure and fittest nation through school text books the fascists planners make attempts to create a new race fully committed to fascist ideals. Besides, spreading falsehood about their own greatness and prominence, the fascists also accuse the members of the minority races, religions and cultures for their so-called crimes, betrayals and seditious activities. Fascism badly needs 'the other' who can be portrayed in the worst possible terms as the enemy and the traitor in the midst of the 'naturally superior nation.' Since fascist indoctrination is only possible through falsehood and hypocrisy, the fascists hate every attempt to study ideology, especially historical account, in an objective, scientific and dispassionate manner. Fascism is the antithesis of academic and intellectual culture. Hitler detested intellectuals and university professors. He opined: "When I take a look at the intellectual classes we have – unfortunately, I suppose, they are necessary; otherwise one could one day, I don't know, exterminate them or something – but unfortunately they're necessary."

Sixthly, on economic issue the fascists rejected both the capitalism and communism. Instead they declared that they preferred a 'third position', that may have features of the two economic systems depending on the economic conditions prevalent in a state. The kind of economy that was developed in fascist Italy was called the corporatism wherein the national economic affairs were collectively managed by the employers, workers and the government officials. Though fascism is exceedingly anti-communist, it simultaneously aims at the destruction large-scale private enterprises. The fascists recommend state regulation of privately owned means of production and properties and not their nationalisation. However, as already has been pointed out, the fascists may not have a consistent economic policy. They are like to change it in view of the demands of the situation. For instance, in Nazi Germany, some businesses were nationalised while close regulation was recommended for other business ventures. Theoretically, the fascist economic system, the corporatism, is supposed to empower workers along with employers and bureaucrats, in reality it leads to absolute control of the employer and the government officials over businesses.

Hitler was deadly against empowering workers. Consequently, he made a law in 1934, Law for the Ordering of

National Labour, according to which the workers factory organisations were badly suppressed and were denied to play any role even in matters of fixation of wages and determination of working conditions. In Italy, the economic policies were designed in such manner that they enhanced state power and helped disseminate party ideology. Consequently, almost all the trade unions and related organisations of the workers came to be controlled by the fascists. Though, the fascists were never receptive to free-market economy or *laissez-faire*, they became its vehement critics after Great Depression. They strongly condemned finance capitalism, the practice of charging interest and profiteering. In Germany, the condemnation of free-market economy was more intense because financial activities were majorly controlled by the Jews, the people of an 'inferior race, religion and culture', who were supposedly fleecing the martial Aryan race of its material resources. The 'parasitic' Jews were intensely despised and so was the profession they were engaged in. Since fascism attaches much more importance to the community rather than individuals, it recommends that private property should be regulated in such manners that its benefits should largely help the nation rather than individuals. At the same time fascism does not favour complete nationalisation or workers empowerment. Like every other thing economic activities too should be created, promoted and utilised exclusively for the benefit of the so-called 'superior organic nation.'

In conclusion it can be said that fascism is essentially an inhuman and dangerous political ideology. It presupposes the existence of a 'pure', 'superior' and 'martial' race that has a natural right to be the ruler of the world. This so-called martial race also has the natural right to subjugate 'the other' people and their lands precisely because 'the other' people are supposedly belong to the 'weaker' and 'inferior' races. Such ridiculous claims do not stand the tests of history and science. Since the time of the invention of wheel, the populations across the world had been on the move. With tremendous growth of science and technology the mobility of the people increased many fold. The wars, international trade and imperialism have resulted in intermixing of races. In view of this there is hardly any stock of people which can rightfully claim the absolute racial purity and superiority. Fascism is an extremely violent and militant political ideology that had caused unimaginable miseries and devastation to the world in general but to the continent of Europe in particular. The two most popular proponents of fascism had been Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler. They also happened to be the most hated historical characters by most of the civilised people.

Check Your Progress:

Q. 1. What are the main principles of fascism?

Q. 2. Critically examine the principles fascism.

15.4 INTRODUCTION TO COMMUNITARIANISM

Communitarianism as an ideology developed in opposition to overemphasis on individual freedom that is the hallmark of liberalism. Communitarianism underscores the link between community and individual. Its principal argument is that in the absence of community, individual can hardly survive. Though the community in the narrower sense may be defined as family, the broader connotation of community may be a cultural, ethnic or geographical community, the members of which share historical bond with each other. In a sense, communitarianism acquired the mode of an ideology by responding to the shortcomings of liberalism. Communitarian thinkers reject, in particular, the so-called universality of liberal political ideas. The thinkers who adhere to the notion of communitarianism vehemently attacked John Rawls' theory of justice because it presented, in their estimation, human beings as atomistic individuals. The major thrust of Rawls' theory has been that the idea of justice, which it presents, is universally true; the communitarian on the contrary argue that each society may have its own socio-cultural traditions and ethnic standards because of which a theory propounding universal standards of justice cannot be relevant to all societies. There are quite a few authors who have contributed to the ideology of communitarianism. The notable among them are, Alasdair MacIntyre (*After Virtue*), Michael Sandel (*Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*), Charles Taylor (*Sources of the Self*) and Michael Walzer (*Spheres of Justice*).

15.5 ORIGIN AND ETYMOLOGY OF COMMUNITARIANISM

Communitarianism initially emerged in the twentieth century as a religious notion among the Catholic workers. It was, in fact, a Catholic working class movement which explained that the Mystical Body of Christ was the foundation of communitarianism. Later, the notion came to be defined in secular terms by tracing its ideological linkages to ancient Greek thinkers, in particular, Aristotle. In the last decade of the last century, the communitarian thinkers began

supporting the role of civil society, which was a spinoff of the attempts of the Polish communists to rally behind the third sector instead of the concept of a welfare state.

Though the term communitarianism acquired widespread usage in political literature in the twentieth century, it is derived from the expression 'communitarian' which was first used by Goodwyn Barmby in 1840, to denote a member or supporter of a communalist society. In contemporary political literature the term communitarianism is used to mean two things: i) to give emphasis to the role of the community in defining and moulding the personality of an individual. In this sense, the communitarian thinkers redefine Aristotle's notion of man being a 'social animal'; b) on political and economic issues, communitarianism takes a radical centrist position that often seems to be closer to the leftist economic agenda while in social matters it appears to promote moral values which are also dear to conservatism.

Communitarianism, thus can be defined as an ideology that affirms the role of the community in the formation and promotion of human values and beliefs through a process of public debate. Its adherents argue that children inherit both oral and non-oral tradition from the members of a community that later help them formulating and professing their beliefs and standards. Nevertheless, communitarian thinkers do not rule out completely the discretion of an individual in accepting or rejecting the values and beliefs that are popularly supported by a community.

Check Your Progress:

Q.1. What is communitarianism?

Q.2. Discuss the etymology, origin and definition of communitarianism.

15.6 BASIC IDEAS OF COMMUNITARIANISM

Communitarianism is an ideology that can neither be called rightist nor leftist. Many communitarian thinkers seem to advocate a position of radical centre on a variety of issues. For instance, on issues such as environmental protection and education almost all communitarians go along the progressives and the leftists. Nevertheless, on cultural issues like support for ethical education or faith-based programmes, the communitarians invariably side with the conservatives. At the same time the communitarians reject capitalism, which is passionately sustained and promoted by the conservatives. Secondly, communitarians wholeheartedly support the extension of positive rights to the people. In the list of positive rights, the communitarians include subsidised education, subsidised housing, protection of a safe and clean environment, health care and even right to employment as the most desired positive rights that should be guaranteed by the state to all individuals. In the opinion of some observers, communitarians main thrust about community and social cohesion may result in subordination of individual to community and in political terms may support authoritarianism either of one-party domination variety that is identified with communism or despotism of a fascist or military demagogue. The communitarians, however, emphasise that the ideology stands for individual liberty and positive rights, which have no place either in communism or fascist or military dictatorship. Thirdly, communitarians advocate the promotion of civil society as an important element of sustenance and progress of democracy. Communitarians point out that civil society plays a pivotal role in discouraging and countering despotic forms of government. Communitarians sponsor variety of civil society institutions like business, religious, cultural non-governmental organisations and trade unions through which the ends of a community can be accomplished.

A prominent communitarian thinker, Robert Putman observes in his famous book, *Bowling Alone*, that though more people are hooked to bowling in the modern world, the number of bowling clubs has gone down. In other words, individuals either prefer to play alone or they are forced to do so because of the paucity of bowling clubs. Putman uses a term, 'social capital', and argues that the decline in number of bowling clubs is actually the decline in 'social capital'. This may be defined as the fourth idea of communitarianism according to which overemphasis on individualism may lead to the decline in social capital which epitomises "the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise these networks to do things for each other." Putman asserts that social capital is absolutely necessary for constructing and sustaining democracy. Besides civil society, protection of social capital is an important element of

communitarianism. According to the Responsive Communitarian Platform, a communitarian organisation, "Many social goals...require partnership between public and private groups. Though government should not seek to replace local communities, it may need to empower them by strategies of support, including revenue sharing and technical assistance. There is a great need for study and experimentation with creative use of the structures of the civil society and public-private cooperative, especially where the delivery of health, educational and social services are concerned."

Fifthly, communitarians refuse to sponsor universal social, political or economic standards that are usually have a strong American or European bias. Instead they recommend respecting and even learning from societies that are non-western and are also usually non-liberal. For instance, Alasdair MacIntyre in his book, *After Virtue*, pays tribute to Aristotelian concept of the closely-knit, cooperative local community, all the members of which are committed to common goals and each one of them dutifully performs his or her allotted role. Another communitarian thinker, Michael Walzer, in his book *Spheres of Justice*, gives the example of Indian caste system in which, according to him, "the social meanings are integrated and hierarchical." It is obvious that in their enthusiasm for pluralism, the communitarian thinkers tend to side even with absolutely primitive and exploitative social systems. Aristotelian closely-knit community is absolutely unsuitable for the complex and industrialised societies of the contemporary world. Similarly, Walzer seems to be totally unaware of the terrible ill-effects of caste system on Indian society. It is an extremely exploitative social stratification of society and many Indian reformers themselves have been struggling to free Indians of the clutches of caste system.

Sixthly, communitarians' critique of John Rawls' theory of justice essentially revolves around the significance of community in opposition to the importance of self. Rawls' position favours the individualistic notion of self while the communitarian thinkers like Michael Sandel and Charles Taylor argue that an individual gets an identity and a value system because of his attachment to a community, be it a family, an ethnic group or a religious congregation. On account of this position, the communitarians insist that the primary concern of politics should not be creating favourable conditions wherein an individual can exercise his powers of autonomous choice but the political processes should never lose sight of the communitarian linkages which are absolutely essential for the well being of an individual. Charles Taylor fervently rejects the liberal view of individual that "men are self-sufficient outside of society. At the same time he reiterates the view of Aristotle that "Man is a social animal, indeed a political animal, because he is not self-sufficient alone, and in an important sense is

not self-sufficient outside a polis." Additionally, communitarians argue that the 'atomistic' view of individual may even be harmful to the ideals of liberalism because an 'atomistic' individual exercising his 'autonomous choice' may even damage the very ideals that create for him the conditions for the exercise of his individual freedom.

Lastly, on the basis of empirical data collected from European and North American societies, communitarians make a case against the negative social and psychological tendencies that have become very common in these liberal societies. For instance, communitarian writers such as Amitai Etzioni and William Galston, point out that individuals in the liberal societies have been facing problems like alienation from political process, rampant greed, loneliness, depression, urban crime, splintering of family and high divorce rates. This, in their opinion, are the consequences of a socio-political culture that primarily attaches importance to individual alone and undermines community. The communitarians, therefore, underscore the need for a re-examination of liberalism. They intend to revisit the social condition wherein an individual remains a responsible and cooperative member of a community.

Though communitarianism can be justified on the ground that it has brought into focus the importance of community (family, ethnic group, religious congregation etc.), it errs in its estimation that liberalism completely ignores the worth of community life. The notion of 'atomised' individual completely cut off from social interactions can only be valid in theory. Since Aristotle's observation, 'man by nature is a social animal' is valid, it applies to the man living in a liberal society as well. Communitarians seem to build up their theoretical arguments on the critique of John Rawls' theory of justice. Rawls' theory, however, does not totally undermine community concerns. In fact, the second part of the second principle of Rawls' theory of justice (known as the 'difference principle') is not about individual justice but it provides for distribution of inequalities in such manner that the least advantaged gets the maximum benefits. It is a principle that is to be applied in a society by the members of a community who care for its disadvantaged members. Moreover, some communitarians, in their enthusiasm to deride liberalism, seem to revive or strengthen traditional and markedly exploitative social institutions like Indian caste system. This is awful. In order to avoid the ill-effects of unbridled individualism we should not push modern society in the cesspool caste-ridden communities that are not only unjust but in essence inhuman.

Check Your Progress:

Q. 1. Describe the core principles of communitarianism.

Q. 2. Critically examine the main ideas of communitarianism.

15.7 INTRODUCTION TO GANDHISM

The political ideology that goes by the name Gandhism, is in fact an assortment of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's ideas on social, political and economic issues that are spread across his writings, letters and speeches that have been well preserved. Though, we can hardly find anything that can be rightfully described 'original' in the collection of these ideas, the revival and, to an extent, successful application of some of the very old notions makes Gandhism a significant political ideology of the twentieth century. Gandhi was neither a political philosopher nor a system builder; he was however, a politician, a freedom fighter and an amazingly successful mass leader. During the course of his long crusade against British imperialism, first in South Africa and later in India, he brought out weeklies, wrote books, made innumerable speeches and penned thousands of letters in which he also gave expression to his positions on many social, political and economic issues which serve as the foundation of Gandhism. Gandhi, himself was aware of the fact that he did not make any original contribution to socio-political thought as he explained: " There is no such thing as "Gandhism," and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems...The opinions I have formed and the conclusions I have arrived at are not final. I may change them tomorrow. I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills."

15.8 BASIC IDEAS OF GANDHISM

It is widely acknowledged that Gandhi played the most crucial role in the Indian freedom struggle and many of his political strategies that he employed to fight against the most powerful imperial power of the time proved successful. Prior to his

appearance on Indian political horizon, the freedom struggle, in the mode of the Indian National Congress, was essentially elitist in character. The INC was completely dominated by persons who belonged to the privileged section of Indian society, many of them were educated in foreign, mostly British, universities. The teeming Indian masses were almost unaware of the so-called political agitation against the foreign rulers, the members of the INC were engaged in. It was Gandhi who first time reached to the masses through some of his novel political strategies and in the process converted a highly elitist INC into a broad-based mass movement. Nonetheless, it must also be underlined that Gandhi could achieve this unbelievable success by sacrificing many liberal, democratic and secular principles that were originally the ideals of INC. Thus, to begin with, the first important idea of Gandhism is the mixing of religion and politics.

Gandhi's worldview was essentially the worldview of a practicing Hindu. Gandhi never concealed the fact that he was a devout Hindu; on the contrary he expressed that he was proud of being a devout Hindu. He did not believe in the secular principle of separation of religion and politics. In fact, he wanted to 'introduce religion into politics'. In a letter to Horace Alexander written in 1926, Gandhi expressed: "In my own humble opinion, we endlessly divide life into watertight compartments, religious and other, whereas if a man has true religion in him, it must show itself in the smallest details of life. To me sanitation in a community like ours is based upon common spiritual effort. The slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life is a sign of spiritual poverty." It is through this overtly religious stance he could win over the masses of Indians a majority of whom were extremely poor, illiterate and superstitious. This was certainly a commendable achievement for a freedom fighter but making use of religion for political gains or accommodating the prejudices of the common people to seek their support for a political project remains a controversial issue.

The second significant idea of Gandhism is, what is known as *Satyagraha*. The term is a combination of two Sanskrit words, *satya* (truth) and *graha* (force). Therefore, in English the term Satyagraha is usually translated as truth-force. However, Gandhi himself preferred to translate it as soul-force. In the context he said: "Its (Satyagraha's) equivalent in the vernacular rendered into English means truth-force. I think Tolstoy called it also soul-force or love-force, and so it is." Gandhi firmly believed that truth must encompass all aspects of human life including the political processes. He was aware of the fact that the ideal of absolute truth could remain elusive but he opted for himself a journey to reach the destination of truth by experimenting with the versions of truth in a process of trial and error. His commitment to truth was because he believed, "truth is far more powerful than any weapon of mass

destruction." His concept of Satyagraha was completely non-violent. Though he employed it as a political strategy to challenge British imperialism, he forcefully insisted that anyone who intends to practice Satyagraha must also be committed to non-violence (*ahimsa*). According to him the slightest use of violence could degenerate Satyagraha into Duragraha (evil-force). Gandhi also insisted that his notion of Satyagraha was different from the concept of passive resistance. In his words: "the Satyagraha differs from passive resistance as the north pole from the south. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence whereas the former has been conceived as the weapon of the strongest and exclude the use of violence in any shape or form."

Thus, non-violence that is often referred to as an element of Gandhism is in reality an important characteristic of his strategy of Satyagraha. Gandhi borrowed the idea of non violence from various religious sources the notable among them were Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity. He was against the use of violence even for the accomplishment of an objective which could, in popular perception, be defined as just. In this respect he was diametrically opposed to Machiavelli for whom end justified means; for Gandhi it were the means that justified end. He once said: "What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?" He was of the opinion that non-violence was relevant not merely in political struggle or public causes but its practice could help even an individual because being non-violent he could be free of anger, obsession and destructive impulses. Some of his other beliefs such as vegetarianism and prohibition of milch and draught animals, in particular, ban on cow slaughter could be viewed as extensions of his idea of non-violence.

Gandhi used his strategy of Satyagraha successfully both in South Africa and India, In its application Satyagraha emerged as a political weapon that, though was deeply embedded in truth and non-violence, had a couple of techniques to make it successful. Some of these techniques included peaceful methods like fasting, arbitration and negotiation as well as agitation based practices like demonstration, picketing, economic boycott, non-payment of taxes, non-cooperation, civil disobedience etc. Though Gandhi had used these techniques in the course of Indian freedom struggle, the three of these were comparatively used more often. The idea of civil disobedience was originally advocated by the American political thinker Thoreau. Gandhi borrowed it for application first in South Africa and later in India. The main thrust of civil disobedience is to defy an unjust law. Commenting on the significance of civil disobedience Gandhi said: "When you have failed to bring the error

home to the lawgiver by way of petition and the like, the only remedies open to you if you do not wish to submit to error, are to compel him to yield to you either by physical force or by suffering in your person, by inviting the penalty for breach of his laws. Hence, Satyagraha largely appears to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance."

Non-cooperation was another technique that Gandhi used as part of his strategy of Satyagraha to counter the oppressive and exploitative foreign rule over India. Explaining the technique of non-cooperation Gandhi had said: "Non-violent non-cooperation is the method whereby we cultivate the fresh public opinion and get it enforced when there is complete freedom of opinion, that of the majority must prevail." In a way almost all the techniques of Satyagraha are inter-connected. If the rulers force upon the people, civil disobedience is the recommended technique. If the unjust laws are not revoked the people are advised to begin a non-violent non-cooperation movement against the unjust rulers. Non-cooperation, as practiced by Gandhi took on various modes like boycott of foreign goods (*swadeshi*), non-payment of taxes, salt satyagraha, strike, picketing and so on. Gandhi had also used another technique i.e. fast quite often. For a foreigner, it appeared quite a novel idea that an aggrieved person would go on punishing himself by fasting to force the adversary to redress his grievance. However, in Indian historical traditions such instances had been reported that a wronged person or a group of wronged persons on account of sheer moral force had compelled the powerful adversary, often a ruler, to accede to the demands of the victims. Gandhi made a successful use of the technique of fast on many occasion against the foreign rulers and sometimes against his own people. For instance, his last fast unto death was in protest against the communal Hindus and Sikhs who were killing the Muslims of North India to take over their properties and mosques. The technique of fast can only be successful if the position of the agitator is truthful and just.

Third important idea that is a typical feature of Gandhism can be identified as his critique of socialism. Though he showed interest in addressing the problems of the have-nots of Indian society and occasionally had also suggested measures to improve the conditions of the poor people including workers, he refused to prescribe socialism as a policy for India. He had his own reasons to object to the socialist alternative particularly of the Russian variety regarding which he observed: "From what I know of Bolshevism, it not only does not preclude use of force, but freely sanctions it for the expropriation of property and maintaining the collective ownership of the same. And if so, I have no hesitation in saying that the Bolshevik regime in its present form, cannot last for long. For it is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on

violence." Since non-violence was an article of faith for Gandhi he was obviously opposed to Marxist brand of socialism that prescribed a violent proletarian revolution as an inevitable stage before the creation of a classless, stateless socialist society. However, Gandhi approved of the basic principles of measures to implement ideas such as abolition of private property, doing away with exploitation of workers, elimination of capitalism and so on not because they were the features of Western socialism but, as he believed, were based on the teachings of the Upanishads. In his view, "Socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of the capital by capitalists. As I have contended, socialism even communism, is explicit in the first verse of Ishopanishad. What is true is that when some reformers lost faith in the method of conversion, the technique of what is known as scientific socialism was born. I am engaged in solving the same problem that faces scientific socialists." It is apparent from this excerpt that Gandhi approved of certain socialist ideas not because they were part of a scientific theory that Marx developed but because he could identify the traces of them in a religious scripture!

The bottom line of the issue is that Gandhi was prepared to do away with the evils of capitalism and was interested in creating a classless society. However, he intended to do it through non-violent methods. In place of Marxist socialism, he presented his own idea of *Sarvodaya* that could be roughly translated as 'progress of all'. In fact, Gandhi used the term as title for his translation of John Ruskin's book, *Unto This Last*, in 1908. Gandhi, unfortunately could not get the opportunity to implement the ideas of Savodaya in independent India but some of his staunch followers such as Vinoba Bhave and Jai Prakash Narayan did make attempts to implements this Gandhian ideology. They undertook various projects during the 1950s and 1960s such as *Bhoodan* (gifting of land) and *Sharamdan* (gifting of labour) to uplift the conditions of landless labourers. Initially, they with modest success but ultimately the project for implementation of Sarvodaya in independent India was a dismal failure.

An important idea of Gandhism is decentralisation of governance. He wanted to make village as the basic administrative unit and totally self-reliant component of a huge confederation of villages that was to be the India of his dream. When India was at the threshold of independence Gandhi said in 1946: "Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world...In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose

centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majority of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units." It is true that a huge country like India with its heterogeneity in terms of culture and geographical terrain, does require decentralisation of governance because the acute problems of remote areas and villages can neither be properly understood nor effectively solved by the central government administrators of Delhi or the state government officials from the state capitals.

Gandhi was not particularly convinced of the efficacy of either party-based democracy or the parliamentary form of governance. His slogan, 'go back to villages', was not merely an appeal to ruling elite to pay attention to the many problems that the villagers in India, the overwhelming majority of the country, were confronted with but was also his ideological preference for decentralized administrative structure wherein the whole of India would be governed by panchayats and locally elected councils. He did not favour concepts like 'Union Government' or 'State Government' that were ultimately introduced in India by the Constitution. Gandhi wanted self-government by local communities. His idea was, in fact, in tune with his spiritualism, according to which all things good and true should come from within. Therefore, the governance should also not be imposed from outside or from above. He explained, "Self-government means continuous efforts to be independent of the government control whether it is foreign or whether it is national." He was not oblivious of the fact that in a huge country like India the institution of the state could not be altogether abolished. He conceded that state and its machinery could be allowed to exist but their powers should be drastically reduced. In this context he said, "I admit that there are certain things which cannot be done without political power, but there are numerous other things which do not at all depend upon the political power. That is why a thinker like Thoreau said that, 'that government is best that governs the least'...a nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without much state interference is truly democratic."

His economic ideas too had the bearing of his basic approach. He wanted to see India a self-reliant and self-sustained country in the field of economy. Though he was not an economist, he thought over the economic problems of India and suggested certain ideas which were typically his own. According to him, "I am not an economist, but India may become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs." Since it is impossible for a country to produce everything it needs, Gandhism recommends limitation of wants. In this respect too Gandhi advocated to emulate

the traditional Indian way of life that is shunning material desires and striving for spiritual enrichment. He wanted Indian economy to grow but not at the cost of its spirituality. He was opposed to industrialisation of Indian economy on the lines of Western countries. Instead he advocated promotion of "small scale production carried on by individual or cooperative effort for the equal benefit of all concerned. All the large scale collective production shall be eventually brought under collective ownership and control, and in this behalf the state shall begin by nationalizing heavy transport, shipping mining and the heavy industries. The textile industry shall be progressively decentralized." Thus, Gandhian economy can be called an amalgamation Fabian socialism and spirituality.

The most controversial aspect of his Gandhian economy is the doctrine of Trusteeship. It can be defined as an attempt to do away with capitalism without disposing of the capitalists. His commitment to non-violence would not let him recommend a violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalists and for that reason he prescribed a non-violent persuasive strategy to deal with the capitalists. He said, "In reality the toiler is the owner of what he produces. If the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power. If I thought it inevitable I shall not hesitate to preach it and teach it." The efficacy and practicability of the doctrine of trusteeship has been questionable and the critics did not mince the words in saying so to Gandhi himself. He however, wanted to make it the economic ideology of independent India. He was opposed to capitalism but he was also against forcible confiscation or nationalisation of the properties of the capitalists. He believed in the equitable distribution of material resources. As per the doctrine of trusteeship the capitalist of industries should not be thought about by the workers as the owners of the means of production and the capitalists themselves should not think or behave like owners of the industries; they should be treated as the trustees of the industries. He recommended that instead of conflict between the workers and the trustees of the industries there should be a relationship of mutual respect and cordiality.

Gandhism can be defined as a spiritual approach to political and economic issues. Gandhi was neither a political thinker nor an economist. His primary concern was to achieve freedom for India from the yoke of British imperialism. In the capacity of a freedom fighter he was the tallest leader that modern India had produced. His strategy of Satyagraha based on non-violent, non-cooperation was a novel weapon to fight against the mightiest imperial power and Gandhi, to some extent was successful in employing the strategy at different stages of the history of India's freedom struggle. However, the practical worth of Satyagraha to counter the repression of all kinds of adversaries has always been doubtful. For

instance, it is debatable whether Satyagraha would have been a successful political weapon against an adversary like Hitler. The most objectionable aspect of Gandhism is its proclivity of using religious symbols, icons, idioms and viewpoint for political purposes. This is an extremely controversial approach in a plural society like India. Gandhi had the right to be a devout Hindu personally but as the chief leader of India's nationalist movement he had no right to paint the movement in the hue of religion. His idea of converting India into a confederation of self-reliant and self governing villages was more fantastic than feasible. Same is true about his economic doctrine of trusteeship. To believe that the capitalist could be convinced to treat themselves not the owners but mere trustees of their properties can only be called a preposterous idea.

Check Your Progress:

- Q. 1. Discuss the main ideas of Gandhism.
 Q. 2. Critically examine the principles of Gandhism.

15.9 SUMMARY

Fascism, as a political ideology, usually has a harsh and negative connotation. It stands for radicalism, authoritarianism and ultra-nationalism. Fascism aims at creating a nation in which all individuals should have a common ancestral and cultural identity and it should a totalitarian form of government. It presupposes the existence of a national community having purity of race as its distinctive quality and abhors the presence of people of other races or the progenies of inter-racial marriages. In political terms, it detests pluralism and imagines establishing a monolithic society comprising of a people who are considered to be physical fit, disciplined and ever prepared to sacrifice everything for the enrichment and glory of the nation. It advocates ideological indoctrination of the common masses and to use their force either for subjugation or annihilation of the minorities whose members are

perceived to be "the other" belonging to foreign races, religions and culture.

Communitarianism as an ideology developed in opposition to overemphasis on individual freedom that is the hallmark of liberalism. Communitarianism underscores the link between community and individual. Its principal argument is that in the absence of community, individual can hardly survive. Though the community in the narrower sense may be defined as family, the broader connotation of community may be a cultural, ethnic or geographical community, the members of which share historical bond with each other. In a sense, communitarianism acquired the mode of an ideology by responding to the shortcomings of liberalism. Communitarian thinkers reject, in particular, the so-called universality of liberal political ideas. The thinkers who adhere to the notion of communitarianism vehemently attacked John Rawls' theory of justice because it presented, in their estimation, human beings as atomistic individuals. The major thrust of Rawls' theory has been that the idea of justice, which it presents, is universally true; the communitarian on the contrary argue that each society may have its own socio-cultural traditions and ethnic standards because of which a theory propounding universal standards of justice cannot be relevant to all societies.

The political ideology that goes by the name Gandhism, is in fact an assortment of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's ideas on social, political and economic issues that are spread across his writings, letters and speeches that have been well preserved. Though, we can hardly find anything that can be rightfully described 'original' in the collection of these ideas, the revival and, to an extent, successful application of some of the very old notions makes Gandhism a significant political ideology of the twentieth century. Gandhi was neither a political philosopher nor a system builder; he was however, a politician, a freedom fighter and an amazingly successful mass leader. During the course of his long crusade against British imperialism, first in South Africa and later in India, he brought out weeklies, wrote books, made innumerable speeches and penned thousands of letters in which he also gave expression to his positions on many social, political and economic issues which serve as the foundation of Gandhism.

15.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss the origin, history and basic ideas of Fascism.
- Q.2. Critically evaluate Fascism.
- Q.3. Write an essay on Communitarianism
- Q.4. Critically examine the core ideas of Gandhism.

15.11 SUGGESTED READING

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DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION

Unit Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Meaning of Development
- 16.3 Approaches to Development
 - 16.3.1 Liberal Approach
 - 16.3.2 Marxist Approach
- 16.4 Globalization
- 16.5 Summary
- 16.6 Unit End Questions
- 16.7 Suggested Reading

16.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the concept of Development.
2. To learn about different approaches to Development.
3. To comprehend the concept of Globalization and analyze its impact on developing countries such as India.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

With the commencement of the process of decolonization in the aftermath of the World War II, the concept of development assumed greater significance in social sciences mainly because the newly decolonized countries mostly of Asia and Africa found themselves at a very low level development i.e. widespread mass poverty, illiteracy and almost non-existent healthcare facilities. Such a sorry state of affairs of these newly decolonized nations was largely because of centuries of exploitation by the imperialistic powers which plundered the raw-materials of the colonies to provide for the mounting needs of their factories and in return forced the captive consumers of the colonies to buy the manufactured products at exorbitant prices. The imperialistic exploitation of Asian and African economies was, therefore, a three-pronged strategy. First, the colonizing powers looted the rich raw material resources of the colonies to supply them to the

manufacturing units located in their respective countries in Europe. Secondly, the local industry and manufacturing units were completely destroyed to eliminate any competition. Thirdly, the finished products from their original countries were brought in the captive colonial markets and sold at inflated prices. This process of pillage continued for hundreds of years in most Afro-Asian countries including India. The outcome was obvious. When these colonies were ultimately gained political independence the condition of their economies was precarious, an overwhelming section of their population was illiterate, most people also did not have access to healthcare facilities as a result of life expectancy was very low and infant mortality rate was very high. In order to bring about a change for the better in these countries that collectively came to be known as the 'third world', the concept of development assumed significance.

16.2 MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT

Like any other social concept the term development does not have a solitary definition. The difficulty in defining it is also because the term acquires different meanings in different social sciences. In economics, for instance, with which the concept is closely identified, it mainly refers to the growth in per capita income and the structural or procedural changes that ensure that growth. It must be pointed out that usually the structural and procedural changes imply the level of industrialization, the relocation of labour from rural to industrial zones, constant inflow of capital in the market, alterations in productive relations, policy changes in tariff to encourage open markets etc. Political Science, in addition to political development that ranges from political independence to the establishment of a genuinely participatory and transparent democratic form of government, concerns itself also with economic development because the welfare of the people largely depends on economic growth.

The experts usually define the concept of development as the transformation of a society from an over all lower level to higher level. In the words of J. H. Mittelman, development is "the increasing capacity to make rational use of natural and human resources for social ends." This is a reasonably comprehensive definition of the concept because it underscores three significant factors that are involved in the notion of development. Firstly, the members of a society can make rational use of the natural and human resources at their disposal only when they are politically independent and can participate in decision making, in this case, they decide how best their natural resources should be used. It implies the presence of a genuine democracy. Secondly the members of the society must have achieved a considerable higher level of education, in particular scientific and technical education, to

exploit the resources rationally. This dimension of the definition is indicative of educational development and finally the definition by the expression of *social ends* asserts that the objective of development must be well being of society at large. Another scholar Paul Baran points out that development is “a far reaching transformation of society’s economic, social and political structure, of the dominant organization of production, distribution and consumption.” Here, the point is made absolutely clear that the concept of development is a multilateral notion as it implies, along with economic activities, extensive changes in economic, political and social structures of a society. Baran has also observed that development can never be a smooth process. The obstacles in the process of development vary from time to time and from society to society. It depends on the genius of the political class to convince people of the advantages of development.

The tendency of quite a few scholars, in particular those who believe that the panacea of all social ills lies in free market economy, to define the concept of development in economic terms alone has obviously attracted criticism from the more profound scholars. The critics argue that the notion of development can be restricted to economic growth alone because it is much more complex idea that ultimately aims at the overall improvement in the quality of life of all human beings. In this backdrop many standards of evaluating human well-being have been worked out. For instance, M. D. Morris put forward his Physical Quality of Life Index (PQL) that majorly concentrates on life expectancy and infant mortality to determine the level of development in a society. The most significant challenge to the economic-centric notion of development came from the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP), which, in its Report of 1990, rejected the concept of development lined with higher per capita income on the ground that the well-being of a nation cannot be judged merely on account of its economic growth. The UN agency also formulated a Human Development Index (HDI), “that combined an adjusted GDP/per capita estimate, life expectancy, infant mortality and levels of literacy.” Thereafter, in the Human Development Report of 1995, the concept of Gender-related Development Index (GDI) that brought into focus the common practice exclusion of women from the overall process of development that exists in one form or the other in almost all nations.

16.3 APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

There are quite a few approaches to development that are espoused by the contemporary social scientists. Nevertheless, they can be broadly divided into two main categories viz. the liberal approach and the Marxist approach. The other approaches are, in fact, the variants of the two main approaches differing only in

details or emphasis attached to social, political or political dimensions but retaining the substantive thrusts of the two approaches. Consequently, they are usually treated as models of development. For instance, some social scientists put forth the idea of a market society model that is essentially derived from the liberal approach whereas a welfare state model combines in itself the features of the liberal and Marxist approach. Also, the socialist model is much similar to the Marxist approach. Besides the two major approaches, we can think of a Gandhian approach to development that focuses more on the notion of sustainable development than the concept of development.

16.3.1 The Liberal Approach:

Most proponents of the liberal approach are Western scholars who argue that all societies have to pass through a cycle of primitive, traditional or pre-modern stages before acquiring ultimately the status of modern, industrialized societies. The basic thrust of the argument is that modernism is better equipped to improve the socio-political conditions than traditional system. Similarly, it also implies that an industrialized economy is much better for a society than an agrarian system. The liberal approach of development assumes that a pre-modern political order was primarily concerned with performing three functions viz. collection of taxes, maintenance of law and order within the state and defence of the state. On the other hand a modern state, in addition to the obligatory functions mentioned above, performs various kinds of functions in order to ensure the well-being and uplift of its citizens. Secondly, it is widely believed that the traditional political systems were mostly monarchical or autocratic wherein people did not have any opportunity to participate in political affairs. They were subjects rather than citizens. On the contrary, most modern polities that are considered to be legitimate and responsible forms of government allow, in many cases encourage, citizens to participate in political affairs. Many of such political orders are democratic that guarantee to its citizens political rights such as the right to vote, contest election for public office, right to hold public office and to censure the policies of the government. A liberal democracy attaches extreme importance to freedom of the media through which citizens can express their views, make demands and find faults with the functioning of the government.

The liberal approach to political development also underlines 'differentiation' that is mainly about ever-increasing specialization of roles and noticeable division of labour in society. It also implies "shift from narrow group identification and loyalty to national identification and loyalty; change from ascribed status and role (determined by tradition) to achieved status and role (determined by performance); and development of appropriate processes and

institutions to accommodate these changes.” The Western scholars, who advocate the liberal approach, stress that the developing countries that are still stuck with the traditional/autocratic or non-democratic forms of governments can realize the objective of political development only if they opt for liberal democratic model by extending all political rights to the citizens, guaranteeing freedom of the media, making available right to freedom of religion to all, respecting the principle of gender equality, ensuring human rights for all, bringing about requisite economic reforms to strengthen free market economy and creating transparency in the functioning of the government. In short, the liberal approach to development contends that the developing countries can reach the level of developed countries only if the emulate the politico-economic model of the Western world.

16.3.2 Marxist Approach:

Marxist approach to development is derived from classical Marxism that got expressed in the writings of Karl Marx, Frederic Engels and V. I. Lenin. The supporters of the approach do not believe that the economic growth caused by industrialisation and controlled by the capitalists can really be called development in true sense of the term. In place of a capitalist or free market model the Marxist suggest a socialist model that will establish a truly egalitarian, classless and stateless society. Lenin, in his significant work, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* had rightly argued that the capitalist economy of the imperialistic powers depended mainly on the exploitation of natural resources of the colonies. Lenin was absolutely justified to encourage the colonized nations to struggle against the imperialistic powers and in a sense it was an inspiration for the enslaved people of the colonies to fight for their independence.

As per classical Marxism, in a capitalist society workers are hoodwinked to believe that they are free because they are paid for their labour. What actually happens is that labour gets transformed into an abstract quantity that can be bought and sold resulting in the exploitation of workers and benefiting the capitalists. In a capitalist society the workers experience alienation because they are not in control of the forces that maneuver them to certain jobs. The alienation is the result of a situation wherein the workers produce commodities but the means of production are owned by the capitalists which are legitimized as their private property.

Moreover, by declaring money as the universal equivalent, capitalists rampantly exploit workers who, according to Marx, are the owner of all value. The money, in fact, conceals the real equivalent i.e. labour behind monetary exchange. The more labour goes in the production of a commodity, the greater value it

acquires. Marx, therefore, observes: "As exchange-values, all commodities are merely definite quantities of congealed labour-time." Nevertheless in capitalist system the people are made to believe that power and value exist permanently in money-form whereas in reality they inhere in labour that produces commodities and provide services.

Marxist approach to development altogether rejects the so-called liberal approach that endorses the capitalist model of growth.

They Marxists argue that the capitalist model is thoroughly incongruous to the developing nations because the developing countries of the contemporary world do not have similar levels of political and economic development as were present in the imperialistic countries when they opted for the capitalist model. The observation of Paul Baran that the advanced countries of today had actually amassed their wealth by pillaging the natural recourses of the third world is absolutely valid. The developing countries of the contemporary world do not have the 'advantage' of exploiting the resources of any other country. More importantly the indigenous capitalists of the third world are not properly equipped to give boost to economic development on their own. The Marxists, therefore, believe that the capitalist model is absolutely irrelevant so far as the economic development of the decolonized or developing countries are concerned.

Referring to the situation of Latin American states, Andre G. Frank contends in his book, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (1967) that the local capitalists cannot advance capitalism in those countries because their situation is altogether different from the capitalists of the US and the UK. The capitalist of the Western world, in particular, Europe could build up a secure capitalist system because their political masters could exploit the resources of the colonies for their benefit. By devising a centre-periphery model, in which centre means the imperialistic powers while periphery refers to the colonies, Frank explains that the development of centre necessarily results in the underdevelopment of periphery. Accordingly, Frank counsels the developing countries to desist from emulating capitalist model because it will only lead to underdevelopment.

Similarly, the renowned Egyptian economist, Samir Amin, in his work, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment* (1974), emphasizes that the nature of relationship between the industrialized countries and the developing or underdeveloped countries is such which restrains capitalism to promote productive forces in the underdeveloped world. Amin concurs with Frank saying that his formulations are equally valid in case of African countries. In view of this the Marxist

and Neo-Marxist scholars make attempt to explain underdevelopment in the 'third world' by way of putting forth 'dependency theory' according to which the underdevelopment of the 'third world' is the manifestation of the dependence of its socio-political and economic development models on the Western world. Ironically, the same Western world had colonized and plundered the resources of the 'third world' for centuries and even in the contemporary scenario continues to dominate the hapless underdeveloped countries.

Check Your Progress:

1. Elucidate the concept of Development.
2. Critically examine the liberal approach to Development.
3. Make a critical assessment of Marxist approach to Development.

16.4 GLOBALISATION

Though globalisation is a term that connotes to multiple affiliations of international character in areas such as culture, education, health, economy etc., it has increasingly come to be referred mostly to economic relationship between nations. In economic terms, globalisation means converting the world into an open market where goods can be produced and distributed by eliminating or drastically reducing the restrictions to international trade like tariff and export-import duties. The use of the term other than economic implies exchange of ideas, language learning techniques and popular culture at international level. The term globalisation was first used in 1930, to signify a holistic vision of education. By 1960, the term entered the lexicon of social sciences. The international media picked it in the 1980s to denote to the emerging international trade with lesser national restrictions. Consequently, the term is defined differently by different scholars and groups.

The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) defines globalisation as, "a widely-used term that can be defined in a number of different ways. When used in an economic context, it refers to the reduction and removal of barriers between national borders in order to facilitate the flow of

goods, capital, services and labour...although considerable barriers remain to the flow of labour...Globalization is not a new phenomenon. It began towards the end of the nineteenth century, but it slowed down during the period from the start of the First World War until the third quarter of the twentieth century.”

The ESCWA though acknowledges that the term can be defined in many ways, ends up defining it in economic terms alone. Similarly, the leading scholars of the world too emphasise the economic mode of globalisation. The American economist, Thomas L. Friedman gave currency to the notion of ‘flat world’ wherein “globalized trade, outsourcing, supply-chaining and political forces had permanently changed the world, for better and worse.” Similarly, Takis Fotopoulos too has underscored the economic aspect of globalisation by saying that it has led to “the opening and deregulation of commodity, capital and labour markets which led to the present neoliberal globalization.” It must also be pointed out that globalisation is not a recent phenomenon. It is very old though its modes kept changing depending on the nature economy and levels of scientific and technological advancement. It is, therefore, worthy of note to have a cursory look at the different stages of globalisation in world history.

According to Andre G. Frank the first mode of globalisation appeared in the third millennium BC when trade relations were established between Sumer and Indus Valley Civilisation. Then in the Hellenistic Age commercial activities were commonly carried out between Greece, India, Spain and the Egyptian port city of Alexandria. The experts assert that trade links were firmly in place between Roman Empire, the Parthian Empire and the Han Dynasty. It was because of the well established trade relation between these empires that made the Silk Road a popular thoroughfare, which started in western China and ended in Rome passing through the Parthian Empire. During this period, it is reported, that there also existed maritime trade relation between Rome, Greece and India.

During the Middle Ages, the Muslim and Jewish traders emerged as the main traders who established land as well as maritime trade routes in most parts of Asia, Africa and Europe. These relations resulted in globalization of agriculture. In fact, the Arab traders had the monopoly to conduct maritime trade between India, Africa and Europe. Although the rise of Mongol Empire badly disrupted global trade activities, it gave a boost to international travel along the Silk Road. It was the Mongols who introduced the first global postal service between Asia, Africa and Europe.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the European powers such as Portugal, Spain, Holland and Britain increased their

maritime trade between India, Africa and Europe by ousting the Arab traders from the business. This phase is named as proto-globalisation by the experts. The British East India Company was founded in 1599, with the exclusive purpose of controlling spice trade between India and Europe. In 1600, the British traders reached India and ultimately colonized the country. Nevertheless, the Europeans, Portuguese, Dutch and the French had already established their zones of commerce in India about a century and half earlier than the arrival of the British. They were already engaged, overtly or covertly, in political activities.

With the rise in maritime commerce and travel, the Americas, the New World, were discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, after which the European powers competed with each other to colonize the New World. Britain, Spain, France and Portugal were the clear winners in completely routing the indigenous people and their culture and permanently occupying the Americas. The rest is, of course, history. It was in the nineteenth century that globalisation took on the mode in which it is known today. The notion was largely shaped by the imperialistic powers which held on till the end of the World War II. Though global trade greatly reduced during the period between the two great wars, it rapidly increased after the World War II thanks mainly to the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. The Conference invented three new mechanisms to promote international trade relation and give impetus to the economic mode of globalisation. Of the three, two viz. International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were immediately established whereas the third, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was founded in 1947. The current nomenclature of GATT since 1995, is the World Trade Organisation (WTO). These mechanisms, besides facilitating the expansion of multinational and transnational corporations, greatly helped the Western powers to control the economies of the so-called third world despite the end of colonization.

There exists a controversy over the effects of globalisation. The supporters of Western capitalism hail it because it directly helps establish a free global market economy that, according to them, is beneficial for the industrialized West as well as the underdeveloped 'third world'. For instance Jagdish Bhagwati, former advisor to the UN on globalisation, believes that globalisation is a positive force that will help the underdeveloped countries to reduce mass poverty. Though, he concedes, that there exist some problems with the fast pace of development, he asserts that it will ultimately ensure faster economic growth. In practical terms what is happening in the name of globalisation is that the *skilled* workers from poor countries, mostly scientists and IT and computer engineers, migrate to Western countries creating a syndrome of brain drain. Another popular outcome of globalisation

is the phenomenon of business process outsourcing (BPO) which, no doubt, has helped the developing countries such as India where the labour is cheap, but has increased unemployment in the rich industrialized countries particularly among those who aspire for lower corporate positions. Quite a few observers opine that the economic slump that started in the US and Europe in 2008, was, to some extent, because of the BPO.

The critics also point out that globalisation caused income inequality both between nations and within the working groups of nations. In the US and Europe, the current economic slump is largely because of the income inequality between a tiny section of very rich and an overwhelming segment of very poor. In India, according to the Government of India Report on Unorganised Sector of 2007, the percentage of the persons who earn less than twenty rupees per day is at staggering 77. Moreover, globalisation has drastically demote the position of the nation states and enhanced the prestige of sub-state and supra state institutions such as European Union, WTO, the G8 and the International Criminal Court. These institutions are fast taking over state functions by means of international agreements.

The anti-globalisation sentiments have assumed the form of a movement which is primarily opposed to the negative impact of globalisation on third world economy, politics and society. In the developed West, the opposition to globalisation is piloted mainly by the middle-class and the educated youths. The significant point that should be highlighted is that globalisation per se in neither good nor bad. It is the way a nation-state exploits globalisation to its advantage determines its worth. For instance, China is one country that has taken maximum advantage of globalisation by flooding global market with its cheap consumer products and in the process has emerged as one of the three most powerful economic powers of the world. It is, therefore, imprudent to take an anti-globalisation position for it it will be almost impossible for a nation to live in isolation in the current international order. It seems appropriate to conclude with the opinion of Noam Chomsky, one of the greatest intellectuals of the contemporary world. He observed: "The term 'globalization' has been appropriated by the powerful to refer to a specific form of international economic integration, one based on investor rights, with the interests of people incidental. That is why the business press, in its more honest moments, refers to the 'free trade agreements' as 'free investment agreements' (Wall St. Journal). Accordingly, advocates of other forms of globalization are described as 'anti-globalization'; and some, unfortunately, even accept this term, though it is a term of propaganda that should be dismissed with ridicule. No sane person is opposed to globalization, that is, international integration. Surely not the left and the workers movements, which were founded on the principle of international

solidarity — that is, globalization in a form that attends to the rights of people, not private power systems.”

Check Your Progress:

1. Critically discuss the concept of Globalization.
2. Examine the impact of Globalization on developing countries with special reference to India.

16.5 SUMMARY

With the commencement of the process of decolonization in the aftermath of the World War II, the concept of development assumed greater significance in social sciences mainly because the newly decolonized countries mostly of Asia and Africa found themselves at a very low level development i.e. widespread mass poverty, illiteracy and almost non-existent healthcare facilities. The immediate need was therefore to concentrate on development. Like any other social concept the term development does not have a solitary definition. The difficulty in defining it is also because the term acquires different meanings in different social sciences. In economics, for instance, with which the concept is closely identified, it mainly refers to the growth in per capita income and the structural or procedural changes that ensure that growth. It must be pointed out that usually the structural and procedural changes imply the level of industrialization, the relocation of labour from rural to industrial zones, constant inflow of capital in the market, alterations in productive relations, policy changes in tariff to encourage open markets etc. Political Science, in addition to political development that ranges from political independence to the establishment of a genuinely participatory and transparent democratic form of government, concerns itself also with economic development because the welfare of the people largely depends on economic growth.

There are quite a few approaches to development that are espoused by the contemporary social scientists. Most proponents of the liberal approach are Western scholars who argue that all societies have to pass through a cycle of primitive, traditional or pre-modern stages before acquiring ultimately the status of modern, industrialized societies. The basic thrust of the argument is

that modernism is better equipped to improve the socio-political conditions than traditional system. Similarly, it also implies that an industrialized economy is much better for a society than an agrarian system. The supporters of the approach do not believe that the economic growth caused by industrialisation and controlled by the capitalists can really be called development in true sense of the term. In place of a capitalist or free market model the Marxist suggest a socialist model that will establish a truly egalitarian, classless and stateless society.

Though globalisation is a term that connotes to multiple affiliations of international character in areas such as culture, education, health, economy etc., it has increasingly come to be referred mostly to economic relationship between nations. In economic terms, globalisation means converting the world into an open market where goods can be produced and distributed by eliminating or drastically reducing the restrictions to international trade like tariff and export-import duties. The use of the term other than economic implies exchange of ideas, language learning techniques and popular culture at international level.

16.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Define development and discuss the two most popular approaches to development.
- Q.2. Explain the concept of Globalisation and discuss its impact on developing countries.

16.7 SUGGESTED READING

1. Chew, Sing C., and Denmark, Robert A., *The Underdevelopment of Development*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1996
2. Clarke, Desmond M., and Jones, Charles, *The Rights of Nations: Nations and Nationalism in a Changing World*, Cork University Press, Cork, 1999
3. Hettene, Bjorn, *Development Theory and the Three Worlds*, Longman, Essex, 1990
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CONTEMPORARY DEBATES IN MODERNITY AND GENDER

Unit Structure

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Modernity definition theories of modernity and criticism.
- 17.3 The ideas of Post Modernism
- 17.4 The concept of Gender Justice: Various Theories
- 17.5 Feminism. The position of women liberation movement in the 20th Century
- 17.6 Summary
- 17.7 Unit End Questions
- 17.8 Suggested Reading

17.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the concept of modernity and its significance in the field of Politics.
- 2) To critically evaluate the theories of modernism and to establish the different concepts around the use of the term “modernity”.
- 3) To study the idea of post modernism.
- 4) To analyze the meaning and significance of “Gender Justice”.
- 5) To analyze various theories connected with Feminist Movement.
- 6) To understand the present conditions of women movement.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Change is an inevitable factor in all societies. In some societies the change may be rapid, while other societies the change might take place at a slow pace. Normally the technologically advanced societies, show a rapid change, while developing societies take time to adopt to the changes happening elsewhere. In a way the advanced societies set a standard, which the others follow. When the social change occurs, new values, new ideas, creep into society. There would be a clash of ‘traditional’ and new

ideas, we call these ideas as “modern” and compare and contrast them. For instance in Indian society, “Brahminical Superiority” “Confinement women to domestic life”. are old ideas, where as “Social equality” and “Gender Justice” are modern ideas. How this modernity affects politics is the core theme.

The term Justice is taken from Latin term *Jussie* which means to bind together. It aims at maintaining cohesion in the society by resolving conflicts in a peaceful manner. However in ‘modern’ days justice is treated as social justice. i.e. providing adequate opportunities for the marginalised sections to come up in life. This is known as distributive justice. Historically women were subjected to unjust treatment in all societies. How to restore their dignity in societies, how to create an egalitarian societies based on equality would be thrust of this chapter.

17.2 MODERNITY DEFINITION AND MEANING

The term modernity has come from the Latin term ‘modernus’ – which means just now. It is obvious that the term refers to present situation. It could be contrasted with the past events, past values and those institutions which are no longer existing. For instance if democracy is modern, monarchy or feudal rule would be old. Similarly a nuclear family is a ‘modern’ phenomena, while joint family set up or group living may be termed as old’. Even in social values, ‘status’ in modern terms refer to ‘class’ like the economic ranking, the position in public offices, while the term ‘status’ in ‘old times’ might refer to sociological and cultural factors like race, colour, ethnicity and caste.

The term modernity is also used to describe certain developments in the history. We use the term “modern art”, “modern language” and so on. Basically modernity means an outcome of a number of processes. They could be political, economic, social and cultural.

It was the Italian political thinker Niccolo Machiavelli, who used the term modernity in political terminology for the first time.

He argued, his writings would promote “new models and orders” in politics. Although he belonged to an ‘old period’ (1469-1529) he professed certain new ideas, which were in contrast with the hitherto existed ideas. In this way the term modernity could mean ‘new thinking’ - a break from the past. That is why the 19th century social Reformist's ideas like – widow remarriage women equality’ are termed as modern, although they belonged to 200 years old. Because they revolted against an existing social order and the values it perpetuated and gave a new direction to the society. They created “modern values”. In politics and sociology,

the “modern” refers to new ideologies and thinking. Sometimes the old ideas are reinterpreted with new experience. For instance we have ‘neo-liberalism’ “neo-pluralism”, ‘neo-Marxism’ and so on. Here while retaining the basic structure of the traditional ideology, new ideas are added based on historical experience.

The trend of breaking a new path to discover the “truth” is always there in Social Science. Apart from Machiavelli, Francis Bacon (1561-1626) Galileo (1564-1642) and Rene Descartes (1596-1650) are considered as founders of modernity. Theologically speaking the Protestant reformation movement is regarded as modern. Because it revolted against the Vatican church authorities and wanted a ‘pure and simple life for the Christians. Similarly ‘Bhakti Movement’ in India, questioned the rigid caste structure and pleaded for human equality – It proclaimed the ideal “all are equal before God”, there by challenging the priesthood.

In politics, religion, culture and in many aspects of social life, the intellectuals of a particular period argued for introducing a historical break and pleaded for a new version, which is more desirable than the one that preceded it. Sometimes the trend can reverse also. The break is used to return to the period of antiquity. For instance in India the ‘Arya Samaj’ around 19th century pleaded for “Back to Vedas” Gandhiji proclaimed “Ram Rajya”. It means in social thinking a period arrives, where the contemporary situation is critically analyzed and either a new ideology is projected or a reference is made to some Utopian ideology existed in antiquity. This is also another version of modernity. So basically it is an ambiguous term. It has multiple meanings. However we can list certain features that constitute modernity.

17.2.1 Salient Features of Modernity:

We can discover ‘modernity’ through certain ‘core’ values. For instance a person is behaving in ‘modern ways’ if he applies ‘reason’ rather than ‘religion’, while dealing with his problems.

Following are the intrinsic values that – constitutes modernity.

- (1) Application of Reason and Rationality.
- (2) Open mindedness and free thinking.
- (3) Willingness to accept new changes in society.
- (4) Belief in the power of knowledge.
- (5) Scientific attitude.
- (6) Belief in democratic values like, equality individual dignity and social justice.

Modernity however had taken institutional character also. As already been mentioned modernity refers to certain historical changes in the institutional structures of the society. These changes in the areas of social, economic and political aspects of society changed the basic structures of the institutions. It was around 18th century that “modern” institutions came into existence.

There was the establishment of “Nation State” replacing the old feudal order. The concept of “sovereignty” emerged in this period. State asserted its authority over other centres of power like church, feudal lords. A legalized institution of power claiming legitimacy from its inhabitants, is the hallmark of modern institution.

This was also period where issues like pluralism, religious diversities, and secularization of body politics took place. Starting with Reformation and Protestant movement, the notion that there is a clear division between civil authority and church authority and the temporal authority should not interfere in civil matters gained ground. Religion is a personal matter. It is the state, with the established law and punishment system that controls the behavior of the people, but not the church – This led to the principle of secularism.

This was the period when democracy and representative form of government became universally accepted – at least in Europe. The writings of John Locke, Rousseau, J. S. Mill and others emphasized the power of ordinary people to manage public affairs.

Modernity also saw the emergence of the bureaucratic structure. Trained civil servants managing affairs of state, with the help of certain rigid rules and regulations became the feature of the modern state. The civil servants were paid and permanent. They could not be dismissed like officials of a king. We need an elaborate procedure to find out the faults and take legal action. This gave them safety and the government – theoretically at least – gave an impartial administration. A civil servant is neutral when dealing with policies of govt. Race, religion, colour, gender has no bearing on him. He goes strictly by rules which are clear and impartially implements them.

The period of modernity coincided with the spread of European colonialism. Afro-Asian countries became colonies of Europe. The European Economic prosperity was at the cost of the third world. While the economic loot of Asia and Africa, brought poverty to these countries, it also created an awareness and political consciousness among the people of these continents. Especially in India, the British rule opened the gates for the English knowledge and the educated Indians, critically evaluated the short

comings of the society with the help of new knowledge they got. It also created a national awakening the spirit of nationalism and a modern outlook. Thus the colonialism introduced the seeds of modernity in the colonies ruled by the colonial powers.

Economically speaking the period of modernity was the period when market economy took its roots. The increase of international trade, between the countries had other effects like rapid industrialization and the social mobility of the labour. In pre-industrial era, the agrarian labourer was confined to a small rural setting, with limited source of income. The rapid industrialization resulted in the demand for workers, and the mobility of workers from rural areas to urban areas picked up. They were getting good wages, compared to agriculture. This made them to settle in towns and cities and the phase of urbanization started.

Industrialists to get more profit wanted new inventions and machinery. So they invested in technological research and we find science and technology growing at rapid speed in the period of modernity. All new technological inventions, catered to the prosperity of industrialist, while at the same time other sections also got the benefits of these inventions. The spread of education and urbanization, worked as a motivation for the unity of labourers, labour movement and fight for better working condition.

In short modernity encouraged material culture. Consumption of goods, pursuit of sensual pleasures, amassing wealth, became the accepted values. The central point of modernity is the notion of unlimited progress.

In philosophical terms modernity broke new grounds. The new thoughts are used on reason and experience. As mentioned earlier modernity coincided with the growth of science and technology. This in a way altered the priorities of thinking. It was no longer an ideal speculation but an analysis of reality. Bacon in the prologue to his *The Great Instauration* argued, "human knowledge and human Power meet in one". The old idea that knowledge is for knowledge sake was no longer accepted. It should lead to conquest of nature to relief of mankind. " So the emphasis is on the usefulness of knowledge. It's practical applicability to the solution of the problems facing the mankind. It is possible to change the situation that is the thrust of philosophy professed by modernism.

In Politics modern theories used behavioural approaches to study the functioning of government. They also brought individual as the centre for political understanding. While the earlier normative and speculative thinkers concentrated on abstract values like "Justice" "Freedom" "Good" and so on the modern political thinkers looked at the individual and his reaction to the circumstances be

lived. Hobbes social contract theory is an example. It shows how individuals formed an association to protect themselves from anarchical conditions state of nature. The individual is an autonomous and rational, self. He will choose the ends freely. It is he who decides the values. So the state is not (as projected by previous thinkers) a perfect association aiming at pursuing higher ends. Rather it is just an official institution with a clear cut function of adjusting demands within a frame work of manmade rules.

According C.B. Macpherson, political modernity may be described as “Possessive individualism” it is not the community but individual oriented.

As mentioned previously the term modernity has been used in many contexts. There are numerous features associated with the term being modern. It could be a dress code, eating habits, cultural tastes, and priorities of life. A modern individual would give priority to ‘education’ rather than to religious teachings and so on. Instead of keeping money idle he may venture into business to double his money. In art and literature the term modern refers to a particular period. The art historians mark the period from 19th century to the 1970 as “Modern Art”. In this period the art shifted its emphasis from ‘representationism’ and religious iconography’ to new varieties.

According to Auguste Comte (1798-1857), ‘modern era’ could be described as the culmination of a three stage historical process. Earlier there was “metaphysical” and theological age. It gave way to positive age. We are now in Scientific Age. Scientific methods alone provide the route to real knowledge.

Check Your Progress:

What is the meaning of the term modernity ?

Discuss various issues connected with the term.

17.3 MODERNISM, MODERNITY AND POST MODERNISM

Many a time a confusion arises in the use of term modernism and modernity. They are not similar. There is a

substantial difference between them. The term “modern” refers to external use of modern scientific inventions like T.V., Computer and so on. But when we use modernity we refer to certain values like equality, social justice, freedom and such related issues. It has been observed that most religious fundamentalists are using “modern” techniques to achieve their goals which are thoroughly retrograde. For instance Islamic fundamentalist organizations like Alouida, may use most “modern” inventions like computers to spread terrorism and perpetuate an ideology which is totally at odds with values of modernity. The idea has been substantiated by Bruce Lawrence. He argues many religious fundamentalists appear to be “modern”, because they take advantage of technological advances. But since they reject the fundamental values of modernity, like social equality, gender justice, freedom of choice and refuse to change their views to demands of ‘modern world’ they cannot be called as representing modernity. Now a days the global terrorism is using highly sophisticated modern technology.

Modernity has its critics. The main criticism came from KarlMarx. According to him “modern capitalist” system introduces an element of ‘alienation of human kind’. As an individual entered philosophy it neglects the community bonds. In a cut throat competition individual would prosper at the cost of community. The weak and poor would be alienated from system. Marx envisaged a system of communism – a social system based on collective ownership of social wealth to overcome this alienation.

Conservative critics attack the concept of modernity on the grounds that the established social values, customs, culture, and religious believers have been swept away by the wave of modernist, and thus leaving society on the loose foundations. The writings of Edmund Burke on the eve of French Revolution testify this Even in India, Gandhi’s Hind Swaraj is an open attack on western concept of modernization and Industrialization.

Modernity with over emphasis on Industrialization has received attacks from environmentalists. The problems of pollution, dwindling of natural resources, occurrence of natural calamities like floods, famines, dangers of global warming all have arisen because of modernity's emphasis on progress, industrialization and right of man to be happy by controlling nature. They suggest alternative economic model by insisting on “small is beautiful”.

Philosophically speaking many critics feel, modernists over emphasis on rationality always does not help to understand the complexities of human personalities. Many developments take place in social and political life which bears no rational explanation.

To understand the vagaries of Hitler, for example the help of Psychology may be more useful than mere rationality.

However modern thinkers like communitarians point out, over emphasis on individualism has created a sense of alienation from community. An individual will only think about his safety and his progress and do not bother about community. For example a person may invest his money in a company which gives him enormous profits, without thinking, what products the company is making, what are its consequences. How the society is affected by it. The investments in arms manufacturing companies, while ensuring heavy returns for investor, are causing human death elsewhere. But “a modernist” hardly bothers. The communitarians want the old community spirit to be kindled. A man’s duty towards society should be emphasized. The excessive ego-centric liberal individualism of modernity, should replace a more homogenous, socially cooperative community conscious citizen.

The post modernists emphasise this community role.

Check Your Progress :

What are the criticisms against modernity ? Bring out alternative ideas ?

17.4 THE CONCEPT OF GENDER JUSTICE: VARIOUS THEORIES

Historically speaking the concept of social Justice is associated with Gender equality. All persons should be treated equally and be provided with equal opportunities to fully develop their potentialities, without discrimination as to colour, race or Gender. This is the essence of social equality and democracy adheres to it. No society can be called democratic if it discriminates its citizens on the basis of gender. Though today Gender equality is an accepted form it took many centuries before it could become an universally accepted value. But still in many Afro-Asian Countries the female members of the society are not getting their due share. There are many social religious and cultural factors responsible for this.

Gender and Sex :

There is a significant difference between these two terms when applied to the study of women's problems. The term 'sex' refers to the biological division between male and female members. It is used in this context by many conservatives to perpetuate the subordinate role of the women. They argue that nature had made women 'weak' and 'dependent'. They cannot take manual works. It is for the man to earn the bread and for the women to take care of household things. The biological impulse make women to play a secondary role in the society. Some thinkers even went to the extent of questioning the capacity of women to think. For them 'knowledge' is the monopoly of men. So for a long time there was opposition to female education.

This biological aspect of division is being criticized today. Modern thinkers use the criteria of "Gender", while talking of discrimination. The difference between the terms "Sex" and "Gender" is that the former is based on biological meaning giving an impression that it is irrevocable and one has to live with it. It is 'natural' for women to be subservient to men, because nature had made her physical structure that way. But the term Gender treats the discrimination as the manifestation of the male dominated society. The discrimination is artificial, it is based on cultural outlook and it can be and should be reversed, Long time back J. S. Mill, rejected the biological weakness as natural and argued that it is the circumstances that determine and shape the attitude and character of a person. If women are weak and dependent it is because of their up bringing and circumstances. In his famous book, *On Subjugation of Women*, he argued that by changing the circumstances through the provisions of proper education, and a share in the property it is certainly possible to reverse the trend of "weak woman". Most of the Liberals hold this view.

Different ideological views on Feminism:

The people who are fighting for Gender Justice are called Feminists. Earlier – around 19th century – the term "Gender" had a medical connection. It was used to describe feminization of man or the masculinization of women. Today the term issued as a focal point of social justice, equality and the rights of women for their legitimate share in the power structure.

There are different views in political philosophy about Gender Justice and equality. Depending on their commitment to a particular ideology, the thinkers have reacted in different ways to this core concept of Gender equality.

Liberalism:

As a political ideology liberalism is opposed to any discrimination. It believes in individual dignity, equality and freedom of choice. The earliest thinkers who preached equality of sexes were liberals. They believed in social reform questioned the orthodox religious views which sanctified the female subordination and pleaded for legal remedies to the age old discriminative policies. Classical liberals like Lock, J. S. Mill and others made a strong plea for the uplift of women.

Mill in his book *On Subjugation of Women*, effectively argued for Gender Justice. He says, “the existing relations between the sexes the legal subordination of one sex to another is wrong in itself and now one of the chief hindrance to human improvement and that it ought to be replaced by the principle of perfect equality admitting no power of privilege to one side nor liability on the other”. Women were in fact ‘enslaved’ class. Their capacities were spent seeking happiness not in their our lives, but exclusively for the favour and affection of other sex. The opposition to sexual equality is not based on reason. Women many a time become consenting partners in their subordination. They were taught to live for others. J.S. Mill Clearly spelt out how he would view an ideal relationship between the sexes. If men exercised their physical power and domination over women, they would debase themselves. The ideal was compassionate marriage between strong minded man and strong minded women. Women should earn their liberation with the support of men. There should be relationship based on mutual friendship and respect between the sexes.

The liberal view, while stressing a policy of non-discrimination policy in public life would be reluctant to encourage out-side interference in private life. By and large it is reformative in nature. Since liberals emerged from middle class social structure they have certain strong view on the sanctity of marriage, need for a good family life and would not go the extreme view of questioning relevance of marriage as an institution. This is the Radical feminist view around 20th century. In short liberals treat public and private spheres separately. In the public sphere on the issues of voting contesting elections, appointment to public offices and admission to educational institutions, ‘Gender’ is as irrelevant as ethnicity or race. In ‘private sphere’ – family marriage, freedom of choice is the principle and non-interference from outside authority is a desired goal.

Conservatives :

The conservatives are those who want to maintain the status quo in all aspects of social life. They emphasize the social and

political significance of gender divisions. Their main argument centres round the theme that the sexual division of labour between women and men is natural and inevitable. The society's organic and hierarchical character is maintained by Gender division. The conservatives oppose all reforms aiming at the women uplift. In India the stiff opposition to social reforms like widow remarriage, increasing the age of marriage for women, reflected a strong conservative mentality. Even late as 1980, there were supports for 'Sati' committed in Rajasthan. It was hailed as a symbol of purity though by a microscopic minority. But the section is powerful. It blocked the bill for 33% reservation for women in parliament. The spate of "honour killings" of couples who dare to question the caste barriers, dowry deaths, opposition to reform Muslim personnel law are some of the examples which high light the power of conservatives in Indian Society. While such conservative and reactionary sections in Europe were defeated with the growth of liberal democratic values the picture in the third world countries of Asia and Africa is very dark.

Socialists:

Like liberals, socialists would not treat Gender as politically very significant. For them Gender divisions are but the manifestation of deeper economic and class inequalities Marxists see the term "Patriarchy" – which is the core element in the Gender justice – in the light of Socio – economic factors. The term patriarchy literally means "Rule by Father" (The Latin Term Patri – Father).

Under Marxist ideology it takes a new angle. Engles in his work, *Origin of Family Private Property and the State*, analyzed the Gender Justice from economic perspective. According to him, the development of capitalism and the concept of private property had changed the status of women in the society. There was a time in the society where the family life was "communistic" in nature. Women had "mother right". This guaranteed inheritance rights. The social position of women was quite good because of female-centered family life. The growth of capitalism everywhere had upset this simple family life. Capitalism works on the principle of private property owned by men. This had overthrown "Mother's Right" and brought about "the world historical defeat of the female sex". The institution of family is the central actor in the oppression of females. The "bourgeoisie family is Patriarchal" men would ensure that their property is passed only to their sons. In marriages men prescribe morals, which are always for their advantage. Women are expected to be loyal and pure, have only "husband as their idea", while men always indulge in loose moral life. Women's repression is sought to be compensated by "glory". Selfless devotion to children and

husband It is nothing but organized hypocrisy and an evil design to protect male domination and the right to hold property.

To overcome the repression of women based on male supremacy and the institution of family some traditional socialist like Charles Fourier (1772-1827) Robert Owen (1771-1858) suggested an alternative social system. They were Utopian socialists. They wanted a system of “community living” and “free love” in place of patriarchal family.

Marxists argue that the present family set up is designed in such a way that women are confined to a domestic sphere of home and motherhood. The arrangement serves the economic interests of the capitalist system. Women are in fact, producing next generation of workers for capitalist economy. So according to Marxists the real emancipation of women is possible only in a socialist economy. With the abolition of private property, a new culture based on cooperation would arrive. It paves way for creation of a new society based on social harmony and peace. In such a society the evils of oppression would not rise.

That is the reason why many socialists are not enthusiastic about the demand for equal political rights which is the central theme of Liberals. For liberals, legal and political rights are of paramount importance. These would enable women to compete with men in all fields of public life. But for socialists the concept of equality should apply in terms of economic power – so the issue of ownership of wealth becomes significant.

There are some differences among the socialists on Gender Justice. The orthodox Marxists give priority to “Class Politics” over ‘Sexual Politics’. The class exploitation is more deeper and severe than sexual discrimination in the society. The real emancipation of women is possible only with the overthrow of capitalist – system through a revolution – and replacement with socialistic structure. So it is argued that – the Feminists should concentrate their energies on labour problems, movement rather than chalk out – a separate programme for women liberation. Because any divisive movement would weaken the workers movement and help the capitalist class. However this view is not shared by other modern Feminist Socialists. For them women problem certainly needs a separate agenda. The disappointing progress of women in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries only strengthen their argument that the sexual exploitation is as unjust as economic exploitation. Women’s problems cannot be understood in simple economic terms. The problems need a deeper psychological cultural, social and political perspective.

Fascist view:

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

Religious Fundamentalism:

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

Check Your Progress:

What is meant by Gender Justice ? Discuss the view of different schools of thought on the issue of Gender Justice.

17.5 FEMINISM ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

A theory that revolves round women's problem is known as Feminism. It firmly believes that the gender divisions are artificial 'man made' and should be eradicated.

Though the term feminism and women liberation movement become popular around 60's certain ideas reflecting feminist views could be found as back as Greek and Chinese Civilization. In 1405, in Italy a book named *Book of Ladies* written by Christine de Pisan recorded the achievements of noble women. It also argued for women's right to education and for a greater role in public affairs. Mary wollstone craft's *Vindication of Rights of Women* published in 1792, is the first text of modern Feminism. The book was in the background of the French Revolution.

By middle of 19th Century Feminism acquired a central focus. We can term this period as the 1st phase of Feminism. It emphasized on equal legal and political rights. That was the period when franchise was being extended to various sections in the society. It provided an inspiration for women to demand Franchise Rights. In a way in those countries where democracy has taken roots an advanced political movement for women's rights emeged first. In U.S.A. in 1840 women's movement emerged getting inspiration from the campaign to abolish slavery. In 1848, Seneca falls convention adopted declaration of sentiments. The convention drew inspiration from declaration of independence. One of the main demands of the convention was the demand for female suffrage. In 1869 National women's suffrage Association started.

In U.K., the period between 1850 to 1869, marked the development of movement for women suffrage. In 1867, when the House of commons was debating the Reform Act, J. S. Mill moved an amendment to the bill seeking for Female suffrage. Though the amendment was defeated it paved way for the growth of feminist movement in U.K. After 1903, the formation of women's social and political union led by Emmeline Pankhurst (1856-1928) and her daughter Christabel (1880-1950), U.K. suffrage movement adopting militant tactics. They carried underground activities. They were called "suffragettes" who carried attacks on public property and conducted public demonstrations.

This first phase of Feminism ended with the achievement of women suffrage throughout Europe. New Zeeland was fist to introduce women franchise in the year 1893. In 1920, the 19th amendment to U.S. constitution gave voting rights to women.

Though U.K. introduced the voting rights to selected sections in 1918 it took almost a decade for women to get equal voting rights like men.

With the attainment of Right to vote the women movement, in a way lost its steam. Because till the attainment of the voting rights the movement had a clear cut ideology. There was cohesion and unity in the movement. With the attainment of the desired goal any movement would lack the driving force to carry on the movement further. So a lull appeared on the scene. It does not mean that all the problems facing women were solved with the political rights. Far from it. The equal rights gave women an opportunity to focus on other issues of discrimination.

It was around 60's that – women movement regenerated with a new agenda. This could be called the second phase. The *Feminine Mystique* authored by Betty Friedan acted as an impetus to feminine movement in this period. She brought out the frustration and unhappiness among women, who are confined to the roles of mothers and housewives. This she describes as "Problem with no name". Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970), Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*, (1970) expressed radical views on Feminism. These works focused on personal, psychological and sexual aspects of women suppression. The Radical feminists were not satisfied with political rights like voting. They wanted overhaul of the social system. The second phase stressed "women's liberation" not women's emancipation. In academic circles the concept of 'Gender' became focal point.

Around 90's we find the organizations fighting for women's liberation being spread far and wide. Both in the developed and underdeveloped countries, feminist organization made their strong presence felt. However at the same time we notice, many divisions emerging within these organizations. To begin with the Feminist movement became de-radicalized in western Europe. After achievement of suffrage rights and getting state's support for welfare schemes like financial support for child bearing provision of nursery schools, crèches at places of work, health insurances, the movement has become lull. Because of this minor divisions appeared in the movement, we have Black feminism post-modern feminism, Afro-Asian feminist movement and so on. Many times the divisions are centred around issues like pornography, abortion, motherhood, prostitution and so on. The main thrust of Radical Feminism is the female oppression starts from family and as such they are highly critical of the institution of family. The liberal argument of "non-interference" in one's private life does not hold water where dealing with women's problems. May be in advanced European Countries, the provision for easy divorce economic opportunities for independent life, and the culture of single woman,

have given a protection to women from family oppression. But conditions in the Afro-Asian countries are quite pathetic. Radicals want that European culture to be an accepted universal phenomena for women liberation. But the traditions of the third world societies resent this. This is a contentious issue.

Some other argue that the-stereotypic attitude towards women's social position should change. For instance women can be mothers but they need not be burdened with the responsibilities of rearing children and domestic burdens. The link between child bearing and child rearing is cultural not biological. Even the husband can take care of rearing children. State also can step in. The mind set up should change. "women are not born. They are made" argues Radicals. They sincerely believe that human beings are "androgynous". A person has blend of both female and male features. A person should be judged not by sex but by character and abilities. It has been reported that even in advanced country like U.S.A. there is a tendency to blame "working women" for the growth of violence and drug abuse among the youth. Certain Profamily New Right Parties feel that women have given up their role as "models" for children, and these is no one to guide them in right path.

Check your Progress:

1) Define Feminism. Discuss various issue connected with Feminisam.

17.6 SUMMARY

The term modernity has many meanings. In politics it refers to the growth of Nation–State, democracy and individualism. Science and technology is an integral part of modernity . It refers to a state of mind. That is why a difference is made between 'modern' and 'modernity' Excessive modernity may endanger traditional values. Individual cannot forget the community roots. That is the argument of Post modernism.

There is more than one opinion on issues pertaining to women's problems. The central thrust of Feminism is that the

Gender issue be brought on the core issue of politics. Women should be treated equally and provide social justice is central object of all theories pertaining to Gender Justice.

17.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Define the term modernity. Bring out various issues connected with it.
- Q.2. Excessive modernity may lead to the collapse of traditional social life -Comment
- Q.3. Define Gender Justice and critically evaluate various theories about Feminism.

17.8 SUGGESTED READING

- 1) Turner, Byrans, *Theories of Modernity and Post Modernity* London, sage 1990.
- 2) Wagner, Petez, *A Sociology of Modernity, Liberty and Discipline*, Rutledge, London, 1994.
- 3) Beasley, C., *What is Feminism*, London, 1996.
- 4) Bryson V., *Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York 2003.

CONTEMPORARY DEBATES IN ENVIRONMENT AND MULTICULTURALISM

Unit Structure

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Politics of Environment. Development vs. Green. Economic development vs. Pollution. Issues involved.
 - 18.2.1 Core Themes of Ecology
- 18.3 Multiculturalism. Definition, meaning and significance.
- 18.4 Challenges to multiculturalism in the modern conditions. State unity and cultural diversity Issues involved.
- 18.5 Summary
- 18.6 Unit End Questions
- 18.7 Suggested Reading

18.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the significance and importance of Environmental hazards in modern days.
- 2) To analyze the significance of Economic Policies pursued by the developed countries which affect the environment.
- 3) To study the problems faced by the developing countries to strike a balance between clean environment and rapid industrialization.
- 4) To analyze the meaning and significance of the term multiculturalism.
- 5) To evaluate the contemporary challenges to the concept of multiculturalism with the growth of strong nationalism particularly in pluralist societies.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Industrialization while increasing the national wealth and providing comforts also brought many environmental hazards.

Clean air, clean water has become a luxury. If we want to provide housing for the people, we may resort to deforestation. Industries that pollute air and water also provide livelihood to the thousands of workers. Energy is a source of life. Nuclear energy is the demand of the day. There is also problem of nuclear waste. Breakdown in Nuclear plants, accidents can have serious repercussions lasting for many years. So what was once a technological issue has become a political problem having national and international dimensions.

The term culture denotes the set of values, traditions, believes a community possess. Today there is not a single society which has only one cultural group. Every society, every country, has multicultural groups and communities. How to achieve a desirable unity among diversified groups is the biggest challenge modern statesmen face. The problem is more severe in democratic countries.

18.2 POLITICS OF ENVIRONMENT

Ecology is a subject that studies environmental problems. It has been a topic in the study of Biology. The scope of ecology is the study of the relationship between living organisms and their surroundings. From 1960's onwards ecology became a political term- We have reference to "green Politics". Ecologism as a political ideology brought 'nature' in the focus. Nature is an interconnected whole consisting of living and inanimate objects as well. There is need to keep a balance, lest the interconnectedness gets destroyed. This 'eco-centric perspective' is a new ideology in modern day political thinking.

The idea that 'Nature' is an important element in human life takes inspiration from ancient religions. Paganism, Hinduism, Taoism, always stressed to respect nature. There were many Gods for air, sea, rivers and so on. Cutting down a green tree was a sin. Planting trees, feeding animals, preserving forest life were regarded as sacred duties. Even today tribal worship the trees as Gods. The famous Chipko movement testifies the strong tribal feeling towards nature. Rural life, with agriculture as centre of economic activity, uncorrupted by modern industrial culture was eco friendly system. Around 19th Century with industrialization and urbanization rapidly advancing, environment suffered severely. Industry requires raw materials. For that natural wealth is exploited. To manufacture paper forest are destroyed. Mining a prime industrial sector took the natural resources like coal, gold, copper from earth. These cannot be replaced. In fact, Industrialization is the rape of nature.

There were reactions to this part of development which is destroying nature and spreading urban culture. In India Gandhiji's

Hind-Swaraj is a critique of Industrialization. He pleaded for the rural economy, cottage industries and self-sufficient villages. His economic theories were totally eco friendly. Such writing could be discovered elsewhere also. In Europe novelist Thomas Hardy, political thinkers like William Morris and Peter Kropokin, argued for the village life. In fact, there was a nostalgia for an idealized rural existence. This was a direct reaction against industrialization. An important point to be noted is, this feeling was stronger in those countries where the industrialization was more rapid- Germany for instance. In Germany, powerful myths about the purity and dignity of peasant life developed. There was the movement of "Back to nature" among the German Youth. Interestingly this was used for political gains by both nationalists and fascists.

It is in the 20th Century, that we find greater awareness of environmental problems because of industrialization. A clear understanding has been reached that the economic progress that is taking place has done great damage to the nature. This has endangered both the survival of human race and the planet it lives on.

The dangers to nature are many fold. To increase agricultural production certain chemicals are used, which are destroying the fertile nature of earth. The use of certain pesticides kills many insects which are useful to farmers.

Rachar Carson, in his work *The Silent Spring* (1962), made an analysis of the extensive damage done to the wild life by the increase use of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals. This is the first work of this kind. References can also be made to, Goldsmith et al *Blueprints for Survival* (1972), the unofficial U.N Report *Only One Earth* (1972) and the club of Rome's the *Limit of Growth* (1977). These works pointed out to the dangers of unplanned growth to the nature. Water, air, pollution is causing health hazards to all living beings. There were reports that because of sea water pollution caused by oil spill, thousands of fish got poisoned and were unfit for consumption. It is the moral duty of the present generation to preserve the natural wealth.

Because of this environmental awareness around 80's, some movements started. The organizations like Green Peace, Friends of the Earth, Animal Liberation Activists, effectively campaigned, to create a public opinion on the dangers of pollution, the dwindling reserves of fossil oils, deforestation and other related issues. From 1980s onwards the environmental questions have been kept high on the agenda of Green Parties, which now exist in most industrial countries.

Environmental issues have international character. What happens in one country would spread chain reaction to various countries. Natural calamities like flood, famines, earthquakes, would show their consequences throughout world. There is also a historical dimension to the issue. Most of the industrially advanced countries today were once colonial powers. They looted the natural wealth in these colonies. In their pursuit for material wealth they caused excessive damage to nature. Today when the ex colonial countries of Asia, Africa are trying to industrialize a big opposition is coming from European nations about danger to environment. They have forgotten who are original culprits. So the third world countries have taken up this issue at international forum. Since the environmental hazard has transnational character, and has become a global political usage the U.N. started looking into it. In 1972, there was the U.N conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm. The conference aimed at establishing an international framework to promote a coordinated approach to international environmental problems. In 1987 Brundtland Report advocated the idea of " Sustainable development" In 1992 at Rio a conference on " Earth summit" was held.

All these summits aimed at reducing the environmental hazards and also provide the economic development. Perhaps, through modern technology, it is possible to achieve it. But this requires enormous funds. Each industry should invest substantial amount in Research and development. The returns in this field is only long term. Most of the industries would like to have immediate gains. They may not care for R& D. For instance most of the chemical factories dump their waste in the nearby rivers causing water pollution. It should be their moral duty to invest in cleaning the river and make water useful. But that expenditure would not give them any return. They therefore adopt short cut methods of dumping waste here and there and avoiding social responsibility. It is possible through modern technology to recycle the waste and such measures. But these activities require enormous funds. The argument of the Third world countries is that since their poverty and industrial backwardness is result of colonial exploitation, and since they would like to industrialize their countries, the developed countries have a moral responsibility of "transferring technology" which can curb the environmental pollution. They should share most of funding in Research and Development.

At Kyoto summit held in 1997, these issues were discussed. The scientists pointed out to a danger engulfing the earth. They pointed out there is danger of Global Warming. This is because of the emission of gases like carbon dioxide into atmosphere. So the Kyoto conference established a legally binding commitment for the developed states to limit such emission in a phased process. However, effective action is yet to emerge.

18.2.1 Core themes of Ecology:

Ecologism stands apart from traditional political creeds like Liberty, Democracy and equality. It examines the interrelationships that bind humans to all living organisms.

Web of life:

The traditional ideologies treated 'man' as the primary point of focus in the creation. Man is the master of nature. God has created all natural wealth only for human beings. They have a right to all natural wealth. The idea of Progress was when man "Conquered" nature. This 'man centered theory is rejected by modern ecologists.

David Ehrenfeld (1978) called this as wrong ideology. It is the moral duty of human beings to preserve and respect the earth and diverse species that live on it. Instead of that humans have wrongly assumed that they "are masters and possessors of earth"(John Locke). Modern ideology represents a new style of politics. In this ideology human species no longer occupy central stage. They are inseparable part of nature. Nature is a network of precious and fragile relationship between living species (including human) and environment. Damage to one aspect would lead to a chain reaction.

The central idea of Green thought is Eco-system. They argue that plants and animal are sustained by self-regulating natural systems. On the other hand human beings lack his self-regulating mentality. We should take from nature what is most required in a minimum and leave the rest. But the greedy pursuit had endangered the natural wealth. For instance in fishing traditionally the fishermen would not fish during certain periods, thereby allowing the fishes to breed. The use of traditional equipments like net, allows many fishes to survive. But modern corporate fishing using machines virtually loot entire fishery wealth. While the traditional fishing has only to satisfy the hunger and was limited, the modern fishery industry is for marketing and profit. There is no limit to profit mentality. This passionate pursuit of material wealth has upset balance of nature. Eco-system on which the human life is depending for survival is endangered. There are many reasons why the eco-system is being in danger:

- 1) There is excessive growth of population. Longtime back Gandhiji told "we have only one earth which is enough for everybody need not for everybody's greed" The limited resources and unlimited population has upset the eco-system.

- 2) The mining industry has resulted in the depletion of finite and irreplaceable resources- like coal, natural gas, oil. This is also causing disturbances in climatic conditions.
- 3) The eradication of forests. Forests have always helped to provide clean air, control flood, regulate rain and also maintain the bio-diversity. Because of forests so many diversified species are existing.
- 4) The pollution of rivers, lakes and ponds have contributed to the marine life being endangered.
- 5) The use of chemical pesticides, have created many side effects.
- 6) The Eco-system believes in a balance between all living beings and nature. Today many species like tigers, lions, and variety types of forest animals are facing the dangers of extinction and there is increase of human species. Recently we are hearing the news that wild animal are wandering in the human inhabited areas because forests have been encroached. This again shows the danger of imbalance in ecosystem.

As mentioned earlier the view that human beings are masters of nature should change. In religious teachings of Buddhism- Len Buddha we have certain philosophical notions that gives expression to ecological wisdom. It also prescribes a way of life that encourages compassion for fellow beings other species and natural world. In the Pre-Christian religions especially the tribal religion such ideas existed. Human beings are God's steward on Earth. They have been asked to preserve the planet. Earth is referred as mother earth- signifying all things have life.

In modern days this idea that the planet Earth is alive has been developed by James Lovelock a Canadian scholar. He gave the name Gaia to planet. This is after Greek goddess of the Earth. Gaia hypothesis, is a theory which argues that the Earth should be understood as a living entity. It regulates its actions to maintain in own existence. There is a regulating behavior of earth which is character of other living beings. The essence of this theory is that those species which help Gaia to regulate prosper and those like human beings which are a threat to Gaia would be destroyed. This Gaia has developed into a powerful ideology. Gaia strongly believes that human beings must respect the health of the planet and act to conserve its beauty and resources. It is an extreme view. While moderate ecologists want the policies to be framed that regulate the supply of natural resources for human beings as long as possible the Gaia ideologist want the nature to be left untouched. Basically it is non-human unity approach to ecological issue. The health of planet is most important than that of any individual species, including human.

Another important ideological component in ecology is the policy of sustainability. According to Ecologists, both capitalists and socialists, believe in excessive industrialism. The conventional political parties presume that human life has unlimited possibilities for material growth and wealth. As opposed to this Environmentalists coined a new phrase called "spaceship earth". The idea is 'The earth' is compared a spaceship. A spaceship is a closed entity. There are no inputs from outside. The people inside the spaceship must sparingly use the items for their existence. They cannot get oxygen or life saving things from outside. So only a prudent use of scarce things can sustain them. That is why the term sustainable development used in the economic context. This term spaceship Earth was used by Kenneth Boulding to warn against the tendency of human beings who are behaving that they are living in "a cow boy Economy" with unlimited opportunities like the American west during the frontier period. A closed system like Earth space ship can live so long as internal energy sustains. One day the earth, all planets may die like any closed system.

The alternative system to the present reckless, exploitative and often violent terms of economic development has been suggested by E.F. Schumacher. In his work *Small is Beautiful*, Schumacher, argued that modern industrialists have treated energy as "income" that is constantly topped-up week after week, month after month. Actually energy is 'natural capital' and we should preserve it. Like we live on interest of the capital and will not swallow capital, we should treat energy as capital and use it as sparingly as possible. This tendency of treating 'energy' as income has resulted in the increase of demand for energy, especially in the industrialized west. With the depletion of finite fuel resources, which may not last till the end of present century, we need some hard thinking on new ways of economic development.

So the ideas of solar energy, wind power and wave power as alternative source of energy which is eco- friendly and renewable, is making rounds. We should set clear limits on human ambitions. The new economic agenda is not utility maximizes but creating social awareness, social harmony to work together. Normally a policy of higher taxation on polluting industries, even penalize them is one solution.

In Germany an extremist organization called Fundis sought certain radical measures that gives a complete u-turn to present industrial based economy. They argue that since all the problems connected with ecology stem from materialism, consumerism, and a fixation of targets, the solution lies in "ZERO GROWTH" and the construction "Post Industrial Age", in which people live in small rural communities and rely on craft skills. It is certainly a copy of Gandhian approach. This is a total rejection of industry and

technology. This is a call “Return to Nature”. It is doubtful how far it is practical.

There are certain limitations to these ecological approaches. As already mentioned the developing countries feel overemphasis on ecology would deny their opportunity to catch up with the west. Since modern industries encourage globalization, ecology would be anti-global. The idea of zero growth can never be accomplished within a democratic set up.

However the need to conserve natural resource is the most pressing need of the hour.

Check your Progress:

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

18.3 MULTICULTURALISM: DEFINITION AND MEANING

The term culture denotes the set of values, traditions, believes and ways of life a community possess. It encompasses, the factors like language, religion and even eating habits and dress code. It reflects a reference to period of history. For instance we say primitive culture, feudal culture, modern culture and so on. Prime-a-face culture gives an identity to a person. He belongs to group. That group has certain unique features, which makes it different from other groups. These features give an identity to the person of that group. So a person is called a Hindu or a Muslim or African or British.

Although over the years, because of historical reasons like war, trade, there has been some degree of intermingling of culture between different groups, still the different groups in a given community always maintain certain unique and separate features.

We can notice these different and varied features among the members following the same religion. The caste and Jati among the Hindus show any number of multiple cultural traits. Each caste, sub-caste has its own cultural characters, that are unique in marriages and such other social rituals.

Many a time a person's thinking and his judgment on social and moral issues is determined by the culture he has inherited. For instance a person like Rudiyaar clippings professed the theory of 'white man's burden.' He reflected a colonial mind set up which thought of the right of white man to liberate mankind. The Brahminical superiority in Hindu religion, the Aryan myth of Hitler, reflect the bearings of a particular culture. But every society would also have the social reformers, who would challenge the socially accepted opinions as outdated and plead for a change in the outlook of the community on social issues. So basically culture is not static. So undergoes certain changes. Yet the core elements which give it a recognition and separate identity remain.

There is not a single society which has only one cultural group. Every society every country, has multicultural groups and communities. How to bring these different cultural groups under one setup, and how to achieve a reasonable unity among the diversified groups so that the cohesiveness of nation is safeguarded is the biggest challenge. Before answering this question, we need to find the causes that have contributed to the growth of multicultural units around the globe.

- i) Discovery of new areas of habitants.
- ii) Role of Christian missionaries.
- iii) Technological innovations making the world shrinking and cutting down distances.
- iv) New economic policy necessitating the interdependence of different expertise settled in different continents.
- v) A new philosophy of democratic pluralism which emphasized the need to promote and preserve the diversity in the society.

In modern world no country, is free from the impact of multiculturalism. While in the earlier period, Multiculturalism meant the existence of different ethnic, religious and racial groups within a given territory, today the term has broader implications. It refers to different cultural patterns, ways of life, and beliefs followed by the members of natives of a particular community. For instance we may have a group supporting homosexuality or women's liberation or pleading for permissive society, Black power and so on. Technically they are all Americans but they exhibit different and sometimes varied cultures. It is an accepted rule-at least in democracy- that due recognition be given to all such groups. No

one culture is supreme and every individual should be given freedom to choose the way of life he likes.

In dealing with diversified cultural groups three broad methods could be discovered historically. The first one is known as annihilation. It is the most cruel and barbaric. In this inhuman policy what is termed as “alien culture” is totally wiped out from “Native Land”. The methods are brutal and violent. The set pattern is accepted as the ultimate truth and any deviation is resented. An uniform pattern of living and code of behavior is accepted as desirable. Hitler’s campaign against the Jews, the treatment Indian received from American settlers the cruel suppression of Buddhists in Tibet by china, the position of Hindus in Pakistan, the ideology of Taliban are examples of this annihilation policy.

The second policy usually followed by the Imperial forces is hegemonic. The superior qualities of the dominant culture are high lightened and through series of devices like propaganda, the diversified cultures are “assimilated” into the “mainstream”. In a way it is cultural imperialism. The argument advanced by the R.S.S, in India that the Hindu Culture absorbs all other cultures is a classic case of majoritarianism, engulfing different small cultural traits and branding them as assimilated culture. In this process the separate identity of small cultural groups is totally lost. The Hindu religion absorbed the Buddhist culture, sankhya and charvaka philosophies and denied them a separate existence. Though the process is less violent the harm assimilation policy does is irreparable. The identity of many small groups are lost forever.

The third method of dealing with different cultures is more pragmatic, liberal and highly democratic oriented. It gives due recognition to all cultures. There is no ‘melting point’ syndrome-which means all small cultures should merge and melt in the national culture. Instead every culture group is treated equally and it allows the group to pursue the way it adheres to it. But all these activities should be done within the legal frame work. Every group should follow the limits imposed by law. If the activities of any cultural group are a threat to other groups or to the peace of the community. In general, actions would be taken as per the established law. This is an accepted pattern of all civilized nations.

It has been observed that if diversified cultural groups within a nation-state, are not allowed to function freely, the seeds of disintegration would be sown in. It will result in the disintegration of the nation. We all know that the central force that fostered the emergence of Bangladesh is the refusal of Pakistan authorities to give due recognition to Bengali language, culture and a short sighted policy of imposing Punjabi culture and Urdu language on people of erstwhile East Pakistan. In recent time the disintegration

of Yugoslavia is the case of non-recognition of different cultural groups operating within that nation. Most of the south Asian countries like Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Pakistan and even India have the problems of different tribes cultural groups drifting away from main stream of body politics.

Normally democratic governments treat this problem institutionally. A federation policy could give some legal recognition to different linguistic groups as done in India. There can also be some autonomous regional councils. A clear constitutional safeguards, that protect different cultural groups to pursue their culture, go in a long way in keeping the country united and prevent balkanization. Ultimately the unity of a nation should evolve from within, rather than imposed from without.

There are always imbalances in the representative system of government. Normally a democratic government provide equal rights for all the citizens to share the political power. This is done through a well established institutional mechanism i.e universal Adult Franchise. But political analysts are of the view that the mechanism always works for the advantage of numerically strong population and may introduce what J.S. Mill called "Tyranny of Majority". This majority group might claim many privileges at the cost of other groups. Some groups may be marginalized or eliminated from policy making process. The off-repeated argument that white race in the western society have suppressed colored races, men have suppressed women, testify the danger involved to the survival of multiculturalism even in democracy. In India, Dalits, Muslims, and O.B.C. s always maintain that their interests are not safeguarded in the present political set up.

In order to overcome such a problem of imbalances in the representation system, the multicultural theorists have suggested some remedies.

Check your Progress:

1. Write a note on the significance of culture. What are the factors contributing to the growth multicultural societies and enumerate the problems these societies face.

18.4 CHALLENGES TO MULTICULTURALISM IN MODERN DAYS

Will Kymlicka, in his book, *Multicultural Rights*, lists three kinds of rights to safeguard the multicultural fabric of society. They are self-government rights, polyethnic rights, and representation right. The self-government rights apply to those national minorities who are territorially concentrated and share a language, and a way of life, different from the rest of the majority. This right involves, devolution of political power either through the principle of federalism or regional autonomous councils controlled by minority members. In India the special status given to Jammu and Kashmir, the formation Darjeeling council, the position of Sikkim are examples of this. The polyethnic rights cover the arena of cultural traits of a particular community. This is a guarantee against majority culture imposing its standards on them. The cultural distinctiveness of different groups and minorities are given legal protection. In India Muslims, Christians and other non-Hindu minorities have separate civil laws. In some countries Sikhs have legal exception to ride motorcycles without helmets. Jews and Muslims have been exempted from animal slaughter laws and so on. The special representation rights seek to adjust the imbalance in the political system, through a process of reverse discrimination. That is an attempt to redress the under representation of minorities in different fields of political life. The policy of reservation being followed in India and other welfare countries is an example of this.

There are certain problems with the multi-cultural rights theory. Basically this theory subscribes to collectivism rather than individualism. There might be contradictions between individual rights and group rights. For instance the easy divorce system guaranteed to Muslim minority could go against the rights of an individual Muslim woman. Again the “special treatment” given to minorities might result in a backlash from majority community. The talk of “appeasement of Muslims” heard in India is an example. Some thinkers also argue that excessive use of self-government rights may weaken national unity and the dangers of balkanization could rise.

However these are limitations of the rights. No one could deny the need for safeguarding the cultural groups identity through legal mechanisms. There would always be avenues legal and political to overcome some contradictions that arise when these rights are implemented.

18.4.1 Growth of Multicultural Societies:

Historically speaking, the seeds of multicultural societies started with many social movements. In South India “the self Respect movement” started by E.V. Ramaswami Naikar, was an assertion of Dravidian culture. Similar anti-Brahmin movements flourished in Maharashtra around 19th century. These movements aimed at creating self-awareness among their followers and to give an identity and recognition of a culture which is distinctive from accepted majoritarian culture. Recently a Dalit scholar Kanchana Illiah wrote “I am not a Hindu” testifying the Dalit culture and stressing that it is totally different from Hindu culture. The rise of popular culture in history is a revolt against the accepted elite culture in all societies.

Around 1960s and 70s in Europe there emerged a trend called “Ethno-cultural Nationalism”. It was a form of nationalism, which is fuelled by a spirit to preserve ethnic and cultural distinctiveness of a group. That was most evident in Canada, where French-speaking people of Quebec asserted their separateness. Similarly the rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism in U.K and the growth of separatist movement, in Catalonia and Basque area in Spain and the recent demand of Khalistan among the Akalis are examples of ethno-cultural nationalism. The partition of India and formation of Pakistan is the outcome of this ethno-cultural nationalism. The blacks in America strongly feel that the “white culture” traditionally emphasized its superiority and looked down at “Black culture”. So the slogans “Black is Beautiful” is a symbol of Black identity to confront the white cultural hegemony.

Apart from this assertiveness, among the minorities, the emerging trends in international politics also contributed to the growth of multi-cultured societies. Firstly there is migration. The migration of labourers, usually from colonies to their ex colonial powers. For instance there were migrations from West Indies and Indian sub continents to U.K around 1950's and 60's. In France it came from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

Secondly since 1990's there has been a growing number of Refugees. In 1993 it was around 18 million. The increase in refugee number is because of wars in post cold war period ranging from Algeria, Rwanda, Uganda to Sri Lanka and Afghanistan.

Thirdly the collapse of East European communist system contributed to the emergent of migrants who dissatisfied with domestic economic conditions sought new avenues to west Europe.

In view of all these developments, multiculturalism became an official public policy in most of the European nations. Now it is an established fact, that all modern states are multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi racial. The trend is irreversible. To reconcile the multiculturalism with a strong nationalism is the biggest challenge. There is also another dimension-the global terrorism. Islamic fundamentalists may use the multicultural facilities to foster their own hidden agenda. These are all some dangers.

Multiculturalism as a term has both normative and descriptive use. In descriptive use of the term, the existing cultural diversities of the society are looked into and an analysis is made of different policies framed by the government to solve the problems faced by cultural minorities. In normative use the term refers to the right of different groups to pursue their own style of living. It develops an ideology that society by and large would be benefited by such divisions and diversities.

One of the main component of multiculturalism is the ideology of post-colonialism. It is non-western, sometimes even anti-western. It also has non-violent and violent out looks. While Gandhi, in his non-violent fight against British Colonialism took inspiration from Hindu ideas, like Satya, Dharma Ahimsa , Tyaga – the French writer Franz Fanon stressed the links between violence and anti-colonial struggle. He passionately argues that until and unless a “new species” of man is created embedded with “ native culture” the process of decolonization is not complete. Two fall outs of post-colonial ideology of multiculturalism is :-

- i) A challenge to the hitherto dominated Eurocentric view of the world, and
- ii) Bringing “ culture” on the centre stage while discussing colonialism.

Ideologically multiculturalism views diversity in society as natural, desirable and should be encouraged. Although liberals view multiculturalism as a healthy phenomenon, there are slight differences between Liberalism and multiculturalism. Liberals are basically neutral on religious and moral matters. Since toleration and desire to freedom of choice are the basic foundations of liberalism, a liberal would not endorse the authority of a group over an individual, if it goes against his freedom. Multiculturalism is more close to modern communitarianism. People cannot be understood outside the society. For Liberals individualism is more important than group culture. So no liberal would endorse the ‘community culture’ of social boycott, opposition to inter-caste marriage, female circumcision and such other issues. While pluralism and diversity are needed for society freedom from following a set of accepted values is also needed. We should

tolerate opposition. Groups are entitled to toleration and respect if they in turn are prepared to tolerate and respect other groups.

Conservatives are by and large opposed to multiculturalism. They see it as a threat to age old customs, traditions, accepted code and would want to preserve the “ pure” form of native culture. So the opposition to immigration, and demand for repatriation of foreigners come from conservative section.

Some sociologists argue that the multiculturalism will have a salutary effect on the dominant culture. For instance the tribes treat their land, forest as holy to them. This ‘culture’ can have a sobering effect on the urban culture which has caused deforestation and pollution.

In brief the accepted and dominant culture of a community is far from perfect. There are different aspects of life that need to be learnt multiculturalism

18.5 SUMMARY

Excessive industrialization has created environmental hazards to the world. The role of developed countries is more in this regard. Various measures at international forum have been suggested, but the implementation is far from satisfactory. At theoretical level Green politics has become the order of the day. Many alternative theories of development have been suggested to stem the dwindling of Natural resources. Some even go to the extent of ‘Zero growth’ and back to villages. This is being criticized as anti democratic and utopian. Many thinkers argues the concern for environment is an urban fad. It is a form of post-industrial romanticism and a temporary phase. Others treat it as central to modern day politics.

Multiculturalism is the order of the day. Many international factors contributed to the growth of multiculturalism. Strong nationalist feel multiculturalism is a threat to nationalism. Liberals, pluralists, welcome multiculturalism.

In a way multiculturalism encourages the people to focus on what divides them rather than what unites them and would pose a threat to national unity. While multiculturalism has a problem with maintain national unity and cohesion, it still exposes the faults of the dominant culture and shows the ways to evolve new culture based on human values.

18.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss various issues involved in Green Politics. Suggest some concrete measures to control ecological disaster.
- Q.2. What are the views of Developed and underdeveloped countries on Environment problems.
- Q.3. Define multiculturalism? What are the ideological issues involved in Multiculturalism.

18.7 SUGGESTED READING

- 1) Bramwell A., *Ecology in the 20th Century: A History*, Yale University, London, 1989
- 2) Dobson A., *Green Political Thought*, Rutledge, London, 2007
- 3) Barry B., *Culture and Equality*, Polily Press, Cambridge, 2001
- 4) Carens J., *Culture, Citizenship and Community*, Oxford University Press Oxford, 1995
- 5) Gutmann A (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Explaining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1995.
