



GAUHATI UNIVERSITY
Institute of Distance and Open Learning

B.A. First Semester
(Regular Course)

Paper: POL-RC-1016

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THEORY

(Medium: English)

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UG-POL-RC-1016

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Contents:

- Unit 1:** a. What is Politics?
b. What is Political Theory and what is its relevance?
- Unit 2:** Concepts: Democracy, Liberty, Equality, Justice
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- Is democracy compatible with economic growth?
 - On what grounds is censorship justified and what are its limits?
 - Does protective discrimination violate principles of fairness?
 - Should the State intervene in the institution of the family?

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Unit: 1

a. What is Politics?

b. What is Political Theory and what is its relevance?

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1.0 Introduction:

The term 'political' holds multiple meanings. The terms polity, politics and political are derived from the Greek word 'polis' which denoted city-state. The ancient Greek city-state was relatively small in comparison to modern day state in terms of population, territory, government and so on (Heywood, 2004). They were demarcated by natural boundaries like forests, mountains, and various water bodies. In his famous work *Politics* (Barker, 1995), Aristotle asserted that "man by nature is a political animal" which means that man is naturally inclined to live in a society. Society includes institutions like family, school and community centers, etc. and living in a society makes us social beings (Biju, 2012). Politics is a part of day to day life and one

cannot remove oneself from it. The term polity holds the meaning of an organization of making various rules and the procedure of its functioning associated with it and the term political refers to something that is public and applicable to all (Gaub, 2009).

1.1 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to analyse the concept and importance of political theory. After going through the unit, you will be able to: —

- *Explain* what politics is.
- *Define* political theory and *explain* its features and kinds
- *Elaborate* the nature and scope of political theory
- *Discuss and examine* the relevance of political theory

1.2 Politics and Political Science:

Politics refers to a set of activities associated with the governance of a country, or an area which involves making decisions that apply to members of a group. Harold Lasswell (Manithaneyam, 2017), an eminent political scientist defined politics as “who gets what, when, and how”? One of the first works concerning politics was Plato’s *Republic*.

Earlier political science was limited to the study of politics but it is much more in actual sense. Political science is the study of political behaviour, the state, government and the governed, dynamics of the usage of power and so on. According to Garner (Dryzek, 2011), “Political science begins and ends with the state.” In simple words, political science is a subject which studies State and Government. It is both an old as well as a new subject. Being a social discipline, it involves studying the various organizations and functions of the state and government together with the theories and principles underlying activities of the political institutions (Schmitter, 1996).

1.3 What is Political Theory?

Political theory refers to a systematic knowledge of various political phenomena. The core component of Political Science discipline is political theory. It basically deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates. Also, political theory deals with the issues and dimensions associated with collective wellbeing like democracy, liberty, justice, equality, etc. It has

its roots in two aspects of human life (Bevir, 2010). It analyzes certain basic questions such as How should society be organized? Why is government needed? What is the best form of government? Does the law limit our liberty or freedom? Political theory is the study of the concepts and principles that people use to describe, explain, and evaluate political events, activities and institutions.

1.3.1 Definitions of Political Theory:

George Catlin (Heywood, 2004) expresses that, 'political theory includes political science and political philosophy. While, political science refers to the phenomena of control in many forms over all the process of whole social field. It is concerned with means; political philosophy is concerned with the end or final value, when man asks 'what is the national good' or 'what is good society?' Again, *Sabine* (Biju, 2012) is of the view that "it is the disciplined investigation of political problems" and in the broader sense it is anything related or relevant to politics. According to *David Held*, "Political Theory generally aims to explain things coming out of political life."

According to *Karl Popper* (Heywood, 2004) "Theory is like a net with the help of which one can catch the world to understand it." At the most general level, political theory is 'a body of knowledge related to the phenomenon of the state'. While 'theory' refers to 'a systematic knowledge', 'political' refers to 'matters of public concern'. Again, *Andrew Hacker* (Dryzek, 2011) defines it as 'a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other'.

Political theory clarifies the meaning of different concepts such as freedom, equality, justice, democracy, secularism and so on. It probes the significance of principles such as rule of law, separation of powers, judicial review, etc. This is done by examining the arguments advanced by different thinkers in defence of these concepts. It deals with the ideas and principles that shape Constitutions, governments and social life in a systematic manner (Gaub, 2009). There are different views on political theory forwarded by various scholars at different times. Some of them are Aristotle, Germino, Held, Cobban, Easton and Weber. Political theory primarily is a generalized statement of our political life which outlines a conceptual framework for synthesizing knowledge.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Major Approaches to the study of Politics:

- Traditional approaches:
 - ✓ *Philosophical approach*
 - ✓ *Historical Approach*
 - ✓ *Legal Approach*
 - ✓ *Institutional Approach*
- Contemporary Approaches to politics:
 - ✓ *The power Approach*
 - ✓ *Behavioural Approach*
 - ✓ *Post behaviuoral Approach*
- Other modern approaches:
 - ✓ *System Analysis*
 - ✓ *Structural Functional Analysis*
 - ✓ *Communication Analysis*
 - ✓ *Decision-Making Analysis*

1.3.2 Features of Political Theory:

The following are the main features that can be drawn from the above discussion:

- Political theory can be normative or empirical or both.
- It involves systematic reflections on politics or state or government or various other political institutions.
- It is different from political science, political thought, political philosophy and political ideology.
- The main goals of political theory are analysis, description, explanation, prediction and change.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) The term polity, politics and political is derived from the Greek work
 - b) is a core component of the Political Science discipline.
 - c) The ancient city-states were in comparison to modern states.

- d) Political theory can beor empirical or both.
2. Give one definition of political theory.
 3. What is political theory?
 4. Define Political Science.
 5. What are features of political theory?

Space for Learner's Notes

1.3.3 Kinds of Political Theory:

There are mainly three types of political theories- normative, explanatory and contemplative (Acharya, 2013)

1. **Normative** – Normative theories are primarily moved by some values. Examples of normative theory or theories moved by normative concerns are: Rawl's theory distributive justice, Gandhi's notion of trusteeship (Heywood, 2004).
2. **Explanatory**- Explanatory theory tries to explain the growth or working of various systems (Acharya, 2013). For example: theories of development, theories of capitalism etc. try to explain the development of underdevelopment and growth of capitalism respectively.
3. **Contemplative**- This type of theory moves beyond explanation and normative concerns. Theories of Hannah Arendt, the revolution in communication and technology etc. are instances of contemplative theory (Dutta, 2011).

1.4 Nature and Scope of Political Theory:

We have already discussed that the term theory stands for a systematic knowledge and thus political theory denotes a systematic knowledge of political phenomena. Aristotle (Barker, 1995) has asserted "Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state, is either above humanity or below it." Political theory has been continuously evolving since its inception (Bhargava, 2010). There are various new concepts and debates coming in; and some of the important debates are –post modernism, feminism, multiculturalism and so on.

Political theory is concerned with three types of statements:

1. Empirical statement- it is based on observation through the senses.
2. Logical statement- It is based on reasoning.

3. Evaluative statement- this type of statement is based on value-judgement.

A political theory according to Easton consists of three elements:

1. Factual, or descriptive statements,
2. Pure or causal theory
3. Value theory

The study of the phenomena of the state both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view is engaged by Political theory. The political thoughts, political philosophy, and political science, all deal with explaining the political phenomena, yet political theory is notably distinct from them (Ramaswamy, 2015). The distinctiveness of political theory from other related terms is as follows:

STOP TO CONSIDER

A political theory, according to Easton, consists of three elements:

1. Factual, or descriptive statements,
2. Pure or causal theory
3. Value theory

Specific functions performed by political theory:

- Understanding
- Explanation
- Evaluation
- Speculation

1.4.1 Political Theory and Political Thought:

Political thought is the collection of both theories and values. The scope of political thought is broader and it is related to our day to day life and activities which influence the present life of citizens in societies. The source of political thought can be diverse-philosophers, writers, journalists, Intellectuals or political critics. The core concepts of political thought can be also diverse starting from the elements of day to day political activities of citizens to the role of state, government or about their policies or actions. Political thought is not rigid or of fixed character. It can come out from any incidents or actions of the political scenario. The important part is that it is 'time bound' when it is about the government since the political goals and actions of the government vary from time to time (Finley, 1973). Thus the study of political

thought comprises the study of Greek thought of ancient age to political thought of Medieval age to modern age or post modernism.

According to Barker (Barker, 1995), “while political thought is the immanent philosophy of a whole age, political theory is the speculation of a particular thinker. While political thought is implicit and immersed in the stream of vital action, political theory is explicit and may be detached from the political reality of a particular period.” Political theory is the systematic speculation of a particular writer who talks specifically about the phenomena of the state on the basis of certain hypothesis which may or may not be valid and may be open to critical analysis or criticism.

Political theory facilitates the discussion on political reality as understood and interpreted by the writer. It means different political theories about the same political phenomena can emerge from different political thinkers at the same period of time. The importance of political theory is related to its utilization as the function of political theory is not just to explain the political reality but also to change it if needed. So the role of political theory in society depends on the political environment of that particular society. It can be conservative, critical or revolutionary.

1.4.2 Political Theory and Political Philosophy:

According to Germino (Germino, 1972), “Political philosophy deals with perennial problems confronting man in his day to day social existence. Political philosophy belongs to the category of normative political theory. Philosophy is called ‘science of wisdom’—wisdom about this world, man or God. This wisdom is all-inclusive and tries to explain everything.” The study of political phenomena or the state using this wisdom is known as political philosophy. It is concerned with not only explaining what ‘is’ but also what ‘ought’ to be (Srivastava, 2004). Political philosophy is not about the issues of contemporary political phenomenon, rather it covers the universal ideas and issues like role and objective of the political organisation, foundations of political authority, nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice etc. It means that political philosophy holds normative prescriptions about political life.

Every political philosopher is a political theorist but a political theorist may not necessarily be a political philosopher. This is the fact that establishes the basic difference between political philosophy and political theory (Balot,

2006). There are many political theorists who are known for their theoretical contributions but they are not considered as political philosophers. The ground of similarity between political theory and political philosophy is in their addressing of issues. Political theory deals with the same issues as political philosophy does as their interpretations on similar political phenomena can be explained from both philosophical as well theoretical points of view.

The nature of political theory can be both normative and empirical but the nature of political philosophy is speculative. For example, political theory explains the nature and purpose of the state while examining the political behaviour of a society. It gives importance to the relations between state and citizen and the role of political authority in society. The explanations of political philosophies are theories too but they are non-scientific in character (Bevir, 2010); philosophical explanations are theories too, but they are non-scientific. Although the difference between political philosophy and political theory exists in analytical form, the separation of theory from philosophy and of philosophy from theory is meaningless in social sciences because theories are always supplemented by philosophies.

1.4.3 Political Theory and Political Science:

The scope of political science is broader as it has always been growing since its development as a separate discipline. It covers different fields like political thought, political theory, political philosophy & ideology, public administration, comparative politics and international law and organizations. Political theory is one of the important subfield of political science (Biju, 2012). The use of scientific method in the study of politics makes political science different from political philosophy and similar to political theory. The description of political reality or behaviour and their interpretation in human society is one of the core areas of studies of political science. Basically the studies of political science used to concentrate on the behavioural aspects of human and society (Bhargava, 2010).

As discussed earlier political theory is not just about 'what is' also about 'what ought to be'. The scope of its explanations is not limited only to the empirical point of view on political behaviour. Political theory explains the road ahead of every issue of political phenomena relating it to the other components of a political system such as states, governments, citizens and societies. It focuses on the role of the other elements of a political system in

seeking the solutions of the issues that theory addresses. The contemporary growth in political theory is in the form of synthesis between political philosophy and political thought.

Space for Learner's Notes

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

1. What is the basic distinction between political theory and political science?
2. What do you mean by political philosophy?
3. Who wrote the book *Politics*?
4. (Fill in the Blanks)
 - a) Political philosophy belongs to the category ofpolitical theory.
 - b) Political theory helps in..... reconstruction.
 - c) Philosophy is called.....wisdom about this world, man or God.
5. What is political thought?
6. What are the specific functions performed by political theory?

1.5 Relevance of Political Theory:

Political theory is relevant from many aspects in many areas. It helps in drawing meaning and solving problems of various political troubles. The objectivity associated with the study of political theory is to make capable the citizens of a political system to understand the political scenario around them. It also enhances the thinking capacity on different political issues, or question the contemporary political incidents to have rational judgments on them. Most importantly it helps in analyzing the political phenomena in proper manner for their greater explanations. Political theory suggests different ideas relating to the decision of establishing political goals and influences the actions towards those goals (Agarwal, 2004). For example, in Plato's *Republic*, Rawl's *A Theory of Justice* or Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia* one can find the elements of moral judgements in their theoretical ideas and explanations.

The significance or relevance of political theory may be discussed as follows:

a. Political theory helps in clarification of various Concepts:

Political theory is significance lies in the clarification of various concepts used in our day to day social and political life. The clarification of concepts is necessary in each area of study, whether philosophy or science. Political theory examines and systematically clarifies the values that inform political life – values such as freedom, equality and justice. It explains the meanings and significance of these and other related concepts (Dryzek, 2011). It clarifies the existing definitions of these concepts by focusing on some major political thinkers of the past as well as present.

b. Political theory helps in understanding and controlling social life:

Political theory helps in planning the future and maintaining peace and harmony in the society. The various scientific analysis of our political life enables us to control our social life by understanding and solving its various problems (Jain, 1985). The study of political theory facilitates the understanding of the causes of conflict and violence in society and provides insights for preventing them. Political theory helps us to live in a political society by providing us ways to prevent political and social crisis.

c. Political theory helps us in criticizing and reviewing the activities of the state and governmental institutions:

Political theory engages itself with various political problems and provides solutions. It reviews and criticizes the role and functioning of the welfare state. Under any democratic government, the state is responsible for guaranteeing rights and freedom to citizens and work for the benefit of the society. Primarily political philosophy is concerned with what is right and wrong in our social life (Held, 2006). Anything that occurs in the society is speculated and criticized if it is wrong or goes against the basic norms of a particular society.

d. Political Theory helps in Social reconstruction:

Another important significance of political theory is that it encourages social reconstruction. Many political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Mill, etc. have discussed about social reconstruction (Amal Ray, Mohit Bhattacharya, 1983). The proposals of these political thinkers gave insights to social instabilities and their solutions but their concepts cannot be considered as absolute and universal truth.

The various insights are valuable in solving the instabilities and problems of our society.

e. Political Theory provides the meaning and helps us to understand multifaceted domain of power:

It helps in understanding the various domains of power and shows that the primary interest of any state is attainment of power. The entire international politics is a struggle for power and political theory gives a proper understanding and knowledge of the working of power in political society of today's globalized world.

Space for Learner's Notes

STOP TO CONSIDER

Relevance of political theory:

- Political theory helps in clarification of various concepts.
- Political theory helps in Understanding and controlling social life.
- Political theory helps us in criticizing and reviewing the activities of the state and governmental institutions.
- Political theory helps in Social reconstruction.
- Political theory provides us the meaning and helps us to understand multifaceted domain of power.

Major Schools of Political Theory:

- *Classical political theory*
- *Liberal political theory*
- *Marxist political theory*
- *Empirical political theory*
- *Contemporary political theory*

Self-asking Questions

- Q1. Do you think political theory is relevant? Give reasons in support of your answer.
- Q2. Does political theory clarify concepts? How does it control social life? Discuss.

1.6 Development of Political Theory:

Political theory has mainly grown in the west. The evolution of political theory has passed through various developing stages. The ancient Greek period viewed political theory as being related with the aims of the state

(Meier, 1990). It tried to establish state as an institution of justice and Plato had his vision depicted in his concept of ideal state. In the medieval period the state was related to the institution of religion. The church played an important role in the decision making of the state. In many countries the church was given the position or regarded as the supreme law or authority (Varma, 2006). In the early modern era, political theory seeks to examine and discuss the origin of the state. Gradually the focus shifted to the various institutions of the state and the concept of power as the core interest of any state. In contemporary times, power is regarded as one of the basic national interests of a state.

The growth and development of political theory is conceptualized into three categories of theories: the classical political theories, the modern and the contemporary political theories. The classical theory period started in the Ancient Greek period and continued till the advent of the 19th century. It was found in the writings of scholars like Plato and Aristotle (Balot, 2006). The modern political theory period is a combination of various political theory trends. It dominated a major part of the 20th century. The trends included scientific, positivist, empirical to behavioural and post behavioural political theories. It also included the Marxist trend of political theory (Finley, 1973). In case of contemporary political theory, it was mainly dealt with the conceptual analysis, explanation and investigation of phenomenon related to politics. Some scholars who fall under this category are John Rawls, Robert Nozick etc.

Let us now briefly discuss the major schools of political theory.

1.6.1 Major Schools of Political Theory:

Some of the major schools of political theory are classical theory, liberal theory, Marxist theory, empirical scientific theory and contemporary theory.

a. Classical political theory:

The classical theory believed in ultimate common good and political order. It is dwelt in the search for an ideal and perfect state. It was dominated by philosophy (Balot, 2006). The classical theory was of the view that state is natural and prior to individuals. Plato and Aristotle are regarded as thinkers of the classical period. Plato in his works 'Republic' and 'The Laws' dealt with the idea of the ideal state and sub-ideal state respectively.

b. Liberal political theory:

The core component of this theory is the individual. It lays emphasis on the individual will and dismisses the idea of common good. The state which governed the least was the best government according to this theory. Hobbes, Locke, Bentham, J. S. Mill, Thomas Paine are some of the liberal theorists (Laslett, 1956). The classical political theory started giving place to modern liberal theory with its scope increasing to study the issues of liberty, equality, justice welfare state etc.

c. Marxist political theory:

The core theme of this theory is class division, revolutions and so on. It emphasized the liberation of the mankind. The Marxist theory is based on the idea that the economic structure determines all other aspects of human life in any society. It rejected capitalism as an evil system and state as the organized power for the capitalists to exploit the poor or the have-nots (Roemer, 1982). Marxist political theory projected itself as scientific socialism.

d. Empirical Scientific political theory:

After the end of Second World War, a revolt against the classical tradition of political theory took place and several scientific empirical theories of politics came forward. The main exponents of the empirical scientific political theory are Harold Lasswell, David Easton, Max Weber and Charles Merriam (Lasswell, 1961). This theory gave more emphasis on facts, stability, equilibrium and harmony. It developed concepts and was occupied with issues of human behavior in politics, decision making, political system, functions, political culture, political socialization, power, authority, legitimacy, political development, etc.

e. Contemporary political theory:

Since 1970s there has been the revival of political theory and during the era the domination of behaviorist, political theory concentrated on the science of politics. Rawls, Nozick, Held, Habermas etc. made noteworthy contributions (Bevir, 2010).

According to David Held, there are four characteristics of contemporary political theory —

1. The theories are philosophical i.e. they are related to moral and idealistic structure.

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2. They are empirical in nature.
3. They are historical and try to understand various political streams in historical context.
4. They have military importance also. This means they evaluate the probability of the point of history in which we are standing and where we can reach.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Theorists of various political theory approaches:

- *Classical political theory: Plato, Aristotle*
- *Liberal political theory: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Thomas Paine.*
- *Marxist political theory: Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gramsci, Stalin, Lucas, Herbert Marcuse etc.*
- *Scientific Empirical political theory: Graham Wallas, Bentley, Harold Lasswell, Charles Merriam, David Apter, Stuart Rice, etc.*
- *Contemporary political theory: Thomas Kuhn etc.*

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-3

1. Name two liberal political theorists.
2. What are the major approaches of political theory?
3. Mention the features or characteristics of contemporary political theory forwarded by Held.
4. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) The main core component of is the individual.
 - b) The dwells in the search for an ideal and perfect state.
 - c) rejected capitalism as an evil system.
5. What is Marxist political theory?

1.7 Summing Up:

What is politics? In simple words it is a part of day to day life. The term polity mainly denotes an organization where various rules are made and followed by a community and the term political refers to something that is

public and applicable to all. The term theory usually stands for systematic knowledge. Political theory is the core component of the Political Science discipline. It deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice and equality.(Biju, 2012). It deals with the ideas and principles that shape states, constitutions, governments, social and political life in an organized and systematic manner.

The core idea of Political thought, political philosophy, and political science is to explain political phenomena. Political theory is distinct from all these concepts, neither pure thought, nor philosophy, or science. But as a subject of study political theory draws heavily from all. The objectivity associated with political theory is to make citizens capable of understanding political environment around them and to rationally analyse the contemporary political incidents. The importance of Political theory lies in the clarification of various concepts used in our day to day social and political life.

1.8 References and Suggested Readings

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1.9 Model Questions:

1. Define politics.
2. What do you understand by politics? Explain.
3. What is relationship between political science and political theory?
4. Write a short note on political theory.

5. Give a definition of political theory. Mention the important attributes of political theory.
6. What are the different types of political theory?
7. Name David Easton's three elements of political theory.
8. State the difference between political theory and political philosophy.
9. Discuss the relevance of political theory.
10. Explain Liberal and Marxist political theory.
11. Discuss the relationship of political theory and political thought.
12. Discuss the nature of political theory.
13. Define political theory and explain the scope of Political theory.
14. What are the approaches to study to study political science?
15. Write two features of political theory.
16. What are the different types of statements in political theory?
17. What are various approaches of political theory?
18. Discuss contemporary political theory.

1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress:

a. Answers of Check your progress -1

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) Polis
 - b) Political theory
 - c) small
 - d) normative
2. Andrew Hacker defines it as, "a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other".
3. Political theory is basically a generalized statement of our political life which outlines a conceptual framework for synthesizing knowledge.
4. According to Garner, "Political science begins and ends with the state." In simple words, political science is a subject which studies State and Government.

5. The features are:

- ❖ The main goals of political theory are analysis, description, explanation, prediction and change.
- ❖ Political theory can be normative or empirical or both.
- ❖ It involves systematic reflections on politics or state or government or various other political institutions.
- ❖ It is different from political science, political thought, political philosophy and political ideology.

b. Answers to Check your progress -2

1. Political science explains and describes the realities of political behaviour on the basis of empirical evidence to draw conclusions about man and political institutions. It also explains the role of power in politics and society. Political theory is not only concerned or limited to the explanations of the political behaviour from empirical view. It explains the whole political environment taking in all the elements of a political system like states, governments, citizens and society looking the way of heading to what their role should be.
2. Political philosophy belongs to the category of normative political theory. It is concerned with not only explaining what 'is' but also what 'ought' to be. Political philosophy is not concerned with contemporary issues but with certain universal issues in the political life of man such as nature and purpose of the political organisation, basis of political authority, nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice etc. It involves normative prescriptions about political life.
3. Aristotle wrote the book Politics.
4. Fill in the Blanks:
 - a) normative
 - b) Social
 - c) 'science of wisdom'
5. Political thought is the thought comprising of theories and values of all those day-to-day activities, policies and decisions of the state, and which has a bearing on our present living.

6. The specific functions performed by political theory are: understanding, explanation, evaluation and speculation.

c. *Answers of Check your progress -3*

1. The names of two theorists of Liberal political theory are Thomas Hobbes and John Locke.

2. The major schools of political theory are Classical political theory, Liberal political theory, Marxist political theory, Empirical Scientific political theory, Contemporary political theory.

3. According to David Held, there are four characteristics of contemporary political theory —

- The theories are philosophical i.e. they are related to moral and idealistic structure.
- They are empirical in nature.
- They are historical and try to understand various political streams in historical context.
- They have military Importance also. This means they evaluate the probability of the point of history in which we are standing and where we can reach.

4. Fill in the blanks:

- a) liberal political theory
- b) classical theory
- c) Marxists

5. The Marxist theory is based on the idea that the economic structure determines all other aspects of human life in any society. The focus of this theory is on class division, revolutions, etc. It emphasized on the liberation of mankind.

d. *Answers to Self-Asking Questions:*

1. Yes, political theory is relevant from many aspects in many areas. It helps in drawing meaning and solving problems of various political troubles. It studies the political phenomena from both points of view i.e. philosophical and empirical. The objective of political theory is to make citizens of the political system capable of understanding the political scenario around them to have better explanations and analysis

of the contemporary political incidents. It also enhances the rationality to look at the political goals to examine the political actions towards those goals.

2. Yes, Political theory helps in understanding the different concepts associated to the day to day life on social and political grounds. It contributes values to the political life through information about the core concepts of political life such as- Freedom, Equality and Justice. It helps in understanding the importance of these ideas and concepts.

According to Germino, political philosophy deals with perennial problems confronting man in his day to day social existence. Our social life to a great extent is controlled by the political theories dealing with socio-political life. Political theory helps in planning the future and maintaining peace and harmony in the society. Various scientific analysis of our political life enable us to control our social life by understanding and solving its various problems. The study of political science facilitates the understanding of the causes of conflict and violence in society and provides insights for preventing them. It helps us to live in a political society by providing us ways to prevent political and social crisis.

Space for Learner's Notes

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Unit: 2

Concepts: Democracy, Liberty, Equality, Justice

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2.0 Introduction:

Understanding the notion of politics is significant for one and all. In the cotemporary world, nobody is inescapable from the dossier of politics. Very outwardly we can categorize politics into two i.e. formal and non formal one. However, from the etymological point of view formal politics is more government centric than the non formal one and have acute relation in between the two. Apodictically, politics indicates power politics through the process of government formation and its functioning. The history of polity is an unstoppable process and even people are keen to redesign or recapitulate it in accordance with the changing circumstances. There are

different types of political arrangement the world have been experiencing over the years, however democracy is considered as one of the best form of political arrangements of recent time. Here the consent of the masses is inevitable throughout the system. Democracy is a way of political understanding accumulating some other ideals like rights, liberty, equality, justice, citizenship and so on. These are crucial to understand the political discourse of nation state system. Despite contestation or debate, these concepts carry some sorts of significance in the larger domain of politics.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to understand some basic aspects of politics. The modern nation states are accentuating democracy despite diverse nature of politics. Most of the governments are enthusiastic about liberty, equality, justice and so on. In democracy, people are the master of all and the entire system is bounded in accordance with their aspirations. Hence, democracy is not just a form of government but way of life. Actually democracy accentuates in the promotion of liberty, equality and justice. It provides adequate space for every individual to participate in the political discourse. By this chapter it would be helpful for us to understand the conceptual framework of democracy, liberty, equality and justice.

2.1 Objectives:

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- understand the emergence of i.e. democracy, liberty, equality and justice,
- comprehend the significance of democracy, liberty, equality and justice in a political setting,
- consider different dimensions of democracy, liberty, equality and justice in contemporary politics,
- understand different types of democracy, liberty, equality and justice,
- explain the nature of democracy, liberty, equality and justice,
- realize the positive and negative implication of liberty, equality and justice.

2.2 Democracy:

Democracy is a form of government wherein ultimate power rests in the hands of common people. In democracy, people have direct or indirect

involvement in the entire administrative system. The word democracy derives from two Greek words '*demos*' and '*kratos*', *demos* means common people and *kratos* means rule and compiling the two says rule of common people. Basically it has acute relation with the common people as supreme power resides in the hands of them. Different exponents have defined democracy in variety of ways. One of the best definitions is given by former U.S. president Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) and he defined democracy as 'it is a government of the people, by the people and for the people'. Accordingly A. V. Dicey defines 'democracy as a form of government in which the governing body is comparatively a large fraction of the entire nation.' In a similar fashion James Bryce defined democracy as, 'Democracy is a government ruled by the majority'. He also stated as 'the rule of the people expressing their sovereign will through the votes'. MacIver says that democracy is a way of determining who shall rule and how. Seeley is another notable exponents of democracy and he describes democracy is a form of government where everybody has their share.

Despite different nature of government, dimension of politics may be varied from one space to another; democracy is a process through which government remains responsible to the people. It contextualizes the power relation between the government and the governed. At present the notion of democracy is actuated in different processes beyond the purview of politics. 'In some societies the officially accepted version of democracy is limited to the political sphere, whereas in others it is extended to broader areas of social life' (Giddens 2013: 994). There is a natural demand to consider democratic principle in the formation of committees, organizations, distribution of power as well as resources, decision making process etc. Similarly, the notion of democracy can be realize with the availability of some values i.e. freedom and liberty, political equality, justice, interest of the common people, rights and privileges and so on. There might be certain preconditions in the process of enjoyment but these are indispensable for a democratic society. The direct democracy implies active participation of people in every sphere of governance. It is the responsibility of the people to determine not only the political institutions but their policy administration too. Actually it what kind of policy need to be enact or how to implement, these are important to determine through the participation in direct democracy. Although the process of action in representative democracy is somewhat different but here the representatives are bounded to the people in different ways. The representatives are elected by the people and they

remain in power till the voters are satisfied. It tries to provide adequate space to all in the decision making process. Hence, democracy is a process to penetrate power politics to the grass root level of society. It implies a choice by the people as to who should govern them.

The nature of democracy has been changing over the years. Since the Eighteenth century it experiences a monumental change in the process of government formation. It was an attempt to translating equality through voting rights. People are allowed to participate in the government formation through voting. However, it remains problematic as voting rights are given to certain section of people. Female franchise has been operative in USA since 1919, Britain since 1928, France since 1945, Switzerland since 1971 and so on. Even in India too women are given equal status incorporating provisions in the constitution. Accordingly, with the abolition of slave system, a huge number of people are entrusted with political rights. The recognition of people of different cultural background and endowment of political rights is a significant development in the competitive politics and particularly democracy. Hence, the idea of democracy properly materialized only in the twentieth century.

At present politics has become more competitive and check and balance is indispensable in every sphere of life. Present form of democracy is realized through election, voting, party system, rule of the majority, recognition of minority, public accountability, separate judiciary, constitutional government and so forth. It emphasizes on enormous representation from all so that there should be a reflection of common interest in government policies. Therefore, in pursuance of that modern liberal democracy is considered as best form of government.

Stop to Consider

The term 'democracy' first appeared in the polity of Athens, a Greek city states. In 508-507 BC, under the august leadership of Cleisthenes established Athenian democracy and eventually Cleisthenes is referred as the father of Athenian Democracy. The then government was two dimensional as all the legislative assembly was consists of entire citizen and the administrative officials as well as the judicial officers are randomly selected among the people.

2.2.1 Classical Democracy and Modern Democracy:

Democracy is one of the popular governments of modern time. But it has a long tradition; one has to revisit the ancient city states of Greece. With a small number of people direct democracy was prevailed in Athens. All the freeman have equal opportunity to participate in the decision making process. Aristotle was critical about democracy as most of the people were remained excluded from the system. Hence, in his classification of government democracy marked as perverted form of government. Earlier Plato was critical too about the notion of democracy as it favours participation of all in the decision making process. For him, it is defective as common people are neither educated nor wise to render common good. The notable point is that the then situation was quite different and number of population was small. Hence, people can participate directly in the decision making process. But modern representative democracy is suitable for all the nation states with massive population. Here, people can elect or chose a representative or group of representatives for a time being and these elected members usually take decision on behalf of common people. Hence, modern representative democracy requires some sort of political arrangements i.e. political party, universal adult franchise, citizenship, periodic elections and so forth. The classical notion of democracy bears advantages but which is impracticable for all the times to come. Consequently, the representative democracy has become relatively popular since late 18th century. Slowly all the modern nation states are pertaining democratic form of government in pursuance with representative or indirect voting system.

Stop to Consider

Democracy in Athens:

Democracy in Athens was an example of direct democracy. All the freemen participated in the decision making process of government. But notable point is that women, slaves and resident aliens were not recognized as freemen at that time.

2.2.2 Features of Democratic Society:

The democratic society usually indicates about liberal democratic society. It is emerged as one of the popular form of government of contemporary time. The basic features are tried to highlight bellow.

1. Democracy believes in popular sovereignty as people are the source of all power. The decision of the government is not other than what actually the common people desire. People have the authority to regulate the government in different ways i.e. election, referendum, recall, active participation in the decision making process etc.
2. Equality is one of the foremost principles of democracy. People are treated equally in similar circumstances. It provides equal opportunities while rejects any form of discrimination.
3. In democracy role of law is indispensable. All are equal before the existing law of the land. The law is supreme and no one is beyond the purview of it. Equal subjection of all to the same laws is fundamental principle of democracy.
4. Moreover in a democracy, all public decisions are taken with the approval of the majority but it doesn't mean that minority views are rejected by any means.
5. Democracy is a form of government by the people implies public decision needed consent of the common people. People are the master of all power and privileges.
6. In democracy, power and responsibilities are exercised by people either directly or indirectly through their representatives. It ensures public accountability throughout the system.
7. One of the basic ideals of democracy is no preferential treatment to any individual. However it approves affirmative action in certain condition so that equality, justice can be plausible to actualize.
8. Role of state is crucial to ensure rights and privileges of all. It is the responsibility of state to ensure one's rights should not contradict with another. State is the ultimate institution for maintain check and balance within a democratic sphere.
9. Democratic society provides freedom of choices, individual liberty, free from any form of discrimination and so on. It basically emphasizes on political freedom to ensure enormous influence in different sphere of life.
10. The provision of constitution is an essential criterion for democracy. It is not only a written document but bounded all legally. It helps to minimize all forms of disputes within the system.

These are some basic features of liberal democracy. Undoubtedly democracy is working adequately in different situation of present day politics. Admittedly democracy builds up an unavoidable liberal space between common people and the state wherein the aspirations of the common people get precedence.

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Check Your Progress

1. Define the concept of Democracy?
2. Bring out the basic differences between the classical and modern democracy.
3. Highlight the basic features of liberal democracy?

2.2.3 Types of Democracy: Direct and Indirect

Basically democracy can be divided in to two; direct democracy and indirect democracy. In direct democracy people have direct influence upon the ruler as well as entire administration. Admittedly, indirect democracy is more popular in contemporary politics. Here, people of certain age group can participate in the election process and elects the representatives for a time being to regulate the entire administrative procedures. The common people have indirect influence throughout the system. At present most of the countries are propound different democratic set up of administration. Here a brief discussion put forwarded on direct as well as indirect democracy.

Direct democracy also known as participatory democracy is a form of government wherein people can participate directly in the decision making process. In ancient Athens, direct democracy was prevailed therein. In the modern history of democracy, country like Switzerland is following the direct democracy system. The size and composition usually matters in democracy. The direct democracy is also not free from criticism.

Accordingly, indirect democracy and also popularly known as representative form government is widely accepted political system across the globe. The size of population as well as geopolitical space really makes impossible to install direct democracy. It is difficult to give everyone to take part in the decision making process. Hence, people elect some representatives to administer the entire system for specific period. There are both positive as well as negative connotations in the processing of indirect/ representative democracy.

2.2.4 Advantages of Direct Democracy/ Participatory Democracy:

1. People can participate directly in the decision making process. In democracy, government is for the people, by the people, of the people and direct democracy is the real reflection of it. It bestows the true form of democratic government.
2. Direct democracy provides enough scope for the citizen to be educated in political administration. Here, the common citizens are responsible for policy making as well as policy implementation. People are bounded with certain guidelines as they have to render active services all the time.
3. It ensures legitimacy as the decisions are taken by the people and for themselves. So, chance of differences is relatively less. There is no scope for contradiction or dissatisfaction.
4. The views or interest of the common people usually reflects in the policy and programmes. Actually, the common people are the master of all.
5. Here, all are entrusted with equal rights and opportunities. So, chances of exploitation, suppression, deprivation, mismanagement etc. are somewhat less. It reduces the chances of corruption too.
6. It encourages people to participate in the decision making process. Legislative and executive powers are entrusted in the hands of common people. There is possibility of higher rate of participation in decision making process.

Disadvantages of Direct Democracy:

1. Participation of all in the decision making process is not only complex but impossible system so far. No people are physically and mentally equal in real sense of the term. Hence, chances of discrimination are quite high in this process.
2. It is difficult to have consensus as the size of decision making body is comparatively large. There is a popular proverb as 'many men many minds' and which obstructs in the decision making process.
3. The modern nation states are large and complex in functioning. In such situation, direct democracy is quite impossible to accomplish.

4. Direct democracy takes huge amount of time and effort. It is impossible for all to participate in the business of the government all the time. It is time consuming to pass a simple bill or making changes in policy and programmes.
5. It prevents great ideas to be implemented as it requires consent of all. It is difficult to implement different ideas of different people.

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2.2.5 Advantages of Indirect Democracy or Representative Democracy:

1. Everyone has the chance to participate in the decision making process. People of certain age group can participate in the election. Election determines the fate of the government. The voters have substantial influence in and out of the government.
2. It is suitable for plural societies. Despite diversity, people can send adequate representatives to the decision making body.
3. It is less expensive as representatives are selected for a certain time being. So, it is suitable from the direction of time and expenditure.
4. It is possible to select efficient persons in a representative democracy. Generally person with political interest contests in election. So, these are relatively better than the common people. It is a highly efficient form of government.
5. There is a check and balance system. The voice of the people usually recognized in this form of government.
6. It simplifies the decision making process as the number of representative is small. Even, it is quite easy to finalize every matter with the consent of all.

Disadvantage of Indirect Democracy:

1. The voice of the people technically ends with the election. The relationship between the candidates and the voters is limited. Most of the people have no idea about their representatives. Actually 'who is responsible for whom?' is the fundamental problem in this process.

2. It is a system that invites corruption as power and authority is submitted for a specific period. The representatives are empowered with legislation and execution on behalf of the common people. The common people have no idea how to influence these representatives.
3. It focuses on the majority group only. Whenever a candidate gets maximum number of votes in favour of him, the candidate is declared as winner. So, in such situation the candidate may prefer the interest of majority group only. Hence, there is a chance of discrimination or political victimization for the minority in different situation.
4. Polarization occurs very frequently for political gain. The attitude of majority over the minority is somewhat repulsive. Actually the majority should have the responsibility to provide adequate space for minority to overcome any sort of impediment. Sometimes, religious polarization, ethnicity, caste factors contribute a lot in the polarization politics. Hence, situation of disadvantaged group remains complicated in accordance with the existing political dynamism.
5. Rights of minorities may be vandalized as they have limitation in every sphere of society. Again appeasement politics is also significant in representative democracy.
6. Selecting a competent representative is difficult, it becomes a laymen's government. Actually most of the common people have no political idea and they have to select a candidate from limited number. Besides, their two fold options comprising bad, worse and worst on one hand and good, better and best on the other. Hence, such democracy never finds a potential representative.
7. Not applicable in every political endeavor. We may find enough examples of its success as well as failure in different political setting.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the basic differences between direct and indirect democracy?
2. Critically discuss about the representative form of government?
3. Why democracy considered as the best form of government?

2.3 Liberty:

Liberty is considered as one of the fundamental democratic values of contemporary time. It simply means 'absence of restraints'. Human beings are rational animal and they have the capacity to take rational decision. It requires freedom from all kinds of constraints. One person may be considered free or at liberty to do something when he doesn't face any constraints from other. The term liberty is derived from a Latin word *Liber* which means free from all kind of restraints. It is difficult to measure the amount of restraints. Again, the liberty of one person may restrain the liberty of others. Liberty ensures freedom from all forms of constrictions but which is not absolute in nature. So, there is no specific formula to measure but we can realize a liberal society. Hence, it requires a comprehensive analysis to understand liberty as an ideal of democracy.

As a prominent ideal of democracy, there is a bounteous application of liberty in recent politics, but it has a long history of struggle to arrive at present situation. The concepts like 'survival of the fittest' or 'might is right' were quite popular in ancient time and have significance in present day politics too. There was enough scope to limit one's rights and privileges by other. The concept of equality remains far flung as two different pattern of player have been emerged in different layer of society as master and slave, guild and guildsmen, feudal lord and tenants, dominant and dominated, privileged and underprivileged and so on. However, there were innumerable attempt has been made to denounce such type of irrational relationship and favours to establish freedom, equality, justice etc. in an affluent manner. To understand liberty we can put forward an example as despite differences the condition of slave in Athens is to some extent similar to the people of colonial administration. Actually everywhere liberty or freedom is subjugated by the dominant through the application of power and force. The modern concept of liberty has its origin in Greek city states as to be a freeman one should be free from his masters' dominance. The Persian or Roman Empire also emphasizes on certain degree of liberty. But the real struggle started from the seventeenth century in the wake of Industrial revolution. The French Revolution of 1789 has given a far reaching slogan as 'liberty, equality and fraternity' to overcome from the despotic rule of monarch. It was in favour of establishing capitalism against aged old feudal system so that nobody can interfere in their way of life. Later on the sense of liberty inspires different revolutionary movements including national independence of different nation

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states. Notably, it has become a noteworthy ethos of democracy of contemporary time.

It is difficult to find the differences between liberty and freedom as both implies absence of restrains, obstacles, limitations, constrains etc. These are used interchangeably in different capacities. Perhaps people don't use 'liberty struggle' or 'liberty fighter' for 'freedom struggle' or 'freedom fighter' respectively, but we use liberal movement against freedom movement. Here, liberty implies condition of individual whereas freedom refers a greater entity with huge implication. Thus 'liberty identifies the condition in which human beings are able to govern themselves to behave according to their own free will and take responsibility for their action' (Dutta 2011: 68). The definition given by Harold J. Laski is suitable here as 'liberty means the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves.' There is again some contestation as opportunities or convenient atmosphere for an individual is self made or provided by someone so that no one can interfere in individual liberty. The debates come to an end with the concept of positive and negative liberty. Hence, we can simply define liberty as 'state of being free from oppressive restriction imposed by authorities'. Actually it provides adequate atmosphere with ample choices and people can enjoy in accordance with their requirement without any hindrance.

Nature of Liberty:

Liberty is a comprehensive but essential idea of contemporary politics. Here, an attempt has been made to highlight the salient features of liberty.

1. Liberty as well as freedom carries similar notions and subsequently both are applied interchangeably in different capacities. Both the terms imply absence of restrains. Accordingly it provides ample opportunities to choose as per their requirement.
2. Laski calls liberty as an *atmosphere*. In a certain condition people can realize it. Human conscience is necessary but sometimes it requires other forces so that one's liberty should not constrain in the enjoyment of other's liberty.
3. Although liberty is widely accepted phenomenon but it varies from one space to another. With the changing situation, the ethos of liberty has been changing.

4. It is a comprehensive idea and applied in different ways of life. People can realize it in polity, society, economy, culture, religion etc. The notable point is that these are not only supportive but supplementary to one another.
5. Liberty is indivisible in nature. It restrains all forms of discrimination across the line. It is not possible to disintegrate as per requirement.
6. It endows to understand the notion of liberal society. A liberal society emphasizes on all forms of liberty. A liberal society believes that government is necessary for all forms of protection of individual from external threat however sometimes government poses itself a threat in the enjoyment liberty.

2.3.1 Different types of Liberty:

Natural Liberty: Natural liberty is enjoyed in the state of nature. Rousseau was the chief exponents of natural liberty. Natural liberty advocates unlimited or unrestricted freedom in a given space. Although it is imaginary in the modern nation state system but we can't deny its historical importance. Despite differences in terms of physical and mental ability, all are treated equally in the state of nature.

Individual Liberty: No individual is free from the societal influences. Therefore, individual liberty ensures restriction of any sort of interferences. J. S. Mill was a great exponent of Individual liberty. Individual liberty includes physical freedom, security of life, privacy, imagination, aspiration and intellectual capacities etc. and these are crucial for development of individuality. It helps to actualize a life in real sense. Individual liberty is closely connected with individual freedom. It is somewhat innate for all individual.

Civil Liberty: It implies freedom enjoyed by the people in a civil society. The rights of life, liberty, property, freedom of expression, associations, health, education etc. are crucial for every individual. These civil rights are guaranteed as well as ensured by the respective state where that very individual belongs. Gettel rightly spoke about 'Civil liberty consists of the rights and privileges which the state creates and protects for its subjects'.

Political Liberty: Political liberty ensures individual to enjoy certain privileges to determine the decision making body. There are different ways to enjoy political liberty as the procedure of states varies from one nation to

another. Generally, political liberty includes right to voting, right to be elected, right to criticize the government, right to form association, participate in the pressure group, political party etc. These are important for check and balance of the government. Hence, it makes the decision making authority to be more responsible to the people.

Economic Liberty: Economic liberty is important for all round development of state. It strongly opposes any type of exploitation or other discrimination in the field of economy. The state should ensure equal pay for equal work for individual rights and privileges. Sometimes economic disparity becomes as a source of exploitation. Therefore, economic liberty ensures right to property, right to adequate wages, right to work in a suitable condition, protection from any sort of exploitation, prohibition of discriminatory distribution and so on.

National Liberty: National liberty ensures all nations are free from external dominance. The state is sovereign, independent and nobody has right to interfere in the internal matter of state. Politics, economy, society etc. are free from any type of external influences.

2.3.2 Negative and Positive Liberty :

There are different exponents tried to explain liberty in different ways. However, the terms Negative and Positive liberty were coined by Isaiah Berlin in his 1958 lecture on "Two Concepts of Liberty". The debate on liberty has started much earlier as liberty is inevitable for all and no one favors any kind of subjugation.

Stop to Consider

Isaiah Berlin (1909-1997) was a Russian British political theorist, philosopher and historian of ideas. He was an ardent speaker about liberalism. His essays 'Two concepts of Liberty' gives a comprehensive understanding on negative as well as positive liberty. Berlin was clear about liberty as incapacity to achieve a goal is not lack of liberty or freedom, but any types of restriction affects the liberty of others. He not only advocated liberal pluralism but negative liberty too.

Liberty simply means absence of restraints or external interference. Negative liberty means absence from coercive interventions. People know what is best for them. Actually they are the best judge of their own interests. Hence,

the role of state should be limited. It demands freedom from all round interference of State. A group of prominent philosophers advocated negative liberty such as Adam Smith (1723-90), Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), James Mill (1773-1836), Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) favours minimal role of state (Gaubu 2013).

Positive liberty is opposite to the negative one. Here, it urges for absence of restraints but sometimes intervention of others is inevitable for common good. Someone's liberty may be source of obstacles for others. So, intervention of competent authority is needed but it doesn't mean all round restriction. J. S. Mill is one of the prominent exponents of positive liberty and he is critical about the capitalist system as a source of deprivation of individual rights and therefore he demanded state intervention for the common good. He opined individual's behaviour should be regulated or constricted in certain situation. Similarly, Marx also favours positive liberty as state should have enormous power so that state can do for the development of human personality. Some other exponents of positive liberty like Rousseau, Hegel T. H. Green are prominent among others.

Here we can outline some fundamental differences between negative and positive liberty:

- a. Negative liberty rejects any type of external interference whereas positive liberty favours conditional intervention for common good.
- b. Negative liberty is just absence of obstacles, barriers or constrains for an individual whereas positive liberty is the possibility of acting or fact of acting to realize one's fundamental objectives.
- c. Individual liberty is basic notion of negative liberty but positive liberty is somewhat collective or if individual, it considers for the given society.
- d. Negative liberty implies the role of state is minimal whereas positive liberty enhances the role of state so that nobody can interfere in the enjoyment of liberty.

So, these are the basic differences between positive and negative liberty. Despite differences, the ultimate goal is to ensure a liberal society without any restrains. In positive liberty state intervention or external intervention is solicited for ensuring the liberty of others.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you mean by liberty?
2. Discuss the basic features of liberty.
3. What are the basic differences between negative and positive liberty?

2.4 Equality:

Equality is one of the prominent ideals of political thought. Very outwardly we can define equality as the state of being equal. It simply means absence of discrimination or inequalities. Liberty and equality are essential condition of human emancipation. In fact both the concepts are complementary with each other but sometimes liberty creates problem in the enjoyment of equality. Accordingly, to understand justice, presence of equality is inevitable. Hence, equality has become a debatable but desirable issue of contemporary politics.

Different exponents have defined equality in different ways. Laski described equality as “no man shall be placed in society that he can over-reach his neighbour to the extent which constitutes a denial of latter’s citizenship.” Barker defines equality in a different way. He stated that ‘equality means equal rights for all the people and the abolition of all special rights and privileges’. D. D. Raphall said that “the right to equality proper is a right of equal satisfaction of basic human needs, including the need to develop and use capacities which are specifically human.” Furthermore, G. Sartori explained that “equality has so many facets and so many implications that after we have examined it from all angles we are left with a feeling of not having really mastered it”. Former US president John F. Kennedy has prioritize equality in a different way. As he said ‘all of us do not have equal talent, but all of us should have an equal opportunity to develop our talents.’

There is a long standing debate on equality in modern politics. From time to time innumerable attempts have been made to establish equality denouncing all forms of discrepancies. The relationship between master and slave, the feudal lord and serf, haves and have-nots are prominent example of inequality of the past. Everywhere the society measured in terms of superior and inferior relation and we may find in the present situation too. Subsequently it enhances the process of suppression, exploitation, deprivation and so on. Inequalities in terms of wealth, prestige and power remain a universal phenomenon. J. J. Rousseau duly distinguishes between natural inequality and conventional inequality. Natural inequality is innate in nature whereas

conventional equality is manmade. First one is related with age, health, bodily strength, qualities of mind and soul etc. But the second one is related with wealth, prestige and power etc. Actually, these are common phenomena and every individual tries to overcome from such type of inconsistencies. Hence, equality is desirable for one and all. Again the entire society has been experiencing huge disparity in terms of development and others. Consequently it requires special attention to address the problem of disadvantageous groups. Therefore, at present governments are introducing affirmative action's or positive discrimination for the emancipation of marginalized communities. Hence, the ultimate target is establishment of equality throughout the system.

2.4.1 Basic principles of Equality:

1. Equality basically grants and guarantees of equal rights and freedom to all. It is one of the propositions to define justice. Equality is the basic foundation of modern liberal society.
2. Although equality is for equal treatment but it doesn't stand for absolute equality. It accepts the presence of some natural inequalities. As we know people are not equal in terms of intelligence, potentiality, creative ideas, appearances etc. Undoubtedly as a human being people are treated equally but their position varied in accordance with performances.
3. It provides adequate and equal opportunities to all irrespective of differences in a given society. It ensures prohibition of any sort of discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, colour, creed, sex and place of birth and other differences. The notion is widely accepted and sanctioned by law of the land.
4. It opposes the existence of privilege class in a society. It stands against the man mad inequalities.
5. Equality advocates for fair and equitable distribution of wealth and resources. However it also includes protective discrimination or affirmative action for the disadvantageous section of society.
6. There is an innate relationship between equality and justice. Most of the time equality is sanctioned by the law of the land. Thereof, people can approach legal system for the violation of any form of equality.

Stop to Consider

Positive or Protective Discrimination or Affirmative Action

All are used interchangeably as it provides special concession or favours the disadvantaged group in their enjoyment of rights and other privileges. It is an attempt to minimize the gap and maximize equality and justice. It includes those marginal sections of people who are deprived of adequate opportunities in different capacities. There are different policies i.e. reservation, preference, special packages etc. to fulfill the gap.

2.4.2 Different types of Equality:

Natural Equality:

All are equal in the state of nature. In the real sense it is an ideal concept to find a state of nature. Again no persons are equal in terms of physical features, psychological traits, mental abilities and other capacities. In addition to that the complex system of society contributes a lot in enhancing disparity among men. But one notable point is that the contribution of nature towards all creatures is somewhat equal. All are to be considered worthy of enjoying all forms of rights and freedom. The natural equality is considered as the foundation of equality in modern politics.

Legal Equality:

Legal equality ensures equal status to all before the existing law irrespective of caste, class, colour, gender, place of birth, religion etc. Here, legal equality can be understood in two different dimensions as people can approach legal system for availing equality or the legal system can ensure equality for the people. It goes without saying that Law is blind and all the matters of equal nature are treated equally. The situation of ancient time was quite different as people face differential treatment in different situation. In the Greek city state, quantum of punishment was different for slave and masters or the white and the black for similar offences. Similarly, in India *Manusmriti* prescribed different grades of punishment on the basis of caste. Barker prudently observed that in England up to 1772, slaves were not recognized as a person in the eyes of law. Hence, their rights and privileges are denied overwhelmingly. In such unlawful situation, there was an unprecedented

demand for rights, freedom, equality and justice. Thereafter, it requires sanctioned of the existing law so that people can sought or approach legal system for impartial treatment or equality. Emphasizing the importance of legal equality 'J. J. Rousseau, in his *Social Contract* (1762) observed that extension of legal equality to all citizens was the primary characteristic of civil society' (Gaubu 2013: 432). Equality before law or legal equality is the foundation of legal justice in present day politics (ibid 433).

Social Equality:

Human beings are social animal. But in society there is enormous possibility of discrimination on the basis of place of birth, sex, religion, caste, creed, colour etc. Undoubtedly, a section of people have been suffering abysmal discrimination over the years. It is a worldwide phenomenon and subsequently people are demanding for the protection of life, liberty, freedom, fair distribution etc. Perhaps most of the liberal societies have given positive response to it and apparently get constitutional or legal recognition in different capacities. Social equality is basic for establishing an egalitarian society. It is inevitable for reducing any kind of discrimination. Social equality is a state of affairs in which all people within a specific society or isolated group have the same status in certain respects, including civil rights, freedom of speech, property rights and equal access to certain social goods and services.

Economic Equality:

Economic inequality is a source of discrimination. Marx was very critical about economic inequality of the society. In fact he urges equal pay for equal work. Every society experiences with two different classes like Master and Servant, Guild and Guildsman, feudal lord and the serf, haves and have not's and so forth. Actually it endorses a section of people to become more influential over the others. The number of influential persons is comparatively less but has substantial influence throughout the system. Hence, it is a process of exploitation over the masses. Such type of exploitation should be obstructed to minimize the disparity among the people. Marxists or other socialists advocate for a class less society free from any sort of discrimination. Thereof, their ultimate objective is establishment of communism abolishing the concept of private property. Considering the perception of Marxism, economic equality demands reduction of gross inequalities at the same time

favors social justice to all. Even, it tries to give adequate importance to the destitute or deprived classes. It promotes balanced development in the real sense of the term. At present through the process of affirmative action or distributive justice try to achieve the goal of equality in real sense of the term.

Political Equality:

Political equality denotes the equality of political rights of citizen (Gaubha 2013: 434). It ensures equal treatment in every aspect of individual life. It opposes the existence of privilege class and promotes the notion of equality before law. Political equality provides equal opportunities in the decision making process. At present it has become a comprehensive phenomenon comprising different sectors like society, economy and cultural life of common people.

The notion of political equality contributes equal value of every single vote. Citizens can hold public offices or criticize the government without any interference of others. Actually, it is a political endeavor to regulate or control the government. In a democratic setting, political equality is inevitable for the sake of common good. Sometimes, political inequality encourages other form of inequalities in the society. It propounds different groups with huge disparity. It promotes the quantum of exploitation, deprivation, domination of influential over the common citizens in different capacities.

Stop to Consider

Distributive Justice:

Distributive justice concerns the socially just allocation of goods. The societies have a duty to the individual in need and the individuals have a duty to help others in need. Actually there are huge differences on the basis of neediness of common people. The basic notion is 'to each, his or her due'. But it is again difficult to measure the need of the people. Hence, distributive justice deserves large amount of fairness in the distribution of goods. Equal work should provide individuals with an equal outcome in terms of goods acquired or the ability to acquire goods. Miller in his celebrated work *Social Justice* (1976) identified three principles of distributive justice (a) Protection of acknowledged rights; (b) Distribution according to dessert and (c) Distribution according to need.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is equality? Highlight the basic principles of equality.
2. Critically discuss different types of equality?
3. Justify the importance of equality in democracy?

Space for Learner's Notes

2.5 Justice:

The primary concern of justice is to differentiate between 'right' and 'wrong'. Usually, right action deserves reward whereas punishment for wrong. If one is speaking about useful, suitable, perfect but other contradicts as bad, harmful and imperfect. This is the traditional view of social order. Modern society is changing substantially and contradicts with the traditional views as these are inadequate with the changing time and space. Sometimes, one's good may be harmful for others. Hence, to understand justice it requires comprehensive analysis on transition as well as different dimensions of justice.

The Greek philosophers are regarded as the earliest speaker on justice. Plato in his notable work 'Republic' discussed about justice. He classified people into three categories i.e. philosopher king, military and producing class and for all prescribed different duties as reason, spirit and appetite respectively. According to him, doing one's own task without interfering others is called just society or ideal state. For him justice is nothing but the social order or existing system.

Aristotle defines justice as treating equals equally and unequal's unequally. Marx's definition can be considered from economic dimension. According to Marx justice is 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'.

Impartiality is a necessary condition of justice. Besides, justice requires distribution of values on a just basis. It avoids all forms of discrimination. But it is not absolute in the true sense of the term. Even the concept of justice varies from one culture to another. After Greek theorists, some other theories have come into existence. The divine theorists accepted the concept as justice issued from God. The social contract theorists argued that justice is derived from mutual agreement or consensus of all. The utilitarian theorists are in favour of maximum happiness of the maximum number. Accordingly, theorists of distributive justice are concerned with what is distributed, what to be distribute and for whom to be distribute. Actually, justice is a comprehensive phenomenon as all the dimensions of human being are

incorporated therein. It includes society, economy, politics, religion, culture, legal system and so on. It rejects any form of evil activity so that nobody can harm others. It ensures equal treatment to all in a similar circumstance. Establishment of justice is the ultimate goal of present liberal society.

Stop to Consider

Aristotle's Theory of Justice:

Aristotle identified three types of justice.

- a. Distributive Justice
- b. Retributive Justice
- c. Commutative Justice.

Distributive justice is one of the basic functions of legislators. They are assigned with allocation of honour as well as wealth. The basic principle is treating equals equally and unequals unequally. Retributive justice deals with imposition of punishment and payment of damages. Finally, the commutative justice is related with value of exchange. It determines how much one has to render in exchange of services of other. Judges are concerned for the retributive and commutative justice. (Gaubha 2013: 476)

2.5.1 Dimensions of Justice:

Social Justice:

Social justice is an essential condition of human life. Modern societies are complex in nature. People belonging to different religions, castes, communities, races and other groups not only coexist but dependent to one another. They have to maintain multifaceted relation in different capacities. Besides, people are entrusted with right to life, liberty, equality, freedom and so on. However, no one is free from the larger societal bondage despite the rules and regulations are varied from one society to another. The contradiction between tradition and modernity is a usual phenomenon of recent time but have significance in understanding the entire system. Furthermore, the complexity of society has been enhancing day by day. As a result, the requirement of social justice across the region is somewhat high among the people. It emphasizes on fair distribution despite the unabated complexity. It is important because it promotes and works toward a society that celebrates diversity and equality. Some affirmative actions are considered

for the development of disadvantaged group and which are inevitable for the harmonious development of society.

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Political Justice:

In a democratic setup political justice is crucial for every individual. Citizens have substantial influence in the decision making process of the government. They have a right to participate in the political process freely and responsibly. Usually various political rights are entrusted to them i.e. right to vote, get elected, forming organization, forming political parties, criticize the government, freedom of expression, freedom of press, freedom from arbitrary arrest etc. Some rights are specific for the voters only but most of them are for the common people. Here, value of all the votes is same irrespective of religion, caste, class, colour, community and sex. All the citizens are treated equally before the law. Political justice provides adequate space to enjoy different rights in different capacities. Even, it includes social as well as economic rights too. Actually political justice helps to regulate different political institutions in favour of common good.

Economic Justice:

Economic justice is linked with economic aspects of common people. Once Karl Marx's statement 'equal pay for equal work' draws the bottom line to understand what exactly economic justice is. It is the state responsibility to avail minimum facilities to all for earning. Economy is the backbone of entire system. Economic disparity occurs due to inappropriate distribution system or appropriation of one's amount by someone else. If we look at different stages of society, the masters exploited the slaves, landlord exploited the tenants, feudal lords deprived the serfs, haves appropriate the amount of have not's and today it has been relentlessly going on. At present government as well as private sectors are bounteously working for profit motif. There is a mutual dependability between the proprietor as well as labour. But the proprietors are always remaining in advantageous position. There is enough scope of exploitation and subsequently requires all round security for all. The laborers might have duty, responsibility, rules and regulation but if he or she should have all round facilities like job security, suitable working condition, leisure or rest, leaves, adequate salary, individual safety etc. Ensuring all these facilities we may come to a conclusion that economic

justice is prevailing therein. In our society, most of the time women labours are less paid than the man. Although, lots of initiative are taken from time to time to stop such discriminating attitude but failed overwhelmingly. Economic discrimination, exploitation, deprivation are very common nuances of recent time and economic justice stands for exterminating all these.

Cultural Justice:

Most of the societies are plural in terms of culture. People belonging to different religions, caste groups, class, colour are cohabitate in certain space. There is again a twofold problem as minority and majority, but the notion is interchangeable. A majority group of somewhere may be a minority in others. So, no communities are secure in the true sense of the term. The insecurity may percolates both in vertical as well as horizontal direction. Sometimes, the state or the majority group inappropriately acts against the minority or the weaker section and likewise some groups may also act against others. In both the cases, rights and privileges are challenged by others. Therefore, it needs recognition of all irrespective of his or her caste, class, religion, sex, colour etc. for ensuring justice Hence, the concept of multicultural is a new initiative in the field of cultural justice.

Multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism simply means co-existence of different cultural groups. It is a phenomenon to recognize the cultural pluralism. In a multicultural society, there is not an official culture that every person must be a part of. All the groups enjoy freedom to preserve the salient features of their respective cultures. Hence, all cultures are respected as much as each other.

Environmental Justice:

Environment has become one of the glaring areas of concern for all. Environment pollution basically speaks about air, water and soil pollution. With the installation of different industries, millions of vehicles for transportation, deforestation, installation of Air Conditioner etc. are causing environment pollution. Actually, most of the countries are in a race of development and which is the biggest challenge for all. The problems like

global warming, melting of glacier, destruction of ozone layer etc. have direct impact in our day today life. Actually, it is a global concern as most of the countries across the world have taken various initiatives to control all forms of pollution. Even they are favouring sustainable development to protect the near future. Such type of environmental degradation is an inescapable challenge for all. The people of develop countries are enjoying relatively more secure and comfortable life, developing or underdeveloped countries are remaining far behind to them. Sometimes it is alleged that the developed industrial nations have been contributing a lot in environmental degradation and developing countries are following their footsteps. However, present seriousness about environment degradation is a challenge in the process of development of others. Such type of disparity or political criminalization should be avoided to establish environmental justice in our society.

The concept of environmental justice has acute relation with our common surroundings. We are somehow familiar with sound pollution created by our neighbours and many others. Besides, poor waste management, intoxication in public places may destroy the environment. Most of the time, people become habituated with such environment. We can take another example as the condition of sweeper community or scavengers is painful as they are engaging for cleaning the environment compromising their own safety. Hence, nobody is there to beg environmental security or justice for them.

Stop to Consider

Procedural Justice and Substantive Justice:

‘Champions of procedural justice hold that it is necessary to determine a just procedure for the allocation of social advantages, viz. goods and services, opportunities and benefits, power and honours, then the outcome will automatically be accepted as just. On the other hand, substantive justice argues that the allocation and distribution of social advantages among various section of society itself should be just- that is the primary issue; the procedure for making such allocation is secondary issue.’ (Gaubha 2013:481-82) The notion of procedural justice is closely related to the tradition of liberalism. Freedom of the contract is the mainstay of procedural justice. It also focuses on elimination of discrimination between human beings on grounds on caste, creeds, sex, race, region, language, culture, religion etc. In contrast to this notion, the substantive justice correspondence to the philosophy of

socialism. It holds that the test of justice in society consists in ascertaining whether the poor and the underprivileged have adequate opportunity to improve them a lot. Actually, it emphasizes on the actualization of the concept of just society. Hence, John Rawls has sought to accommodate the requirement of substantive justice or social justice in his well drawn scheme of procedural justice.

Sustainable Development:

The term sustainable development was first introduced in a report commissioned by the United Nations, *Our Common Future* (1987). This is also known as the *Brundtland Report*, after the chair of the organizing committee, Gro Harlem Brundtland, then Prime Minister of Norway. The Commission regarded the sustainable development as, 'sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.' The concept carries huge significance in different capacities. It appears not only in the UN 'Earth Summit' at Rio De Janeiro 1992 and the Millennium Development Goals too. However a section of people are critical about sustainable development as the concept neglects the specific needs of poorer countries. (Giddens 2009: 191-92; Baylis, Smith and others 2014: 334)

Check Your Progress

1. Explain importance of justice. Is liberty contradictory to justice?
2. Explain Rawl's theory of justice.
3. "Equality, Liberty and Justice are important ideals for Democracy." Critically discuss.
4. Write a brief note on procedural justice.

2.6 Summing Up:

What we have seen so far leaves an impression that democracy is the best form of government in contemporary time. It has been promulgating different values like liberty, equality, freedom, rights, justice, citizenship etc. and ensures adequate space for all. Although democracy is widely accepted phenomenon but the nature of democracy or process of functioning is varied from one space to another. Undoubtedly it is suitable for diverse and complex societies. The government ensures protection of every individual from any sort of discrimination. The concepts like liberty, rights, equality, and justice

are interlinked and these are apprehensible for a democratic society. The liberty and equality are sometimes contradictory in nature but inevitable throughout the system. The concept of justice is obnoxious in such unequal situation. Hence, people favour affirmative action and many other procedures to attain equality and promoting justice. From the above discussion, we may come to a conclusion that interest of the common people is the foundation of democracy.

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2.8 Model Questions:

1. What do you understand by direct democracy?
2. What is Justice? Explain different types of justice in contemporary politics.
3. What is Liberty? Explain the differences between positive and negative liberty.
4. Write a brief note on environmental justice.
5. What is Democracy? Critically discuss direct democracy and representative democracy.
6. What are the different types of Liberty? Is liberty necessary for modern liberal society?
7. "Democracy is the best form of government" explain with your arguments.

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Unit: 3
Concepts: Rights, Gender, Citizenship,
Civil Society and State

Contents:

- 3.0 Introduction**
- 3.1 Objectives**
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 - 3.2.1 Features**
 - 3.2.2 Theories of Rights**
 - 3.2.3 Types of Rights**
 - 3.2.4 Rights and Duties**
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 - 3.4.1 Theories of Citizenship**
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- 3.6 States**
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 - 3.6.2 Perspectives Regarding the Nature of State**
 - 3.6.3 State and Civil Society**
- 3.7 Summing Up**
- 3.8 References and Suggested Readings**
- 3.9 Model Questions**
- 3.10 Answers to Check Your Progress**

3.0 Introduction:

The study of certain concepts like rights, gender, citizenship, civil society and state are important in political theory. In this chapter we will discuss

those concepts to understand the various dimensions, perspectives and theories associated with these concepts. The study of these concepts is important in explaining their implications in society. The various concepts are interconnected and compliment each other. Rights are the basic conditions of social life and it is a duty of the state to protect those rights. The status of citizenship that each member of the state enjoys entitles him with several rights accompanied by various duties. The civil society acts as the check and balance between the individual and the state. The concept of gender equality ensures equal rights and opportunities without discriminating on the basis of the individual being male or female. The state is the central discretionary institution of all the rights and opportunities to the people. Thus this unit will deal with the various concepts and help us in their proper understanding.

3.1 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to analyse the various concepts and their significance in political theory. After going through the unit you will be able to:

- *explain* what is right?
- *discuss* what is gender
- *discuss* the concept of Citizenship
- *examine* concept and genesis of Civil society
- *examine* the concept of State
- *discuss* the relationship of state and civil society

3.2 The Concept of Rights:

In political philosophy the concept of rights constitute an important component through which relationship between state and citizens can be measured. The rights must correspond to the various needs of any individual. The definition forwarded by T.H. Green (Colin, 2019), "Rights are powers necessary for the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being. A right is a power claimed and recognised as contribution to common good." According to Laski, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek in general, to be himself at his best." Again according to Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy, "Rights are advantageous positions conferred on

some possessor by law, morals, rules, or other norms.” In simple sense, rights are claims of individuals in a society. Rights are the social claims but these claims are not entitlements. The rights of the individuals must be protected and delivered and this is done by the state. Every state delivers and protects the rights of its citizens. The aliens are not conferred equal rights with the citizens of a country. But they enjoy certain basic rights conferred to them as human beings. This will be discussed elaborately in the following sections of the unit. Rights help individuals to grow and develop as human beings.

3.2.1 Features:

The basic features of rights are as follows:

1. Rights exist only in society and cannot be exercised against the society.
2. Rights are claims of the individuals for their proper development in a society. When the rights are used by the individuals for their development it also means development of the society in reality indicating promotion of social good.
3. Rights are rational and moral claims of the people which they make on their society.
4. All rights are inseparable from duties. Both rights and duties share close relationship and work complimenting each other.
5. Rights need enforcement and when they acquire it, they become available to the people. They need to be protected and it is the duty of the state to protect the rights of the people.
6. Another important feature of rights is that they are not absolute. They come with limitations which are necessary for the proper order and enjoyment of rights by all individuals.

3.2.2 Theories of Rights:

The concept of rights has been evolving since the time of state of nature. Various theories are forwarded by different scholars regarding rights. Some of the important theories on the concept of rights are discussed below:

STOP TO CONSIDER

Important theories of Rights:

- ❖ Theory of natural rights
- ❖ Historical theory of rights
- ❖ The Utility Theory
- ❖ Theory of social welfare rights
- ❖ Theory of Legal Rights
- ❖ John Rawl's theory on Rights
- ❖ Nozick's theory of Rights

Theory of Natural Rights:

According to natural theory of rights, certain rights were enjoyed by man in the state of nature before the origin of the state or civil society. Hobbes also states that natural rights are enjoyed in the state of nature. It was popular in the 17th and 18th century (Borbora, 2011). John Locke was an ardent champion of natural rights.

❖ **Historical Theory of Rights:**

The historical theory of rights is a result of historical evolution of the society. Edmund burke is regarded as the chief exponent of historical theory. Ritchie is another exponent of this theory who states that these rights are those which people have been accustomed to have or which they have a tradition of having as one's possession.

❖ **Social Welfare Theory of Rights:**

This theory of rights states that rights are conditions of social welfare. According to social welfare theory, rights are created for promoting welfare of the people and are conditions for the happiness of the individual as well as the society. The utilitarian thought school in 19th century led by Bentham stated that the greatest happiness of the greatest number' is the sole criteria of recognition and legislation of rights (Heywood, 2007).

3.2.3 Types of Rights:

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STOP TO CONSIDER

Types of rights:

- Positive and Negative Rights
- Natural Rights
- Legal rights – *Civil rights, Political Rights, Social rights and Economic rights*
- Moral Rights
- Human rights

- **Positive and Negative Rights:**

The rights that are subjected to an action of another person or group and permit the state to involve itself in monitoring the enjoyment of rights by people to the fullest are known as positive rights. On the other hand, rights that require non-interference from the state as well as society are known as negative rights. (Hoveyda Abbas & Rana Jay Kumar, 2012). Negative rights permit inaction whereas positive rights permit or oblige action. Positive rights allow others to act together with the right holder while, negative rights forbid others from acting against the right holder.

- **Natural Rights:**

In simple terms, the rights that are freely available in nature can be regarded as natural rights. Scholars like Hobbes and Locke emphasised that natural rights are the rights which are not given to man by the society or state but were available in the state of nature itself. Hobbes held that every man had the right to use his power according to his will in the state of nature, while Locke stated that individuals had several natural rights in the state of nature particularly right to life, property and liberty (Borbora, 2011). However, this notion of rights was faulty as rights are products of society and only when these rights carry meaning only after having validation and sanction of a society or state.

- **Legal Rights:**

The rights that are recognised and enforced by the law of a state are known as legal rights. They are protected and validated by the state. The violation of such rights leads to punishment by the law of the state (Jha P. K., 2012).

The legal rights are again sub-divided into civil rights, political rights, social rights and economic rights. The rights like right to life, right to property etc. which provide opportunity to an individual to lead a civilised social life are known as civil rights. While the rights like right to hold public office, right to vote, right to get elected etc. are political rights through which the citizens enjoy political participation in the political process of the state. Again, the rights like right to social security, right to education, right to a proper standard of living etc. are regarded as social rights. These rights are important for a sound development of an individual in the society. Lastly, the rights which provided economic security to people are regarded as economic rights.

- **Moral Rights:**

These are the rights that are based on moral grounds and human consciousness. Moral rights do not claim legal sanction but are basically the customs and traditions of a society that are being followed for a long time which makes it difficult to be broken (Borbora, 2011). They are basically certain standard norms and values that are meant to be followed by all individuals in the society for common good. Any moral right or claim that is adopted by the law of the state, it becomes a legal right.

- **Human Rights:**

Another most important category of rights are human rights. Human rights are those rights that are inherent in human nature and are essential for living as human beings. These rights are natural and are the very basis of any human being, their dignity and worth. Human rights are important for the proper and sound development of any individual. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) in the year 1948 has influenced all the states to work for the security and protection of human rights in their respective states and beyond. The UN Declaration of Human Rights gives recognition to various rights as human rights that are present in the declaration. The people are entitled with the human rights irrespective of their nationality, sex, religion, language, race and so on. They are entitled with these rights by the fact that they are human beings. The basic features of human rights are: universality, fundamental, inalienable or indivisible and absolute.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

1. Give two definitions of right.
2. What are the features of rights?
3. What do you mean by duty?
4. What are the different types of duties?
5. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) Rights are of the individuals.
 - b) The duty defined and enforced by law is known as
 - c) Rights are (absolute/not absolute).
 - d) The duty of vote is related to the
6. What does moral duty mean?

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3.2.4 Rights and Duties:

STOP TO CONSIDER

Kinds of Duties-

1. Moral duty
2. Political duty
3. Legal duty

The understanding of the concept of rights demands a study of duties as there can be no rights without duties. In simple sense, duty is a responsibility or commitment to perform an action. In every society the enjoyment rights comes with a number of duties with it. Right of one is the duty of others. For every right there is a corresponding duty and if others do not perform their duties then the rights become meaningless. A duty is basically an obligation. Life in a society involves several obligations that have to be performed by every individual. Every right that a person enjoys in society involves a corresponding duty. Every person has a duty to toward others. All have the right to freedom of speech but it comes with the duty of not using that freedom to abuse or insult others. The state protects and enforces rights and so it is the duty of the citizens to obey the laws and be loyal to the state. There are mainly three kinds of duties- moral duty, political duty and legal duty.

Moral duty- The duties which are based on moral grounds which are just are known as moral duty. These duties are supported by morality and public opinion. To speak the truth, to obey and respect the elders, to respect all religions etc. are moral duties of an individual.

Political duty- Political duties mean the political obligations of all citizens. Political rights are the rights that are designed to secure peoples participation in political process. These rights may or may not be enforced by law. The duty to vote is related to the right to vote. In all democratic countries people have the obligation of performing their political duties.

Legal duty- The duties that are defined and enforced by law are known as legal duties. To obey the laws, to pay taxes, etc. are legal rights. Every citizen has to perform his/her legal duties and any failure of which can invite punishment under the law. Legal duties are backed by the force of law and the judiciary takes the decision and punish anyone violating such duties.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

1. What are human rights?
2. What are the different classifications of right?
3. Write the full form of UDHR.
4. Fill in the blanks:
Those rights through which the citizens enjoy political participation in the political process of the state are known as
5. Name two theories of rights.

3.3 Gender:

The term and concept of gender is something that is widely debated by different scholars of different fields like political, sociological, philosophical, and so on. The term mainly refers to certain socially constructed and assigned status, roles and responsibilities of both men and women. These constructions are mainly by social institutions, our societies and cultures. Earlier the term sex and gender was used interchangeably but it is distinct from each other and gender is much difficult to define compared to the term sex. Sex is something that is biological, that an individual is a male or a female. Therefore sex is biological whereas gender is socially constructed

(Acharya, 2013). The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines gender as “socially constructed characteristics of women and men, such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed”. Thus it makes gender roles flexible. These roles are basically learned and acquired with time. In most of societies girl are regarded to be the homemaker and the boy or man is regarded as the bread earner. Women are taught to be humble and polite and were told that shouting is something that a boy does and it does not look good on girls. Simon De Beauvoir, in her famous work ‘The Second Sex’ argued that “one is not born, rather becomes a woman”.

In every society there is discrimination and differentiation on the basis of gender. In most of the countries several rights are distributed differently to both male and female. In many cases various rights are denied to women from the fact of the person being a male or female. Even today the transgender rights do not exist in many countries. The women organisations, feminists, LGBT societies etc are all working towards the fulfilment of their demands of gaining equal rights in the society be it political, economic, social or cultural. The gender disparities is seen everywhere like family, work places, in enjoying rights etc and it can be reduced or curbed only when the various governments take firm and proper planning and provide equal rights to all on the basis of being humans (Menon, 2013). All human being must have equal rights without any discrimination on the basis of anyone's sex.

In recent times, the government, NGOs and international communities are taking up various initiatives for gender empowerment and development. Some of the important summits, laws etc on gender empowerment are: UN Conference on environment and Development held in 1992, the World Conference on Human Rights held in 1993, International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the World Summit for Social Development in 1995, the Fourth World Conference on women 1995. The gender development policies are taken up by various governments to ensure empowerment and reduce discrimination in work, family and public life, access to various resources, education and health, etc. In India too, various gender development centric policies and programmes are taken up.

According to UN report 1980 Women constitutes half of the world's population, but form merely two third of its work hours and receive only one tenth of the world's income and own less than one hundredth of the world's property. Feminism is a product of western society and in common

parlance. It is known as a movement of women, by women, for women to achieve women rights. It's also known as women liberation movement. As it stands for gender equality, independence, empowerment of women, sexual freedom, equality of opportunities etc. the underlying idea of feminism is to fight against dominations, discriminations and subordinations (Menon, 2013). As a movement it questions the conventional and traditional attitude of men and society towards women. It represents the major changes and societal thinking and politics and radically questions the conventional understanding of men as strong, intelligent, dominant etc. and women as symbol of beauty and so on.

Over the years the scholars of feminism had made the distinction between sex and gender more complex. The distinction has been continuing and is broadly accepted by all feminist even though the basic understanding of sex is related to nature and gender to culture. The concept of gender is one of the major concepts dealt with by radical feminism. Now let us have a brief overview on feminism and some of its major schools.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Gender refers to socio-cultural and economic expression of the role and responsibilities and opportunities and the characteristics associated with being women and men. While *sex* refers to biologically defined and genetically acquired differences between male and female.

Gender equity is the process of fairness in treatment and allocation of rights of men and women; and *gender equality* prevails when women and men are provided equal opportunities and conditions for their economic, social, political and cultural all round development without any discrimination between them.

Gender studies are the studies focusing the issues related to concept of gender, women, men, feminism, gender empowerment and development etc.

3.3.1 Feminism:

It is a meta- ideology and there are different school of feminism. The common concern of all the schools is discrimination against women. The origin of feminism can be traced in some of the works of Plato however modern

feminism originated in the times of French revolution. Mary Wollstonecraft is regarded as the mother of feminism and her book 'Vindication of the Rights of Women' is known to be the first ever book on feminism.

Schools of feminism: basically the history of feminism can be traced in the form of three waves of feminism: The first wave – it started from 19th century till 1960. In this wave the emergence of liberal and socialist feminism can be seen. It emerged in western countries primarily in USA and Britain. Their demand was the right vote and at that point of time the feminists were known as the 'Suffragette'. The liberal feminists were focused on civil and political rights of women. There was a rise of socialist feminism also and at present they are concerned with social and economic empowerment. One of the prominent socialist feminist scholars is Sheila Rowbotham.

STOP TO CONSIDER

- ❖ **Gendered society:** the society that gives privilege to one sex over the other. For example in India, it is a gendered society which gives privilege to males over females.
- ❖ **Patriarchy:** The term refers to the authority of father in the family. The father can be referred to as the patriarch and the authority of the father becomes the authority of the males. Thus patriarchy refers to a society where the males are dominant or have a dominant status.

The second wave was from 1960s to 1980s which saw the emergence of the radical feminism. The prominent exponents were Simone de Beauvoir, Shulamith Firestone, Betty Friedan, Kate Millet and Suzanne Moller Okin. Radical feminism is also known as true feminism and is regarded as a feminism by women and for women. The major concepts of concern in radical feminism are: concept of gender, concept of patriarchy, concept that personal is political and the idea of differentiated citizenship. They are of the view women suffer because of living in a 'gendered society'. The third wave started from 1980s onwards and it deals with post feminism. Scholars like Susan Faludi in her book 'Backlash' discussed that women are sufficiently liberated in the West and hence, radical feminism has lost its relevance as it is not required anymore. The post feminists were of the view that women should celebrate womanhood and the feminine qualities.

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Other schools of feminism are Eco-feminism, Black feminism, post-colonial feminism and post modern feminism. The eco-feminists are of the view that men exploit both nature and women. They regard women to be closer to nature than men and women are the worst sufferer of environmental degradation. The protection of women without women empowerment is not possible according to eco-feminists. One of the exponent of eco-feminism is Vandana Shiva. The Black feminism holds difference between white women and black women. According to black feminists, the problems and issues of women are different for white women and black women (Johnson, 2012). Both do not have the same kind of problems and therefore they must be dealt with differently. Bell Hooks and Angela Davis are two scholars of Black feminism. The Black feminists are of the view that other forms of feminism focus only on sexism and class oppression and ignore the discrimination of women based on race. Post-Colonial feminism examines the problem of women in post colonial societies to be different from that of the women of Western countries as they are under burden of gender, race and neo-colonialism. The women of the western countries do not face these triple burden as in the case of the women in post colonial societies (Talpade, 1991). Chandra Mohanty Talpade and Sarojini Sahoo are scholars of post-colonial school of feminism. In Post-modern feminism scholar like Judith Butler, women are debatable category and gender is a performative word which together with the term sex is constructed through language. This approach of feminist theory incorporates postmodern and post-structuralism theory. According to post modern feminists, there is no single basis of defining women and no single method of dealing with the problems of women.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-3

1. Define gender.
2. What do you mean by gender equality?
3. Fill in the blanks.
 - a)is the process of being fair to men and women.
 - b) Equity is a means. is the result.
4. What is the difference between gender and sex?

3.4 Citizenship:

The word citizenship is derived from the Latin 'civis' and its Greek word 'polites' which means member of the polis or city. It is the membership in any political community and carries with it various rights and duties. The concept of citizenship has been evolving with the change in the nature of contemporary states. Different thinkers viewed citizenship differently. According to Aristotle (Roy, 2013), one who has the power to take part in the deliberative activities is the citizens of that state. To Laski (Borbora, 2011), "Citizenship is the contribution of one's instructed judgements to public good." Citizenship rights come with various other rights, liberties and duties associated with it. Again in the words of Green citizenship means positive freedom, the positive capacity of the individual to develop his personality in the social context. To Blackwell (Ghai, 2004), "Citizenship means a full and responsible membership of state." Gettel holds that citizenship is, "that status of an individual by which he enjoys civil and political rights in his state and is willing and ready to perform duties towards the state."

3.4.1 Theories of Citizenship:

There are various theories of citizenship propounded by various theorists. Some of the main theories are as follows-

- **Liberal theory:** This theory on citizenship is also referred as the evolutionary theory. The chief exponent of this citizenship theory is T.H. Marshall. According to liberal theory, citizenship resulted from various interrelated process of state building. It is constituted by civil rights and the various transformations of political and economic rights. This theory emphasizes the equality of rights and individuals are the main focus of the theory.
- **Marxist theory:** The Marxist theory of citizenship is of the view that the rights are the result or output of class conflicts. The basis of citizenship rights was the suppressing of rights of one class by another. There was denial of citizenship to the under privileged for a long time which became difficult to maintain by the present day modern states. The theory was propounded by Antonio Giddens, who viewed the concept of citizenship to be the result of expansion of state sovereignty and administration. He also argued that citizenship rights were acquired mainly through class struggle.

- **Pluralistic theory:** David Held (Held, 1989) in his 'Political theory and Modern state', 1989 observed that citizenship is a reciprocal relationship between the individual and community. The pluralist theory states that the problem of citizenship should be analysed in the context of the various social movements like feminist movement, dalit movements, ecological movements etc. which have been launched against different types of discrimination in the society in the name of religion, sex, race and so on. Some of the proponents of pluralist theory of citizenship are David Held and B.S Turner (Borbor, 2011). This theory views that citizenship as the outcome complex multidimensional process.
- **Communitarian theory:** This theory of citizenship is also known as republican theory of citizenship. The main proponents of the communitarian theory are Hannah Arendt, Benjamin Barber and Michael Walzer. In the view of this particular theory, the citizens must take active part in the political process of the state and identify themselves with the community as one. The citizen should play an important role in shaping the future of their country by being responsible and doing ones duties together with enjoying rights.
- **Libertarian theory:** Robert Nozick is the proponent of this theory. According to libertarian theory, citizenship is nothing but the product of the free and rational choice and contract among individuals. The basic need for any individual in citizenship is to be independent in doing any kind of rational activity and also to think critically (Dutta, 2011). For Nozick the involvement of individuals in different institutions, market exchanges, etc. is to fulfil their needs and preferences.

STOP TO CONSIDER

- **Natural born and naturalised citizens:**

Natural born citizen, are the citizens of a state by birth and naturalised citizens are those who adopt citizenship of a particular country although they do not belong to it by birth and nor do their parents are citizens of that country.

- **Citizens and aliens:**

an alien is one who resides in a country temporarily or permanently without owing any allegiance to that particular country, whereas a citizen is a permanent member of a country

and has the right to reside in it. An alien can never claim permanent residence.

Methods of acquiring citizenship:

- ✓ By Birth
- ✓ By Naturalisation
- ✓ By subjugation
- ✓ By Ceding
- ✓ By re-integration

Methods of Losing Citizenship

- Release
- Expiration
- Deprivation
- Substitution
- Renunciation
- Marriage
- Crime against the state

3.4.2 Methods of Acquiring Citizenship:

Different countries have different laws regarding citizenship and the methods to acquire citizenship. The main methods of acquiring citizenship are as follows:

Citizenship by Birth: It is the citizenship given to people who are born in that country. A vast majority of people acquire citizenship by birth and therefore it has been regarded as the most prominent methods of acquiring citizenship.

a) By descent-Citizenship by descent refers to citizenship conferred based on blood relation and the parents' or grandparent's citizenship. It is conferred irrespective of place of birth of the child. It is known as jus sanguine or rule of blood relation.

b) By place of birth-This citizenship is conferred based on the place of birth of a child. This principle of acquiring citizenship by birth is known as jus soli or the rule of the place. Argentina applies this principle where the

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territory upon which the child is born shall be a determining factor of citizenship. India uses a mixed principle.

Citizenship by Naturalisation:

The process through which citizenship is conferred to an alien is known as naturalisation. According to the laws of different states naturalisation may take place through marriage, legitimating, option, acquisition of domicile, appointed as government official and grant on application.

a) Marriage-A person automatically acquires their spouse citizenship after marriage. In India, a foreign lady marrying an Indian citizen may acquire Indian citizenship after losing her former citizenship since India allows its citizens to hold only single citizenship.

b) Residing for a specific period-A person may acquire the citizenship of a country by continuously residing in that country for a specific period of time. In England the period is five years,

c) Incorporation of territory-If any new territory is integrated by any state through war, agreement, etc. then the citizens of that territory will acquire the citizenship of the new state.

d) Through registration-Another method of acquiring citizenship is through registration. Under this method, a person after fulfilment of certain criteria and capacity may apply for citizenship in any particular country of his/her choice. The application must be approved by both states involved, the state to which he belonged and the state which he wants to be a citizen of.

3.4.3 Qualities of a Good Citizen:

According to Bryce, “a good citizen is one who possesses the following three qualities: intelligence, self control and conscience.” The first quality of a good citizen is patriotism. A good citizen must put his country’s interest before his personal interest. A good citizen also knows when to subordinate his or her private interest to general interest of the community and does his duties. Tolerance, honesty, integrity, self-respect are some of the other qualities to be possessed by a good citizen. These are some of the basic qualities of a good citizen (Dutta, 2011).

3.4.4 Hindrances to Good Citizenship:

Together with qualities of good citizenship, Lord Bryce has also identified three hindrances to good citizenship which are indolence, private self-interest and party spirit. Certain other obstacles to good citizenship are corruption, unemployment, ignorance, poverty and so on. The concept of good citizenship is very important for the success and smooth functioning of democracy. The government should take proper initiative to remove such hindrances through expansion of education, reforms in social, political as well as economic sector, raising the standard of living of its citizens and the state should infuse the individuals with moral and democratic virtues.

3.4.5 Double Citizenship:

The multiple citizenship of certain citizen exists due to different citizenship laws prevailing in different countries. Dual citizenship can result from marriage with foreign national, birth in a place where their parents do not belong etc. But many countries do not allow double citizenship to its citizens. Even if certain people possess double citizenship with the permission of their native country but it comes with various deals of restrictions or regulations. In India, in case an Indian citizen is offered a British citizenship the person has to select the citizenship of his choice and if he selects British citizenship, he automatically ceases to be an Indian citizen as India allows only single citizenship (Ghai, 2004). Thus, the rights of the citizens of different countries regarding citizenship differ from each other.

3.4.6 Concept of Statelessness:

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 4

1. Write a definition of citizenship.
2. What is pluralistic theory of citizenship?
3. Name the methods of acquiring citizenship.
4. Who wrote the book Political theory and Modern state?
5. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) The chief exponent of liberal citizenship theory is
 - b)who argued that citizenship rights were acquired mainly through class struggle.

Statelessness exists when a person do not belong to any country in the world. According to Article 1 of the 1954 Convention on Status of Stateless Persons, a 'stateless person' is one who is not considered a national or citizen by any country under their law. There can be various reasons of statelessness. Some of them are: living in non-state, conflict of various laws, renunciation, state succession by another state, different administrative obstacles etc.

3.5 Civil Society:

Roman thinker Marcus Tullius Cicero used the term civil society in the sense of the state in the first century B.C. Civil society refers to the arena of collective action around shared values, interests and purposes. It is mainly composed of voluntary organisations varying in the degree of autonomy, formality and power. In Locke's view society did exist in the state of nature but to protect and preserve life, liberty and property civil or political society was formed through social contract which consisted of a government (Jha S. , 2010). Locke used the term civil society and political society interchangeably. While Hegel gave a modern liberal view on civil society. According to Hegel, civil society is the space between family and the state. He identified it as the market society. There was the presence of thesis, anti- thesis and synthesis where was family was the thesis, civil society is the anti-thesis which results in the synthesis i.e. the state. Marx used Hegelian's concept in understanding the working the concept of civil society. Examples of civil society organisations are: non-governmental organisations, women's organisations, trade unions, self-help groups, charities, social movement groups etc. In many developing countries these organisations acts as a check to the government and can make the government liable to its citizens.

3.5.1 Theories of Civil Society:

The discussion on some of the theories or approaches of civil society is as follows-

a. Gramsci's approach on Civil society:

Gramsci defines state as a political institution with constitutional control in a political society. On the other hand, he defined civil society as the non-state

sphere including economy. He claims that under modern capitalism, the bourgeoisie can evenly maintain the economic control by allowing various demands of the trade unions, and mass political parties within civil society to be met by the political sphere. Gramsci's bourgeoisie society consists of the base (capitalist mode of production), superstructure (legal political institutions, religion, etc), structure of dominion (civil society and political society) and civil society which consists of the structure of dominion and political society consists of structure of coercion.

b. Robert Putnam's Theory:

Robert Putnam and his associates' much discussed work *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* gave a new direction to the theoretical understanding of civil society. According to Putnam, non-political organisations in civil society are important for democracy. He puts emphasis on social capital to hold society together and describes social capital as the trust and shared values which can be transferred into the political sphere to keep the society transparent. His concept of civil society was neither economical nor class struggle centred. Putnam's concept of good civil society was associated with the level of people's participation and involvement in civil society institutions and movements (Mouritsen, 2001). Many scholars criticize Putnam for ignoring the economic and social relation aspect in analyzing civil society unlike Marxist Political economy.

c. Habermas theory:

The theory of Habermas on the concept of civil society refers to the study of reason and liberation of man. His theory of civil society advances the aims or goals of the population, while maintaining an inclusive Universalist moral framework. He emphasises on an egalitarian society. The interface between the private and public sphere of Habermas' lifeworld was the civil society (Scrambler, 2013). He regarded civil society as the sphere where exchange of various commodities and different forms of labour took place. On the other hand, Habermas regarded the public sphere to be within the political domain.

d. Fukuyama on civil society:

There are various theories dealing with the concept and understanding of civil society. Some scholars view civil society as a non state actor including the economy whereas, others deny the importance of economy and social aspects while explaining civil society. Apart from scholars like Gramsci,

Habermas and Putnam, Fukuyama also gives his view on civil society together with the concept of social capital. Fukuyama defines civil society as the satisfaction of one's need of recognition and it provides the end point of history (Singh, 2013). In defining this concept, he justified human nature is governed by the desire for recognition and civil society fulfils that need. Civil society explores the path of social norms and the present disruption from the transformation of manufacturing age to information age is affecting the society to a great extend.

SELF ASKING QUESTIONS

Is State and civil society related to each other? If yes, discuss how.

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.....
.....
.....

3.6 States:

State is the most universal and most powerful of all social institutions. According to J.W. Garner in his Political science and Government 1928, political science begins and ends with the state. In traditional political theory, the concept of state had been the central theme and the theories revolved around the understanding of the state and its elements. But in modern times, the concept and significance of state has been contested by various scholars. The exponents of behavioural approach in political science even suggested abandoning the concept of state. Different definitions are forwarded by different scholars regarding state. To Aristotle (Ghai, 2004), the state is an association of families and villages for the sake of attaining perfect and self sufficient existence. Max Weber states that State has a “monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.” According to Garner (Das, 2013), the state is a community of persons more or less, numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so of external control, and possessing an organised government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience. While Hegel argues that state is the actuality of concrete freedom or it is the realisation of freedom of the absolute final aim and it exists for its own sake.

3.6.1 Elements of the State:

A state is constituted with four basic elements. They are discussed as follows:

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STOP TO CONSIDER

Elements of the State:

The state consists of four constituent elements :

a) Physical bases

- Population
- Territory

b) Political bases

- Government
- Sovereignty

Various theories explaining the Nature of State:

- The Organic Theory
- The Juristic Theory
- The Class Theory
- The Mechanistic Theory

Population:

One of the elements of the state is population. By population it refers to the members of the state. Without population there cannot be any state. Different states have different size of population. The ancient states had population which were small in size in comparison to modern day states. Even in contemporary times there are a few states with very small population like Switzerland. China is the state with the highest population in the world and India stands at the second position in terms of highest population in the world.

- **Territory**

The second important element of state is territory. Like population state also need to have a territory. The state jurisdiction in terms of territory includes land, rivers, mountains, sea, airspace above its territory etc. The territories of the states can be big or small and the state has sovereign power over its territory. Example of countries with large territories is Russia,

USA, China, Canada, India etc. The states with smaller territories are Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Nepal, Bhutan etc.

- **Government**

The third important element of the state is the government of the state. A state runs through the machinery of the government. A government ensures the formation, enforcement and implementation of various laws, programmes, and policies of the state. The government can be of different forms. For instance, India has a parliamentary form of government and USA has a presidential form of government. Other forms are monarchy, dictatorship, democracy, aristocracy etc. The government is constituted by its three basic organs namely:

- i. **Legislature:** It legislates laws of the government.
- ii. **Executive:** It performs and enforces the laws made by the legislature.
- iii. **Judiciary:** It interprets the laws. It provides justice and interprets the laws and functions to settle various disputes etc.

- **Sovereignty**

The most essential element of any state is the sovereignty of a state. It is the exclusive component of any state. It refers to the supreme power of the state over all aspects of its territory and population. The government exercises the sovereign power on behalf of the state. There are mainly two dimensions of sovereignty. They are-

- i. **Internal**– By internal sovereignty it means the state having full power and autonomy in its functioning and enforcing of legislating laws on its population and territory.
- ii. **External** – By external sovereignty we can mean the state being independent of any sort of external power or regulation.

Some states possess only the first three basic elements of the state but not sovereignty. These states are run by external control. India became a sovereign state only after it got independence from the colonial powers in the year 1947.

State and Government: State and government is often used interchangeably in various occasions by different scholars. But in actual terms that are not the same but instead compliments each other. There are various points of difference between the two. The government is only an element of the state and functions for or on behalf of the state. The entire population is part of the state but only a small size of the population is a part of the state which acts as the representatives of the entire population. Although the government works on behalf of the state, the actual power over the population, territory and sovereignty belongs only to the state. Government changes but the state are permanent and live as long as it remains sovereign.

Stop to Consider

Various debates on the origin of the State

- ✓ ***The theory of Divine origin:*** It regarded God as the creator of the state and therefore it was a divine institution
- ✓ ***Theory of Force:*** The leader of any strong group would rule of weaker groups of people. The survival of the fittest rightly speaks for the theory.
- ✓ ***The social contract theory:*** According to this theory, state came into being through voluntary social contract among people to escape from the chaos of the 'state of nature'.

3.6.2 Perspectives Regarding the Nature of State:

- **Liberal perspective:**

The liberal perspective of the nature of state can be divided into 2 categories. The first is *Classical Liberal-Individualistic view*. According to this view, state is an instrument for protection of human life and liberty and maintaining law and order together with settling of disputes among people. The state is also meant to provide security to the property of individuals. The state is regarded only a means to the end. The individual is the central focus of the theory and state is often stated as a necessary evil due to the fact the state imposes restrictions or limitations on individual rights (Das, 2013). The second is *the Modern Liberal Democratic view*. According to the modern liberal democratic view, the nature of state is positive and its function is not

only limited to providing security and maintaining law and order. The role of the state is also includes promoting social welfare and development and serve for the common good of all.

- **Marxist perspective:**

Marxian perspective offers a view of state, government, society and men which is totally different from that of other perspective of the state. According to this view, state is neither natural nor an essential institution. The Marxist regarded the state as an instrument of exploitation in the hands of a few rich people. This perspective analyse state on the basis of the following doctrines: Historical materialism, economic determinism and class struggle.

- **Gandhian perspective:**

The Gandhian view on the nature of state is a critique to both Liberal and Marxist views. Gandhiji was opposed to the institution of state in its present form. He regarded state as an institution based on unrestricted force and coercion. He was in favour of federation of village communities functioning voluntarily and emphasised on the establishment of a non-violent welfare state known as 'Ramrajya'. The state will be basically a service state and will be a means and not an end, unlike liberal state view (Ghai, 2004).

3.6.3 State and Civil Society:

State and civil society has a reciprocal relationship where the state is the main power structure and the power of civil society being codified by the state. Civil society is merely seen as an agent for popular empowerment ensuring political accountability and public governance, limiting governments which are authoritarian in nature. Civil society was conceptualised as negative arena limiting the power of the state. Marx viewed civil society as the domain of exploitation but the excessive dominance and power of the state can suppressed the activities of the civil society. In many countries the activities and the power of the civil societies are restricted by the government (Sarma, 2011). However in present times the importance and presence of civil societies can't be denied by the state. The protest movements taken up by the civil societies against state action and ignored responsibilities makes the state liable towards its duties.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-5

- 1) Give a definition of state.
- 2) What are the four basic elements of state?
- 3) Fill in the blanks:
 - a)view on the nature of state is a critique to both Liberal and Marxist views.
 - b) A state is constituted with basic elements.
- 4) What are the two categories of liberal perspective of state?

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3.7 Summing Up:

Rights are essential for the proper growth and development of an individual. Together with that community rights must be regarded as the conditional rights but they should not disrupt the core human rights. Gender has become an important issue of discussion and feminist theory is an emerging field which studies masculinity and its construction etc. the importance of the various debates on citizenship lies in their analysis of the political society as hierarchical and ideological plurality. The civil society is mainly the arena between family and the political state and its emergence in developing countries varies from the developed countries. The concepts have undergone various changes from the view of Locke to that of Gramsci and so on. State does not merely represent institutions but rather a combination of roles and ideas. The state is basically an abstract entity.

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3.9 Model Questions:

1. What do you mean by the term rights?
2. What do you mean by 'citizenship'?
3. What is civil society?
4. State the difference between gender and sex.
5. Define gender.
6. Define state. Explain the relationship between state and civil society.
7. Discuss the methods of acquiring citizenship.
8. What are the qualities of good citizen?
9. Differentiate between rights and duties.
10. Discuss the various elements of a state.
11. Name four types of rights.
12. Discuss the concept of multiculturalism.
13. What do you mean by differentiated citizenship?
14. What does citizenship by descent means?
15. Explain citizenship by birth.
16. What are the different perspectives of the nature of state?
17. What do you understand by feminism? Explain the three waves of feminism.
18. What is black feminism? Name a black feminist.

3.10 Answer to Check Progress:

Answer of Check your progress 1

1. Two definitions of right are as follows:
 - i. According to T.H. Green, "Rights are powers necessary for the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being. A right is a power claimed and recognised as contribution to common good."
 - ii. According to Laski, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek in general, to be himself at his best."

2. The features of rights are:
- Rights exist only in society and cannot be exercised against the society.
 - Rights are claims of the individuals for their proper development in a society.
 - Rights are rational claims of the people.
 - All rights are related to some kind of duties.
 - Rights need enforcement.
 - Another important feature of rights is that they are not absolute.
3. A duty is basically an obligation. Every right that a person enjoys in society involves a corresponding duty.
4. There are mainly three kinds of duties. They are- moral duty, political duty and legal duty.
5. Fill in the blanks:
- Claims
 - legal duty
 - not absolute
 - right to vote
6. The duties which are based on moral grounds are known as moral duty.

Answer of Check your progress 2

- Human rights are those rights that are inherent in human nature and are essential for living as human beings.
- The different types of rights are:
 - Positive and Negative Rights
 - Natural Rights
 - Legal rights – *Civil rights, Political Rights, Social rights and Economic rights*
 - Moral Rights
 - Human rights
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Fill in the blanks:

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- a) political rights.
- 5. Four theories of rights are:
 - Historical theory of rights
 - The Utility Theory
 - Nozick's theory of Rights
 - John Rawl's theory on Rights

Answer of Check your progress 3

- 1. The term gender refers to socially constructed roles and responsibilities of both men and women and such constructions are mainly made by various social institutions like family, our societies and cultures.
- 2. Gender equality means when women and men are provided equal opportunities and conditions for their economic, social, political and cultural all round development.
- 3. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) Gender Equity
 - b) Equality
- 4. Gender is socially and culturally constructed whereas sex is biological in nature.

Answer of Check your progress 4

- 1. According to Blackwell, "Citizenship means a full and responsible membership of state."
- 2. Methods of acquiring citizenship:
 - i. By Birth
 - ii. By Naturalisation
 - iii. By subjugation
 - iv. By Ceding
 - v. By re-integration
- 3. David Held
- 4. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) T.H. Marshall

b) Antonio Giddens

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Answer of Check your progress 5

1. According to Max Weber, state has a “monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.”
2. The elements of state are: Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty
3. Fill in the blanks:
 - a) The Gandhian view
 - b) Four
4. The two categories of liberal perspective of the nature of state are:
 - i. *Classical Liberal–Individualistic view*
 - ii. *The Modern Liberal Democratic view*

====x====

Unit: 4

Debates in Political Theory:

- a. Is democracy compatible with economic growth?
- b. On what grounds is censorship justified and what are its limits?
- c. Does protective discrimination violate principles of fairness?
- d. Should the State intervene in the institution of the family?

Contents:

4.0 Introduction

4.1 Objectives

4.2 Compatibility of democracy with economic Growth

4.2.1 Debates on compatibility of democracy with economic growth

4.3 Justification of Censorship and its Limitations

4.3.1 Freedom of Speech

4.3.2 Debates on Justification of Censorship

4.4 Protective discrimination and the principle of fairness

4.4.1 Affirmative Action

4.4.2 Arguments in favour of the protective discrimination

4.4.3 Arguments against protective discrimination

4.5 State Intervention in the institution of Family

4.5.1 The arguments against State Intervention in the Family

4.5.2 The arguments in favour of the State Intervention in the Family

4.6 Summing Up

4.7 Reference and Suggested Readings

4.8 Answers to Check your Progress

4.0 Introduction:

Political concepts, ideas and school of thoughts that have been discussed elsewhere are not merely the academic concepts confined to the realms of political philosophy. Politics is not mere abstract philosophy or metaphysics. In our daily lives we are confronted by complex issues and decisions. When such situations occur how should we proceed and argue for or against a particular choice or decision? In this context, political arguments in analyzing issues become important. The political debates are important because society

is a multilayered structure and each one will have a different way of looking at things. Moreover the government policies initiated by the government have different impact on different people. Hence, debates are a democratic way of looking at issues. There can be different approaches to looking at things i.e, traditional, scientific etc. Moreover, every issue has two or more perspectives in looking in to it. But balance has to be sought between political concepts and ideologies while deciding which argument we will adopt.

4.1 Objectives:

The unit is an attempt to understand the political debates. After going through this unit you will be able to,-

- ◆ *explore* the Compatibility of democracy with economic Growth.
- ◆ *examine* the justification of censorship.
- ◆ *discuss* Protective discrimination and violation of the principle of fairness.
- ◆ *explain* the issue of State intervention in the institution of family.

4.2 Compatibility of democracy with economic Growth:

One of the widely debated issues of political discussion is the issue of Democracy and Economic Growth. The debate has more relevance in the context of third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. After achieving Independence from the colonial rulers, the major concern for these countries are- what comes first? : Democracy or economic growth? What should be given priority- providing civil, political rights and liberty, equality, democratic freedom to the citizens and get the consent of the citizens for introducing new government policies to remove poverty, illiteracy from the country or misery of the people through an authoritarian regime? The liberal capitalist seeks to believe that the democracy is ideal for the better life of the citizens with the promotion of civil, political and economic rights whereas the authoritarian capitalist or illiberal capitalist seeks to remove poverty, hunger, unemployment by providing economic growth with the help of authoritarian regimes rather than proving civil rights to the citizens.

Stop to Consider:

- 1. Meaning of Economic Growth:** Economic growth means an increase in a country's national output through various means such as maximization in the value of goods and services produced by agrarian, industrial and all other sector of the economy. It can be measured by the increase or decrease of gross domestic product (GDP) or per capita income of a country. The growth may be increased caused by more efficient use of inputs is referred to intensive growth. However, GDP growth caused only by increase in inputs such as capital, population or territory is called extensive growth. Economic growth is generally differentiated from development economics. The economic growth primarily studies, how countries can advance their economies. On the other hand the development economics studies the economic aspects of the development process in low-income countries.
- 2. Democracy:** democracy is a form of government where the ultimate authority of decision making is vested in the citizens or to their representatives. The public policy in democracy is designed to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interests of the people.
- 3. Authoritarian regime:** Authoritarian state or regime means a state where the ordinary people are not allowed to express their independent views, demands or preferences. In such state an individual, a group, an institution, or set of rules enshrined in a sacred book are regarded as the source of authority, i.e. legitimate power. Whatever orders or directions the state gives should be obeyed by the citizens without questioning.
- 4. Third world countries:** The term 'third world', 'developing countries', 'developing nations' are applied to denote the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are characterized by 1. A level of economic and political development as compared to the economically and industrially rich nations of the world, 2. A tendency to keep themselves free from the influence of the capitalist world.

The question can be put in other way too. Does a regime or the form of government have any effect on the economic performance? The major argument is that democracy has either a negative effect on economic growth or no overall effect on it.

A clear consensus on the compatibility of democracy with economic growth has yet to emerge. Some scholars find that, perhaps democracy and economic growth are not compatible. According to them, economic development does not necessarily lead to higher level of democracy as democratization is affected by multiple factors. Likewise, the development is also affected by multiple factors and democratization may limit the outlook of economic growth. For example, if we look at the scenario of the economic growth of a country, then we find that, in most of the cases the citizens got unhappy with several developmental projects initiated by the government. In such situations, the citizens of a democratic country will either start protesting against it or will seek the help of the court against it. For instance we can talk about the development of Railway tracks or highways. These two lines are very much important for communication and development of a country because through these lines not only humans can travel to different places but commodities can also be delivered to different places. It can smooth the process of import and export thereby developing the economy. However, for the expansion of railways and highways the government needs land, for which they have to take the land from the people. It finally results to the displacement of people from their own land. The land is important for them in two ways- i) they are living there since a long time, and ii) it is also related to their income because most of the people living in rural areas are dependent upon agricultural work. Naturally these people would be unwilling to get displaced for emotional attachment or economic reasons. Therefore, when government imposes such policies via legislation or executive fiat, the citizens can take different kinds of actions. For example, they can go to courts for using rule of law or they can use their voting power to vote for a party that will understand their perspective and not displace them or they can also use their constitutional rights to protest as well as direct to create a strong public opinion against such policies. If the citizens adopted any of these actions, then it can delay the building of the highways or railways and hence of the economic growth that was expected to trigger.

Some scholars find compatibility with economic growth and democracy. They argue that economic growth drives social mobilization which in turn leads to political mobilization and eventually leads to a regime change to democracy. According to them, democratic freedoms and rights are the basic human rights and economic development does not mean mere economic growth measured in terms of GDP growth and in the profits of large companies and businesses (which is also reflected in their stock market

prices often) but a more holistic phenomenon where importance has been given to factors like distribution of resources to the people, children having opportunity to going school, provision should be available for the access of basic health care facilities etc. They are of the view that there is no point of high growth of GDP if the poor continues to be poor with no access to basic facilities of education; health care services etc. and the fruits of growth are enjoyed by a small section of the population. It can lead to a disparity among the rich and the poor. For example, if hundred people earn hundred rupees and twenty people keep eighty rupees of that while remaining twenty rupees is shared between eighty people (average of 25 paisa per head), than it would be better if they earn only fifty rupees but get distributed equally (average 50 paisa per head). This school of thought sees a connection between political freedom and the fulfillment of economic needs. They also argue that democracy can play a major role in providing relevant information in solving and fulfilling the economic needs as well as in providing incentives.

4.2.1 Debates on Compatibility of democracy with Economic Growth:

There are different views regarding the compatibility of democracy with economic growth. The illeberal capitalists persist on considering democracy as a burden to growth. They have put forwarded three basic arguments in favour of their opinion, i) democratic rights and freedom hamper economic growth and development particularly in less developed countries. Former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew was an ardent proponent of this view; hence this view is known as 'Lee Thesis'. ii) When choices will be given between democracy and economic growth, people will hardly choose democracy. They will invariably choose economic growth to get rid from the economic misery and deprivation. iii) According to them, a nation's rapid growth requires autocratic control and reduced freedom. Moreover, the liberal political freedoms are not important for some cultures present in the Middle East and Asia; rather its an obsession of western cultural societies. In Asian cultures, order and discipline is more important for leading a prosperous life than political freedoms. Lee Kuan Yew commented, "I do not believe that democracy necessarily leads to development. I believe that what a country needs to develop is discipline more than democracy".

There have been many noteworthy examples of rapid growth in some countries under authoritarian regimes. The Asian tiger economies for instance have followed authoritarian regimes. These countries were able to take

decisions fast and also able to implement them leading to a rapid economic growth. The growth has been also reflected in development parameters like literacy, life expectancy, education and so on. In contrast to these countries, there are very few under developed countries that have achieved high growth under a democratic dispensation.

On the other hand, the liberal school of thought argues that democracy enhances economic growth. F. A. Hayek, (*The Road to Serfdom*), Seymour M. Lipset, Milton Friedman, (*Capitalism and Freedom*) were of the analysis that democratic governments in Less Developed Countries are best suited to promote sustained and equitable economic development. They uphold the view that the presence and exercise of fundamental civil liberties and political rights of a democratic country generate the conditions most conducive to foster economy. Political and economic freedom enhances property rights and market competition, thus promoting economic growth (Feng 1997). S. M. Lipset argues that democracy is related to the level of economic development of a particular country. He said that, the economically advanced nations have the greater chance of sustaining democracy. In an empirical analysis of European and Latin American countries he found that the collective impact of industrialization, wealth, urbanization, and education played a positive role in ensuring support for a democratic system. He concluded that “perhaps the most widespread generalization linking political systems to other aspects of society has been that democracy is related to the state of economic development” (Lipset 1959).

Self Asking Questions

1. Is democracy a burden for economic growth?

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However, another group of scholars believe that there is no systematic relationship between democracy and economic development. The proponents of this group are Lucian Pye, (*Aspects of Political Development*, 1966); Robert D. McKinlay and A. S. Cohan, (*A Comparative Analysis of the Political and Economic Performance of Military and Civilian Regimes: A Cross-National Aggregate study*, 1975). They maintain that having a democratic government alone means very little for economic growth. Instead,

the focus should be placed on institutional structures (e.g., two-party vs. multi-party) and government development strategies (e.g., import substitution vs. export promotion), which may vary independently of the democratic character of a political system. The skepticism in this perspective also implies that different political systems are capable of adopting the same economic policy and suggests that the effects on growth of political systems are negligible (Feng: 1997).

Amartya Sen in his book *Development as freedom* has argued that there is no link between democracy and growth. As an example he pointed out that countries like Botswana which was a democracy, yet achieved a fast rate of growth. He also mentioned that, the countries developed under authoritarian regime was not due to their dictatorial styles, rather they were developed due to other policies like high level of literacy, existence of basic amenities like health care, land reforms, use of international markets, open competition etc.

Further he argued, the growth should not only mean the increase of GDP alone but also the increase in the quality of lives and capabilities of the people. According to him, the political and civil rights give the people an opportunity to draw attention to their exact demands which can direct the policymaker to implement those rights. As he said, the government responds to pressures and for the pressure to be exercisable by the electorate, there is a need of highly developed environment of rights and freedoms. He also contested the view that poor people will necessarily choose economic advantage over political rights. He opines that people do need dignity and basic human rights and it is wrong to assume that people will be willing to bargain that way only. He made three classifications on the importance of democratic system in economic growth and development: i) democracy has an intrinsic value, ii) and an instrumental value and iii) it plays an important role in the creation of values and norms (Sen: 1999).

He argues, the absence of democratic rights and freedom may not be problematic till there is economic prosperity, but situation may overturn when situation crumbles. What missed in an authoritarian state is a culture or environment of democratic protest and public opinion. The political freedom provided by democratic governments acquires practical value at these times. The culture of political freedoms and civil rights also plays a major part in helping the formation of value and in the identification of needs. This is what Sen suggests when he argues democracy has an intrinsic value.

Regarding instrumental value, Sen argues the ultimate objective of economic growth is the realization of human freedom. The instrumental role of freedom has various components like economic facilities, social opportunities, political freedoms, transparency, guarantees and protective security. People must be active in participating in creating their own destiny rather than being a passive recipients of the fruits of the developmental schemes.

He pointed out that economic needs and political freedoms are linked constructively. The exercise of political rights lead to a policy response from the government to economic needs and the formulation and conceptualization of economic needs need the presence of political rights. Democracy provides an opportunity to work for growth and development. A democratic set up thus can be very valuable, and people; society have always be on the lookout to make it even more successful this development, growth and social justice depends on the quality of functioning and practices of democratic institutions (Sen : 1999).

Check Your Progress

Question 1. "Democracy and Economic growth are not compatible with each other". Give arguments in support of the statement.

4.3 Justification of Censorship and its Limitations:

Another issue that has been taking place in the political theory debate is the issue of Censorship. Censorship means the editing, removing, or otherwise changing of speech and other forms of human expression. The governing authorities on mass media exercised Censorship to stop what the authority believes may subvert its authority or the social and moral order of society. In other words it can be said that, the Censorship is used to officially control and suppress any expression that can potentially jeopardize the order of the state or subversive of the Common Good. Historically censorship has been used to monitor public morals, to control public awareness, and to silence opposition. One of the best examples of censorship in ancient time is Socrates, who was sentenced to drink poison for his acknowledgment of unorthodox divinities in 399 BC. The origin of official censorship may be traced back to Rome where, in 443 BC, the office of censor was first established. In 300 AD, China introduced its first censorship law (Abbasi and Shariqi: 2015). In Rome, and in ancient Greece, the shaping of the

moral values and character of the people were regarded as the values of good governance. Hence censorship was regarded as an honorable job. **The justification of censorship is usually an** 'incitement to action' and hence a matter of public concern. For example in India, during the emergencies of 1975 when Indira Gandhi had ordered censorship, the plea was that, some people are spreading chaos in the country which may disrupt democracy and therefore, newspapers have to be censored because they are carrying such incitements. What is censored generally ranges from specific words to entire concepts and is sometime influenced by value systems or political agendas. While democratic values of liberty are getting momentum worldwide today, the censorship has come to be frowned upon. When we look at use of censorship globally than we find that different countries uses different forms of censorship. For example China censors parts of the internet and many foreign newspapers and magazines. Censorship can be both explicit and implicit. Explicit censorship may take place by laws passed to prevent select views from being published or propagated (e.g., in China, Saudi Arabia, Germany, Australia, and The United States), and implicit censorship may take place by taking the form of subtle intimidation by the government functionaries, where people are made to become afraid to express or support certain opinions for fear of losing their jobs, their position in society, their credibility, or their lives.

Stop to Consider:

Common Good: the notion of the common good is closely related to the idea of justice. Justice is concerned with determining the right criteria for the allocation of benefits and burdens among the members of society. The common good points to a goal which does not give precedence to the interest of a class, party or faction but gives due regard to the interests of all member of the society.

Censorship is sometimes regarded as a complicated subject because it is subtle very often very subtle. The reason behind why democratic countries carry out censorship. For example, in movies and television shows, sexual contents are censored for children in most of the democratic countries of the world. In India, the Central Board of Film Certification requires that all films must receive a censor certificate and this has often led to films being censored which are deemed to be obscene, or liable to 'hurt the sentiments'

of particular caste or communities. However, sometimes, closed social groups and communities too carry out censorship in the name of social norms and customs. For instance in India controversy took place regarding the release of the movie Padmaavat. The movie tells the story of a 14th century Hindu queen and a Muslim ruler Allauddin Khilji. The Muslim ruler attacked on a kingdom after he was smitten by the beauty of its queen Padmaavati, who belongs to the Hindu Rajput caste. The Hindu Rajput caste group and other Hindu group alleged that the movie includes an intimate scene in which the Muslim King dreams of becoming intimate with Padmaavati. Following this, these groups called for the film to be banned. The group also held protests against the film in several states, including Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Four states Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh banned its release in the respective states.

The then Chief Minister of Rajasthan Vasundhara Raje said the film should not be released until “necessary changes are made so that sentiments of any community are not hurt”. For these reasons the film release date got delayed. However, in December 2017, Indian censors clear the film with the suggestion of changing the name to Padmaavat.

4.3.1 Freedom of Speech:

One issue that is related with the censorship is the question of free speech. The anti-censorship advocates chant slogans against the curtailment of freedom of expression, freedom of speech, and contamination of information. In today's world, almost everyone seems to agree that freedom of speech and expression are important and they enjoy unprecedented legal protection which does not extend to any other class acts in society, at the same time there is no real agreement amongst philosophers, lawyers, legislators, and the citizens as to why it is important, and how much freedom is too much freedom. Further most liberal democracies must also deal with the consequences of incendiary and hateful speeches which compromises the dignity and safety of the citizens. Therefore, while the legitimacy of liberal democracies crucially hinges on the degree of freedom of speech allowed to citizens and the media and so on, there are also claims of justice that must be met which demands that citizens be protected from certain kinds of speech (Sethi 2008).

Stop to Consider:

The Indian constitution through Article 19 provides the entire citizen the freedom of speech and expression. The constitution however does not specifically mentioned about the freedom of press. Express Newspaper v. Union of India stated that freedom of the press included in the wider freedom of expression guaranteed by Article 19 a. however, the preamble of the Indian constitution ensures to all citizens the liberty which includes freedom of expression too (Ghosh 2012).

Various scholars profess the freedom of speech. J.S Mill is one of the supporters of freedom of speech. In his essay 'On Liberty' Mill remarked that without free expression society as a whole would remain bereft of the truth. It is only through the free exchange of ideas and opinions between dissenting individuals that the truth or falsity of an opinion can be ascertained. He also assumes that all individuals share an equal capacity to speak freely and that they will understand each other in the same language. By language here is meant not really the language we speak like English, Hindi or Assamese, but a shared set of understandings of values, codes, and norms through which people make sense of the world and their place in it. But, very often we find that contests took place in the society are between individuals and groups whose perception of the world do not share the same rules, and hence failed to make sense of each other. For example the conflict between constitutional law and customary law i.e. norms developed by particular communities over time, often unwritten, based on patterns of usage, such as right inheritance, pasture-lands and so on. The constitutional law and its understanding of private property very often come into conflict on the question of community rights over the usage of natural resources such as land, forest, water etc.

Stop to Consider:

J.S. Mill (1806-): Born in England J.S. Mill was the eldest son of James Mill and was greatly influenced by Jeremy Bentham. He was a committed member of 'philosophical radical' founded by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. This philosophical radical society believed in utilitarianism i.e., every person desired to one aim that is happiness and happiness is equal to utility. He was an officer of East India Company. He was the first person to introduce a bill to the parliament on equal voting rights of women. Some of the important works of J.S.

Mill are 'On Liberty', Utilitarianism, The Subjection of Women, System of Logic, Principle of Political Economy.

Known as the first feminist writer, J.S. Mill advocates individual liberty. According to him liberty leads to the improvement of mental, moral and material faculties. Individual who act in a certain way only because they have been told to do so do not develop any of the faculties. The point of liberty then seems to be the way of improvement of moral, mental powers of human being. He talked about three types of liberty,-

1. Liberty of thought
2. Liberty of Action
3. Liberty of Association

Another important argument associated to free speech is its relation to self government. According to this dimension, freedom of speech is deserving of protection because through this right important social objectives are met. Alexander Meiklejohn is of the view that, freedom of speech and expression are important because they are crucial for the functioning of a democratic system of governments. Apart from this, the popular discourse and literature in which the press is hailed as the 'fourth estate' invoke this argument, where the vibrancy of a democracy is seen as relating crucially to the freedom of press. But the question here rises, what if somebody misuse of his or her rights? For example what would happen to speech which served no democratic purposes at all but was merely fun, enjoyable, pleasurable or abusive or objectionable?

The autonomy defence of free speech asserts that freedom of speech must enjoy state protection because restrictions on the same would violate the autonomy of the individuals. Thomas Scanlon in his work 'A theory of Freedom of Expression' (1972), employs the notion of autonomy which he terms as 'Million Principle'. For him freedom of speech and expression are important because restrictions on them seriously compromise individual autonomy.

4.3.2 Debates on Justification of Censorship:

People who are against censorship argue that it violates the basic premises of democracy, i.e., freedom, rights and liberty. When democracy is supposed to have triumphed in this century, yet the censorship continues. As a part of constitutional democracy, most of the countries have incorporated the rights

to freedom of speech and expression in their respective constitutions. Yet the constitution have also carefully introduced safeguards and enabling provisions that allows certain forms of censorship on miscellaneous grounds such as public order, morality, obscenity prevention, national security etc. in support of this the argument is made that for the promotion of democracy and to ensure social justice, the imposition of censorship is justified. For example, if an artist like M.F. Hussain paints nude pictures of Hindu Goddess, it can perhaps hurt the sentiments of Hindu people causing them to disrupt peace and order. In such situations there is an attempt to justify censorship.

The exercise of censorship can be varied and the most successful practitioners of censorship have been the authorities, whether democratic, dictatorial, religious, monarchial. They are of the view that those ideas and views, which can damage the law and order and unity of the country or which are found to be dangerous for the country should be stopped. However, it's worth mentioning here that, government or authorities do not always use legal authority. They can use economic and ideological means to suppress ideas that are dangerous to the status quo. These means can be more subtle but more effective. For instance, authority can use ideological censorship or suppression by using brain-washing exercise to make its own ideology the only existing ideology. This can be happen through changing textbooks of schools and colleges or by carrying out propaganda on state owned television/ radio or other means of social networking sites. Similarly, the authorities can suppress the newspaper or magazine that it wants to suppress by decreasing or stopping the flow of adverts to those particular newspapers or magazines. Because newspapers are largely dependent on the large portion of revenues on government advertise.

The censorship is sometime justified against the 'hate speech' that is, speech directed to certain people or communities with the intent to cause harm by asserting their natural inferiority (such as racist speech), or speech that by its nature asserts the domination of one group of people over another (such as pornography or misogynist speech). In terms of demands for the legal regulation of hate speech, the initiative came from America and Europe in the context of racist speech. In India, concerns have centered on inflammatory speech directed at religious minorities, and this question has acquired greater urgency after the Gujarat genocide in 2002 in which there was widespread propaganda against the Muslim community by ideologue of the Hindu Right (Sethi: 2008).

Space for Learner's Notes

Self Asking Questions

1. Should the hate speech be curtailed?

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Check Your Progress:

Question 2. Is Censorship justified? Give your reasons.

6.4 Protective discrimination and the principle of fairness:

The idea of protective discrimination and the principle of fairness became a common reference point in political debates in contemporary politics. As we know, the concepts of equality and justice are the two basic concepts of political science. Both are equally important for the citizens of a democratic country. However, granting both equality and justice sometimes becomes impossible. The issue of equality has provoked particularly intense debate when it has been applied to the distribution of assets or resources in the society, what is commonly referred to as 'social justice'. Then question emerges, how should be the resources be distributed? While some people insist that an equal or at least more equal distribution of rewards and benefits is desirable, some others argue that justice demands that natural differences among humankind should be reflected in the way society treats them. If we ensure the basic principle that all human beings are born equal hence should be treated equally then we are taking a straightforward position for adhering to the principle of equality. But what is to be remember here that while all of us as human beings are equal we have not had the same environment and facilities while growing up. While some of us belong to very rich families with an access to the best for training ourselves, some others belong to poor families with limited chance of access to the best for training ourselves. If we consider that those who win and are successful in life deserve to do so because they did so in an environment of free and equal competition and following the principle of survival of the fittest have to accept the winners of the game we are may be following the principle of equality rigorously but we are not doing justice. If we want to do justice then we have to take into

consideration about the differences in past circumstances which have not been equal.

For example Ananya and Shakshi apply for admission to a prestigious University. Both are required to write an entrance examination. In the examination Ananya perform better than Shakshi. But Shakshi's name is above in the result sheet than Ananya. If we care to compare their social backgrounds then we get to know that Ananya hails from an upper-caste, middle class family whereas Shakshi belongs to a Dalit family from a modest rural background. The college decides to factor in the comparative backgrounds of the candidates but has to decide that due to limited seats only one of them, not both, can be offered admission. On the one hand, the college knows that Ananya did better than Shakshi in the entrance exam and on the other; it recognizes that Shakshi's lower rank in the merit list can be explained by her relative social disadvantage. The university must ensure equal opportunity to both. At the same time the university is also committed to giving them fair opportunities to the candidate.

Here the dilemma comes. It is not an easy task to choose one among the above two students. Both cases engage us differently and evoke different responses to look in to it. For anyone who thinks that merit must prevail in the allocation of seat or any kind of scarce goods, in this case a seat in a prestigious university will naturally be tempted to argue that because Ananya's position is higher than Shakshi, she must get the chance to take admission into the University. One way further say that the system of education should be based on the principle of merit and if this is compromised then it will lead to a state of injustice. But if we talk about Shakshi's case, the same argument will hold that she needs to perform better in order to claim what Ananya is legitimately entitled to. Shakshi's circumstances can be explained as her bad luck, something that she may not have chosen but something that she has to bear with. While talking about Shakshi's bad luck, it may owe to a variety of factors which constraints her from being as good as Ananya. She may not have had the same opportunities that Ananya had. Some account of justice must compel us to address the unequal circumstances that these aspirants for a university may find themselves in. one way of addressing this inequality is to conceive of a plan whereby we correct Shakshi's disadvantage by helping her secure the seat. Central to this conception is the argument built on a strong moral intuition that a society cannot be just if it does not address the issue of inequality and disadvantage.

Stop to Consider

Equality of opportunity: the idea of equality perhaps the defining feature of modern political thought. The equality of opportunity offers the prospect of maximizing an equal liberty for all. It means, put simply, the removal of obstacles that stand in the way of personal development and self-realization, a right that should be enjoyed by all citizens.

It has been widely accepted that one of the goals of democracy is the promotion of a justly equal and egalitarian society. And while trying to realize this goal the states have had to face the problem of achieving both equality and justice at the same time. The reason here is, even though legal equality solves the problem of providing equality of opportunity it does not reduce the social and economic inequalities based on class, caste, sex, gender etc. without which equality and justice in real sense cannot be said to have been achieved. For that purpose the liberal democracies have advocated the idea of 'protective discrimination'. In seeking to redress the social or economic disadvantages that may accumulate to particular groups owing to persistent patterns of injustices the social justice approach is likely to capture a certain notion of compensation. It often takes the form of what we called affirmative action.

4.4.1 Affirmative Action:

Affirmative action or the reservations as we understand in India, is an idea that is deeply contested. It addresses the question of justice about the disadvantages that persons of certain groups face. Affirmative action usually entails a state's preferential policy towards particular groups. However, not all preferential policies can be justifiably adjudged as affirmative action. In favour of affirmative action some argue that affirmative action as a policy is designed to remedy injustices that a few identifiable groups have suffered. On the other hand, some argue that in correcting the injustices, the policy generates a different kind of injustices (Acharya: 2008). In the above mentioned example we have come to know that, when favoured treatment is accorded to Shakshi as a member to the 'hitherto deprived sections, others have a ground to complain that they are being deprived of equality of opportunity. In other words, protective discrimination in favour of the deprived sections results violation of the principle of fairness.

Stop to Consider

Principle of fairness: the principle of fairness was adopted by John Rawls (1921-2002). He was an American philosopher. He has formulated theory of justice known as 'justice as fairness (1958). The most elaborate and comprehensive argument of his theory was presented in his book 'A Theory of Justice' in 1972. Rawls is the only liberal thinker who believed in equality and that is why he is said to be an egalitarian liberal thinker. He gave utmost importance to individual liberty and equality. According to Rawls, citizens are free and equal and that society should be fair. He sees it as resolving the tensions between the ideas of freedom and equality, which have been highlighted both by the socialist critique of liberal democracy and by the conservative critique of the modern welfare state. Rawls holds that justice as fairness is the most egalitarian, and also the most plausible, interpretation of these fundamental concepts of liberalism (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy).

According to Rawls, distribution will be done by the *basic structure* of the society, i.e., the political constitution, the legal system, the economy, the family, and so on. The basic structure is the location of justice because these institutions are the source of distribution of the benefits and burdens of social life i.e., who will receive social recognition, who will have which basic rights, who will have opportunities to get what kind of work, what the distribution of income and wealth will be etc.

Rawls two principle of justice-

1. Each person has an equal claim to a fully adequate scheme of basic rights and liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all; i.e., rights and liberties of the society should be equally distributed among the people of the society.
2. 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 to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society (the *difference principle*).

Space for Learner's Notes

4.4.2 Arguments in favour of the Protective Discrimination:

Initially the liberal philosophers had tended to value the concept of equality with the notion of a very classical legal manner. For them, everybody is equal before law hence should be treated equally. But during the twentieth century the socialist and Marxist and the positive liberals have had established that mere equality is nothing if there is no presence of both equality of opportunity as well as similar social background. Since all people are not blessed with the similar kind of opportunities and circumstances hence mere equality of opportunity may leads to a condition of more inequalities. Therefore, the equality of opportunity needs to be extended to equality of conditions and the equality of conditions requires equality of outcome. 'Protective discrimination is an attempt to create equality of opportunity in real sense.

There can be different types of affirmative action as part of the protective discrimination. There are different perspectives of protective discrimination. Many countries have introduced constitutional and legislative safeguards to be in a position to carry out protective discrimination. India is one such country. India have many affirmative action first we have reservations i) special representation rights of SCs and STs by way of reserved seats in legislatures and ii) quotas in government jobs and educational institutions for SCs STs OBCs.

The main arguments in favour of protective discrimination are:

- It redistribute resources and opportunities from relatively well-off social groups to relatively poorly-off social groups;
- improve the motivation of members of underrepresented social groups to aspire to and work toward more desirable positions in the society;
- It can lead to better performance by institutions or organizations where greater diversity of personnel in key positions (resulting from greater representation of under-represented ethnic communities) contributes to productive efficiency;
- It enables members of under-represented social groups to gain better access to social capital – i e, useful contacts and networks that improve one's career opportunities – which are available mainly to members of advantageous groups.

- It can serve to integrate the under-represented social groups into society's elite, thereby nurturing a more legitimate and vital democratic order.

Space for Learner's Notes

Self Asking Questions

1. Can affirmative action be defended on grounds that it will promote a more just society in future?

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4.4.3 Arguments against Protective Discrimination:

While some people supports positive discrimination there are some who does not support it. The Libertarians in America and some extreme conservative capitalist ideologies do not agree with the means of protective discrimination. According to them, while some people are privileged with positive discrimination against some people, the same sort of discrimination is practiced on them. Granting privileges to people by way of protective discrimination for reason of their being of a particular caste, race or sex in the procedural sense is as illogical and unfair as depriving them of opportunities for the same reason. They further argue, based on their ancestor's behavior in the past, denying the present generation from opportunities is also unfair. American libertarian philosopher Robert Nozick was of the view that protective discrimination measures refuse people the right to self-ownership and treat individuals not as ends in themselves but as expendable. These measures break the confidence of the meritorious section. Therefore, equality should be limited to equality of opportunity as protective discrimination has certain moral problems. The liberals further argue that aiming of equality of circumstances and equality of outcomes are not compatible with other values like liberty, hence it should be acceptable. However, the measures of positive discrimination increase the power of the state which is not appreciated by the liberals. Even they argue that protective discrimination does not guarantee achievement of equality in the society.

Some criticize that protective discrimination measure are made at the social cost. These critics might believe in the legitimacy of a social justice approach

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but would argue that such strategies are wrong-headed, perpetuate and exacerbate existing social divisions, and the less-deserving or the better-off members of the target groups generally corners the benefits accruing from these.

Another argument against Protective discrimination is that it cannot work since equality of opportunity and equality of circumstances is likely to result in disparity because a competitive system is essentially uneven as not everybody can be a winner of a competition. The American libertarians argue that the pursuit of excellence in society excludes the possibility of equality. The measures of protective discriminations are a restraint on merit and excellence and while it is essential to maximize access and opportunity that does not essentially promote equality simply because some people are better than others. According to them, the society that wants to nurture what is the best in that particular society must encourage and accept the inequalities within them.

There is another criticism that suggests how the policies of positive discrimination inflict harm on the groups themselves by a process of stigmatization. This view argues how apparently benign policies that draw upon the benevolent consent of the higher castes can promote notions of caste inferiority among the beneficiaries.

There is another argument against protective discrimination is that it leads to the discrimination within the group. Because, it does not emphasize one thing that different members of a group are distinguish from each other. One cannot deny the fact that some members of the backward group or caste are more privileged than other members of the group and a general protective discrimination or affirmative action does not take into account this fact and subsequently it leads to injustices. Also to treat somebody equally he has to be treated and regarded with dignity and self-respect and valued but the knowledge that somebody was given preferential treatment cannot but add to his sense of inferiority in his eye and in the eyes of others.

Check Your Progress:

Question 3: Does protective discrimination violate principle of fairness?

4.5 State Intervention in the Institution of Family:

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The family is the basic universal unit of a society. Every society or social structure is characterized by this basic unit. Therefore, the study of the role and position of the family is very important to understand the society. The family has a common motto, culture rules and values. The key function of a family is to preserve, protect and promote its generation year after year. The family is where we are nurtured into adulthood and without whose support we would find difficulties to survive after birth. Family is a multidimensional unit that performs various functions in a society. It plays biological, economic, moral, legal, psychological and societal roles. The values and the attitudes that a society have has been introduced by the elders of a family. Therefore it has been argued that it is the families that hold society together with the common minimum values.

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, - “the basic unit in society traditionally consisting of parent(s) rearing their children” where parents refers to the adults that take care of the children and children refer to the young dependent members. Sociologist George Murdock defines family as “a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults.”

However, there are various loopholes in the traditional society and family system. One of the major problems with the society is exclusively related to the women. Needless to mention here, women are the prime actors of the nation building process. They have played a multidimensional role within the family as well as society. Women are the biological reproducers who deliver the customs and traditions to the next generations. Yet women were regarded as subordinate to men. In fact, the mainstream political thinkers have often ignored the issue of gender differences, and so feminists have had to argue for its significance and importance.

Susan Moller Okin in her book ‘ justice, Gender and the family’ points out that most grand philosophers does not consider the working of family as being significant for any discussion on justice. While the theorists consider family as an idea of private sphere and justice as an idea which has a bearing on the ‘public sphere’. This assumption overlooks the fact that the family and its working is itself to a very great extent constituted by the ‘public’ world of laws and institutions and idea of justice that constitute it. But the

laws that govern our family lives- property, divorce, inheritance, adoption etc. are regarded as public and have a direct bearing on the 'private'. The unequal distribution of labour within the family is the main obstacle for women in their lives outside the family which are continued for generations after generation by the society.

Some feminists argue that the model of a self- interested, autonomous, rational and individualistic person is a typically male conception and leaves little space for values and practices like nurturing, caring, co operation and empathy that are typically female qualities. Hence they argue that, the female qualities are not represented in the mainstream political theorist including in Rawl's theory of justice.

The feminists however argue that gender stereotyped identities i.e. women and 'man' are not natural but socially constructed. They have a difference on the sources of inequality; the ways to attain equality, and the extent to which gender and gender-based identities should be questioned and critiqued.

Stop to Consider

- 1. State:** the set of institutions within a society which are responsible for taking public decisions, making law, maintaining justice, public safety as well as public order. In order to perform these functions effectively, the state is always armed with supreme legal authority. In actual sense, the functions of the state are performed by the government.
- 2. Feminism:** 'Feminism' refers to social theories, political movements and moral philosophies, largely motivated by or concerned with the liberation of women. It stands for the concern with the status and role of women in the society in relation to men. Feminism is a political viewpoint that holds that the oppression and subjugation of women is not simply a matter of individual behavior or individual strength and weaknesses. Hence, it seeks effective measures for the redressal of all the subjugation and injustice to women throughout history. The status of women in a family has been subject to many great changes over the past few millennia. The feminists have achieved enormous change in social and legal structures, and feminist philosophy continues to challenge the prevailing orthodoxies within a family and society.

One question has emerged here, if democracy treats all adults with equal power, then how one section of the people can be neglected with less empowerment than the other section of the society. Feminists have the view that men's first hand access to the resources both within and outside the family is the main reason behind women's subordination. Feminists have argued that the subordination over women in society happens through many ways i.e., i) through an indoctrination of gender roles to children from an early age, ii) deprivation of girl child from proper and full education, iii) denying women the knowledge of their own history, iv) restraints, coercion and violence on women, v) denying access to economic resources and political power and vi) creating a general environment of female inferiority to males. Hence the gender differences can be felt everywhere, whether within home or in the workplaces. Feminists believe only a social transformation can remove this inequality and subordination in any society.

Feminist theories question the basic assumptions about gender, gender inequality and sexuality and the existing system of patriarchy. There are several sub types of feminist ideology developed over the years. These are first wave feminism, second wave feminism and third wave feminism.

Stop to Consider:

Patriarchy: It means 'rule of the father'. Originally this term was used to describe a social system based on the authority of male head of the household. Now it is applied to denote male domination in general, including its occurrence in labour market as well as domestic division of labour (Gaubha 2013).

4.5.1 The arguments against State Intervention in the Family:

There are different views regarding the state intervention in the family. Even the feminists have divergence regarding the issue. The liberal feminists have argued that the family is basically a private institution hence it should not be subjected to state intervention. According to them subordination to men is not a severe problem which can be sometimes tackled without state intervention.

The notion of non-intervention in the family dates back to the ancient time when family was regarded as men's private property; hence nobody has the right to intervene in his private property. Besides, the presence of religious

ideas of divine sanctity of the family was in tune with the traditional notions in practical terms. In Roman tradition there has been the Pater family doctrine where a man's family was regarded as an extension of his personality. Women had no identity after marriage and become an adjunct of the identity of man. It is very difficult to challenge the subordination of women considering social and religious backing to the traditional patriarchal notions of family. However, with the evolution of liberal democratic concepts like rights, liberty, equality, justice and universal adult franchise the feminist notions of equality became unstoppable. The feminist movement has been rooted in the progressive movement especially in the reform movement of the 19th century. The organized movement started in 1848 with the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York. The first theoretical work on women has been published by J. S. Mill in 1869. His 'The Subjection of Women' demonstrate that 'legal subordination of one sex to other is wrong....and....one of the chief hindrances to human development'.

Since the late 19th century and early 20th century, many countries began to grant voting rights to women. Getting voting rights is the most important achievement and milestone of the women's movement. Since the 1960 onwards, the doctrine of family autonomy and privacy was challenged by the feminist thinkers.

Yet, the feminists of a liberal standpoint continued to hold on to their view that there should be two spheres - the public and the private, and family should be part of the private domain. Also they believe that the nature has divine plans for women as the partner to the man in running his family and her role is most suited to the home. In fact, J.S. Mill who advocates for opening all spheres of accomplishment to women had assumed that the primary duty of women would always be to manage the domestic side of the family as her primary duty. He defended the scheme of things where women manages the domestic set up as 'the most suitable division of labour between the two persons'.

Stop to Consider:

Liberal feminism: it represents the earliest trend in feminist thought. It seeks amelioration in the condition of women in pursuance of the policy of liberalism. Liberal feminism accepts the liberal assumptions about the value to be accorded to individuality and freedom, but campaigns to achieve their equal realization for women as well as men. (Gaubha 2013).

Even the contemporary theorists like John Rawls denied the question of justice to women while talking about justice for a family. Further, there is no economic value given to women working in the house. The liberal approach treats the family as the core of the private sphere (as opposed to the public sphere) which means everything that happens in the family is outside the influence of the state and the law. For example, if a husband beats his wife cruelly or the wife is not allowed to express her choice in how many children she wants to have etc. then tentatively it would be outside state and legal action in the liberal scheme of thought. However, some liberal feminists have acknowledged some role of church and religious organizations but not the state or the law. Yet, extreme liberals have even kept the civil society out of the private sphere and not just the state.

What can be arguing here that the liberal feminists lay stress on compromising with what they see women's role as biological fixed role. Further, some of them believe that women's role as mothers and nurtures are sentimentally and emotionally incompatible with political and social roles in the public sphere. Also they believe that all the problems between husband and wife should be mutually amicably settled. Although they are agree with the view that the family institution needs reforms but they want it to happen as a process of human evolution without state or public intervention.

Self Asking Questions

1. Do you think patriarchy still prevail in our society?

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4.5.2 The arguments in favour of the State Intervention in the Family

The radical school of feminist thought however does not agree with the natural separation of public and private spheres as argued by the liberals. They are of the view that women's oppression occurs everywhere, in the areas that had not previously been subjected to scrutiny. They believed 'the personal is political'. The legitimate state intervention is needed so as to protect the individual liberty. Susan Moller Okin argues that 'the personal is political' comprises four separate claims. First it highlights that the private sphere is a sphere of power. The definition of political here means a sphere in which rights and duties, advantages and disadvantages are distributed.

The statement draws attention to the fact that the power and advantages also characterize areas of life that are not usually thought as political – areas such as family life and personal relationships. For example, the issue of domestic violence is one example of private sphere where state intervention is needed (Chambers 2012).

The second way in which personal is political is that the explicitly political sphere defines and infiltrates the personal. Family is not immune from state intervention; rather they are defined by the state. For instance, the state defines marriage (Chambers 2012). The conditions of the marriage and divorce are defined by the state and imposed on the couples regardless of their personal wishes. The Hindu marriages Act 1955, the initiative of triple Talaq bill by BJP government are some example of such intervention.

Third the personal is political means the private sphere- particularly family life creates the psychological conditions that govern the public life (Chambers 2012). Family has been regarded as the crucial arena for social construction. The family is an important arena in which we develop our attitudes or norms such as, in what way men supposed to look, how they should dress or behave etc. Part of the process of growing up involves children internalizing these norms and attitudes and applying them to their own lives.

The fourth and final aspect is the claim that gendered division of labour within the private sphere, with women taking on most or all of the domestic and caring tasks, creates barriers for women in all other spheres and spills over into all other areas. Some of these barriers occur as a direct result of the gendered division of labour, in the sense that women's material and mental resources are diminished by the need to take on all of the domestic work in a household (Chambers 2012). Hence they consider the state intervention as a positive measure for the development of women.

The radical feminists stress importance on the lack of economic empowerment and to the domestic violence to understand women oppression. Gloria Steinem has commented "Patriarchy requires violence or the threat of violence in order to maintain itself.....The most dangerous situation for women is not an unknown man in the street or even the enemy in war time, but a husband or 'lover' in the isolation of her home".

Some radical feminists even go to the extent of rejecting the institution of marriage all together because they regard it as nothing but a system of dependence for women where women are treated as property of men. They in fact see a wife serving as some sort of 'sexual spittoons' for husbands.

However, not all radical feminists reject marriage. They only desire for equal rights in the institution of marriage and family. They advise that women should maintain a separate and independent economic identity. Also they believe that the symbols of personal identity like maiden names should not be changed after marriage.

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Stop to Consider:

Radical Feminism: it focuses on the all- pervading male dominance in the society and calls for overturning of gender oppression. They believe that the biological reproduction is the reason behind women oppression.

Check Your Progress:

Question 4: Do you support or oppose state intervention in the institution of family? Give reasons in favour of your argument?

Question 5: Why do you think state should not intervene in private sphere? Give reasons.

4.6 Summing Up:

After reading this unit, you are now in a position to give an over-all picture of major debates in political science. From this unit you have learnt that there are always counter arguments of any arguments. You can either support an argument or oppose it. From this unit you have understood that, economic growth and democracy is interlinked with each other. Some believe that both are not compatible with each other whereas some others believe that there is a compatibility with democracy and economic development of a country. Likewise, the issue of censorship is related with the concept of freedom of speech. The liberals believe in freedom of speech because it's our right. Moreover, right, liberty etc. are the basic principles of a democracy. But while enjoying our right, we should be conscious that, it should not harm the sentiments of others. It is in this context, the censorship is justified because it reduces the chance of hateful speeches which compromises the dignity and safety of the citizens. But at the same time, the authority shouldn't misuse censorship for their benefit. Further, this unit helps you analyzing the issue of protective discrimination and principle of fairness. This is one of the most relevant and contested debates in today's India with regards to

reservation policies in education system and Job. Adding to this, you are also now able to understand the need of state intervention in the private sphere and arguments in support and against of it.

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4.8 Answers to Check your Progress:

Question 1: There are different views regarding the compatibility of democracy with economic growth. The liberal capitalists consider democracy as a burden to growth. They have put forward three basic arguments in favour of their opinion, i) democratic rights and freedom hamper economic growth and development particularly in less developed countries. ii) If choices will be given between democracy and economic growth, people will hardly choose economic growth over democracy. iii) According to them, a nation's rapid growth requires autocratic control and reduced freedom. Moreover, the liberal political freedoms are not important for some cultures present in the Middle East and Asia; rather it's an obsession of western cultural societies.

On the other hand, the liberal school of thought argues that democracy enhances economic growth. They are of the view that democratic governments in Less Developed Countries are best suited to promote economic development. They uphold the view that the presence and exercise of fundamental civil liberties and political rights of a democratic country generate the conditions most conducive to foster economy. Political and economic freedom enhances property rights and market competition, thus promoting economic growth.

Question 2: Censorship is sometimes regarded as complicated subject. The reason behind democratic countries carry out censorship is many. The censorship is sometime justified against the 'hate speech' that is, speech directed to certain people or communities with the intent to cause harm by asserting their natural inferiority (such as racist speech), or speech that by its nature asserts the domination of one group of people over another. On the other hand, people who are against censorship argue that it violates the basic premises of democracy, i.e., freedom, rights and liberty.

Question 3: From the perspective of socially disadvantaged people, the positive discrimination is beneficial for them to develop themselves from the backward position as they were deprived from equal facilities and services historically. To be in an equal position with the socially advantageous people, they must get some benefits. On the other hand, from the perspectives of

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the victims of positive discrimination, it violates the principle of fairness. It is not justified to discriminate them for their forefather's deeds. According to them, while some people are privileged with positive discrimination against some people, the same sort of discrimination is practiced on them.

Question 4: There are different views regarding the state intervention in the family. According to the liberal feminist the family is basically a private institution hence is not subjected to state intervention. According to them subordination to men is not a severe problem which can be sometimes tackled without state intervention. On the other hand the radical school of feminist thought, however, does not agree with the natural separation of public and private spheres as argued by the liberals. They are of the view that women's oppression occurs everywhere, in the areas that had not previously been subjected to scrutiny. Hence, according to them state intervention is necessary.

Question 5: If we think with the liberal perspective, than family is basically a private institution hence is not subjected to state intervention. Some problems that occur in family can be solved within family. State intervention can sometimes create more problems. for instance the state cannot do anything on human feelings. It neither can stop ones feeling nor can generate feelings for someone. In that context state intervention can make the situation worst. Hence certain problems of family can be settled mutually.

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