GAUHATI UNIVERSITY
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POLITICAL THEORY- I

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POLITICAL THEORY - I

Contents:

Block I: Political Theory: An Introduction
Unit 1: What is Political theory?
Unit 2: Why do we need Political Theory?
Unit 3: Historical tradition of Political Theory
Unit 4: Contemporary debates in Political Theory
Unit 5: Decline of Political Theory

Block II: Nation and State
Unit 1: Nation and State
Unit 2: Sovereignty
Unit 3: Nation and Nationhood
Unit 4: National Self-determination
Unit 5: State and globalization

Block III: Understanding Power
Unit 1: Power, authority and legitimacy
Unit 2: Dimensions of Power: Power as decision making, power as agenda
setting, power as thought control
Unit 3: Ideology and power
Unit 4: Pluralist and Elitist notions of power
Unit 5: Power as subject: Foucauldian perspective

Block IV: Democracy
Unit 1: Procedural vs. Substantive Conceptions of Democracy
Unit 2: Liberal democracy: issues and perspectives
Unit 3: Democracy and Citizenship
Unit4: Participation, Representation and Majoritarianism
Unit 5: Conditions for sustaining liberal democracy

Unit 1: What is Political Theory

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Political theory is an interdisciplinary venture. The traditions, approaches and styles of political theory varies. But there is a common structure of theoretizing, criticizing and diagnosing the norms, practices and organization of political action of past and present. Political theory is a set of idea which explains the political, social and economic condition of the state. The political behavior of individual

and states can be studied and analysed in the form of political theory. Hence, it constitutes

an important part of political science. It is not possible to consider any subject as an academic discipline without political theory.

Here in this unit, you are going to learn the meaning and definitions of political theory. Political theory deals with the political aspect. This unit shall also help you in analyzing the nature, scope and subject matter of political theory. After reading this unit you shall also be able to trace the growth of political theory by analyzing the phases from ancient Greek to modern period. Here in this unit, an attempt has also been made to familiarize you with different types of political theory.

1.2 Objectives

This unit has been designed to familiarize you with the concept political theory. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Understand the meaning and definitions of political theory
- Analyse the nature, scope and subject matter of political theory
- Trace the evolution of political theory
- Examine the types of political theory

1.3 Meaning And Definitions Of Political Theory

Before discussing what political theory is, let us discuss what theory is. The word theory has been originated from the Greek word *theoria*. It means a well-focused mental look taken at something in a state of contemplation with the intent to grasp or understand it. Arnold Brecht has defined the word theory in two senses. In the broader sense, theory implies the entire teaching on a subject by a thinker. In the narrow sense, theory implies the explanatory thought only. Theory guides the practice. It adds much to what is merely described. It also clarifies hypotheses. Most importantly, theory explains an issue which needs both reason and vision. Political theory deals with the political aspect of the society. In broader sense political theory means anything about

politics or relevant to politics. In narrower sense, Sabine defined political theory as a disciplined investigation of political problems. According to Bluhm, 'political theory is an explanation of what politics is all about, a general understanding of the political world, a frame of reference. Without one we should be unable to recognize an event as political, decide anything about why it happened, judge whether it was good or bad or decide that was likely to happen next.'

Andrew Hacker defined political theory 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 political knowledge and social reality on the other. According to David Held, "political theory is a network of concepts and generalizations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of government, state and society and about the political capabilities of human beings."

On the basis of these definitions you are now able to sum up the meaning of political theory. It is important to mention here that political theory includes the area of politics only. It means political theory deals with issues like political life of a citizen, his political behavior, his political ideas, the government he establishes and the task the government performs. Political theory also means the methods it applies which are description, explanation, or investigation of any political phenomenon. You should remember here that political theory tries to understand the concepts in relation to social, economic, psychological, ecological, historical, moral etc. Political theory wants to build a good state in a good society. In a nutshell, political theory explains the political order. It needs mention here that the traditions, approaches and styles of political theory varies. But there is a common structure of theoretizing, criticizing and diagnosing the norms, practices and organization of political action of past and present. The theories of politics can be expressed at low, high or middle ranges of generality. V. V. Dyke compares it with a tree. He opined that this theoretical system is like a tree and the outermost small brances represent the data or facts with which we start.

It is important to mention here that political theory lack a core identity. Political theory is a set of idea which explains the political, social and economic condition of the state. Individuals and state's political behavior can be studied and analysed in the form of political theory. Hence, it constitutes an important part of political science. It is not possible to consider any subject as an academic discipline without political theory. You must remember here that political theory is connected with political system and political system is associated with the social system. And social system is dependent on the period it exists and environment. Political theory is concerned with two different types of knowledge. First one is ideology. Ideologies are political belief systems of a general and comprehensive sort. The second one is philosophy. This type of knowledge is concerned with political philosophy which deals with political thought.

1.4 Nature, Scope And Subject Matter Of Political Theory

You have already learnt that political theory can be explained in terms of political activity. There are various negative aspects associated with political activity like cynicism, skepticism, demonstrating self- seeking behavior, hypocrisy, manipulation of attitudes etc. Hence, the subject matter of political theory varies from time to time. From the early Greek tradition till eighteenth century, political theory included what politics ought to be. After that till the first half of the 20th century, political theory dealt with the nature and structure of government as a decision making body. In the later phase, a group of American theorists declared political theory as dead while at the same time a group of British theorists advocated the usefulness of political theory. It is important to mention here that political theory is the disciplined investigation of political problems. These problems include the problems associated with the institution of government. It studies the relationship of government with the outer world. As political system is

a part of social system, it needs to include in itself the non political issues like economic, moral, geopolitical, cultural, ecological etc. You have already learnt that political theory cannot exist in isolation. In fact, political theory explains what is political as well as links it to what is non political. According to Arnold Brecht, political theory includes various things. It includes groups. The existence of groups implies clash of interest which demands reconciliation of opposing interst. This is also a part of scope of political theory. The group life embraces the concepts like power, influence, control, legitimacy, justice etc which automatically comes under the scope of political theory. Political theory also includes action or policy which is an integral part of political theory. The scope and subject matter of political theory also includes its agents and actors. It is important to mention here that the elites form an indispensable part of political theory. Choice and decision making also form a part of political theory. The study of political theory is more quantitative and formal in nature especially in USA. But recently the perestroika movement has changed the trend. This movement has emphasized on the qualititative and interpretive study of politics. It is important to know here that while some associates political theory with political thought, others associate it with political philosophy. The subject matter of political theory examines the link between political and non political.

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Trace the relationship between political theory and philosophy.
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Again, it needs mention here that political theory can be associated with history in the sense that it tries to understand the time, place and circumstances in which it evolves. Philosophy and political theory has a connection. It is impossible to connect to present without connecting it to past or future. The nature of political theory matches with philosophy as it connects between past and future. Political theory

explains the nature of the things. Moreover, it also examines why things really exist.

You should learn here that scholars like Arthur Bentley, George Catlin, David Easton, Robert Dahl etc opine political theory as science. Though it is not a science like physics, chemistry or mathematics, yet it admits concepts and norms which are both observable and testable. Moreover, it also requires reason and rationalism. From that sense, political theory can be termed as science. Moreover, political theory can be termed as social science due to its methodology, approach and analysis. Again, like science, in political theory, the conclusions are drawn after study, observation and experiments.

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Q. Can political theory be described as pure science? Explain.

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It is important to mention here that three types of statements are associated with political theory.

A. Empirical statement. It is based on observation through sense experience.

B. Logical statement. It is based on reasoning like two plus two is four.

C. Evaluative statement. It is based on value judgment like men are born free and equal.

You should learn here that political theory mostly relies on empirical and logical statements. It is opined that different persons with correct observation and correct reasoning will get the similar conclusions. Therefore, empirical and logical statements can be verified. On the other hand, evaluative statements are associated with group or

individual preferences. That is why it is not possible to draw a correct conclusion as the nature of the individual varies.

CYP 1

1. Who defined political theory as the entire teaching on a subject by a thinker?
2. " Political theory is a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for political knowledge and social reality on the other." Who said this?
3. Individual's and state's political behavior can be studied and analysed in the form of political theory. (write true or false).
4. Till the first half of the 20th century, political theory dealt with the nature and structure of government as a decision making body. (write true or false.)
5. The elites do not come under the subject matter of political theory. (write true or false)
6. Name one scholar who advocated that political theory is science.
7. What are the three types of statements associated with political theory?
8. What is evaluative statement?

1.5 Growth Of Political Theory

You have already learnt above that during the ancient greek and medieval period, the political theory emphasized on the ethical nature of the state. It implies the objectives of the state which the state will cherish to achieve. The history of political theory has dealt with various fundamental ideas from ancient Greece to present. To understand the growth of political theory we must understand various concepts and ideas prevailing during that time.

It has already been mentioned above that political theory is nothing but a disciplined investigation of what politics is. It has already been mentioned above that during the period from ancient Greeks to the end of 18th century, political theory was concerned with what politics ought to be. From 19th century to first half of 20th century, political theory dealt with nature and structure of government as decision making body. Then came a period when there was clash between two groups of people specially the Americans and the British people regarding the status of the political theory. While the Americans showed the demise of political theory, the British people advocated for the role of political theory as a guide to political action. It is important to mention here that political theory in this era is mainly concerned with why and what of the institutions of the government, and the political system where the government operates.

It is important to learn here that the growth of political theory can be divided into three main stages. These are as follows.

1.5.1. Classical Political Theory -

The classical political theory lacks the elements of science. This phase is purely dominated by philosophy. Still there were thinkers like Aristotle and Thomas Hobbes who emphasized on the element of science in their theories. This phase began with the ancient greek culture and continued till the beginning of the 19th century. The classical political theory does a systematic enquiry. The aim of this systematic enquiry is to acquire reliable knowledge about the matters concerning the people. The philosophical element in this phase of political theory wanted to provide a rational basis for the beliefs and actions. This phase is associated with the common involvements. Political theory in this phase aims at the whole. It also analyses the significant parts of the whole, how these parts work, their effects on the quality of the political life etc. The classical period of political theory defined it as a unit of structures dependent on various

interrelated structures. These structures imply activity, relationships and belief. Activity includes ruling, warfare, education, religious practices, production of commodities etc. Relationships involve those between social classes, between types of superiority and inferiority, between the authorities and the subjects etc. Belief implies anything concerning gods, justice, equality, natural law and the like. This phase of political theory also analysed concepts like system, balance, equilibrium, stability, harmony etc. It also emphasized on the sources of conflicts, anarchy, instability, anomice, revolution etc. The political theory in this phase emphasized on the comparative study for providing a more rational output. The development of classifications likes monarchy, aristocracy, democracy or concepts like law, citizenship, justice etc prove it. Again it needs to be mentioned here that, classical political theory is ethical in nature rooted in moral outlook. It emphasized on the best possible or best.

1.5.2. Modern Political Theory --

The modern political theory is dominated by the trends like institutional- structural, positivistic, empirical, behavioural, post-behavioural, Marxist etc. the modern political theory can further be divided into two phases i.e. the liberal which includes the individualist, the elitist and the pluralists. The second phase is the Marxist which includes dialectic materialist. The liberal tradition began from 15th to 16th century. The modern political theorists denounce the historical-normative- evaluative trend of classical phase and emphasized on the scientific- empirical- behavioural study. This phase emphasizes on present rather than past, objective rather than subjective, analytic rather than philosophic, explanatory rather than descriptive, process oriented rather than purpose oriented, scientific rather than theoretical etc. the modern political theory is purely based on facts and data which can be accumulated, explained and can be used for testing hypothesis. It also focuses on studying human behavior and generalizing it.

Moreover, facts and values have also been separated. It adopts self conscious, explicit and quantitative method for research and study. It also emphasizes on inter disciplinary synthesis. It focuses more on realism than on utopianism. You should learn here that the phase of modern political theory is associated with both facts and values, description and prescription, explanation and valuation etc. The later period of modern political theory was dominated by the phase of Marxist theories. The Marxist theory points the direction of movement from lower to higher stage of development. The Marxist believes that between mind and matter, it is the matter which dictates while the mind only reflects. And the own law of evolution inherent in the matter helps in the evolution of it. It needs mention here that according to the Marxists theory, man, labour and nature are the main components of social development. The advocates during this phase of development of political theory opined that politics justify the class character of a society. The politics got its significance till class society exists. The Marxists political theory also opines that the growth of political theory implies the destruction of the old structure of the society and building the new structure of the society.

1.5.3. Contemporary Political Theory –

The contemporary phase of political theory believes that political theory is more than philosophy or science. The mere inclination of political theory towards philosophy makes it non relevant and mere dependence on science makes political theory deviate from the path of serving as a vision. The contemporary theory confines itself to the explanation, investigation and comprehension of what relates to politics. One of the theorist of this phase, Brian Barry, studied the relation between institution and principles. The main feature of this theory is to examine the significance of text in their historical context.

CYP 2

1. The phase of classical political theory is purely dominated by science. (write true or false)

2. The phase of classical political theory lacks the element of philosophy. (write true or false)

3. Mention the trends that dominated the phase of modern political theory.

4. The modern political theory can be divided into two phases viz. liberal and ___. (fill in the blanks)

5. The phase of modern political theory emphasized on the scientific- empirical- behavioural study. (write true or false)

6. The facts and values have been separated in the phase of modern polical theory. (write true or false)

7. According to the Marxist theory, what are the main components of social development?

8. Name one theorist from the phase of contemporary political theory.

1.6 Types Of Political Theory   --

Andrew Hacker in his book 'Political Theory' divides political theory into two categories viz. traditional political approach and modern political approach. The traditional political approach deals with the history of political ideas. Modern political approach deals with the modern political behavior and scientific study.

You should learn here that David Easton has divided political theory into two parts. Value theory and causal theory. Value theories are traditional theories which mainly focus on human preferences. The causal theories explain the relationship between different political events.

It is important to mention here that, Rajeev Bhargava in his book, 'Political Theory; An Introduction' divides political theory into three categories. These are as follows -

1. Explanatory Theory

The first one is explanatory theory. According to this theory, different political theorists have differently interpreted the political theories based on their views. Moreover, every theorist has found their story acceptable. You should learn here that Rajeev Bhargava has beautifully explains this. If we take the example of birth of capitalist socio- economic formation, we find several different explanations. For example, Karl Marx has explained the relationship between productive force and means of production as the reason behind the birth of socio economic structure of capitalism. On the other hand, Max Weber has believed that,

capitalism could not have come into existence without a change in the cultural climate, in the attitudes of a specific set of people.

2. Normative Theory

The normative theory believes that most people can endorse. This theory explains the things which help a system to go from imperfect to perfect.

3. Contemplative Theory

The contemplative theory explains the changes and developments like satellites, man made objects stayed in skies, atom bombs, birth of a new language of mathematical symbols etc. which impacted the human lives.

It is important to mention here that the above discussion has led us to the conclusion that political theory can be divided into three important categories.

1.6.1.Normative or prescriptive or traditional political theory.

This theory provides certain formulas which help in transforming the imperfect social order to a perfect social order. You should learn here that normative political theory is also called the prescriptive political theory. When a person become sick he/she goes to a doctor. The doctor gives a prescription of medicines. The patient takes those medicines and gets better. In the same way, the normative theory, prescribes certain ways to make the state a ideal or perfect one. The state adopts those prescribed ways and heals the sick system. It needs mention here that in this type of political theory, no division is made between political theory and political philosophy. The traditional normative political theory emphasizes on the presentation of values. This theory systematically thinks about the government, state and other government institutions. The theorists during that period based their theories on value. For eg., Plato's ideal state, Hegel's dialectics, divine theory of state, social contract theories etc. The most important goal of these theorists is to establish a good order of society. The

normative theory has dominated the field of political theory from the ancient time to the 18th century.

From the above discussion we can summarise the features of normative theory. These are as follows :-

1.   Normative political theory is a value based political theory.

2.   The normative theory mainly focuses on what ought to be. It is not concerned with what it is or what is going on.

3.   This theory focuses on values which are important to achieve social harmony, stability and unity in our common life.

4.   Normative political theory aims at establishing a good order society.

5.   This theory is based on practical philosophy that is related to the government.

1.6.2.Empirical or Modern or Scientific or Descriptive Political Theory

You should learn here that this theory has emerged in the 20th century. This theory is also called the modern theory and the empirical theory. This theory depends primarily on data. It focuses on observation and examination of data. And aims at making political reality dependent on information. Therefore it explains what is actually happening rather than concentrating on what should be happened or supposed to happen. It needs mention here that this theory aims at arriving at conclusions through scientific interpretation of information. This is why this theory is also known as scientific theory. You should remember here that this theory focuses on the political behavior of individuals. A conclusion regarding the political culture of a group can be derived from observing the political behavior of the members of that group and through quantitative assessment of that behavior.

If we take one example like women's groups are protesting against government. We need to take into considerations questions like, why they are protesting, what are the reasons behind these protests etc. and for finding the reasons, a field work is necessary. The protests need to

be observed actively. Then data need to be collected from various sources. Also data need to be collected through interviewing the protestors. Then these data need to be analysed using scientific methods. And after that the conclusions can be drawn by generalizing the findings. This is how the empirical political theory works.

The features of empirical political theory can be summarized as follows :-

1.   Data collected through experiments or observations can only be considered as the source of knowledge.

2.   For interpreting collected data, use of scientific methods are important.

3.   This theory focuses on what is happening rather than what ought to be.

4.   This theory is value neutral as it does not rely on values but on facts.

5.   It focuses on quantitative assessment of individual's political behavior.

It needs mention here that the empirical theory has helped in broadening the subject matter of political science by including concepts like, elite, group theory, their role in political system, political system and sub system, structural functional analysis, decision making approach, political culture, political socialization etc. This theory is enriched from the contributions of the various famous scientists like, Max Weber, Graham Wallas, Arthur Bentley etc.

Decline of political theory

The norms, practices and organization of political action is analysed and explained with the help of political theory. It also helped in analyzing what a better political world would look like and how to achieve it. Political theory deals with the issues like what justice requires of citizens and states, what are the essential rights and liberties etc. Political theory critically analyse the process of organizing state and society. This critical analysis is the key to the maximization of harmony and prosperity as well as to provide the conditions for individual self realization. In the second half of the 20th century, new debates emerged regarding the nature and status of political theory and some scholars have advocated the decline of political theory. David Easton has pointed out certain reasons behind the decline of political theory. These are historicism, moral relativism, confusion between science and theory or craziness for science and lastly hyper factualism. According to Easton, the lack of interest towards developing new ideas among the political theorists and there inclination towards the past ideas was the main reason behind the decline of political theory. Again, the complete elimination of values has also contributed towards the decline of the political theory. This over dependency on science has led to the decline of the political theory. Moreover, Easton has also opined that lack of theoretical dimension in the research studies has contributed to the decline of political theory.

1.6.3. Contemporary Political Theory

The reemergence of Europe after the World War II, and changes in the ideologies like socialism and communism, brought about a new dimension in the field of political science. The contemporary political theory is describing the explanation, investigation and comprehension of concepts, principles and institutions of politics. David Held has

discussed about the four tasks of contemporary political theory. Firstly, it is philosophical in nature. It means the theory is concerned with the normative and conceptual framework. Secondly, it is also empirical in nature. It is associated with the problems, understanding and explanation of the concept. Thirdly, the theory has a historical aspect as well. It examines the key concepts of political theory in historical context. Fourthly, this theory is strategic in nature. It implies that it emphasizes on the feasibility of moving from where we are to where we might likely to be.

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Q. Do you think empirical political theory is more useful than the normative political theory?Give reasons in favour of your answer. (80 words)

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It can be summarized from the above discussion that over the period, we can find different types of political theory. Since the ancient times, the normative theory has dominated the political field and focuses on state and government. This theory is value based theory. In the 20th century, the rise of value free empirical theory has influenced the whole scenario. This theory is based on observation, data collection and testing.

CYP 3

1. Who divided political theory into value theory and causal theory?
2. What is speculative theory according to Ronald Pennock?
3. The ethical theory according to Ronald Pennock describes that the discussions about the state and political life are based on the

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question of what ought to be and ought not to be. (write true or false)

4. Define sociological theory according to Ronald Pennock.

5. What is Rajeev Bhargava's explanatory theory?

6. Why normative political theory is also called prescriptive political theory?

7. Write the features of empirical political theory.

8. What are the four tasks of contemporary political theory according to David Held?

1.7 Conclusion

After reading this unit now you are able to understand the meaning and definitions of political theory. Political theory is a set of ideas which is connected with political as well as social system. Political theory tries to understand the concepts in relation to social, economic, psychological, ecological, historical, moral etc. It explains the political order. Here in this unit, the nature, scope and subject matter of political theory have also been discussed. Political theory explains what is political as well as link it to what is non- political. This unit has also familiarized you with the growth of political theory during the different phases. In the ancient greek to the end of the 18th century political theory was defined as disciplined investigation of what politics is. Till the first half of the 20th century, political theory mainly dealt with the nature and structure of government as decision making body. The next phase of the growth of political theory witnessed the debate on the decline of political theory. After reading this unit, you have also learnt the various types of political theory. The three important categories of political theory are normative or prescriptive or traditional political theory, empirical or modern or scientific or descriptive political theory and lastly the contemporary political theory. This unit has helped you in understanding what is political theory.

1.8 References and Suggested Readings

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UNIT 2

WHY WE NEED POLITICAL THEORY

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Objectives

1.3 Why we need political theory

1.4 Conclusion

1.5 Suggested readings

1.1 Introduction

In the previous unit you have already learnt that political theory deals with issues like political life of a citizen, his political behavior, his political ideas, the government he establishes and the task the government performs. Political theory explains the political order. It needs mention here that the traditions, approaches and styles of political theory varies. But there is a common structure of theoretizing, criticizing and diagnosing the norms, practices and organization of political action of past and present.

Here in this unit, you are going to learn the importance of political theory. We are going to study why we need political theory.

1.2 Objectives

This unit has been designed to familiarize you with the concept political theory. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Understand the functions of political theory
- Analyse the role of political theory
- Understand the importance of political theory

1.3 Why we need political theory

We as individuals belong to a society and political theory shapes our thought process towards that society. This is why it is necessary to study political theory. Political theory helps us in explaining what is going on around us. Political theory also helps us in understanding our rights and duties as a member of the society. The study of political theory also helps us in deciding what should be and what should not be. It also helps us in solving the ethical problems. Political theory is useful to understand the political development and political crisis in the world.

The political theory makes it easy for the individuals to understand the society where he/she belongs. In a society, ideas are carried by the individuals. These ideas and concepts helps in understanding the position of an individual in the society. It also helps to realise the identity of the individual. For suppose the answer to the question who I am can be answered as the citizen of a particular country. The next question comes to mind then will be what is a citizen. This idea of citizenship is defined by political theory. Just like this, political theory shapes all our ideas like equality, freedom, rights, justice etc. political theory shapes our ideas as political animal. Another example is that suppose you are deprieved of some luxuries that others are enjoying. The question will arise in your mind why you are deprieved. The concept of hierearchy and class will answer your questions. The Marxian theory of class struggle will help you in understanding the concept of class.

1.3.1 Functions of political theory : -

Political theory performs several functions. These are as follows :-

1. Understanding what is going on in the society and the world as well

Political theory helps in understanding about the happenings in the society and the world. It guides the individual to collect data from the political events and do a systematic study of the events.

2. Political theory plays explanatory role

Political theory explains the events are occurring. If we take example of a woman organisation protesting against the government, it is well understood that there are some reasons behind the protest. With the help of political theory we can understand the theoretican and conceptual frameworks explaining these reasons. The theory will help one understand the concepts like equality, empowerment, rights, justice etc. and these concepts will help in understanding the reasons behind the protests.

3. Political theory solves ethical questions.

Political theory not only explains the events but at the same time it also tells the society whether the events are good or bad, right or wrong. It extracts the truth from the society. It also sets some criterion to decide how bad or good that truth can be.

4. It tells us what ought to be or not to be

Political theory gives an idea about the good ordered society. It also tells us what makes a society perfect. Political theory also offers solution if anything wrong occurs.

5. Justification of human actions

Human actions are justified by political theory. Political theory provides proper reason justifying human actions. For example the just war theory justified the invasion of Iraq by usa in 2003.

Political theory performs various tasks. According to davidEaston, following are the functions performed by political theory :-

a.   Political theory identifies the significant political variablkes. It also describes the mutual relations among the variables through an analytic scheme. This helps in making research meaningful and arranging facts leading to generalisations.

b.   Political theory provides theoretical framework to the workers in the field. It helps various researches to be compared. It also help in the verification of conclusions, drawn up by earlier researches, and may also reveal the areas of research which require empirical work.

c.   As political theory provides theoretical framework, it makes research more reliable.

As political theory is both science and philosophy, the area goes beyond science. As a science political theory needs to study the phenomena but asa a philosophy, political science needs to understand the phenomena. It not only studies the present but also studies for what the present exists. It deals with the future. Political theory not only develop general principles for evaluating the social structure, but also designs appropriate institutions, procedures and policies.

The purpose a political theory serves or supposed to serve and the task performed by it defines the significance of political theory. To understand the political reality and if necessary to change it, the society adopts some system of values as its ideal and these values are forms of political theory. The political theory provides the following things and that is why it becomes important----

a.   Political theory describes the political phenomena

b.   Explanation of political phenomena based on philosophical, religious or empirical studies.

c.   Political theory provides proposals for the selection of political goals and actions.

d.   Political theory provides moral judgements.

Human beings often face the problem like how to live together. Politics gives that opportunity to engage themselves in the management of collective affairs of society. Political theory has helped in evolving various ideas and approaches related to nature and purpose of the state, the bases of political authority, vision of an ideal state, best form of government, relations between the states and the individuals etc. political theory also helps in evolving ideas like rights, liberty, equality, property, justice etc. political theory also explains the relation between one concept and another like between liberty and equality, equality and property, justice and property etc. these concepts are directly related to the concepts like peace, order, harmony, stability, unity etc. interpretation and implementation of the values like liberty, equality and justice decides the peace and harmony in the society. There are numerous issues and problems in the contemporary states. These include poverty, over- population, corruption, racial and ethnic tensions, environment pollution, conflicts among individuals, groups as well as nations. Political theory studies these problems in a more accurate manner and also provides alternative course of action to the politicians. In the words of david held, without this systematic study by the political theory, the politicians will be ignorant and wouls politics as power. Political theory is important as it offers systematic study about the nature and purpose of state and government. Political theory correlates the socio political phenomena with ideals. Individuals in the society get aware of his/ her rights and duties in the society through political theory. In short, political theory explains the nature and problems of the socio-economic system like poverty, violence, corruption, ethnicity etc. you must remember here that political theory not only helps in understanding and explaining the social reality but also changing it. Political theory helps in evolving ways and means to change society either through reform or revolution. Correct theories help them in choosing the right alternative.

Political theory is not easy and simple. Political theory is an elaborate and consistent exercise which aims at achieving a better world of politics. Political theory is not only a discipline but also an intellectual exercise and activity. It is both a science and philosophy.

John plamenatz in his essay "the ease of political theory", provides the uses of political theory which are as follows :-

    (i)   Political theory is a serious and difficult intellectual activity and the need for this kind of exercise, in modern times, is indeed much greater. (ii) It is a study of values, norms and goals, though it does not produce the same kind of knowledge as empirical political theory does. (iii) It is a study of theories which have, historically, powerfully influenced men's images of themselves, and of society, and profoundly determined their social and political behaviour. (iv) It has an element of socially conditioned ideology. This ideology may be an illusion, and yet, unless man had these illusions, the course of social development would not have been what it is and (v) It produces a coherent system of political principles which can guide us to an appropriate political action.

David Easton on Decline of political theory

With the revolutionary achievement of science and technology, the normative political theory is slowly declining. According to David Easton, there are four main reasons behind the decline of political theory. These can be explained as follows :

1. Historicism is the first reason. It means undue importance on historical studies.

2. Two movements viz. moral relativism and scienticism also contributed towards the decline of political theory. Moral relativism asa a movement began with Hume and popularised by Max Weber and Comte. This movement emphasised social scientists to be neutral. Values cannot be transplanted from one age group to another. Therefore these values are not universal. As there is no universal value, there cannot be any universal theory.

3. The craze for science also contributed towards the decline of political theory. According to the scientists studying the actual behaviour is more important than studying what ought to be.

4. Hyper factualism is another reason behind this decline.

C.Wright mills also descbries the significance of political theory in the following words. (i) "Firstly, it is itself a social reality; it is an ideology in terms of which certain institutions and practices are justified and others attacked; it provides the phrases in which demands are raised, criticisms made, exhortations delivered, proclamations formulated, and at times, policies determined. (ii) Second, it is an ethic, an articulation of ideal, which, at various levels of generality and sophistication, is used in judging man, events and movements and as goals and guidelines for aspirations and policies. 25 (iii) Third, it designates agencies of action, of the means of reform, revolution and

conservation. It contains strategies and programmes that embody both ends and means. It designates, in short, the historical levels by which ideals are to be won or maintained after they have been won. (iv) Fourth, it contains theories of man, society, and history, or at least assumptions about how society is made up of, and how it works. It tells us how to find out where we stand, and where we may be going."

Political theory enables a man to understand himself, his polity and his history. It also anlyse why the world has come into being and the crisis facing by the world. It also tries to find ways to resolve that crisis. Political theory explains, illuminates, understands, evaluates, enlightens and alters. Political theory describes political reality without judging on what is being depicted.

Political theory enables us to organise our knowledge, orient our research and interpret our findings. Political theory is both a part of science and philosophy. As a part of science, political theory is one that finds the truth of life. And as a part of philosophy, political theory attempts to find out what the truth is in a particular situation. It also tries to generalise from that what the truth would be in a different state of circumstances.

When political life is scientifically analysed, it beconmmes easier to solve the problems of our social life. For example, the knowledge of geology can help in understanding the cause of earthquake. It can also provide an insight how in how to prevent the havoc caused by it. Similarly, study of political theory can help us in understanding the causes of conflict and violence in society and how to prevent them. Again, the knowledge of physics help us to know how to generate electricity from our thermal and water resources. Likewise, theory can enable us to secure development of society from our human resources. Again, like the knowledge of medical science can help us control and cure various diseases of human body, political theory can also guide us to find remedies of political instability and vatrious types of social crises.

When there is something wrong in our society and polity, we find logical reasons for criticising it. We also try to create a good society. Political philosophers like plato, Aristotle, st. Augustine, Machiavelli, hobbes, locke, rousseau, hegel, marx, mill, macphersonetc severely criticised the prevailing ills of the society and suggested their own sets of reconstructions. These proposed suggestions are not final truth. But it gives enogh insight into the social life and remedies. On the basis of these suggesstions, we can draw our own scheme of reconstructions. For example, plato pointed out the ill effects of democracy, Machiavelli pointed out the selfish nature of human beings, marx analysed the sources of owners and non owners of property etc. these theories can provide remedies to various ills in the society.

Political theory also helps in clarification of concept which is very important for development of knowledge. It can help in determining the technical meaning of the terms used in political discourse. Again, the terms like authority, social class, liberty, equality, justice, democracy etc are used by different schools of thoughts to indicate different meanings. Political theory gives a precise meaning to thses terms which are acceptable by the advocates belonging to different schools of thought.

Political theory encourages a healthy debate among the advocates of different schools of thoughts. It provides an opportunity to understand each other's viewpoint. It leads to mutual respect and toleration among us and prompt us to resolve our differences peacefulkly. In short, political theory describes, criticises and reconstructs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which among the following is a function of political theory?
   a. Political theory helps us in understanding what is going on in the society.
   b. Political theory plays explanatory role
   c. Political theory solves ethical questions.

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d. All of the above
2. What are the functions of political theory according to David Easton?
3. Political theory describes the _____ phenomena. (fill in the blanks)
4. Political theory provides _____ framework. (fill in the blanks)
5. Explain the uses of political theory?
6. Write a note on C. W. Mill's notion of significance of political theory.

1.4 Conclusion

Political theory provides solution to every political problem in the society. It also justifies human actions. A theory in a discipline helps in understanding the reality of the discipline. Theories conceptualise innumerable facts having uniformities. A theory helps in understanding the subject matter of the discipline. It also helps in understanding the existence, survival and recognition of the discipline as autonomous discipline. Political theory helps in developing the techniques and methods of political science. Political theory evaluates the existing knowledge of political science and expands it. Political theory also suggest new areas of research. It helps in policy making of the government. It also integrates the different areas of branches, areas and sub areas. Political theory defines the status of political science among other disciplines.

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UNIT 3

HISTORICAL TRADITION TO POLITICAL THEORY

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

In the previous units we have already learnt what is political theory and why we need political theory. Political theory is a set of idea which explains the political, social and economic condition of the state.Individuals and state's political behavior can be studied and analysed in the form of political theory. Hence, it constitutes an important part of political science. We have also learnt that we as individuals belong to a society and political theory shapes our thought process towards that society. This is why it is necessary to study political theory. Political theory helps us in explaining what is going on around us. Political theory also helps us in understanding our rights and duties as a member of the society. Here in this unit we are going to analyse the historical tradition of political theory. Historical tradition believes that various factors like age, place, situation etc help in understanding political phenomena.

1.2 Objectives

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Understand the historical perspective of political theory
- Examine the characteristics of this tradition
- Analyse the importance of history in understanding political theory

1.3 Historical Tradition Of Political Theory

Political theory is not a product of a single period. It is also not a by product of research of any single person or few persons. In fact, it is the history of development which includes work, research and philosophy of numerous people. This tradition is dominated by values and philosophy of Plato, Aristotle and few others. They believed in ideal state. It has already been mentioned above that historical tradition believes that various factors like age, place, situation etc help in understanding political phenomena. Political thinkers like Machiavelli, Sabine and Dunning believe that politics and history are intricately related and the study of politics always should have a historical perspective. Sabine is of the view that Political Science should include all those subjects which have been discussed in the writings of different political thinkers from the time of Plato. Every past is linked with the present and thus the historical analysis provides a chronological order of every political phenomenon.

Many theorists have attempted to build theory on the basis of insights and resources from history. Sabine was one of the main advocates of this approach. He explained that a question like what is the nature of political theory can be answered descriptively. The answer can be found in how the theory has responded to the historical events and specific situations. By this he analyses that political theory can be

situation based. The historical situations set a problem and this problem is solved by the mechanism devised through the theory. Cobban, in his 'Introducing Political Theory' also stated that the traditional mode, in which a sense of history is instilled to the full, is the right way to consider the problems of political theory. History is a valuable guide in the endeavour of our theory building. It also hints that it is possible to think in ways other than those which are fashionable and dominant, besides shedding light on the sources. History also teaches us the failings of the past generations. It also contributes to our normative vision. It enlighten us that our social and political universe is a product of things whose root lies in the past. We come to know about our moral values, norms and moral expectations and also from where they have come. We Can also interrogate these values and critically assess their utility. But history can also be a hindrance if not accepted with criticisms.

The classical historical tradition in political theory contains the age old ideas which stood the test of time. It is not that these ideas are always valid, but the authors of these ideas have been successful in raising the key issues. The historical tradition of political theory embraces the works written in the greek and the roman period. This tradition has put forwarded a completely different understanding of politics, city and society than we have today. This can be count both as limitation and advantage of this tradition. It has provided the basis for almost most of the theories of contemporary time. For example, theory of communism can be traced back to Plato's writing.

The term 'historical approach' to politics may be used in two senses. Firstly, it may denote the process of arriving at the laws governing politics through an analysis of historical Normative means establishing, relating to, or deriving from a standard or norm, especially of behaviour. 1 It is characterized by idealism; unrealistically aiming for perfection. 2 events, that is events of the past, as exemplified by the theories propounded by Hegel and Marx. In the second place, historical approach stands for an attempt at

understanding politics through a historical account of political thought of the past, as exemplified by George H. Sabine's 'A History of Political Theory'. Critics of the historical approach point out that it is not possible to understand ideas of the past ages in terms of the contemporary ideas and concepts. Moreover, ideas of the past are hardly any guide for resolving the crises of the present-day world which were beyond comprehension of the past thinkers.

Stop to consider

The difference between Classical Political Theory and Modern Political Theory

Classical political theory emerged in the ancient Greek culture, in the writings of Socrates , Plato and Aristotle, and continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century.Classical Political Theory aimed at acquiring reliable knowledge about matters concerning the people.Facts and data constitute the base of study.These are accumulated, explained and then used for testing hypothesis. Facts and values are separated ; values are so arranged that the facts become relevant. Methodology has to be self-conscious, explicit and quantitative.It had been largely ethical in perspective. Its response was rooted in a moral outlook."What it is" is regarded as more important than either"what it was" or "what it ought to be or could be".

1.3.1 Characteristics

According to the historical traditions, political theory can be understood only when the historical factors are taken into considerations. It emphasise on studying the history of every political reality to analyse any situation. Many theorists like Machiavelli, sabine, dunning etc. are of the view that politics and history are

strongly inter- related. They opined that study of politics should always have a historical viewpoint. Sabine was of the view that Political Science should include all those subjects which have been discussed in the writings of different political thinkers since Plato.History defines about the past as well as links it with the present events. Without studying the past political events, institutions and political environment, the analysis of the present would remain largely imperfect.

The main characteristic of this tradition is that history as a written or recorded subject and focuses on the past events. History helps the researchers in knowing how man was in the past and what he is now. History is the store-house of events. From the profiles, autobiographies, descriptions by authors and journalists investigators know what event occurred in the past.

It is important that events must have some political revealing or they must be politically significant. The theory and principles of political science are based on the materials provided by these events. History communicates researchers how government, political parties and many other institutions worked, their successes and failures and from these, they receive lessons which guide them in determining the future course of action.

Historical tradition examines past events through available evidences like memoirs and biographies of statesmen, journalistic accounts etc. it also draws tentavive conclusions regarding various aspects of contemporary politics. Origin and development of political organisations and movemnents are being studied in this tradition. It adopts descriptive methodology. The characteristics can be summarised as follows :-

Firstly , there was no clear distinction between philosophical, theological and political issues. Political theory was not an autonomous subject as it is today.

Secondly , political theory was concerned with probing into issues, asking important questions and serving as a sort of conscience keeper of politics.

Thirdly According to this tradition, political theory dealt with the political whole - the theory must be all-comprehensive and all-inclusive. It included ruling, warfare, religious practices, economic problems or relations between the classes and also beliefs such as God, justice, equality etc. The hunt for an absolutely best form of government was also an important preoccupation of political theory.

Fourthly, this tradition believes in ultimate good. Therefore, political good was a part of it. State was a part of the moral framework of man's earthly living. It considers state as a natural institution and also believes that state came prior to individuals. Individuals are not self sufficient if isolated and is a part in relation to the whole. State is sensitive to the recognition of law and virtue of civic obedience and can be considered as an educational institution which made man a good citizen. State wants to promote good life. There have always been a debate as which come first common good or individual good. But historical tradition believes that common good implies the good of the individuals at the end of the day. The common good was more complete than the private good of the individual and it was this completeness 'which determined the greater excellence of the common good'.

And lastly, an important theme of this tradition was the search for an ideal state and the most stable system of government. Classical theorists repeatedly asked questions like: Who should rule and why; what is the best form of government? Theory was preoccupied with analyzing the sources of conflict and to enunciate the principles of justice which might guide the political organization in discharging its distributive functions of assigning material and non-material goods. The search for an ideal state provided an invaluable means of practicing theory and of acquiring experience in its handling. The

trend of an idealist state as set by classical political theory had clear reflection on later political thinking. The classical political tradition -a tradition usually considered to include eighteen or so centuries sandwiched between Plato and Machiavelli was considerably richer and more varied. However, even differences that are more important and variations were yet to come. With Renaissance, Reformation and industrial revolution, new ideas and events shook the foundation of Western world. During this period a new school of political theory was born, which was later known as liberalism.

Stop to consider

Natural Law and Classical Political Theory:

Classical political theory includes morality, ethics, eternal values as well as concept of natural law. The idea of natural law also influenced thinkers like Plato and Aristotle. It is believed that natural law is the greatest manifestation of reason, rationality, correctness and human intellect. It also includes Rational knowledge, goodness, reasonability, justice, structured reality and morality. Everyone including politicians, statesmen, philosophers, and educatinsts gave utmost importance to the concept of natural law. According top history, in the ancient period importance was given to natural law rather than man made laws. The exponents of the classical political theory were so much imbued with the thought and importance of natural law that they started to think both natural law and rationalism as the two sides of the same coin and here the coin is society and its political structure. The Christian thinkers and philosophers were highly influenced by the idea of natural law. Both hobbes and locke paid utmost importance to the concept of natural law. They wanted to build up a civil society through the instrumentality of contract. Natural law even influenced the societies made by contract. The thinkers wanted to build the society on the basis of the idea of natural law. Rousseau has beautifully blended the

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ideas of plato's idealism, morality and natural law. Even karlmarx was highly influenced by natural law while he said that there were no discrimination among men and hence no exploitation during the ancient age. Everything was managed by the law of the nature. Even the idea of private property is dependent on the idea of natural law.

1.3.2 WHY HISTORICAL TRADITION TO POLITICAL THEORY IS IMPORTANT?

Quentin skinner has beautifully explained this tradition. He opined that history can help us in three different ways. Firstly, history can help us ask critical questions about political arrangements and concepts of the present which we might accept uncritically otherwise. We might not be able to avoid falling under the spell of our own intellectual heritage. It is only through studying different ancient political thought we will be able to select different methods. history can allow us to perform "acts of excavation." We have abandoned various theories and concepts in our history. We also forget our important theories that were a part of our history. We can re enter that domain and revive those theories which might be useful in the present scenario. The third use of history championed by Skinner similarly emphasizes the contingent nature of the beliefs we currently hold.

Herodotus's history of the Persian wars, written between 445 and 425 BC and Thucydides's history of the long conflict between Athens and Sparta, which he began in 424 BCcan be considered as two of the most important books about history of politics. The theories regarding law and institutions and nation and nation building are the most important during this phase. While Herodotus wrote about the recent past, Thucydides wrote about the events where he himself had taken part.

They have beautifully reflected on the problems of historical research, the reliability of eye witnesses, and the necessity of critically analyzing source material.The historians in Rome had studied the problems of politics from various perspectives like leadership and institutions, military strategy and court intrigue, republican virtues, and imperial ambitions etc. The emergence of Christianity and its adoption as the Roman Empire's official religion transformed all of western culture, including both politics and history. This has brought the issue of conflict between church and state. This has shaped the theory and practice of European politics from the end of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the twentieth century. The Christians created religious institutions that were connected to political authority.

Dunning, sabine and sibley are some of the authors who advocated this approach. They try to analyse why political ideas and theories appear when and where they do, why they change over time, and why (or whether) they have any influence on contemporaneous and subsequent thought and behavior. This approach presuppose that all thoughts are rooted in the historical context.

Political theory can hardly get anywhere without analysing the history. At least for large-scale political processes, explanations always make implicit or explicit assumptions concerning historical origins of the phenomenon and time-place scope conditions for the claimed explanation. Those assumptions remain open to historical verification and falsification. Example: students of international relations commonly assume that some time between the treaty of Augsburg (1555) and the treaties of Westphalia (1648), Europeans supplanted a web of overlapping jurisdictions with a system of clearly bounded sovereign states that then provided the context for war and diplomacy up to the present.In the context of long term processes, the features of the process which occur outside the observation of any connected group of human analysts requires the historical reconstruction. For example, displacement of personal armies, feudal levies, militias, and mercenary bands by centrally controlled national standing armies took

several centuries to occur.The political processes incorporate locally available cultures like language, social categories, and widely shared beliefs etc. political processes therefore vary as a function of historically determined local cultural accumulations. Example: economically, linguistically, ethnically, racially, and religiously segmented regions create significantly different configurations of state-citizen relations.The local political processe get influence by the political processe of the neighbouring countries and hence historically variable adjacencies alter the operation of those processes. Example: the Swiss Confederation survived as a loosely connected but distinct political entity after 1500 in part precisely because much larger but competing Austrian, Savoyard, French, and German states formed around its perimeter.Path dependency prevails in political processes, such that events occurring at one stage in a sequence constrain the range of events that is possible at later stages. Example: for all its service of privilege, the entrenchment of the assembly that became England's Parliament by the barons' rebellion of 1215 set limits on arbitrary royal power in England from that point forward. Once a process (e.g. a revolution) has occurred and acquired a name, both the name and one or more representations of the process become available as signals, models, threats, and/or aspirations for later actors. Example: the creation of an elected national assembly in the France of 1789 to 1792 provided a model for subsequent political programs in France and elsewhere.

Though historical tradition to political theory is one of the most important traditions of political theory, yet it has been severely challenged. It has often been criticised that history has two faces. One is documentation of facts which is quite naive and the other is construal of facts and phenomena. One needs a proper perspective to judge the growth of evidences.

While evaluating the evidence and facts provided by history, adequate care needs to be taken. But in reality, this is not strictly followed and therefore historical facts do not serve the purpose of those who use

it. Alan Ball has also criticized the historical approach. He debated that "past evidence does leave-alarming gaps, and political history is often simply a record of great men and great events, rather than a comprehensive account of total political activity."

This approach has been criticised for various reasons. This tradition is being criticised for biased, subjective and sometimes confusing outlook. There is also scarcity of data. Chief propagators of historical approach include: Ivor Jennings (British Cabinet System), Robert Mackenzie (British Political Parties), J.P. Macintosh (British Cabinet System), Robert Palmer (Age of Democratic Revolution) and Barrington Moore (Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy).

SAQ

Do you think history can shape the theories of the future? Give reasons in favour of your answer.

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………………………………………………………………………

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Political thinkers like Machiavelli, Sabine and Dunning believe that politics and history are intricately related. (write true or false)

2. Cobban has authored 'Introducing Political Theory'. (write true or false)

3. Mention the characteristics of historical tradition to political theory.

4. Write a note on Quentin Skinner's view on historical tradition.

5. Explain how the conflict between state and church has shaped the theory and practice of European politics.

6. What is treaty of Westphalia?
7. The treaty of Augsburg was signed in the year _____. (fill in the blanks)

1.4 Conclusion

After reading this unit you have understood that political theory is the history of development. Historical tradition believes that various factors like age, place, situation etc help in understanding political phenomena. This unit has also helped you in understanding the characteristics of this tradition. The most important among them is emphasis on past events which has political significance. You have also learnt Quentin Skinner's opinion regarding this aspect. He opined that history can help us in different ways like asking critical question, to help us selecting different methods to study political theory. This tradition is often criticised as biased, subjective and sometimes confused.

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Unit 4
Contemporary Debates in Political Theory

Unit Structure :

4.1 Introduction

Political theory is a comprehensive subject which encompasses a wide array of issues and topics within its ambit. The subject has evolved with time and consequently its scope has expanded even more. The nature of the subject is dynamic and it accommodates many topics and debates which have gained popularity in the recent past. We are going to discuss of these debates in this chapter.

The first debate that we are going to take up is on development versus environment. This debate will explain as to how the idea of development which primarily focuses on economic growth can be detrimental to the environment and how that has emerged as an extremely serious concern in the contemporary times.

The second debate is on protective discrimination versus principle of fairness. This debate though not exactly a new one will try to understand why the preferential treatment of a few sections is viewed as problematic by the others in a state and society.

4.2 Objectives

After completing this chapter you shall be able to –

- Comprehend the idea of development
- Understand the idea of environment
- Understand the debate between development and environment
- Grasp the idea of protective discrimination
- Understand the principle of fairness
- Comprehend the debate between protective discrimination and the principle of fairness.

4.3 Development versus Environment
4.3.1 Concept of Development

The term development is often used in a very broad sense. In a narrower context however development mainly implies economic growth. It relates with ideas like increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country, industrialization, migration of labour, advancements in terms of infrastructure, increasing the national income, increase in investments etc. In simple language it has a largely economic connotation.

The concept however poses as a problematic one because the process and repercussions of the process of development are largely uneven on society. In the last few decades development, primarily since the 1980s, development has come to be questioned about it's uneven impacts on society.

It has come to be very closely related to capitalism and neoliberalism as a result of which the process generally ends up benefitting only selected sections of the society. In addition to this, some people and sections have to become the scapegoats for the development of the others. This meaning that the benefits and burdens of development have not been justly distributed across societies. Thus, given such a context development has become a very controversial and contested topic in the current times.

The concept gained importance primarily in the post war period. It was during this time that the countries of Asia and Africa had attained their independence from their colonial rulers and had emerged as sovereign nation states. These countries now had to form their own governments

and also had to take up the task of nation building. And development was an indispensable part of the nation building process. These nations understood that political independence had to be supported by economic development in order to achieve stability as a nation. These newly independent countries which came to be known as the Third World thus formulated their own worldview of development which was built on an acute criticism of the existing world order which was marked by sharp inequalities among nations. They asked for justifications for the backwardness of the nations outside of Europe, North America and Japan. They tried to highlight the role played by national governments and the markets in this context.

These countries of the Third World though a diverse lot, but they form a group on the basis of some common characteristics. Some of these characteristics are a) most or all of these countries share a colonial past and hence exhibit a common antipathy towards the former colonial powers b) these countries also experienced a massive exploitation and drainage of resources along with severe oppression of their people during the period of colonial rule. One of the primary reasons for the backwardness of these nations was this exhaustion of resources, as a result of this these countries have a low per capita income, limited technology, and other socio-economic problems like unemployment, malnutrition, low level of health infrastructure etc. c) the bureaucracy and politics of these countries is largely dominated by a western elite; the masses thus have little opportunity to impact the policy-making process[1].

This Third World perspective therefore highlighted the inconsistencies of this capitalist model of development. In the progression of capitalistic development towards integration into foreign markets, even democratic states efficiently exclude the enormous masses from political and economic decision-making. Instead the state itself evolves into a national oligarchy circumvented with dictatorial and bureaucratic organizations and apparatuses that restrain social participation and popular action.[2]

This kind of development model only caters to select sections of the society. The benefits and profits of development do not trickle down evenly to all stratas or in this context, all states.

This problem of development was aptly highlighted by the Dependency Theory; this theory believes that resources flow from a "periphery" which comprises of underdeveloped nations to a "core"

[1] Gauba, O.P. 1981, An Introduction to Political Theory, Fourth Edition, Macmillan
[2] Shah, Shelly, Development: Meaning and Concept of Development, https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/society/development-meaning-and-concept-of-development/688

which again comprises of the developed or richer states thus, enriching the latter at the cost of the former. It is a central argument of the dependency theory that poorer states are diminished and richer states are augmented and by this way poor states are integrated into the "world system". This theory was formally developed in the late 1960s after the Second World War , as scholars were researching to find root issue in the lack of development in Latin America.[3] Scholars like Samir Amin have also spoken very staunchly against such models of development and had proposed alternative models based on regional cooperation.

This theory supplements the fact powerful economic interest groups generally set the agendas of development, but often such agenda are largely unrepresentative of the heterogeneous and multifaceted nature of our civil society thus resulting in consolidation and absorption of power and resources in the hands of a few. [4]

Critics of development have pointed out that such models of development which have been adopted by most countries have proved to be extremely exploitative and disadvantageous for the developing countries. The financial consequences have been massive, pushing many countries into long-term debts. For instance, Africa still has enormous debts which it accumulated by borrowings from the richer countries. The gains in terms of growth have not been corresponding and poverty and health issues continue to plague the continent.[5]

In addition to this the social costs and environmental impacts of this model of development have been immense. Internal displacement, deforestation, desertification, and unsustainable practices are few of the repercussions that we can name.

[3] Ahiakpor, James C. W. (1985). "The Success and Failure of Dependency Theory: The Experience of Ghana". International Organization. 39 (3): 535–552. doi:10.1017/S0020818300019172. ISSN 0020-8183. JSTOR 2706689

[4] Shah, Shelly, Development: Meaning and Concept of Development, https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/society/development-meaning-and-concept-of-development/688

[5] https://ncert.nic.in/textbook/pdf/keps110.pdf

4.4 Environment and it's Incompatibility with Development

Environmentalism as an ideology is a development of the modern times. Robert Malthus, Godwin and Condercet and a few others had highlighted some specific problems that the world would witness with the coming in of development. It was specifically during the 1960s and 1970s that escalated levels of pollution generated a consciousness that the emergence of environmental problems were due to a strained relationship between mankind, global resources, and the social as well as physical environments(Turner 1988). This had led to debates on the conventional developmental models, objectives, policies and strategies. [6]

This was followed by the emergence of environment based organisations, NGOs and political parties. Of all these the most renowned was the political party German Greens which even attained parliamentary recognition in 1983. The rise of this particular movement was attributed to the emergence of a generation of 'post-materialists' in the welfare states of the Second World War Western Europe (Inglehart 1977).[7]

It was highlighted by environmentalists that there is an inherent conflict between development and the environment. Development models largely do not prioritise the environment and give rise to major environmental problems like deforestation, global warming, climate change, ozone layer depletion etc among many others. Thus, environmentalists assert on developing a harmonious relationship with the environment and on developing practices that would not interfere

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[6] Ramaswamy, Sushila, 2003, Political Theory, Concepts and Ideas, Macmillan, New Delhi
[7] Ibid

with the biosphere and the native eco-systems. The core argument is that development cannot take place at the cost of the environment.

Many organisations like the Green Peace and many associations of 'Green Politics' have been voicing these concerns. Green politics emphasizes generally on no-growth, as they believe that infinite growth within a finite system is not credible and therefore propose a 'steady-state' economy by either adroit usage of resources or by implementing selective taxation or political usage of resource quotas.[8]

Thus, such a crisis has led to the emergence of alternative models of development and also of alternative strategies of development. In alternative models, there have been suggestions of models of human development, a rights based approach, and of models based on democratic participation. However the most significant alternative to conventional development came in the form of 'Sustainable Development'. This model was largely accepted and acknowledged. However there were certain problems with it; sustainable development was based on accentuating ecological development rather than economic development. But later the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and the Brundtland Report further expanded the meaning of the term. It was used to imply economic development and environmental safety parallely. The Brundtland Report established the idea of assimilating environmental policies with the developmental strategies hence breaking away from the notion that environmental protection can only be attained at the cost of economic development and vice-versa.[9]

The Brundtland Report highlighted and asserted on three principles :

a) The economic decision-making policies and procedures of all states and institutions would be guided by enhanced environmental management. This would mean i) to abandon the practices of dumping wastes into the seas, rivers and the atmosphere and ii) to find new innovative methods that would specifically reduce the usage of energy and materials in every sphere of life.

b) Abstain from misusing and dissipating any kind of environmental resources and to leave the planet as a better place for the future generations. And the developed countries should help the poorer countries to achieve economic progress with no or negligible damage to the environment.

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[8] ibid

[9] Ibid.

c) Sustainability implies to give more emphasis to the quality of life instead of higher material standards of living.[10]

Thus the contradiction between development and environment is attempted to be reconciled by combining development and environment goals. By resorting to alternate models and approaches the two ideas of development and environment are attempted to be brought closer together and to be made less contradictory.

Development should be seen as a process which empowers the individual as well as societies. Amartya Sen's idea of *Development as freedom*, may be one possible explanation or alternative to understand development as a holistic process.

Development is the process of expanding human freedom. It is "the enhancement of freedoms that allow people to lead lives that they have reason to live". Hence "development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systemic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states.[11]

Stop to Consider:

❖ The critical effects and implications on the environment due to development.

❖ The inherent conflict between environmentalism and development.

❖ The alternatives to the conventional models of development.

❖ The Brundtland Commission and the idea of Sustainable

4.5 Protective Discrimination versus Principle of Fairness
4.5.1. Concept of Protective Discrimination

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[10] Ibid
[11] https://www.asiancenturyinstitute.com/development/333-amartya-sen-on-developmentas-freedom

Though the concept of protective discrimination may seem controversial but it's advocates believe that it is rooted in equality.

The society is not equal in nature. Inequality is an inherent aspect of society. Some of these inequalities derive from ascription while some others are social inequalities. All people are not placed similarly in society. People and groups have differential access to resources and privileges in a society and state. While some may be privileged, most are not so privileged and thus need assistance to rise up and be at par with the rest of the society. Thus, the concept of social justice comes in here; justice in order to be truly fair shall have to be accessible to all in a similar fashion and that becomes the founding principle of the idea of protective discrimination. Hence, protective discrimination in simple words refers to those policies and provisions made by the state for granting special protection to privileges to the vulnerable, weaker or deprived sections of a society.

It is aimed at improving the conditions of the marginalized and subaltern sections in a society and to remodel their situations if possible.

We may summarise some important points about the idea as under:

- Protective discrimination is about preferential treatment of certain select sections of the society.
- It is based on positive differentiation or discrimination
- It stems from the idea of social justice.
- This idea was developed to truly instill equality in society.
- Protective discrimination is generally accorded to the historically and socio-economically deprived sections of society. Eg.certain races/castes, poorer sections, handicapped, women etc.
- The principle of protective discrimination tries to offer equality of opportunities and also facilitates equality of conditions as well as outcomes.
- Protective discrimination aims at creating an egalitarian society based on equity.

Examples of protective discrimination are most commonly seen in India and in the United States of America. In the USA this policy is called affirmative action while in India we have it in the form of reservation. In the USA, this policy was largely evolved against the backdrop of racial discrimination against the Blacks that is against the African Americans.

While in India the need for reservation was strongly felt for the people of the lower castes and backward tribes, along with the women; this is because these sections have been historically oppressed and exploited in the Indian society. The need to protect these sections especially the lower castes and tribes was strongly felt and emphasized by Mahatma Gandhi who worked relentlessly for the lower castes and even named them positively as *Harijans* in an attempt to uplift them. This was also a conscious endeavour to usher in these sections into the political and social mainstream.

However the idea has been quite poignant and contested in India as well. The Mandal Commission Report for instance received both support and opposition. While some outrightly rejected the idea stating that the provision should have long been withdrawn as it now apparently contributes to inequality in society, the others who have been benefitted by it are all for it.

An example of protective discrimination against the lower castes in India is Article 17 of the Indian Constitution which makes untouchability a criminal offence.

Besides this, India also has provisions for the reservations of minorities and women. Since India is largely a multicultural country with numerous religions, and since some religions make up small sections of the population, reservations were provided for them in education and employment, along with some other benefits.

Women have long been oppressed in the Indian society. The social reform movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may have helped in reducing and eradicating some patriarchal and social evils, but largely the position of women has not improved drastically even after so many years of independence. This position of women was questioned around the 1960s when the United Nations had called for reports on women's status from their member states.

Now, generally and ideally the state recognizes everyone as equal however the modern liberal democratic state obliges the need for preferential treatment of the deprived or oppressed sections. This is mainly because the historical and societal exploitation cannot be materialized into real change by means of rhetoric only. The distribution of the primary goods of society as Rawls had highlighted in his theory of distributive justice has to be in place based on certain principles of fairness. Rawls had also talked about the *Difference Principle*; this principle advocates inequality for the sake of equality and also helps in strengthening the worse off in a society. The idea of protective discrimination is exactly this, as it favours unequal treatment of a few sections for the overall equality of the entire

society. Also, this principle is ultimately aimed at enhancing the conditions of the weakest sections in the society.

The modern democratic state is built on the premise of equality. And the state is empowered to take measures to facilitate equality and the principle of protective discrimination helps in doing that.

Stop to Consider:
- ❖ The concept of protective discrimination and why it was/is considered as significant.

- ❖ The relationship of protective discrimination with the idea of social justice.

- ❖ The way the principle of protective discrimination attempts to establish egalitarianism.

4.6 Principle of Fairness and it's incompatibility with the concept of protective discrimination.

John Rawls in his theory of justice talks about justice as fairness. In fact he propounded his entire theory of justice premised on the idea of justice as fairness. In this theory of justice he also introduces certain moral principles which would be the basis for formulating justice. Hence, justice for Rawls is appropriately arrived at by resorting to reason and by the right kind of procedure.

He begins by acknowledging the different situations and statuses of all individuals in society. He then introduces his idea of the veil of ignorance by which people are blinded not only to the conditions and situations of others but also to that of their own. Thus, the ones behind the veil of ignorance in the *original position* also do not know if they themselves come from the least advantaged section of the society. Justice according to Rawls has to be delivered to all including the least advantaged sections. It is only when the worse off are benefitted by a scheme of justice that justice will actually be fair. Justice as fairness assumes a worldview in which the society is comprised of free and equal persons who are interested for mutual cooperation. This scheme of justice is focuses on establishing liberty and equality by means of certain principles. Once equality and liberty are attained the people seek equal distribution of primary goods as well. Thus, justice would mean an equal distribution of the primary goods among all and resorting to inequality if it helps in attaining equality.

For Rawls therefore justice is all about a 'fair' distribution of the primary goods in a society. This scheme of justice caters especially to the worse-off sections and is focused on strengthening the weakest link in the chain.

Coming to the principle of fairness, the simplest definition of it would be --. If a number of people are producing a public good that everyone gets an advantage from, then it would not be ethically correct to free ride on their backs, benefitting from their profits without having to bear the expense of the same. We are obligated to bear the fair share of the costs of the production of that particular good. [12]

This principle is credited to H.L.A. Hart and then to John Rawls, both of whom tried to find a principle-based understanding of the distribution of burdens and benefits concerning the production of public goods in a fair system of cooperation.[13]

The principle of fairness grounds a moral obligation not to free ride as part of a fair scheme of cooperation, also called 'the duty of fair play.' The principle is standardly summarized as follows. If some people are contributing to the production of a public good, one should not simply enjoy the benefits without doing one's share in the production of that good. This is a non-consequentialist moral obligation for the underlying rationale is guided not so much by a desire to avoid the bad outcome of under supply as to set a standard of justice to aspire to. The underlying intuition is that it would be an injustice to those who contribute to production of the public good if some of those who benefit from it turn out to be, in a patterned fashion, those who do nothing for its production.[14]

Thus basically this principle states that someone who has not contributed to the production of a good should not be entitled to enjoy the benefits and advantages of the same. If the ones who have not contributed to the production of a good can enjoy the benefits of the same then it would be unfair to those who contributed to the same.

Libertarians take this position and oppose the idea advocated by Rawls about how the disadvantaged sections have a 'right' to the assets gathered by those with apparent advantage. Libertarians like Nozick are firmly opposed to the Rawlsian idea of justice; Nozick believes

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[12] Boran, Idil Benefits, Intentions and the Principle of Fairness, Canadian Journal of Philosophy , Volume 36 , Issue 1 , March 2006 , pp. 95 - 115

[13] Ibid

[14] ibid

that such rights to the disadvantaged sections are no less than moral blackmail[15].

Thus, the incompatibility of protective discrimination versus the principle of fairness arises from the fact that while the former advocates a fair share for all the latter opposes stating that not everyone deserves a fair share. While the idea of protective discrimination is premised on inequality in society and aims at building equality; the principle of fairness believes that only those who deserve to be equal should be equal, not the others.

Some commonly placed arguments for protective discrimination are:

a) Protective discrimination is necessary to undo the inequality which has been historically and socially created and which continues to exist.
b) Protective discrimination is necessary because many sections are still in economically deplorable conditions with negligible access to basic human rights, opportunities and resources.
c) Protective discrimination is necessary to facilitate equality of conditions for equality of opportunity and outcomes

While some commonly placed arguments against protective discrimination are:

d) Protective discrimination is a partial and biased process at it favours some sections of the society.
e) Protective discrimination is largely misused as the sections which were historically deprived are now no longer so.
f) Protective discrimination overrides merit and hence violates the fundamental right to equality.
g) Protective Discrimination is only partial as it leaves out many other vulnerable sections.

There may be further arguments in this debate if we take into account the ideas of 'desert' and 'need'. Let us briefly understand these two ideas.

Desert is a normative concept and it is largely believed that being treated as one deserves to be treated is a matter of justice, fairness, or rightness. Though the claims of desert come in a variety of forms,

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[15] Ramaswamy, Sushila, 2003, Political Theory, Concepts and Ideas, Macmillan, New Delhi

generally they are claims about some positive or negative treatments or about things that people think they do (or do not) deserve. [16]

The principle of 'need' on the other hand simply believes that any distribution of goods should be in accordance with the 'needs' of the individuals of a society. This view advocates the idea that some people and sections have greater needs than others and hence that should be the basis of protective discrimination.

These two views of distributive justice also complicate the idea of protective discrimination. While, desert and need may appear simple to understand. They are actually not so lucid in reality. While egalitarians make arguments against the principle of desert the idea of 'need is again quite critical to comprehend.

Within Egalitarianism we find two strands, the Strict (substantive) Egalitarians and the Luck Egalitarians. From a moral perspective Strict Egalitarians are of the belief that all people should get equal material goods and services since all the humans are equal. Equality, they believe, has got an intrinsic worth besides its instrumental outcomes. Any measure to equalize the people in terms of income and resources is welcome. Intervention in the liberties of the individuals by the state may be deemed fit if it leads to equality of outcome in the society. Such measures may be the 'protective discrimination' or 'progressive taxation' or any other redistributive programme. In short Equality for them is a prior concern than Liberty.

The other strand of Egalitarians is that of Luck egalitarians who believe that although it is not possible nor is it desirable to equalize the outcomes of distribution in a society , there must be a formal 'equality of opportunity ' for all. The state may not ensure equal results for all but what it must ensure is that equal consideration and equal treatment is meted out to the people irrespective of their social belongingness. Luck should not play a part in determining the access to the opportunities people get in their lives.[17]

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[16] https://iep.utm.edu/desert/#H1
[17] https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B0Izh6GcIA_Db0NoZXVETTVUUjQ/edit?resourcekey=0-Bysg4TEj5yeR5QMMi1nLMQ

The principle of need again becomes critical because need is a subjective and variable concept. This is because there is no concrete way to define or understand need. Moreover there are bound to be people whose needs will be dire or justified than the others.

Stop to Consider:

- ❖ The meaning of the principle of fairness.

- ❖ How and why this principle opposes the idea of protective discrimination?

- ❖ The arguments for and against protective discrimination.

- ❖ The ideas of 'desert' and 'need'

Check your Progress:
a) Core and _____ are two central ideas stated by the Dependency Theory.

b) Name a scholar who offers alternatives to the conventional models of development.

c) Briefly explain the idea of protective discrimination.

d) Write true or false:
Protective discrimination is not related to the idea of social justice.

e) Give two arguments in favour of the principle of fairness.

4.7 Summing up

Therefore the debate is not just about protective discrimination versus the principle of fairness but even about who should be entitled to protective discrimination and on what basis.

Though substantial arguments can be made for both sides of the debate, we however will need to understand that the focus should be on arriving at a generally acceptable model of justice. It has to be kept in mind that while according justice to the deprived, other principles of equality like merit cannot and should not be completely overridden. Also justice by such methods should not be reduced to the monopoly of a few select categories who take advantage of these provisions.

May be if the basis of such principles are revised and improvised at frequent intervals we may be able to detect the fallacies of these models and arrive at a true model of distributive justice

4.8 References and Readings

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UNIT 5 Decline and Resurgence of Political Theory – Various Debates

Unit Structure:

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Objectives

1.3 Decline of Political Theory – Various Views

1.4 Resurgence of Political Theory

1.5 Conclusion

1.6 Lets Sum Up

1.1 Introduction:

Political theory and its significance have faced many questions and queries from time to time. A discipline is often evaluated in terms of its practical applicability and Political Theory is no exception. There have been periods when the abstract concepts and ideas of political theory have been judged for lack of practical applicability. Fundamental queries like what is more crucial – reality or ideas were raised. Do ideas reflect reality or reality is in turn shaped by ideas were also areas of enquiry. Along with this, one is left to wonder what is the use of Political Theory -- is it only to understand the world around us through various concepts or to also alter it for the better. This query is at the heart of crucial developments that the field of Political Theory underwent in the 1950s and 60s.

The post Second world War era saw the emergence of such queries. The occurrence of two Great devastating wars pointed to the absence of a coherent universal belief in values and ideas. It also questioned

the futility of disciplines which failed to provide precise information and suggestions for periods of crisis. In the 1950s and 1960s political theory continued to be dominated by the traditional methods and was reflective and explanatory in nature. The shadow of historicism loomed large. As a result many political scientists like David Easton, Alfred Cobban and Dante Germino announced the decline of political theory. Along with this there was an obsessive interest in the formulation of a "science of polities". The high point in this development came in the United States in the form of behaviouralism which focussed on mainly studying the aspects of human behaviour which can be observed and measured. This was also the reason that voting behaviour, voting patterns gained a lot of interest as subject matter of study.

Easton stated that as political theory continued to depend on century old concepts, its significance has largely declined. Further with the rise of newer schools of thoughts like Vienna Circle which gave precedence to experience as the mode of knowledge construction, political theory faced newer challenges. Political theory was often reduced to political philosophy and a study of vague political ideas without any practical utility. As a result, the critics could declare that political theory was in decline. However there was no unanimity on the causes of decline of political theory. For some it was the rise of logical positivism while for others, it was an excessive emphasis on ideologies. There was a lack of coherence in the reasons put forth by Easton and others who believed that political theory was in decline.

Scholars on the other hand, who did not agree that political theory was in decline pointed out to these problematic presuppositions. They stated that it was only one trend of political theory which focussed too much on the history that faced challenges and not the entire discipline. They also felt that the solution to this crisis will come from within the discipline and it will lead to the resurgence of political theory. These periods saw the production of a number of important works in political theory. So to declare that the discipline was in decline or have run its course of relevance of premature.

> **Stop to Consider:**
>
> **Vienna Circle**: The Vienna Circle of Logical Empiricism was a group of philosophers and scientists drawn from the natural and social sciences, logic and mathematics who met regularly from 1924 to 1936 at the University of Vienna, chaired by **Moritz Schlick**. This school of thought had the aim of making the study of philosophy scientific with the help of modern logic.

1.2 Objectives:

This section will enable the student to understand a number of things. It will help the students to

a) Get an idea of the different phases of development of political theory.

b) Understand the main reasons for the decline of political theory in the post second world war era.

c) Pinpoint the differences of opinion among scholars who declared that political theory was in decline.

d) Understand the various reasons that contributed to the revival of political theory in the 1970s.

e) Understand and be able to comprehend the current state of political theory.

1.3.1 Decline of Political Theory:

In the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, a number of scholars starting with David Easton and Alfred Cobban talked about the decline of political theory. Political philosophers like Robert Dahl and Peter Laslett went a step further and declared political theory as 'dead'. Looking back at the history of political theory, Easton argued that political theory often flourished in times of social turmoil. Ancient Greece was the theatre of emergence of earliest political ideas and the cradle of democracy. The society back then was going through a churning. Political theory in the ancient period took a dynamic role and could provide ideas that fuelled political change. Similar was the

case in England of 16th and 17th centuries upto the Glorious Revolution, France of 18th century which witnessed the French Revolution. But philosophers like Easton lament that similar dynamism was missing in the discipline in the mid 20th century despite the continued widespread social conflicts. The main reason behind this stagnation was the dependence on ideas a century old and the hegemony of historical approaches in studying political systems. Easton stated that during that period political theory was largely interested in the history of ideas. It was related to the notions of value and presented very general principles. Easton felt that this was not enough. Value, principles and history cannot be the sole determinants of political theory. Easton believed that there is a scope to still 'upgrade' political theory and political science as a part of empirical science and reject the tendency to reduce the term to both metaphysical speculation or abstractions which are not founded on facts and the history of political thought. Along with Easton some other scholars also voiced concern regarding the decline of political theory. Some of the prominent views have been discussed in the next section.

1.3.2 Reasons of Decline of Political Theory: Various viewpoints

David Easton's Views -- Amongst the various scholars that declared the demise and decline of political theory, David Easton took the lead. In his book *Political System: An Enquiry into the State of Political Science (1953),* he asserted that traditional political theory was based on sheer speculation and was devoid of acute observation of political reality. It cannot continue to fall back on its glory of ancient days. In fact, post Second World War saw the emergence of different schools of ideologies which believed that Political Science should do more justice to its name and adapt a more scientific approach. The first step in doing this was to rescue the discipline from a study of classics and

an excessive emphasis on history of ideas. As the nature of problems in contemporary society was different, Easton believed that political theory will have to undergo a fundamental change to be relevant in contemporary times.

The post war period saw a comparison drawn between the various disciplines. Other disciplines like Sociology, Psychology and Economics have already tried to work out a more objective framework of studying human behaviour. According to Easton and others, Political Scientists on the other hand could not develop adequate research tools to explain the socio-political changes that were taking place. During the war period, while other disciplines played a more vital role in decision making, political science could not play a similar role. Easton believed that only an emergence of a new approach – a new behavioural science will elevate political science to the status of other social sciences.

Easton further believed that the discipline of political science continued to be overshadowed by history. Historical approach championed by George Sabine and other philosophers like W. A Dunning, C.K Allen, A.D Lindsay focused on explaining the development of political ideas, values through the ages. But while doing so, they were largely focussed on the Western European countries leading to euro-centrism. Such narrow understanding falls short of addressing the concerns of non-western world. This became more stark in the mid 20th century when the theatre of political upheaval shifted from Europe to Asia and Africa. Traditional political theory fell short of analysing the developments in these countries.

> **Stop to Consider:**
>
> **What is Historicism?**
>
> It is the idea of attributing significance to space and time to contextualise and understand an event. For example, historical events should be evaluated in terms of the time it emerged and not evaluated from the present perspective. While the term 'Historicism' was coined by **Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel**, over the period of time, its meaning took different forms.

Political theory at that time was being studied by analysing political thought of bygone centuries and the political philosophy of each political thinker was being traced to particular historical contexts. But this foreclosed the engagements required to formulate universal knowledge as the study was limited to specific time periods and locations. Historical analysis was being used to only analyse and understand the factual condition that gave rise to a particular ideology of system but did not contribute to the development of new knowledge which will be applicable in contemporary times.

Easton also believed that a relativistic approach to values which found expression in the works of David Hume and Maxweber led to the decline of political theory. Values should correspond to social problems and contribute to solutions. Merely transplanting values and systems will fall short of solving a social crisis. Moral relativism rendered such an exercise useless. Rather all kinds of ideologies found support in the eyes of moral relativists who did not believe in universal values. This actually led to some of the worst crisis that humanity faced in the form of revolutions. Till Russian Revolution, capitalism and liberal democracy were the accepted values. Similarly Nazism and Fascism also rose as a challenge to the existing values. The rise of such extreme values pinpointed to the limits of political theory in explaining the problems of the society and providing solutions. In fact even during such periods of crisis, political theorists failed to explain the rise of such extreme and exclusivist ideologies. Easton emphasised on the need to revive critical theory which will on one hand subject traditional values to scrutiny and on the other hand act as a bridge between traditional knowledge and the changing needs of the society.

The decade of 1950s and 1960s saw an obsession of upgrading social science to the status of natural sciences amongst political scientists. While the method of research can be inspired by that of natural sciences to an extent to ensure an objective study, the theory that evolves from the research has to go beyond science as it cannot be completely devoid of human values. While the traditionalists have stopped at merely pinpointing how things were and what ought to be,

the behaviouralists contented with explaining and analysing 'what is'. They did not feel the necessity to analysis why is it so and how it can reach the ideal state of 'what ought to be'. Easton felt that a much needed dialogue between the traditionalists and the behaviouralists were missing and this was a major cause of the decline of political theory. Easton stated this problem as "hyper-factualism".

Stop to Consider:

Hyper-Factualism: The term hyper-factualism means an excessive dependence on facts and an inability to relate it to theory. In other words, theory becomes subservient to facts. Imagine a situation in which a researcher very enthusiastically collects data and goes on to generalise his/her findings without trying to theorise the causal relations. In such a situation, it is likely that the findings may not be universal and may be found lacking when implemented in a different situation. Easton did not dismiss the importance of facts. In fact he emphasised the need of theorising based on facts. But he was critical of hyper-factualism.

Too much emphasis either on the study of institutions or merely ideas fall short of explaining the interactions between the two if any. Historicism further suffers from the problem of trying to explain the present situation in the light of age-old values instead of discovering newer set of values. Come to think of it, modern concepts of citizenship, democracy, rights, justice cannot be studied in the light of ancient political theory. Newer framework of social justice, universal human rights which have a particular context of emergence will have to be taken into account. For this scholars like Easton believed that political theory must be more dynamic and adapt to the changing situation.

From the above discussion, the key points of David Easton's argument can be stated as follows:

➢ Political theory was still overshadowed by historicism
➢ Political theorists continued to focus too much on values and less on facts.

> - Political theorists failed in formulating theories based on facts and merging facts and values creatively.
> - A dependence on century old ideas rendered political theory irrelevant in present time.

Alfred Cobban's Views: Another scholar along with Easton who have been vocal about the decline of political theory is Alfred Cobban. Cobban even believed that political theory was going through a crisis period from which it may not emerge. Going back to ancient Greeks, Cobban pointed out that the political theory and ideas of those days was a result of active political life of people. If one traces the development of political theory, such active engagement and even conflicts can be witnessed which saw the birth of new and original political ideas. Be it the conflict between the church and the state or the great revolutions that marked the middle ages, people took active part in these developments.

Cobban talked of two kinds of factors responsible for the decline of political theory – external factors and internal factors. Talking about the external factors responsible for the decline – Cobban points out that huge military, bureaucracy and an interventionist state was fast shrinking the space of free expression of political thought. He felt that this was across countries – be it Communist countries or the liberal democracies. In Communist countries, the hold of party elites was too strong and it discouraged any kind of conflict from the rank and file. Dissent was seen as a danger and suppressed brutally. This also foreclosed the possibility of critically engaging with the government and giving rise to new political thought. The situation was no better in Western Democracies. Dominant bureaucracies did not give much space for active engagement of the people. And democracy in these countries have been reduced to procedural democracies with timely elections. However internal conflicts persisted. Even in successful and mature democracies like the US, inherent inequalities and prejudice in the form of racism persisted. Equality fell short of transforming into equity.

In his paper "The Decline of Political Theory (1953)", Cobban stated that political theory has lost both its significance in the communist as well as capitalist world. He found Marxism to be concentrated to a narrow part of the world. For Cobban theories like these cannot explain the political developments taking place on a large scale. Cobban also believed that the excessive emphasis on facts devoid of values that marked the work of logical positivists further led to the decline of political theory. Cobban however was not pessimistic about the possibility of revival of political theory. He did not think that all was lost. In fact he believed that political theory could become significant if it could formulate and evolve a criteria of judgement.

Interestingly Cobban also points out that a decline of active political life with the success of democracy in different parts of the world, the absence of large scale revolutions are also responsible for the decline of political theory. People don't have to take to streets for their basic rights and requirements too often. As a result, this complacency and a level of apathy to active politics have led to a kind of stagnation in the discipline.

Coming to the internal factors, Cobban pointed out certain problems inherent in the discipline itself. He felt that political philosophers of the earlier century from Hobbes to Mills clearly adhered to certain principles and their theories were also morally grounded. The Social Contractualists clearly stated what the aim of modern state should be and how safeguarding the rights of individuals should be the priority.

The political theorists of modern day lack this clarity. They are more engaged according to Cobban are either with historical approach or with scientific approach. There is an absolute gap between the two approaches.

Political thinkers like Niccolo Machiavelli and later Hans J Morgenthau, Neibuhr and others from the realist school pointed out the hegemony of power politics. Politics was essentially a struggle for power. Machiavelli was the first to endorse a separation between politics and morality. In his advice in *The Prince*, Machiavelli stated how values and morality should be subservient to politics and power. In fact values are useful so far as they serve in ruling the country.

Another cause of decline of political theory is that politics in the modern period has been pushed to merely the academic circle. Its practical aspect is being overlooked and it is only being studied as a theoretical subject. This further led to a decline in its significance. Cobban also believed that absence of values have pushed the discipline to a mere analysis of power politics. The behavioural revolution caused an excessive emphasis on empiricism and created a huge gap between facts and values. All this led to a decline of political theory.

The Key points of Cobban's criticism can be listed as follows:

➢ External factors like interventionist state and bureaucracy stalemated the emergence of new theory.
➢ Absence of active political engagement and political movements have led to the decline of political theory.
➢ Internal factors like the absence of clear goals and values of political philosophers is a problem.
➢ Similarly the tendency to reduce political theory to a merely academic activity have further reduced its significance.

Dante Germino's views: In his book ***Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory***, he talked about ideological reductionism. He believed that in the greater part of 19th and 20th century positivism was the cause of the decline of political theory. On the other hand, ideology especially ideologies like Marxism was a root cause of the decline of political theory. He called it "*ideological reductionism*".

However like some political philosophers Germino did not think that political theory was dead and could not be revived. Instead he believed that political theory would soon see a revival. In fact political theory was again in ascendancy after the crisis of the decades of 1950s and 1960s. Germino accuses inimical political and intellectual traditions and an obsession with empiricism and natural sciences which saw its culmination in the behavioural revolution as the root cause of decline of political theory. However scholars like Michael Oakshott, Hannah Arendt, Leo Strauss and Eric Vogelin through their writings contributed to the resurgence of political theory.

Check your progress:

Exercise 1: Use the space below to answer the questions. Use additional sheet if required.

1. The 1950s and 60s was a period of crisis for political theory. Do you agree? Can you pinpoint the crisis in your own words?

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    _____

    _____

2. Political theory and its significance faced a challenge in the form of Behaviouralism. How do you explain this?

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3. What were the two main arguments forwarded in favour of the decline of political theory?

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4. According to Easton, what were the main causes of decline of political theory?

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. According to Alfred Cobban, what were the main causes for decline of political theory?

    _____

    _____

    _____

6. What were the propositions forwarded by Dante Germino in his book Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory?

    _____

    _____

    _____

1.3.3 Revival of Political Theory:

Political theory was anything but dead. By the end of 1960s, the resurgence of political theory became evident. David Easton was again at the helm of people working for its resurgence. In his presidential

address to the American Political Science Association in 1969, he launched the 'post behavioural revolution'. While Behavioural Revolution marked the decline of political theory, post behavioural revolution was a clear marker of its resurgence. Post behavioural revolution did not dismiss the emphasis on facts and empirical research that was the hallmark of behaviouralism. Instead it aimed to take on board 'values' which were left out in Behaviouralism. Easton believed that scientific investigation will play a crucial role in providing precise solutions for social crisis, analysing causes of crisis in an objective manner and pointing out trends in studies of political processes. Easton did not see values and facts to be mutually exclusive. In fact with post behaviouralism he tried to bring in a synthesis of theory and facts.

Behaviouralism emphasised on the use of scientific methodology for research in political science. It believed that political theory can be sustained only if it is removed from political philosophy. It should rather focus on objective facts and provide concrete solutions. Champions of political philosophy like Leo Strauss on the other hand believed that this very obsession with pure natural science was an indication of the decline of political theory.

The limitation of an approach based purely on facts without adhering to values quickly culminated to a crisis in the discipline. Political theory in its behavioural 'avatar' again fell short of explaining the newer developments in the society. In the 1960s, the Western World witnessed multiple social movements in the form of environmentalism, the rise of feminism. The two decade long Vietnam War also raised questions about the alleged peace that was supposed to follow the Second World War. All this put newer challenge in front of political theory.

Dante Germino who on one hand pointed out to the decline of political theory, also saw this as an opportunity for the resurgence of political theory. Germino was of the view that to survive a period of crisis, political theory must identify more with political philosophy than with any pure science. But it had to go back to the tradition of critical

theory which will put philosophy through a rigorous examination of what is right and what is wrong, rather than taking political thought as given and endorsing it by merely pointing out that it was true in a given socio-economic context. This revived political theory will not be reductionist. It will theorise based on facts.

Political philosophy cannot be just objective and detached as it deals with the problems that a human being faces. Indifference to political struggles, the inequality of power relation in such struggles must be taken into account by a political philosopher. The aim of political philosophy cannot be just to explain how things are but also pin point why they are as such and how they ought to be. Easton championed the need of empirical theory. But he soon realised the problems that arose of dismissing values. Rather he is critical of both 'hyper-factualism' and an excessive emphasis on values and opinions. Easton believed that a researcher should not start with pre-conceived notions as this will impact the outcome of the research. But at the same time he also believed that values cannot be completely shed off in social science. Rise of conservative regimes, rise of extreme ideologies and totalitarian governments cannot be just objectively studied. Political philosophers must juxtapose these developments against the larger development of human beings and then also pin point how such developments can be avoided if they are detrimental to the society. In order to bridge the gap between values and facts, Easton talked of formulating a new kind of theory called 'creative theory' (Easton, 1969). Creative theory is an empirical theory sustained by moral principles. Political theory must respond to the need of the society. And the sensible way to do it would be a judicious binding of the two – facts and values. Such a theory will have multiple methods – a statement of the actual situation, a statement of the desirable situation both long term and short term, and the possible steps to reach that desirable situation. This will contribute to bridging the gap between what the society requires and the scientific knowledge based on facts. In order to revive political theory Easton wanted it to be recast in a

new conceptual framework. Easton called it 'the broad-gauge theory'. One of the major cause of decline of political theory was the belief that normativism and empiricism were mutually exclusive. Unlike other social sciences, political science was not at its peak because it did not use the tools and techniques that other social sciences were using. In other words, political science did not transform by responding to the changing nature of society.

Interestingly, to understand the debate around the decline of political theory, we have to also know the views of scholars who believed that political theory was not in any form of crisis. It was neither in decline nor dead. In fact it was very much actively existing. The chief exponents of this view were Leo Strauss, Isaiah Berlin and Blondel. Isaiah Berlin refuted the views that political theory did not produce any new plausible work in the last century or that political theory has lost its relevance. Berlin on the other hand stated that so far as there is no single universal solution to social problems in society, political theory will continue to open newer avenues of dialogue. Berlin further stated that some philosophical traditions or theories might have lost its relevance owing to changing socio-political situation but this does not mean that the discipline itself has lost relevance.

Berlin goes on to pinpoint that when metaphysical theories of middle ages were challenged, they disappeared because they could not respond to those challenges. But the entire discipline did not decline. In fact the answer to the challenge also came from political theorists in the form of Social Contractualist theories. As opposed to the belief of critics, these decades saw a number of works emerge in political theory. John Rawls wrote "*Justice as Fairness*" (1957) and *A Theory of Justice* (1971). Karl Popper's *Open Society and Its Enemies* (1945) provided a criticism of Marx and Hegel's philosophy. Berlin himself wrote a number of books including *Does Political Theory Still Exist* (1962). All these works contributed to the revival of political theory and the discipline was not exactly barren in this period.

Berlin refuted the claim that political theory is facing a crisis. His views can be stated as follows:

➢   The alleged period of crisis saw the production of large amount of theoretical works by Berlin, Rawls and others.
➢   The decline was of traditional political theory and not of the entire discipline of political science.
➢   For Berlin, the problem started because the critics did not differentiate between political theory and political philosophy

Blondel opines that the problem arises because by decline of political theory one means the empirical study have overtaken political theory. At the peak of Behavioural Revolution, many political philosophers believed that this was in fact progress and political science have finally been alleviated to the status of natural science. But for the traditionalists, it left a vacuum in the discipline as political philosophers emphasised more on facts and less on the larger questions that concerned the society. Blondel also is of the view that empirical theory need not be in contradiction to political theory. Rather facts can actually help political theory be significant. Political theory should take the form of an analysis based on facts. It should move beyond the study of mere facts and try to respond to the political questions of our times. While both Berlin and Blondel believed that there was no contradiction as such between facts and values, Leo Strauss gave a different perspective. He went back to classical political philosophy and dismissed empiricism as well as historicism. According to him, political theory might be in a decline because theorists moved away from the right way of doing political theory.

In response to Easton's complaint that philosophers at present are not inspired by any ideal, Strauss said that philosophy is the highest activity of man and when indulging in philosophy, a philosopher must have certain values as goals or ideals. Classical political philosophy always strived towards finding the means of good life for the individual. Political theory should not stop at merely analysing historical instances or explaining them. In fact political theorists must

use historical knowledge to provide solutions for contemporary problems.

Strauss also disagrees with the stand of positivists who believe that knowledge of values is unnecessary. He believed that such criticism stands true in terms of historicism which fell short of engaging with contemporary problems. But even political theorists should work towards rescuing political theory from historicism.

Critics further pointed out that as liberal democracy took roots in different countries, the occurrence of revolutions and conflicts declined. As a result political engagement of people were reduced and this also brought a stagnation of political theory. Leo Strauss on the other hand believed that liberal democracy provides a better environment for the development of political theory. Authoritarian regimes which deny the right to freedom of speech, expression and peaceful dissent cannot prepare a ground for the emergence of new political theories. Rather liberal democracies have in fact seen the emergence of new concepts based on peaceful social movements which worked towards the broadening of political values.

Here we can take the example of India. India witnessed the rise of historically marginalised communities in the 1990s. While the Mandal Commission gave political representation to OBCs, it broadened the concept of social justice. Similarly Dalit rights activists and academics have worked towards formulating new discourse on the rights of Dalits. All this broadened the concepts of equity, social justice by bringing in newer ideas. But this was not merely limited to ideas. The notion of social justice have been implemented through affirmative action and positive discrimination undertaken by the Welfare state of India.

A number of new themes surfaced during the revival of political theory including Communitarianism which gave more importance to the community instead of the individual, Post-modernism which gave precedence to diverse individual experience instead of grand universal narratives, multiculturalism whose proponents like Will Kymlicka, Iris Marion Young and Bhikhu Parekh emphasised on group rights,

cultural identity and proposed tolerance and peaceful coexistence, Feminism which supported a gendered lens to understand the world, Environmentalism which supported alternative models of sustainable development. None of these new themes rejected the importance of political theory. Instead the very scope of political science was broadened by the inclusion of the components from these new themes.

Self assessment Question:

Do you think group rights emphasised by Communitarianism and Multiculturalism leads to put limitations on individual rights? Can you think over this issue in the context of personal laws and the rights of minority within minorities – for example – Muslim women? (Clue: You can borrow from the Triple Talaq debate)

Conclusion:

The debate regarding the decline and the resurgence of political theory is largely because of two issues. Political theorists who tried to focus more on the behavioural and observable aspect of human beings and emphasise more on empirical models borrowing heavily from natural science felt disillusioned with the future of political theory. They felt that unlike other disciplines of social science, political theory could not adapt to changing social situation and hence was in decline. Secondly, the decline of political theory largely meant the decline of a particular trend of political theory dominated by historicism. It did not mean the decline of the discipline per se. In fact the decline further pointed out the impossibility of having theory without values and values based merely on abstractions and not facts. Rather the crisis period actually paved way for the resurgence of political theory in a stronger way and its manifestation was the post-behavioural revolution led by David Easton. It became clear that social science need not be exact like natural science. In fact social science should never try to

blindly imitate natural science. Rather social science should step in when facts fall short of providing creative solutions.

Check your progress: Exercise 2

Please use the given space to write your response. Use additional sheets if required.

1. Which political theorists contested the view that political theory was in decline? Name some of them.

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2. Briefly discuss Isaiah Berlin's views on the resurgence of political theory.

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3. Is newer concepts like multiculturalism a reason for revival of political theory?

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4. Unlike Isaiah Berlin, Strauss supported the idea of going back to classical political theory. Elaborate.

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5. How do you reconcile the debate around the decline of political theory?

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Let Us Sum Up:

During the period of 1950s and 1960s, the discipline of Political Science and especially Political Theory underwent a period of crisis. A significant section of political theorists believed that political theory was on the verge of extinction. Such concerns were raised by mainly two groups – firstly those theorists who believed that political theory could not emulate natural science and hence was in decline. Secondly, some theorists believed that due to behavioural revolution, political theorists were emphasising too much on facts and empiricism and have moved away from the original goal of political theorists – to strive to find out the means to achieve a good life for the people. For the behaviouralists, the problem was that political science was largely speculative and abstract. On the other hand, for scholars who supported classical political theory, the 1950s saw the rise of a new trend of political theory which moved away from values. The critics did not agree as to the causes of decline of political theory and provided different views.

However a number of scholars disagreed with the claim that political theory was in decline. In fact, Easton who headed the Behavioural Revolution himself ushered in the Post Behavioural Revolution and declared that it was crucial to have a theory that would be analytical but also based on facts. declared that it was crucial to have a theory that would be analytical but also based on facts. declared that it was crucial to have a theory that would be analytical but also based on facts. He felt it was crucial to bridge the gap between values and facts. Along with Easton, other scholars mainly Isaiah Berlin, Blondel and Leo Strauss also pointed out that what was perceived as decline of political theory was in fact a churning which was much required and it prepared the situation for the resurgence of political theory. Berlin and others pointed out that the alleged decline was mainly the decline of the traditional classical theory which was dominated by historicism.

This trend had certain limitations as it emphasised to study the history of values, philosophy and focus more on how things ought to be instead of understanding and analysing how things are and why. This trend has been rendered insignificant because it failed to explain the new changes in the society and provide elaborate solutions. Berlin and others are of the view that while political theory in the decades of 1960s and 1970 s saw a crisis period, it was neither in decline nor dead. In fact it responded to the crisis and resurged.

Most scholars did not dismiss political theory and its importance outrightly. Even the critics of historicism believed that political theory only needs to be rescued from historicism and this will be help in making political theory significant.

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PAPER VI: POLITICAL THEORY
Unit 1: Nation and State

Structure of the unit:

1. Objective
2. Introduction
3. Understanding nation
3.1. History of the Idea
3.2. Precondition or features of Nation
3.3. Nation building Process
4. State: Conceptual framework
4.1. Perspectives on State
4.2. Theories on Origin of State
4.2.1. Divine origin of State
4.2.2. Social Contract Theory
4.2.3. The Evolutionary theory
4.2.4. Marxist Theory on origin of state
5. On the Idea: Nation-State

1. Objective:

After reading this unit one should be able to understand
- The concept of Nation
- The history of the term nation
- Preconditions needed to fulfil to become a nation, that may be defined as its basis features
- the nation building process
- the Concept of State
- different perspectives in understanding the state
- the major theories on origin of the State
- The historical evolution of the nation state system

2. Introduction:

The ideas of nation and state have dominated the discussion of most of the social sciences and particularly political science due to its centrality in the human society since the dawn of organized living. Starting from pre modern (late medieval) period the grand imaginations of these idea began in some parts of the world. However scholars also

draws the ancient past lineage of these ideas. Therefore in discussing the conceptual framework of these ideas from different perspectives, a historical approach is also necessary. The nation building process or origin of state reveals that both the phenomena have not only followed a long trajectory of historical events but also that they have collided and coincided in several processes leading to concept called nation state.

3. Understanding Nation:

The conviction that a group of people are united by a common history, tradition, language and culture is through nationalism and hence they should establish a sovereign political community called the nation based on this conviction. Thus this idea refer to a close knit political community that consists of culturally, linguistically, ethnically and even racially homogenous population bound together by shared history of struggle or achievements. However no country today literally and totally satisfy this criteria, but this idea of nation has been powerful force in the history of most countries around the world.

> It is interesting that in present times no country can claim itself to be a complete nation in its literal meaning. So it will be necessary to see how country like India with vast diversity is a nation or it will need further specific studies to explore the nature of Indian nation.

The distinction between the nation and nationality is a thin one. This is more so because both the terms are derived from the same word. Some even consider them as interchangeable. But certainly there are differences between the two; Nationality is a cultural term. It is a psychological, which is generated in a group of people having geographical unity and who belong to a common race, common history, religion, customs and traditions, economic interests and common hopes and aspirations. The people of a nationality must feel that they have something in common which differentiates them from other people. But nation is a people organised; a people united. What unites people in a nation are feelings of oneness. Nation gives an idea of an organisation; nationality gives an idea of sentiment. Nationality is basically a cultural term; it is 'political' only incidentally. Nation is basically a political term, cultural only incidentally. This, however, does not mean that nationality is not political and nation is not cultural concepts.
According to Ramsay Muir, a nation may be defined as a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities, which are so strong for them to live together, they are dissatisfied when

disunited and cannot tolerate subjection to people who do not share the same ties. The development of nationality is definitely psychological phenomenon or as Hayes says, it is primarily cultural, conscious of unity.

The nation is thus seen as a birthmark. People with foreign origins are seen to be a harm national unity and purity and to a national culture which defines itself vis -a-vis "the other". The common ancestry is considered as the end of history and has to be protected. However in most cases governments and peoples cannot demonstrate a long, unbroken, historical continuity and ethnic homogeneity. In many cases, nations were created by romantic nationalistic historians.

The written language played an important role in creating a nation. The emerging national state created its national language in order to legitimize itself. According to a classic definition, the difference between a language and a dialect is that a language has a government and an army. National conscription, compulsory education and the development of mass media were the channels used by the architects of nations in the 19th century in order to create contact between the centre and the periphery, and borders that appeared natural on the basis of geography, language, ethnicity or religion. In particular, the emergence of national education systems and the mass media contributed to communicating a sense of affinity to a national collective, to extending the cultural horizons and getting away from provincial narrow mindedness. The creation of national symbols and myths and re-writing of history were also part of the process of nation-building.

Nations were thus constructed and invented. Eric Hobsbawn spoke of a mass production of nations in the 19th century, when cultural hallmarks were created for later presentation as authentic and ancient. The "real" aspects needed the "fake" and "foreign" in order to define themselves. Thus, nations are not eternally defined entities, but they are in fact created. They are "imagined communities", in the words of the American anthropologist, Benedict Anderson. Nationalism is a two-faced, Janus-like creature. It is synonymous with self-determination for those who have the good fortune to live in a society which has its own history, language, culture and religion, but it can also be xenophobic, intolerant, aggressive, hegemonic and authoritarian, lacking the will and ability to allow others what the nation claims for itself.

Many social scientists believe that, in order to make the concept of nation more humane and natural, there is a need that the adherence to a nation must be an act of choice, and not a birthmark. Instead of "ethnos", in which a sense of affinity is based on mythical racial ties of blood, our perception of the national must be a question of "demos" – an open, universalist concept of the nation which focuses on the individual level, in which the nation is based on acceptance by citizens and their belief

in a political order which protects their freedoms and rights. The individual can choose to join, but he can also leave the nation. The nation may be ethnically homogenous, but it can also consist of several different peoples, as in the case of Switzerland. National culture is not static or laid down by history, instead it is a dynamic creation based on free and independent citizens. As a result, the starting point in the fight against racism and xenophobia must be the concept of nationality which was defined by Ernest Renan in his classic address at the Sorbonne on 11 March 1882, entitled "What is a nation?" As far as Renan was concerned, national affinity was not a question of race, religion or place of birth, but was instead a matter of "a daily referendum".

Stop to Consider

A group of people are united by a common history, tradition, language and culture, establish a sovereign political community called the nation. However one should keep in mind that though it is considered as a birthmark, many a times nations were constructed and invented. Many social scientists believe that, in order to make the concept of nation more humane and natural, there is a need that the adherence to a nation must be an act of choice, and not a birthmark.

History of the idea:

The word nation has its origin in Latin. The Latin word 'natio' has the same stem as the word 'natus'. Both have the common origin in 'nascor' meaning I am born. The nation for the Romans thus meant as something born. In Cicero, one finds nation personified as the goddess of birth. In ordinary understanding nation was referred to as a group of men who belonged together in some way because of similarity of birth. This similarity of condition was seen mostly due to the fact that the members of a nation were born in the same city or same tract of land. However the size of this group was limited; it was larger than family but smaller than a clan and people (gens). It was regarded as a native community of foreigners something that is outside the Roman society and even below. Romans never introduced themselves as nation and the original connotation of the term had a derogatory connotation. Cicero ones spoke of the Jews and the Syrians as *nationes natae servi-tuti*, that is, people born to servitude.

The word is used in English in a broad sense, "a race of people an aggregation of persons of the same ethnic family and speaking the same language" and in the narrower sense "a political society composed of a

government and subjects or citizens and constituting a political unit; an organized community inhabiting a defined territory within which its sovereignty is exercised." The narrower sense of the term started dominating from the pre modern times when application of the tern nation was done to signify the native North American people (1640); nation building i.e. Creation of new nation is attested by 1907 and nation state meaning sovereign country whose inhabitants are united by language, culture and common descent came to be used from 1918.

The use of the word in its origin had some comical connotation as its members had different ways of lifestyle, food habit, language etcetera that was used by the *foreigners*, something alien and 'funny' for the native. Another interesting use of the term is associated with the university students. The foreign countries of the Roman world had direct link with the universities in the middle ages where students from far of lands came for higher learnings. On the strange soil of the university cities, the students were foreigners, just like their ancient predecessor of immigrants, had the need for union to use their dialect, food and customs. They formed groups of their own country and termed as 'nation'. Since 12th century, within the student unions there were formed, as the result of the customary vigorous disputes, certain common opinions which derived from the commonly accepted views in the common homeland; the word now signified more; it designated a community of origin, a union of purpose, and a *community of opinion*. The first external change in value of the coin "nation" was complete.

However this community of opinion had no slightest resemblance with modern nationalism due to Christian unity that bound all states and their people; it was the Christian language, Christian culture and Christian way of life that prevented any division. However gradually that clutch of religion became weak when there arose internal conflict within Christianity.

In the 18th century "nation" became a word of fashion. Fashionable words always become-like a much-used coin-very much worn down and flat. As in our time everything is democratic or totalitarian. In the 18th century everything was "national." At the beginning of the French Revolution, there developed a tendency to set up a clear boundary between people and nation, is shown by the deliberations instituted in June, 1789, as to whether the new House of Representatives should be called *assemblee nationale* or *representants de peuple Frangais*. The French Revolutionary Parliament called itself *assemblie nationale*, and the citizenry then sat sat in the seats of the distinguished and of the aristocrats, distinguished from people. The nation in the modern sense arose in 19th century with a more mass character.

Precondition or features of Nation:

In the modern era nothing so clearly marks out our attitudes and sentiments as national consciousness and nationalist ideology. Not only in everyday political and social life, but also in our underlying assumptions, the nation and its nationalism provide a stable structure, for good or ill, and define the objectives and ideals of most collective activity.

Nation is not a once-for-all, all-or nothing, concept; and that historical nations are ongoing processes, sometimes slow in their formation, at other times faster, some features emerge or are created, while others lag. Modern nations are therefore are linked to older ethnies and in most cases indirectly, that provide them with distinct symbolism, mythologies and culture. Or if it does not have them then it should be appropriate or risk for dissolution (Smith 1986). , the nation that emerges in the modern era must be regarded as both construct and real process. In Europe, nations have been forming, from the medieval period; in several other parts of the world, this process, or processes, have been more recent. Both objective factors outside human control, and human will and action, go into the creation of nations. Geographical environment, and the political accidents of warfare, may provide a setting for a group to form into a nation; but, whether it will subsequently do so, may depend on how far the group, or its ruling classes, become conscious of their identity, and reinforce it through education, legal codes and administrative centralization (Tilly 1975).

There must be, at least, some elements in the chosen population and its social environment who favour the aspirations and activities of the nationalist visionaries. Also different types of ethnic base largely determine the forms and mechanisms through which the nation is subsequently formed, in so far as this is achieved Not only do they influence the role of the state, they also differentiate the social groups - aristocrats, bureaucrats, bourgeoisies, intelligentsia, lower clergy - that are likely to play leading roles in the movement towards nationhood

Besides, not all nations are the product of nationalist political endeavour. Many nations owed more to state centralization, warfare and

cultural homogeneity than to any nationalist movement. The people in the communities of history who possessed specific cultural attributes often formed a social network or series of networks, which over the generations became what we today designate 'ethnic communities'. These communities of history and culture generally display a syndrome of characteristics, by which they are usually recognized. These include:

1. Common name for the unit of population included;
2. Set of myths of common origins and descent for that population;
3. Some common historical memories of things experienced together;
4. Common 'historic territory' or 'homeland', or an association with one;
5. One or more elements of common culture - language, customs, or religion;
6. A sense of solidarity among most members of the community.

The legacy of great nations attributed to their possession of military and economic power at the relevant period, the period of burgeoning nationalism and nations. As the great powers of the period, they inevitably became models of the nation, the apparently successful format of population unit, for everyone else. Yet in such case like England and France, this was not accidental. It was the result of the early development of a particular kind of 'rational' bureaucratic administration, aided by the development of merchant capital, wealthy urban centres and professional military forces and technology.

Some would say that the state actually 'created' the nation, that royal administration, taxation and mobilization endowed the subjects within its jurisdiction with a sense of corporate loyalty and identity. Even in the West, this overstates the case. The state was certainly a necessary condition for the formation of the national loyalties we recognize today. However, its operations in turn owed much to earlier assumptions about kingdoms and peoples, and to the presence of core ethnic communities around which these states were built up.

Stop to Consider:
Nation is not a once-for-all, all-or nothing, concept; and that historical nations are ongoing processes. There are many pre conditional characteristics that helps the nation to sustain and grow. Common name of the population living in a historical homeland with some unified language, culture, history and some myths of such unity leads to a sense of solidarity in order to build the nation.

Nation building Process:

Nation Building refers to a process of inculcating the minds of people to be committed to and allegiance to one overriding loyalty to the nation, the motherland and to the authority of the state. The word 'nation-building' originated into craze among traditionally oriented political scientists in the 1950s and 1960s. Its main protagonists Karl Deutsch, Charles Tilly, and Reinhard Bendix. Ernest Renan's famous question 'what is a nation?' in his lecture at Sorbonne in 1887, marks the beginning of the academic debate on nations and nationalism, which continues to this day. Nation-building philosophy was predominantly used to describe the processes of national integration and consolidation that ultimately resulted in successful establishment of the modern nation state as distinct from various form of traditional states, such as feudal and dynastic states, church states, empires, etc.

In the traditional society and pre-modern state the communities that existed were insulated and they had insular cultures at the 'bottom' of society; state structure at 'the top' was rather content with collecting taxes and maintaining some sort of law and order. Through nation-building these two spheres were brought into contact with each other. Members of the local communities were drawn upwards into the larger structure through education and political participation. The state authorities, in turn, expanded their demands and obligations towards the members of society by offering a wide array of services and integrative social networks.

Stein Rokkan's model saw nation-building as comprising of four methodically distinct aspects. The first phase resulted in economic and cultural unification at the elitist level. The second phase brought the masses into the system through recruitment into the army, enrolment in compulsory schools, etc. The mass media created channels for direct contact between the central elites and periphery populations and generated widespread feelings of identity with the political system at large. In the third phase, the subject masses were brought into active participation in the workings of the territorial political system. Finally, the administrative apparatus of the state expanded. Public welfare services were established and nation-wide policies for the equalization of socio-economic conditions were designed.

Walker Connor noted that the nation-building literature was engrossed with elites and masses cleavage and totally ignored ethnic diversity factor in the process. He further held that the efficiency of engineering in nation-building had generally been exaggerated. This artificial production very often was counter-productive and in most cases led to ethnic revivalism. Complete assimilation of ethnic minorities had

largely failed all over the world, Connor maintained. Neither common language, common religion, nor any other, shared cultural reservoir within a group qualified as a genuine sign of nation hood. He further asserted that the true nature of the ethnos was in all and every case the sense of common ancestry shared by its members. The nation is the ultimate extended family.

Later on some theoreticians developed Connor's understanding in two different directions. Scholars like Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm strongly underlined the myth aspect of the nation. In his book title, Benedict Anderson coined the expression "imagined communities" to describe modern nations. The nation is a product of imagination in the sense that the members of the community do not know each other personally and can only imagine themselves to be in communion with each other. Later, Anderson distanced himself from Gellner and Hobsbawm however as they took the "imagination" in a different meaning, interpreting it as "invention" and "fabrication." Smith insisted that nation though is a modern concept it has a long prehistory, evolving out of ethnic cores. It is a convergence of felicitous circumstances but it may also be due to the active efforts of determined nationalists, the Nation-builders.

Even for the most recently created states after decolonisation, ethnic homogeneity and cultural unity are paramount considerations. Even where their societies are genuinely "plural" and there is an ideological commitment to pluralism, the elites of the new states are compelled, to forge new myths and symbols of their emergent nations and a new "political culture" of anti-colonialism and the post-colonialism i.e. African or Asian state.

> **Self-Assessment Question:**
> 1. How does plural and non-homogenous States create nation? Does that leads to coercion?
> 2. Can Nation fail?

After all discussions there can be highlight of few essential aspects for a successful nation-building process: (a) Democracy is the powerful force behind all successful nations and most successful nations are defined as democratically constituted ones. Though in terms of theory, nationalism does not require a particular form of government, there is a strong element of belief and examples of popular sovereignty involved in any nation building process. It could, therefore, be argued that nationalism and democracy depend on each other. (b) The elite and their consent are the motivating force behind the nation building. Any elite adopting a national identity may have had their own interests in mind

but it would have been impossible to advance those interests without referring to a larger collective body, the nation, at the same time. References to the nation served a double purpose: to legitimize their own involvement and their desire for political power. (c) The most crucial responsibilities of nation builders is to incorporate existing institutions and traditions in the institutional make-up of the nation according to what importance they might have in the new national narrative. It is important to keep in mind that in a national context, all public institutions take on an additional, symbolic meaning: not only are they supposed to perform certain political, social or economic functions but they also form the visible surface of the nation.

Check your Progress:
1. What is nation?
2. Mention the most important factors in the process of nation building.
3. Nations are 'imagined community'. Explain.

State: Conceptual framework

A state is a form of political association or polity that is distinguished by the fact that it is not itself incorporated into any other political associations, though it may incorporate other such associations into it. The state is thus a supreme corporate entity because it is not incorporated into any other entity, even though it might be subordinate to other powers (such as another state or an empire). One state is distinguished from another by its having its own independent structure of political authority, and an attachment to separate physical territories. It is a corporation because it is, in effect and in fact, a legal person. As a legal person a corporation not only has the capacity to act but also a liability to be held responsible. Furthermore, as a corporation it is able to hold property.

The crucial innovation that made for development of the state was the idea of the state as a legal person. In enabled the emergence of a political entity whose existence was not tied to the existence of particular persons – such as chiefs, lords and kings – or particular groups – such as clans, tribes, and dynasties. The state as a living entity is more durable, then any such living being.

Liberal theorizing on the State, as a concept, contends that the State is a political organization of human society that comprises organized attributes of contemporary institutions like the legislature, executive and

judiciary, with respective roles. These are governmental institutions that make and enforce laws that are binding upon the people within a defined geographical territory. Machiavelli who expressed the idea as "the Power which has authority over men". Marx Webber captures the State, further, as "that authority which gives order to all but receive from none". It is the State, therefore, that provides the structures through which people and resources in a society are organized and policy and priorities established.

One is often paused with the query whether the best way to describe the state is as a sovereign power. The answer depends on how one understands sovereignty. If sovereignty means 'supreme authority within a territory', it is not clear that sovereignty captures the nature of all states. One aspect of being a state that is sometimes considered best identified by the concept of sovereignty is its territoriality. People belong to a state by virtue of their residence within borders, and states, it is argued, exercise authority over those within its geographical bounds.

Max Weber's well-known definition of the state as a body having a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force in a given territory is also inadequate. The extent of a state's control, including its control of the means of using violence, varies considerably with the state, not only legally but also in fact. Though they are supreme corporate entities, states do not always exist in isolation, and usually stand in some relation to other forms of political association beyond their territorial borders. States may belong to international organisations such as the United Nations or alliances such as NATO. They may be a part of supranational associations that are loosely integrated defence and trading blocs (such as ASEAN) or more substantially integrated governmental associations (such as the EU). They might be members of international regimes, such as the International Refugee Convention, as a result of agreements they have entered into. States might also be parts of empires, or operate under the sphere of influence of another more powerful state. The state is, in the end, only one form of political association. Indeed, the range of different forms of political association and government even in recent history is astonishing.

> **Stop to Consider:**
> State is constituted of population, territory, government and sovereignty. These characteristics of state vary in every peculiar existence of any state and accordingly the nature of the state also changes.

4.1. Perspectives on State:

The origin and existence of State has different facets as analysed by different ideological groundings. Starting from the Westphalian State, that resulted from the demise of the Church as a power centre along with State and feudal lords, the imagination and analysis of State has been routed through diverse understandings. While State of Nature and the situation of chaos and mistrust there made the contractual theorist to imagine a contract agreed upon by the willing people to create a state and sovereign; utilitarian saw the justification of state from an utilitarian perspective where State serve for greatest happiness of the greatest number. Sometimes in doing so, the individual rights and interest may be sacrificed in order to achieve the principle of greatest happiness of greatest number.

Liberalism however is against this as it would base its claim in State showing equal respect to every individual and her rights. Liberals believe that State is a neutral arbiter between competing interests and stands to realize what common good of the society is. Hence state is committed to believe in moral equality of individuals and it is concerned with rules that enable individuals to pursue their idea of 'good life', till that does not infringe others freedom and rights. Liberal equality however can have two implications, as put by Ronald Dworkin, first, it could be equal distribution of certain goods and opportunities; second, it may be opposed to identical distribution to all. Liberals are also divided on the extent of State obligation; if state be only concerned with law and order or it should be also involved in welfare activities through redistribution of resources.

However individual remains the centre of universe in this perspective. Being the rational being to judge what is good, one should be given freedom and inalienable rights. State acts only as a mean to this end. It is considered as a necessary evil. The liberal individualistic perspective of the state overestimates the individual. Its enthusiasm to protect and promote individual in his rights, liberties and autonomy, leads to a capitalistic system where the state is reduced to a minimal state. In the present times in post-world war period the liberals like F.A. Hayek, Robert Nozick and John Rawls stands with the view that political life, like the economic life, is ought to be a matter of individual freedom and initiative and that there is a market society with a minimal state. Going a little left Poulantzas opines that poor should be taken care of by the state and there should be open information system. Again communitarians within liberal tradition like Michael Sandal believed that citizens as a members of community can obtain higher level of citizenship only in the State.

This whole standing on state by liberals is challenged by Marxists. Karl Marx and his successors brings in the theory of materialistic interpretation of history and dialectic in developing their argument on the evolution of State system. Marx's ideas of State were developed as a critique of Hegel and for the later the state is an ethical ideal and the highest expression of human freedom, which was realized for human beings acted in accordance with their reason. So for Hegel State is the community that secures freedom and integration for the individual that is somewhere suspended in 'universal egoism' of civil society.

Marx departs from the argument that State had a universal character that can harmonize the dissenting element in civil society. He maintains that so long as society is divided into classes on the basis of the ownership of the means of production, there will be dominant and exploited class and the State will be acting in accordance with the interest of the dominant class. This has got its finest expression in his writing *Communist Manifesto (1848)*. In fact the point of departure from the Liberal theorizing on the State occurred when Marx and Engels jointly expressed in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" that "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie", mostly at the expense of the poor. Classical Marxist" View of the State therefore shows that it is an institution with established apparatuses purposely and directly meant to defend and maintain a class domination and class exploitation. For Milibrand and Saville (1965), both the economic and political powers of the State are merely the organized power of one class for the oppression of another. Lenin (1945:29) further views the State as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. According to Alavi (1979), because of the absence of a fully developed indigenous class, the State (mostly in under-developed economies) has largely remained an instrument of the ruling class in the promotion of capitalist accumulation under the pretext of national development.

However in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte* (1852), Marx talks about 'relative autonomy of the State' through precise balance of the class forces in society. Marx however maintained that while appearing to mediate between competing classes, the state keeps the class structure intact. The question, however, is as to how autonomous or free is the State in choosing its policies in a class-divided society with already established vested economic, political, ethnic, religious and social interests which are completely interrelated and interconnected? Apart from these two grand perspectives on states there are few other important approaches of looking at state.

The Feminist again have different attitude towards state power. While the liberal feminists believe in state's basic neutrality since it is the agent of removing the legal and political inequalities between the sexes.

However the radical feminist strongly view that the power of the state is reflection of the patriarchal nature of society and it is an instrument of male domination over women.

Initiating post-modern thinking in understanding the State, Michel Foucault brought in the concept of 'governmentality', where he try to convince that state is the result of the practices of the government. Foucault's interest of government of human conduct in modern times led to his understanding that state is the result of this tendency towards government of conduct. So rather than saying governmental system flows from state, he turned around saying that state flows from the modern practice of the tendency of 'ordering life'.

Mahatma Gandhi has an interesting perspective on state and can be labelled as Gandhian perspective on state. Gandhi had a distrust upon all sorts of power, including political power as by its very nature it is coercive and compulsive. Accordingly Gandhi condemned the state as he found in the west and outlines a desire for *ramrajya* or an idea of ideal state.

Self-Assessment Questions:
1. How liberals and Marxists are different in their understanding of State?
2. Identify few new perspectives on State.

Theories on origin of state:

The political philosophers are having a divergent view regarding origin and evolutionary process of State. Accordingly different theories evolved in this regard. This section will be to look into the diverse theoretical analysis regarding evolution of State.

Divine origin of State:

The theory of divine origin of the State outlines the fact that the State has been established by an ordinance of God and so its rulers are divinely ordained and are accountable to no other authority but God (Anifowose, 1999:95). It is taken as the oldest theory on origin of State that tries to establish that God rules State directly or indirectly through some super human powers. The Greek and Romans regarded the State as indirectly divine. This notion of the divine origin of the State strongly prevailed in the oriental Empires where rulers regarded themselves as the descendants of God. God select, appoints, dismisses and slays a

rulers according to some religious scriptures. The theory was used to support the theory of divine rights of the king. This theory of divine origin of leaders was used to support the absolutism of James I of England who, like others of his era, governed absolutely without any accountability to his people. In his book 'the law of free monarchies', James I wrote that kings were kings because God has made them kings and consequently they are responsible to god alone and nobody else. Therefore they were not to be held for any mistakes done as that will mean questioning the ultimate power, God.

The theory of divine origin remained popular for a very long time; but later it declined due to many factors. The religion began to fad its significance and people gradually began to assert that everything done by the king could not be attributed to god alone. This was mainly due to the separation of state from the church. Again the coming of the theory of social contract and evolutionary theory were other reasons for this decline. With the establishment of democratic ideals the fall of divine origin of state was inevitable.

Self-Assessment question:
1. How did divine origin theory lost its significance?

Social Contract Theory:

The social contract theory is propounded by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J.J. Rousseau. All the three philosophers rest their thought on the hypothesis regarding the existence of state of nature prior to the creation of civil state. However they differ in their approach to the process of state building from the state of nature.

In *Leviathan*, Hobbes wrote that the in state of nature humans were in a state of war. There was no condition for industry, culture, no society and worst of all people lived in continual fear and danger of violent death and the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and selfish. Hobbes maintained that people should willingly give up their freedom to authority for security and protection. The state and sovereign so made are absolute and very powerful.

John Locke while giving his theory of 'Tabula Rasa' in *Second Treatise* maintained that men are naturally free, equal and independent, no one can be deprived of this freedom and subjected to political power without his own consent. Government only governs with the consent of the people. Therefore can be overthrown and role of the government is to protect right to life, liberty and property. So for Locke State was limited in its power.

Rousseau known for the famous saying man is born free, but everywhere he is in chain has a slightly different theorisation regarding state formation. His take on social contract to form state is that people make laws directly and surrender their individualism to the general will of the community. Rousseau talked about democratic state based on his theory of general will that can be also termed as popular sovereignty.

The importance of the social contract theory lies, at least on two grounds: (1) it served as the basis for modern democracy by declaring the state as the product of people's consent (2) it condemned the divine origin theory as obsolete and provided an alternative theory of the origin of the state.

Self-assessment question:
1. Can you differentiate between the understandings of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau regarding State?

The Evolutionary theory:

This theory explains that the State is the product of a process of growth, a slow and steady evolution extending over a long period of time and ultimately shaping itself into the complex structure of a modem State. The State is, as Garner said, "neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of resolution or convention, nor a mere expansion of the family." It is an institution of natural growth which originated in the bare needs of the life of man and continues in existence for the sake of good life. Main supporters of the theory are J. W. Burgess, MacIver, Garner and Gettell.

According to the proponents of this theory, apart from the influence of physical environment and geographical conditions, there are five other important factors including kinship, religion, property, force and political consciousness that operates together in various combination to form the unity and organisation called state.

The factors responsible for gradual formation of state include: 1. Kinship or blood relation. Family constituted the first link in the process of the evolution of the state. With the expansion of the family arose new families and the multiplication of families led to the formation of clans and tribes. The name of the common ancestor was the symbol of kinship. Kinship created society and society at length created the state. 2. Religion not only helped the unification of political communities, it was also responsible for subordinating barbaric anarchy and for teaching reverence and obedience. The sanction of law in primitive society was religion and the breaking of law was followed by terrible punishment. 3. Property: "The basic factor in any given society," says

Laski, "is the way it earns its living. All social relations are built upon provision for those primary material appetites without satisfying which life cannot endure." Among primitive peoples there were successive economic stages that marked the growing importance of property and that brought about corresponding changes in social organisation as well as corresponding intensification of social control.4. Force might not have been the sole factor in the making of a state, but it cannot be denied that it must have contributed its worth in making and expanding the state as one factor. Force translates weakness into subjugation; subjugation into unity, and unity into strength. 5. Political consciousness arising from the fundamental needs of life for protection and order. When the people settle down on a definite territory in pursuit of their subsistence and a desire to secure it from encroachment by others, the need for regulating things and persons is felt imminently and this is the essence of political consciousness.

All these factors grow and evolve with time; the political organisation, the states roots gaining strength and ultimately the shaping and reshaping of it into the complex creation of the state. This has been adequately sufficed by Gettell, when he says 'like every other social institution the state arose from many sources and under various and it emerged almost imperceptibly'.

Stop to Consider:

Evolutionary theory is accepted as the most logical and well-articulated theory on origin of state. The five factors- kinship, force, political consciousness, property and religion work together to strengthen the institutions and mechanisms of state.

Marxist Theory on origin of state:

The best explanation of the origin of the state is given by Frederick Engels in his book 'Origin of the Family, Private Property and State'. For Marxists it is a product of society at a certain stage of social development; Marx maintained that the forces of production in any given society constitute the basis of all social relationships while the State rests (or is founded) upon economic conditions. State is the admission that in the society when it has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction. It has not existed from all eternity and there have been societies that did without it. The state became a necessity at a certain stage of social development that was a consequence of the cleavage of society into two contending classes. Accordingly, the state

is the product of antagonistic classes. In each stage of economic system or mode of production in human history contained within it a contradiction that eventually led to its demise and replacement by another, more advanced stage of economic and social life. This contradiction also necessitates the state that appears because the antagonistic classes appear and that functions as a class institution, is of the economically dominant class, of the slave-owners, or of the feudal lords and at present is of the capitalists.

This State then turns to be an instrument in the hands of a powerful dominant class for accumulation and exploitation of the dominated members of the society. Marx maintains that the State's creation is not for the interest of all, but it originates in conflict and operates as a form of instrument of domination.

Check your Progress:
1. The Divine origin theory of the state is about unquestionable State where it acts as the representative of the God. True/False.
2. Marxist theory of materialistic interpretation of history is associated with Theory of origin of State. How?

On the Idea: Nation-State

The terms 'nation' and 'state' are sometimes used synonymously and most of the time they are used together. The muddle has been the result of one of the fundamental beliefs of nationalism that every community of people who are conscious of them being nation should also have a state of their own. Thus the birth of the hyphenated term 'nation-state' evolved. Even a historical study of nation and nationalism clarifies its relationship with State.

Modern states, nations and nationalism are all territorial in the sense that they claim or are based on specific geographical areas. In the 19th century, the idea got a new boost when it got the claim that geography is the spot where the state and the nation coincides. It has already been discussed earlier that the modern state is often called the "territorial state" since it has a clearly demarcated territory in which it claims sovereign rights over all its citizens. Nationalism is a territorial ideology which is internally unifying and externally divisive. As an ideology nationalism discourages conflicts based on social class or status within a nation but enhances differences between different peoples and nations outside the territory.

Authorities as different as Max Weber and V.I. Lenin have argued that nations and nationalism have to be seen" primarily in political terms in relation to statehood". Three ways in which nationalism has shaped the modern state have been identified. In the older states like England and France the rise of nationalism was linked to the development of more democratic relationships between the state and civil society. Secondly, nationalism furthers the internal unification of culturally and economically diverse regions into a more homogenous state territory. Finally, nationalism divides one political community or nation from another and even determines the geographical boundaries of the nation in many cases.

Nationalism as has been regarded by most historians to be originated in Western Europe that spread to other parts of the world. While the idea in modern sense arose in 18th and 19th centuries, certain military and political events (decline of Holy Roman Empire and hundred years war between English and French Kingdoms) were occurring in Europe that were creating preconditions for rise of nations as early as 14th century. However the rise of centralized modern state in Europe around 16th and 17th century created fertile grounds for rise of nationalism. Unlike the pre modern political formations, the modern states are centralized, sovereign, undivided political power. Before that the political power was shard horizontally with the 'Church' and vertically with the feudal governors or the 'vassals'. Europe in those time had two overlapping zones of authority between catholic church and the individual rulers of kingdoms; this uneasy alliance of political and religious authority in the State meant that neither could emerge as omnipotent. Again the feudal system of social stratification based on hierarchy, functioned at both political and economic level, was based on relationship with land. It is a complex power sharing structure vertically downward from the monarch, which kept a check on each other.

Thus these factors along with others prevented formation of centralized political community with fixed territory and population. Again marriage alliances between royal families, accompanied by dowries and gifts of land, territory and consequently people were normal practices. Therefore local diversity and peculiarity remained throughout Europe.

Self-Assessment Question:
1. Territory or geography is the spot where nation and state coincide. True/false.
2. Can there be nation without state?
3. Why in pre modern times the formation of centralized state was impossible?

However there was gradual weakening and collapse of the feudal and the religious power centres in Europe and the most important factors linked to it were the rise of absolutist monarchy and the merchant capitalist class. Trade and commerce became a rich source of wealth then and the rulers' dependency of taxation from feudal agrarian production reduced to a considerable level leading to their reduced dependency on vassals; thus resulted in loss of political influence of the feudal governors and this in turn gave rise to absolute power of the monarchs.

This was the same time in early modern period, when due to religious reforms, there was a heavy blow to Catholic Church. So there was the collapse of both horizontal and vertical power sharing centres leading to direct, effective and comprehensive rule over entire population by the monarch. They strictly enforced territorial boundaries, strict rule of residence and mobility were introduced and also standardization of the population took place to ensure certain kinds of homogeneity; these were done in order to ensure a sense of loyalty to respective rulers. However in long term these developments also laid the objective foundation of nations.

Subsequently nationalism became the philosophy of the emerging elite (emerging as mercantile capitalist then industrial capitalists) in west Europe, who were important political ally of the absolute kings in their rise to power. Soon they became restless to have share in the political power and this led to their capture of the newly introduced representative assemblies across Europe. In subsequent period there were tussle between the king and the parliament (Glorious Revolution is a prime example). Interestingly the capitalist bourgeoisie used 'nation' as a sense of identity and 'nationalism' united diverse section of that class. They used nation to refer to homogenous, ancient, close knit political community, which needs to be revived through greater political power within the respective State systems.

In the following period, when the absolutist monarch was devoid of support from the capitalists, in desperation of maintaining power, they resorted to increased despotic forms of rule. In response the masses protested in leadership of the elite sections. Thus these revolts and uprisings of the 18th-19th centuries in Europe had 'nationalistic' expressions. These ultimately resulted in the creation of limited and constitutional monarchy and then democracy in many parts of Europe.

However this whole experience of Europe regarding rise of nation state was totally alien to other parts of the world. At the time when in Europe, nationalism had spread from the elites to the masses by the end of the 19th century, this also started to spread to other parts of the world. Trade relations and colonialism in particular was responsible for this spread. Benedict Anderson's famous doctrine that nationalism in Asia, Africa

and Latin American countries is an 'export' from Europe holds strong here. Colonialism exposed the natives of these continents to outside world that was pregnant with the new ideas of nation, nationalism, democracy, liberation etcetera, ultimately fuelled the national liberation struggle in the colonies. However in these indigenous struggles, there was a rise of new form that is called anti-colonial nationalism or non-European nationalism. These resulted into modern nation states in most of Asian, African and Latin American countries in mid-20th century.

Check your Progress:
1. In Europe, how did growth of centralized state contributed to the growth of nation?
2. How post-colonial states' experience with the concept of nation are is different from European states?

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UNIT 2

SOVEREIGNTY

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

It is known to all of us that state is the most powerful institution. Every cititizen has to obey and respect the state and follow the rules of the state. Hence it becomes necessary to know why state enjoys such privilege and predominant position in society. Here comes the importance of the concept of sovereignty. It is the element possessed by state for which it is regarded as the most powerful institution. Sovereignty is not a simple term. Indeed it is one of the most complex notions of Political Science. Hence study of political theory certainly requires study of sovereignty. And form the very beginning, political scientists have tried to analyse it in their own way. This chapter is an attempt to discuss the concept of sovereignty, its nature, forms and various theories. Along with these an attempt has been made to analyse the contemporary challenges to sovereignty found in the form of imperialism and globalization.

1.2 Objective-

-To understand the concept of Sovereignty and its evolution

-To understand various characteristics of sovereignty

-To understand existing theories of Sovereignty

-To examine challenges to sovereignty and status of state sovereignty under the age of Globalization

1.3 Meaning of Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a key concept of traditional political theory. Sovereignty is one of the important elements of modern states. Without Sovereignty statehood will remain incomplete. The word sovereignty has been derived from the Latin word *Superanus*. *Superanus* in Latin means supreme power. The Romans considered it as fullness of power. Sovereignty is one of the four elements of modern state. The state exercises its supreme power internally over its individual and other organizations and in external aspect it refers to its absolute freedom in its relation with other states. This means in simple term that no other state can compel or force a sovereign state to act or not to act on any issue that it does not want to. This is known as

internal and external sovereignty of a state. These are two aspects of sovereignty. Earlier sovereignty was considered to be a power of the rulers. But in present time when the division between state and government has become clear and accepted, it no longer remains with the ruler and has become an important element of state.

Sovereignty is primarily a legal concept. All the traditional definitions of sovereignty have defined it in legal terms. And it refers to the supremacy of state in legal sphere. The basic idea behind sovereignty is that it is able to declare law, issue commands and take political decisions that are binding on all the citizens and associations of the state. The sovereign can do these on his own will or he does not require approval of any one to issue laws and commands. A sovereign power is authorized to use physical force to punish those who disobey his laws and commands.

As the concept of sovereignty attributes supreme power to the will of the sovereign, hence it is by nature absolute, unlimited and undivided. But there exists difference between arbitrary power and sovereign power. Absolute power of sovereignty does not mean that it can be used without any reason and against customs and traditions. It has to go in tune with the prevalent customs, social values and public interest. If this is not done then legitimacy of the sovereign power will be in danger.

1.3.1 Definitions of Sovereignty-

Many theorists have defined Sovereignty in their own way. Some important among those are-

According to Garner, "sovereignty is that characteristic of the state in virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will or limited by any other power than itself."

Bodin defines sovereignty as, "the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law."

Grotius defied sovereignty as, "the supreme political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be overridden."

According to Willoughby, "Sovereignty is the supreme will of the state."

Jellinek defined sovereignty as, "that characteristic of state in virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will or limited by any other power than itself."

According to Laski, "the sovereign is legally supreme over any individual or group. It possesses supreme coercive power."

Burgess defined sovereignty as,"original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects."

In a nutshell, Sovereignty is-

i.   an attribute of the state
ii.   the supreme power of the state
iii.   the source of the laws of the state

1.4 Evolution of the concept of Sovereignty-

It is true that sovereignty is a modern concept and came into existence with the emergence of nation states in Europe but at the same time it is also true that it was there in ancient period also. Indeed the idea of sovereignty can be traced back to ancient Greek city states. Ancient Greek thinker and father of Political Science Aristotle also accepted sovereignty as the supreme power of the state although he did not give any illustration about the nature of the notion or did not analysed sovereignty because he believed that power of the ruler was limited by the law which existed above him. Regarding the evolution of sovereignty in medieval times it is seen that conditions in the middle ages were not fovourable for the development of sovereignty as the ruler's powers were limited by both feudal lords and religious heads. Further the laws of God were supposed to be superior to human laws at that period. This also hampered the evolution of sovereignty during middle ages. By the end of the middle age, the king started increasing power and thus Sovereignty got a new height in modern age. Accordingly the ground for evolution of sovereignty got prepared. The modern concept of sovereignty was first propounded by Jean Bodin and he defined sovereignty "as supreme power over citizens, unrestrained by law". Thus, Bodin placed sovereign above law. According to Bodin the power of sovereignty cannot be delegated, and it is perpetual and unlimited. He also made the sovereign the ultimate authority to make, interpret and execute laws. Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist made an important contribution to the concept of sovereignty. He

is mainly associated with the aspect of external sovereignty of the state, that is, the state is independence of the sovereign state from foreign control.Thomas Hobbes, the European contractualist thinker discussed about the concept of sovereignty in seventeenth century. He made the sovereign, who is the outcome of social contract an all powerful figure and identified the sovereign as the source of law, interpreter of law and above the law of the land. His sovereign power was absolute and unlimited. Hobbes's main contribution to the theory of sovereignty lies in adding legitimacy to the authority of the sovereign because according to him sovereign is the product of the will of the people and that the sovereign enjoys his supreme authority for its functional value that is because he is the provider of peace and security in place of anarchy of state of nature that existed before the origin of the sovereign authority. Another contractualist and French thinker Rousseau also contributed significantly in the development of sovereignty and he put forwarded the notion of popular sovereignty through his idea of General will. This concept of popular sovereignty of Rousseau is one of the most important contributions to the field of political thought. Unlike Hobbes and Rousseau, John Locke propounded a theory of limited and constitution government. He was not in favour of giving absolute power to the sovereign authority and thus established himself as a pioneer of limited and constitutional government. Jeremy Bentham,the English utilitarian also discussed about sovereignty in a different way. For him sovereignty was not limited by law but was subject to moral limitations. Hence he suggested that the sovereign should try to justify his authority by adopting useful legislation with the aim of promoting greatest happiness of the greatest numbers. And in the nineteenth century John Austin emerged as the most important exponent of legal sovereignty. By giving a single source of all positive law, Austin put forward a monistic view of law, state and sovereignty. Austin's theory of sovereignty will be discussed in the later part of this chapter. Along with these thinkers, historical events like French Revolution, Industrial revolution also contributed to the evolution of the notion of sovereignty. The historic French revolution helped in establishing people's sovereignty. Similarly, the Industrial Revolution also expanded the activities of the government and thus led to the increasing of authority of state.

Stop to consider

-supreme power of the state is called sovereignty and it is one of the important elements of modern state.

- The modern concept of sovereignty was first propounded by Jean Bodin
-Sovereignty has two aspects-internal and external

1.5 Characteristics of Sovereignty-

Analysis of the concept of sovereignty brings out a few characteristics. These are discussed below-

Absoluteness-Sovereignty refers to absoluteness. It has two sides- internal and external. Internally it means that all persons, groups and organizations existing within the state are subject to the total control of sovereignty and externally it means that the state is not in control of any other state. Sovereignty is regarded as absolute because it can not be limited by any superior power or authority. The sovereign may on his own will can give importance to social norms and customs and moral principles but he is not bound to follow those. This absoluteness of sovereignty is the logical outcome of legal nature of it.

Indivisibility- As sovereignty is absolute; it cannot be divided among person or among various organs of state. Sovereignty rests with the state as a whole. According to Jellinek, notion of a divided, fragmented, diminished, relative sovereignty is the negation of sovereignty. Gettel says, "if sovereignty is not absolute, no state exist; if sovereignty is divided, more than one state exists. So it can be said that sovereignty is an entire thing. Hence to divide it is to destroy it.

Universal- Since sovereignty extends to all individual and associations and organizations within the jurisdiction of the state, hence it is universal in nature. There may exist different international and multinational organization in a state but these are also subject to the sovereignty of the state in which they exist.

Exclusive- Sovereignty is exclusive. Only state possesses this power and exercises control over individual and organizations. There may be some kind of delegation of some power but that does not mean that they are sovereign. Sovereignty exclusively belongs to state.

Inalienability-Sovereign power is non transferable. No sovereign can Transfer its

authority to another one. Once it gets transferred, the original possessor ceases to be sovereign. But delegation of some powers is possible.

Permanent- Sovereignty is permanent. Any change in the government does not affect sovereignty. Bodin says, "if power be held only for a certain time (it does not matter how long a time), it is not sovereign power, and he who holds it for that time is not a sovereign." One needs to understand the distinction between state and government to understand the permanence of the concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty belongs to state, not to government. Hence, change in government does not lead to change of sovereignty. Sovereignty of the state continues till the existence of its independence.

1.6 Kinds of Sovereignty –

Sovereignty may take different forms in different conditions. Some of these forms are discussed below-

Titular Sovereignty and Actual Sovereignty-when supreme power is vested in the name of one person and it is enjoyed by some other then it's called titular sovereignty. The person in whose name power is vested does not enjoy or use the power. In other words a titular sovereign is one who is sovereign or supreme only in name but not in fact. In constitutional monarchy like England, the queen is officially referred to as the sovereign where real powers are vested on cabinet .And an actual sovereign is one who is powerful both in name and fact. He is all powerful.

De Facto and De Jure Sovereignty- De facto means something which does not exist in the eye of law or law of the land does not recognizes its power and authority. On the other hand a de jure sovereign is one whose power and authority is recognized by law of the land. However in many incidents it has been observed that the de facto sovereign become de jure in long run. The authority exercised by Napoleon in France, the Bolshevist groups in Russia after 1917, the military dictatorship in present day world etc are some of the examples of de facto sovereign. These types of de facto sovereign can become de jure by adopting measures to legitimize their authority.

Legal and Political Sovereignty- According to prof. Gilkhrist, "The political sovereign in the state is the influence in the state which

formulated in a legal way and passed by the legal law making body, ultimately becomes the law of the state." The political sovereign manifests itself by voting by the press, by speeches and in many other ways, not easy to describe or define. It is however not organized and it can only become effective when organized. The organization of political sovereignty leads to legal sovereignty. The two are aspects of the one sovereignty of the state. They constantly react on each other."

Legal sovereignty is organized, definite and recognized by law. The political sovereignty is the sum total of the influences in a state which lie behind the law. For example in England it is the electorate which is politically sovereign, which in long run can always enforce its will. According to Garner, "Legal sovereignty is the determinate authority which is able to express in a legal formula the highest command of the state, the power which can override the prescription of the divine law, the principles of morality and the mandates of public opinion."One of the most important advocates of legal sovereignty is John Austin.

Popular Sovereignty- Popular sovereignty refers to people's sovereignty. When the supreme power of the state lies with the people of the state then it is called popular sovereignty. In a democratic form of government this kind of sovereignty is found. According to this notion of sovereignty, the organs of state which exercise supreme power in terms of enactment and execution of law draw their legitimacy from the will of the people. Writers and thinkers like Marsiglio of podua, George Buchanan, Francis Hotman and others advocated this notion of sovereignty by opposing exercise of unlimited power by kings. Jean Jacques Rousseau is regarded as the chief exponent of this notion of popular sovereignty. For him sovereignty lies with the people whom he called as General Will. According to Lord Bryce, "the idea of popular sovereignty is the basis and watchword of democracy." Modern democracies of the world are based on this concept of popular sovereignty. Marsiglio described the supreme authority of the people as Republicanism. In the later part of medieval period, by challenging the supreme authority of the pope, he argued that the powers of the pope should be confined to the administration of the sacraments and teaching of divine laws.

1.7 Austin's theory of Sovereignty

John Austin was an English Jurist and he put forwarded the legal view of sovereignty in his famous work 'Lectures on Jurisprudence' (1832). According to him, "if a determinate human superior not in the habit of obedience to a like superior receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society and that society is a society political and independent." Thus according to Austin sovereignty must be a determinate authority and in every sovereign state this determinate authority is found. He also believed that this determinate sovereign authority can do anything and everything. Austin believed that sovereignty is indivisible and all powers of it should be centered in one hand or one person. Austin's theory of sovereignty is also known as legal theory of sovereignty. This is because he discussed sovereignty from a legal point of view. Austin's theory of sovereignty was influenced by the then prevailing conditions in England. He wanted to eliminate the anomalies of common law by subordinating it to a superior law.

Austin, the eminent jurist tried to make a clear distinction between law and morality and also between laws of the court and laws based on usage. He believed that there can exist only one sovereign authority in a state. Since he supported the existence of only one sovereign authority in a state, hence this theory is known as monistic theory of sovereignty. Austin received support from other thinkers like Hobbes, Grotius etc.

Austin said that law is the command of the sovereign and sovereign is the source of law. Indeed according to him the sovereign holds a right to legitimate use of physical force to enforce its laws. He also believed that the authority of the sovereign is unlimited and absolute. He is above law and he is the source of law as has been mentioned above. He also identified a few characteristics of law. These are- i.e. it must originate from a determinate source, that is the sovereign, ii. It must be the expression of the command of the sovereign, iii. It must be backed by sanctions. That means disobedience to law must be punishable.

Principles of Austin's theory of Sovereignty-

i. Sovereign is a determinate authority that is the source of all authorities of a state.

ii. Sovereignty is the supreme power of the state. It is the source of all authority. This authority is absolute and unlimited.

iii. Law is the will and command of the sovereign. Sovereign authority is the source of all laws of the state. It is he who can punish other for not obeying the laws. The sovereign is above customs and traditions.

iv. People habitually obey the sovereign. According to Austin if a large portion of the population refuses to render obedience to the sovereign then he is not sovereign in the true sense.

V.Sovereignty is indivisible. It is a unit in itself. If it is divided then it will cease to be sovereign.

vi. Sovereignty has legitimate physical force to execute its commands and laws.

Criticisms-

According to critics, Austin's idea of indivisibility of sovereignty is not acceptable. The pluralist opposes this by saying that various associations formed in society share and compete with the sovereignty of the state. For many, sovereign authority of a state is divided among the legislature, executive and judiciary. Bluntchli said that sovereignty of a state is limited by both internal and external factors.

Austin's idea of absolute sovereignty is challenged on the ground that in modern times , no state can violate international laws made on various issues. In the internal aspect also it has to respect rights of the citizens, its social norms and customs etc.

Non recognition of the importance of the popular sovereignty is another drawback of Austin's theory of sovereignty. He only emphasized on the legal sovereignty for which this concept of sovereignty is regarded as anti democratic.

Austin's credit lies in making a clear distinction between legal and political sovereignty. It is true that he is criticized for giving too much importance on legal sovereignty, but it is natural for a jurist like him.

Stop to consider

Austin's theory of Sovereignty represents all the basic characteristics of sovereignty. It was he who identified and discussed sovereignty from a legal point of view. According to him Sovereign is a determinate authority and he is the source of all authorities of a state. Austin believed that sovereignty is indivisible and all powers of it should be centered in one hand or one person. Austin's theory of sovereignty is also known as legal theory of sovereignty. This is because he discussed sovereignty from a legal

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point of view. For him sovereign authority is the source of all laws. It is he who can punish other for not obeying the laws.

1.8 Pluralist Theory

The pluralist theory of sovereignty is a reaction to the monistic theory of sovereignty propounded by John Austin. We have already come to know that monists like Hobbes, Austin attributed absolute, unlimited, indivisible and inalienable powers to the state. But the pluralists consider it as undemocratic and harmful to the society. F.W. Maitland, G.D.H.Cole, Maciver, Laski, Earnest Barker etc. were the main proponent of this theory of pluralism.

The pluralist does not believe that the sovereign is determinate. They are of the view that determination was possible in old days when the king used to rule with absolute powers. In modern times when there is democracy based on popular sovereignty, this concept of supreme authority of only one institution i.e. state can never be accepted.

Pluralists are of the view that man's social nature is expressed through various associations and institutions. Various such institutions are very old and these are equally powerful with the state in their respective areas. Hence, according to the pluralists, it is unjust to consider state as only sovereign or supreme power or institution. Laski says," The state is only one among the various forms of associations and, as compared with them, has no superior claims to the individual allegiance." In a nutshell the pluralists believe that the state and other associations occupy the same status in society and deny to the state a more important place.

The pluralists are in favour of giving importance to the sociological character of state. They, hence recognize the role of associations in society formed by men for fulfillment of their various needs. For instance, religious institutions, trade unions, social institutions in a society play very important role in individual's life. It is true that the state enjoys a privileged position in the sense that its jurisdiction is over all individuals and associations and unlike other associations it enjoys coercive powers. But that does not necessarily establish the superior authority of the state. Rather this imposes a higher moral responsibility on the state. Again, the pluralist put forward the role of customs and traditions in society in support of their criticisms to legal monistic theory of sovereignty. They say that the customs and

traditions of the society are neither created by the state, nor the state has any control over them. Rather, the state has to bow before it. Indeed history reveals that the most dictatorial rulers had to bow before these.

The pluralists are of the view that the state must justify its claim to allegiance on moral grounds. Thus the pluralist stands for the decentralization of authority so that all authority is not centralized in the hands of the state. In short, the pluralists are of the view of redefining the nature of the state as one of the several associations operating in society. It wanted to give a new role to the state in the form of coordinator of different associations. It also repudiated the exclusive and absolute claim of the state to individual's allegiance and wanted to that the state should compete with other human associations to establish its claim to superior authority.

The pluralists are of the view that state's claim to superior authority cannot be taken for granted. It is true that the state's jurisdiction is compulsory over all individuals and associations and it is also equipped with coercive powers to punish those who violate its commands but this does not mean automatically that the state is the superior authority.

Principles of Pluralism-

i. **The pluralist nature of society**: It emphasis on the sociological nature of the society which is mainly plural. It also accepts that there are some social institutions which are very old and formed by men to fulfill their various interests. Hence importance of these groups can never be ignored.

ii. **Role of the state as coordinator**: According to the pluralists, the state does not exist above the social institutions. It plays the role of coordinator of the various associations. This role of the state as coordinator is essential for maintaining order in society, they believe.

iii. **Decentralization of authority:** The pluralists believe that expansion of authority of state leads to undermine of democracy and it may be dangerous for individual liberty. Again the complex problems of modern state can not be handled by only one authority. Hence to keep democratic norms and individual liberty safe and also for

administrative convenience decentralization of authority is a necessary condition.

Characteristics-

i. Pluralist theory does not accept state as the only authority or the supreme power.

ii. It considers various social institutions as equally powerful with the state in their respective sphere.

iii. It in sharp contrast to the monistic theory believes that sovereignty is divisible. It can be divided between state and other associations that exist within the state.

iv. The pluralists are in favour of giving importance to the sociological character of state. They, hence recognize the role of associations in society formed by men for fulfillment of their various needs.

v. It believes that not only the state but other institutions also receive allegiance from the people. Thus it believes in plurality of sovereign institutions.

vi. It believes that state does not possess unlimited and absolute powers. Its powers are limited by both external and internal factors. Internally its power is limited by social and rights related issues and externally it is limited by international norms and laws.

Criticism

Pluralism has been criticized on various grounds. The critics are of the view that there exists contradiction within pluralism itself. It on the one hand tries to decentralize the sovereign authority of the state to establish importance of the associations of society and on the other hand entrusts the state with higher moral responsibility of coordination.

Significance of pluralism lies in bringing out the importance of group life in modern societies and establishment of role of various associations. It also attempted to contribute towards the development of decentralization and democracy. But at the same time it is also true that if authority of the state is declined there may emerge various problems in society. Having a final authority definitely helps in establishing a peaceful society.

Importance of pluralism lies in discussing the problem of sovereignty in political sphere. It also emphasized on the importance of group life. Its argument for democracy and decentralization can never be ignored.

Stop to Consider

Pluralist theory of sovereignty is a reaction to the monistic theory of sovereignty. F.W. Maitland, G.D.H.Cole, MacIver, Laski, Earnest Barker etc. were the main proponent of this theory of pluralism. They are of the view that man's social nature is expressed through various associations and institutions. Various such institutions are very old and these are equally powerful with the state in their respective areas. Hence, according to the pluralists, it is unjust to consider state as only sovereign or supreme power or institution. Main principles of the pluralists theory are- the pluralist nature of society, role of the state as coordinator and decentralization of authority

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Challenges to sovereignty-

Sovereignty refers to the supreme power of the state. A sovereign state is supreme both in external and internal sphere. All the conventional legal theories of sovereignty accept this supremacy of the state. But there are some challenges to this supreme authority. These challenges are both external and internal in nature. Internally it is challenged by various associations or organizations as has been discussed under the pluralist theory and externally it is challenged by imperialism and colonialism, neo colonialism, globalization etc. Indeed it can be said that the process of globalization aggravated the situation and posed a grave challenge towards sovereignty of the state. In present world state sovereignty is also affected and challenged by human rights issues, environmental issues etc.

Imperialism and Colonialism

Imperialism that means formation of an empire by bringing several countries under the control of one supreme authority found expression in modern times as colonialism. Yet there exists some differences between the two. Colonialism expanded with the search of market by the emperor like France, Britain, Spain, Portugal etc. These emperors colonized various countries of Asia Africa and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Accordingly exploitation of resources started to strengthen the economy of colonial powers.But gradually the colonies started protesting against this exploitation and

the process of decolonization started after the 2nd world war. And accordingly many countries like India became sovereign both in internal and external sphere. So, imperialism and colonialism represents a major challenge to sovereignty.

Colonialism has emerged after the 2nd world war in a new incarnation i.e. neo-colonialism. The imperialist powers started exploiting the earlier colonies with a new and indirect technique which is known as neo colonialism. 'Neo colonialism denotes the strategy of a colonial power which doesnot maintain its political domination in a foreign territory, but continues its economic exploitation by using it as a source of cheap labour and raw materials as well as a big market for its industrial products.' Through puppet government, economic measures and cultural measures the colonial powers exercise this control. Due to problems like poor economic development, low level of technology, financial crisis etc.the new countries are bound to get close to the colonial powers. Taking advantages from this the colonial powers started adopting new techniques both for exploitation of resources of the colonies and for selling their products in the markets of the colonies. This process of neo colonialism is more dangerous than colonialism according to many analysts since it is difficult to detect and challenge. Thus the legacy of colonialism remains and sovereignty of various countries are in great danger.

Stop to Consider

Neo-colonialism

The term neo colonialism was first coined by Kwame Nkrumah,the first president of independent Ghana in his work Neo colonialism: the last stage of imperialism(1965). He was of the view that countries which were earlier colonies, had technically achieved independence but they are still under control of some powerful nations through various measures and institutions.

Impact of Power Blocs

Emergence of power blocs after the 2nd world war also posed a serious challenge to the sovereignty of various nations. During cold war period there emerged two power blocks under the leadership of United States and Soviet Union. Various countries of the world joined the two super power and formed power blocs. For instance America formed the military alliance called NATO IN 1949 with England, France Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemberg, Italy etc. Similarly USSR formed WARSAW in 1955 with Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania,

Czechoslovakia etc. This kind of formation of power blocs posed a new kind of challenge to sovereignty of the nation states. The aligned states had to follow instructions of the leaders of their respective bloc leaders and had to lose both internal and external sovereignty. During that time also, there were some nations who maintained independence and sovereignty by not joining both the blocs. India represents one of them. India along with Egypt, Yugoslavia, started a new policy of remaining away from the power blocs. This is known as Non Alignment policy in world politics. It gradually emerged as a movement against colonialism and imperialism.

Stop to Consider

Non Alignment- Non alignment is a policy developed by the nation states that gained independence after the 2nd World War. It was initiated and established by countries like India Egypt, Indonesia, Ghana, Yugoslavia to remain away from both the power blocs led by United States and Soviet Union during cold war. Main aim of this was to maintain independence of the newly emerged nations. It opposes colonialism, imperialism, neo colonialism ,racism etc.

1.9.4 Sovereignty of state in the age of Globalisation

Globalisation can be seen as the process of integrating the national economy, culture , technology and even governance into a global system. In contemporary time globalization is identified as a great challenge to the sovereignty of state although there exists criticism against this. Many people see globalization as a process that has not only eroded the boundary of state but also destroyed the authority of state. Globalisation has made movement of goods and services free thereby leading to the decline of authority or control of national government in economic field. Again dependency of the developing countries over institutions like World Bank and IMF has further increased the interference of these in the economic fields of the countries. Measures like Structural Adjustment Programme appear as a great threat to the internal sovereignty of state. These measures ask the states who take loan from IMF to reduce public expenditure, withdraw from public welfare programmes, liberalization and privatization of economy etc. All these do diminish the sovereignty of a state. Along with liberalization, privatization of services has led to the decline of role and functions of government. Thus under globalization and liberalisation, where almost all the nation states have become interconnected and interdependent in their economic relations, how can a particular nation claim absolute sovereignty in its external

relations? With globalization, various international institutions have come up and a basis for global governance has already been laid. This has created a situation where the rights and obligations, powers and capacities of states have been redefined. In recent times it has been seen that various international laws, international organizations and various issues have posed challenge to the internal sovereignty of nation states. For instances issues of democracy, human rights, environment has compelled states to work carefully by following international norms. Nation states have to follow Universal declaration of Human Rights and such other international norms while taking individual decisions. It certainly affects state sovereignty. If a state does not follow international norms in these issues then it may have to face problems in its international relations with other states.

There are some other views that oppose this. According to Steven D. Krasner," those who proclaim the death of sovereignty misread the history. The nation state has a keen instinct for survival and has so far adopted to new challenges even the challenges of globalization." For him, globalization is not a new challenge to the sovereignty of the state. He believed that decline of autonomy of state is true to a great extent but that does not mean that globalization has affected the sovereign power of the state.

According to David held, the chief causes for the decline of sovereignty of nation states are-changes in economic field or world trade, power bloc, International organization and international laws etc.

In spite of all the challenges sovereignty of state continues, but the sovereign structure of the state is heavily influenced by globalization and its related measures.

Stop to Consider

In modern times sovereignty has experienced various challenges. Most important challenges to sovereignty are Imperialism and Colonialism, Neo Colonialism, Creation of power blocs during cold war, Globalisation etc. Along with these, environmental, human rights issues are also leaving impact on the sovereign authority of state.

Summing Up-

Sovereignty is the supreme power of the state and legally there cannot be any restrictions to this supremacy of the state. It is absolute,

undivided, permanent, universal and inalienable. This nature of sovereignty gets reflected in the monistic theory of sovereignty that was popularized by English jurist John Austin. This theory received severe criticisms from the pluralists who emphasized on the plural nature of the state and accepted the important role of various associations of the society. In contemporary world sovereignty has been challenged by incidents like colonialism, neo colonialism, power blocs, globalization etc. Along with these human rights, environmental, economic issues are also putting challenges to sovereignty. In spite of all sovereignty continues to be one of the most important elements of state.

1. Exercises

1. Write the meaning of Sovereignty. Discuss in brief about its development.
2. Define sovereignty. Explain its features.
3. What are the various kinds of sovereignty? Explain.
4. Critically analyze the Austin's theory of sovereignty.
5. Make an analysis of the Pluralist notion of sovereignty.
6. What are the contemporary challenges to sovereignty? Explain in brief.
7. Discuss the impact of globalization on state sovereignty.

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UNIT III

NATION AND NATIONHOOD

Unit Structure-

3.1 Introduction

Often nation, nationhood and nationalism are used synonymously. But in political science there are a few differences between these concepts. The confusion arises due to the origin of the two words. Both the words have been derived from a Latin word '*natio'. 'Natio'* implies birth or descent.

In the seventeenth century the term nation was used to describe the population of a state in respect of its racial unity. During the French revolution the term nation came into great popularity and was used to mean patriotism.. And nationality was at this period a collective sentiment.since the nineteenth century the terms nation and nationality have assumed quite definite meanings.the term nation conveys the ideals of political independence or sovereignty and nationality is largely a non political cocept and can exist even under foreign domination. it is a psychological quality although it is often used to convey an ethical and cultural conception as well. Thus nation and nationality are not identical conceptions. A nation which means the population of a self governing state may very well include several nationalities. for instance, Great Britain, which is a single nation includes four distinct nationalities such as the English, the Scots, the

Welsh and the north Irish.As soon as nationality acquires political unity and sovereign independence it becomes a nation.

This chapter aims to have an understanding about nation and nationhood and also about nationality.

3.2 Objective :

After Reading this unit you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of Nation and Nationhood
- Establish relationship between Nation and Nationhood and nationality

3.3 Nation and nationhood

Many people try to analyse nation in a racial sense and put emphasis on the community of birth , race and language etc. They therefore regard the nation as people of same stock. Burgess defines nation as a population of an ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of a geographical unit." This means that when some people of the same stock live together in a geographical area they form a nation. Leacock also said about the racial significance of a nation. But many a times this concept of nationhood is not found to be applicable because purity of race is difficult to find in modern times for the reason like migration which has emerged as a major issue for the states.

In modern period, it is accepted that not the race, language and religion but the sentiment of common consciousness is regarded as the basis of a nation. It is true that race, religion, language etc help in generating unity among people but at the same time it is also true that without such common factors a nation can grow. In fact religion has ceased to occupy a very important place as a nation building force in modern world. Psychological and spiritual factors play an important part in wielding people into a nation. Such feeling of nationhood develops from a common history of struggle against foreigners and the desire to live together. People with such psychological and spiritual ideas form a nation. Hence Garner said "a nation is a culturally homogeneous

social group which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of psychic life and expression."

There are many nations in the world who donot have a common language and religion. Canada, India represents such nation. In Canada there is both English speaking and French speaking people. Again in India, there exist multiple religious and linguistic groups. But still they have been existing as nation. Then what constitutes a nation.A nation is to a great extent an 'imagined community' held together by the collective beliefs, aspirations and imaginations of its members. It is based on certain assumptions which people make about the collective whole with which they identify

Nations are cultural entities, collections of people bound together y shared values and traditions, in particular a common language, religion and history, and usually occupying the same geographical area. There are a few particular cultural features which are associated with nationhood such as language, religion, ethnicity, history and tradition.

Language is often considered as the clearest symbol of nationhood. Language embodies distinctive attitudes, values and forms of expression that produce a sense of familiarity and belonging. For example the German nationalism has traditionally been founded on a sense of cultural unity, reflected in the purity and survival of the German language. But at the same time there are people who share same language but do not belong to the same nation. Again Switzerland represents a nation with more than one language.

Religion is another important component of nationhood. Religion expresses common moral values and spiritual beliefs. For instance Islam has been a major factor in forming national consciousness in much of North Africa and Middle East. But there are exceptions too. Countries such as Poland Italy, Brazil etc share a common Catholic faith but do not feel that they belong to a common Catholic nation.

Nations are also based on ethnic or racial identity and also on cultural unity.

Thus the nation is a psycho political entity, a group of people who regard themselves as a natural political community and are distinguished by shared loyalty or affection in the form of patriotism. Factors such as absence of definite territory or land, small population are of little significance if a group of people insist on demanding what

it sees as national rights. For instance Kurdish people of the middle east have nationalist aspiration even though the kurds have never enjoyed formal political unity and are at present spread over parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.

Definitions of Nation-

According to Burgess, " Nation is a population of an ethnic unity, inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity."

According to Lord Bryce, " Nation is a nationality which has organized itself into a political body independent or desiring to be independent."

According to Dr. Garner, " A nation is a culturally homogeneous social group which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of psychic life and expression."

According to Gilchrist, " Nation is the state plus something else: the state looked at from a certain point of view,viz. that of the unity of the people organized in one state."

Thus a nation is a geographical area and its contiguity, it is a population having racial religious and cultural unity, a political organization and a common consciousness and oneness. In a nutshell the characteristics of a nation are-

    i.   A nation is a geographical area and its contiguity
    ii.   It is a population having racial religious and cultural unity
    iii.   A political organization
    iv.   A common consciousness and oneness

Nationality

Nationality refers to a people having common spiritual and psychological sentiments. When a group of people feel themselves united because of certain factors and also feel that they are different and distinct from other similar groups they form a nationality. A nationality transforms into a nation when it aspires to political self determination or actually organizes itself into a state.

Acording to Lord Bryce, "A nationality is a population held together by certain ties, as forexample language and literature, ideas, customs and traditions in such a way so as to feel itself a coherent unity distinct

from other population similarly held together by like ties of their own."

According to prof. Gilchrist, " Nationality is a spiritual sentiment or principle arising a number of people usually of the same race, resident on the same territory, sharing a common language, the same religion, similar history and tradition, common interests with common political associations and common ideals of political unity."

According to Burgess , " Nationality is a distinct socio ethnic group within the state and ordinarily constituting minority of the total population."

Thus it appears from the above definitions that nationality is a sentiment of people who belong to the same race and same country , whose history and culture are same, who speak same language and who practice same religion and whose political associations and ideas are same. At the same time it is also true that presence of all these are not necessary for nationality; existence of a few from these also leads towards the development of nationality. Most communities in history had been based on familiarity. But in modern times it has been found that the new national communities are based on unfamiliarity and anonymity. They are not brought together by common factors like religion, language, culture etc. but by a certain kind of imagined sentiments.. And for this Benedict Andersion , one of the important theorists of nationalism referred to nation as 'imagined community'.

Elements of Nationality

The factors that help in bringing unity necessary for binding people together as a nation are termed as the elements of nationality. Some of these are common race , common language, common religion etc. presence of all of these are not necessary at a time. Lets have a look at these-

Sense of belongingness-

Sense of belongingness to a particular group helps in developing nationality among the people. It is the most important element for nationality because without it in modern times where there is diversity of religion, language and culture no other factor can help in creating unity among the people except the feeling of belongingness.

State-

people living in a particular state are bound together by law and administration. It again helps in bringing the sense of unity among the people of the state and thus the bond for nationality gets developed. The common order separates them from the people belonging to other states. Hence, state is also considered as an important factor of nationality.

Race –

Racial unity is one of the stronger bonds of cohesion. Community of race means a belief in a common origin that may be fictitious or legendary. Whenever a body of people believes that they belong to one race they become a group of common consciousness and interest.

Common culture-

Common culture means existence of common historical traditions, common literature, common way of living etc. culture plays a very important role in bringing unity among the people

Common language-

A common language creates a cohesive and united society. Lack of common language may create problems towards developing the feeling of unity and thereby towards nationality. The general view is that diversity in language greatly weakens national sentiments. The revolt of Bengali speaking people of East Pakistan and formation of Bangladesh in 1971 on linguistic nationalism speaks a lot about the importance of language towards nationality. But there are exceptions too. For example reference can be made to India where national unity has suffered a lot due to lack of common language. But at the same time it is also true that India has been able to overcome these challenges and has proved it a unified force.

Common subjugation-

Many analysts believe that this has been a major factor for developing nationalism in most of the third world countries which have experienced colonial rule. Reference can be made to India where common subjection to the british led to the development of Indian nationality. Common exploitative policies of the colonial power helped in developing a feeling of oneness in India.

Common historical tradition-

According to Ramsay Muir 'it is an indispensible factor in cementing the bond of nationality'. It includes a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common expressed in song and legend.

Geographical unity-

Naturally defined territory or geographical unity often described by the name 'homeland' is a powerful tie in the formation and continuance of nationality. But there are several exceptions to this. But at the same time it is also true that where there is no national home or no hope of securing it , it is difficult to acquire or develop the spirit of nationality.

There are many who doesnot accept these factor as necessary for nationality and consider it totally a psychological aspect.

3.3.1 Nation and State-

People in general do not make any difference between state and nation. But actually both are two different concepts. The principle of one nation one state of President Woodrow Wilson and the application of the principle extensively after the First World War has made the state and nation almost similar. But the theoretical distinction does exist and these cannot be ignored.

A state is a combination of four elements such as population, territory, government and sovereignty. There can be no state without these. But the mere combination of these elements can not make a nation. The feeling of oneness among the people is very important for a nation. Lack of this oneness Austria and Hungary before first world war was a state but not a nation. The Austrians and Hungarians were not united by sentiment of love and they had nothing except the political bond common among them. They were neither similar and nor they wanted to live together. Actually a nation becomes a state when it acquires sovereignty. Sometimes even a single state may combine several nationalities to create a nationThe difference between the nation and state becomes clear when a nation either fails to have a state or is deprived of its statehood.. For example Japan and Germany lost their statehood after the world war ii, but continued to be nation. They ceased to be states because they lost their sovereignty and continued to

be nations because the people in each country aspired to live unitedly in the future and remaine united emotionally. Ultimately they were again able to attain statehood.

Again statehood is objective and nationhood is a subjective concept. Psychological unity based on commonness of religion, language etc is essential for being a nation.. It is true that sometimes even without these factors or in spite of having heterogeneity a feeling of oneness may be generated among people who may constitute a nation. But statehood implies four elements such as population, territory, government and sovereignty.

State is a concrete political organization whereas the nation is abstract.

The state is consists of four elements such as population, territory, government and sovereignty. But a nation is constituted of many cultural elements.

The nation is ethnic and hence it is not limited to one state alone. It may include more than one state.

The state can exist in the absence of national feelings but a nation cannot.

The state must be sovereign. Sovereignty is the most important element of a state but a nation may not be politically independent

Nation has no force to coerce its members. It has the power of sentimental attachments. But the state has coercive power. It can compel its members to obey laws.

A state must have fixed territory but a nation can exist without it.

Thus there are vast differences between nation and state although many a times both are used synonymously.

3.3.2 Nation and Nationality-

The main and only difference between nation and nationality is that a nation is politically organized and is an independent state but nationality is not. Nationality possesses cultural unity but it is not as politically organized as the nation is nor it is an independent state as a nation is.

A nationality comprises of people bound together by a common religion, race, culture, ideology etc but it becomes a nation by getting a political organization with the power of self determination. For example, the Jews formed a nationality because they belonged to the same stock , they had a common religion and culture created through common sufferings and happiness . But they developed into a nation when they got the right to self determination and established a state of their own in Palestine.

Stop to Consider:

Right to Self Determination

Right to Self Determination is considered as the most important right of every nationality. Unlike other social groups nation seeks the right to govern themselves and determine their future development. Thus they desire for the right to self determination. After the first world war this right was applied to a considerable extent in Europe and after the second world war this right has been asserted by national movements of Asia and Africa to make an end of the colonial rule.

3.4 Summing Up-

After reading this unit you are now in a position to understand the concepts of nation and nationhood. From this unit you have learnt that Nation and nationhood and also nationality constitute two important concepts of political theory that often creates confusion for using synonymously. Hence it is very important to understand the basic differences between these to have a proper understanding of the concepts.

Check Your Progress.

1.   Analyse the concept of Nation and Nationhood.
2.   Analyse the concept of Nationality and its elements.
3.   What are the distinctions between Nation and State and Nation and Nationality? Discuss.

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UNIT 3

National Self Determination

1.1 Introduction

National Self-Determination is a process by which a group of people, usually with some level of national identity, choose their own government and thereby form a state. National self-determination has no universal meaning and can differ from country to country. National Self-determination is typically defined as a person's decision to do something or to make an ideology or dream a reality and it is essential for democratic set up. Men have attempted to reconcile the country and the state on the basis of the concept of national self-determination. The concept is often being confused with the total independence, self government and autonomy. We will discuss and analyse all these issues involving with the concept of National Self Determination.

1.2 Objectives

The basic objective of the unit is to understand and analyse the concept of National Self Determination, how it has developed, the various theories of the National Self determination, provisions under the United Nations and National self Determination in Indian context. After going through this unit you will be able to –

- *explain* the concept of national self determination.
- *explain* the development of the concept of National Self Determination.
- *explain* it differs from other related concept like self government, secessionism.
- *explain and discuss* provisions for National Self Determination under the United Nations.
- *explain* and analyse the concept of Self Determination in Indian context.

1.3 Meaning of National Self Determination

National self-determination has no universal meaning and conceptually it may differ from countries to countries. People have attempted to reconcile the state on the basis of the concept of national self-determination. The concept is frequently used as the 'Right' of people to define their own political, economic, and cultural fate. The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences defines National Self Determination as, "all people of one nationality have the right to live together in order to rule themselves in their own state." Woodrow Wilson viewed National Self Determination as "Self-determination is not a mere slogan... peoples and provinces are not to be bartered around from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game." Alfred Corban views National self determination is a form of popular sovereignty.

The right to national self-determination is granted to a certain group of people having certain unique character like ethnicity, language, religion, culture and geographical location. Self determination can provide some advantages to those individuals or groups having certain unique character. The idea has the ability to foster emotional togetherness among varied peoples while simultaneously rationalising their desire for self-sufficiency. However, the concept of self-determination in multi-cultural societies is complicated as people or groups desires may differ. Nationalism has played a crucial role in the globalisation of world politics, legitimising the fundamental principle of national self-determination. The concept of nationalism and national self-determination played crucial role in the process of decolonization and in establishing new sovereign state after the World War II. The formation of the sovereign state reigning over defined territory was justified by national self-determination.

The concept of National Self Determination is linked to the concept of self-government. Self-government is primarily concerned with issues of political independence, but it differs from the National Self Determination as it tries to establish a standard for resolving boundary disputes. The concept is essentially seen as the cornerstone of International peace and order. National Self Determination value the surrendering of political power to the group or its members. However, the socio-economic, political and other developmental activities and the fortunes of their members depends on those powers are entrusted and their activities. The right to decide dominates whether a territory should remain an independent or not.

Moreover, the major powers has undermined national self determination as the process of defining a new territorial boundary deemed necessary for the development of international peace based on national self-determination. Several countries in the early twentieth century which were under the western colonial power, i.e. Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, and others, successfully launched nationalist campaigns under the banner of national self-determination and gained independence. Using the same principle, old European empires such as the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian became independent countries.

1.4 Characteristics of National Self Determination

There are certain characteristics that are associated with the concept of national self determination. Some of them are the following: -

- A group of people with a common cultural character defining their particular activity, i.e. cuisines, common language, common literature, customs, music, ceremonies, attire, and so on, can join to demand the right to self-determination.
- People who grew up in the same cultural environment can be grouped for self-determination.
- Mutual acknowledgment of the above-mentioned cultural set-up by other relevant groups could be the cause for this.
- Belonging to a group is more important than achievement or accomplishment. To become a member, no proof of belonging is required; the group simply requires acknowledgement, not accomplishment or achievement.

1.5 Development of the National Self Determination

In politics, the concept of national self-determination has a long history. Self-determination can be traced back to Greek city-states, where self-government was commonplace. National self-determination, on the other hand, may be traced back to the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789, both of which recognised people's rights as a method of gaining popular sovereignty. Since the French Revolution, the concept has grown in popularity, especially after World War I. The French revolution confirmed the idea that "the root

of all sovereignty is ultimately in the nation." The French organised a plebiscite and justified the annexation of Avignon, Savoy, and Nice in the 1790s by adopting the same slogan. In the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, French Emperor Napoleon III embraced the notion of "nationalist awakening" as part of his ideological mission and used the plebiscite as a political corollary.

Furthermore, during 1848, the concept of national self-determination received attention in Central and Central Western Europe as a foundation for international law and democratic rights. Mancini, a distinguished nineteenth-century Italian jurist who was inspired by Locke, Rousseau, and Kant's theories, as well as the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, advocated for National Self-Determination. He openly stated, with terms aimed at Austria, in a famous lecture delivered in Turin in 1851, that a state in which several ethnicities were coerced into a union was not a political entity but a monster incapable of life.

The term "national self-determination" was coined by colonial powers throughout the process of decolonizing countries. The fundamental motivation for breaking away from colonial masters was the national movement carried out by colonised countries on the principle of self-determination. Prior to World War I, Woodrow Wilson was the world's sole major intellectual capable of conceiving of the concept of national self-determination. In his writings and speeches prior to 1914, Wilson, on the other hand, makes no reference of National Self-Determination. His renowned fourteen ideas, on the other hand, had a considerable impact on the formation of the concept of national self-determination. He argued that two specific ideas should be included in the concept: nationalism and self-determination. Wilson's proposal was essentially a blend of Christian, self-government, democracy, nationality, and organic state concepts. He avoided militant nationalism, militaristic patriotism, and aggressive imperialism, and argued that the United States had a moral commitment to help countries break free from totalitarian oppression. He looked at nationality through the lens of language, arguing that the most significant criterion for nationality was language. Wilson described self-determination as the right of communities to rule themselves, and he asserted that the right to self-determination was grounded in the Anglo-American history of civic nationalism. He also believed it had little to do with the history of collective or ethnic nationalism.

The rights of nationality and national self-determination were one of the important causes for which the allies avowedly fought as World

War I. Despite violating Lenin's own ideological and organizational principles, he adopted and declared the principle of national self determination on the eve of the October revolution. The main idea behind declaring the principle before the revolution was to gain and control confidence over the non-Russian ethnic groups within the Russian empire and also people beyond the empire as he wanted to rebuild Russia on a new foundation. Moreover, Lenin used national self-determination as a tactical instrument. However, self-determination, whether for people or groups, was not recognised in Communist practice.

1.6 Theories of National Self Determination

There are six competing theories of national self-determination ideal in nature based on liberal democratic norms. These theories are useful because they clarify both the overlapping consensus among liberal democratic thinkers as well as the differences between them. The following are the theories: -

1.6.1 Liberal Theories:

The liberal philosophy is fundamentally based on individual rights and freedoms, with the state playing a minimal role and the state committed to safeguarding those rights and freedoms. Individuals have the right to withdraw or question the existence of a state if it fails to protect their rights, freedom, and interests. In liberal ideology, self-determination must be subjugated to the state's commitment to protect the individual's rights and liberties. The most fundamental concept of national self-determination is the remedial theory, which defends individual rights and liberties. According to the theory, a group's right to self-determination is recognised only when serious and persistent human rights violations occur. Victims' desire for self-determination is justified as long as it improves possible human rights problems.

Beran advocated a liberal perspective, rejecting the remedial notion of self-determination. Beran, a proponent of the voluntarist view, contends that a voluntary member of a community has certain rights, including the ability to quit a political society. A majority of the people in a certain area comes from a distinct cultural and linguistic heritage, and they have the right to secede from the state. The voluntarist theory stipulates a set of requirements for achieving self-determination. Only until the groups respect the human rights of all

persons living in the newly established state will self-determination be recognised.

On the same principle, the newly formed state must recognise the right to self-determination of majority populations within the same territorial border. Thus, the voluntarist view varies from the remedial theory in that it denies that human rights abuses are required for self-determination, but that self-determination rights can be granted provided certain criteria are met. Buchanan, adopting a different view of national self-determination, rules out any economic discrimination, and if such discrimination does exist, the people who are subjected to it have the right to self-determination. Second, it promotes cultural preservation and believes that liberals should respect a culturally plural state and self-determination because cultural differences can lead to social conflict and human rights violations.

1.6.2 Democratic Theory:

Liberal democracy and liberalism are often confused, but they are not the same concept. Individual liberty and human rights are valued by liberalism, while democracy adheres to the notion that power should be concentrated in the hands of the people rather than the elite. Liberalism prioritises individual liberty, whereas democracy prioritises majority will. Though a democratic system prioritises majority will, it inevitably disregards individual rights and freedoms. The goal of liberal democratic theory is to explain why either liberal premises about human values or democratic political outcomes necessitate liberal premises. The two approaches can produce different results because liberal democrats prioritise constitutional protection of individual rights over popular majority decisions. Democratic liberals, on the other hand, prefer democratic solutions to rights issues. On the other hand, contemporary self-determination theories are more democratic than liberal. Others have confused democracy with national self-determination; however, Philpot emphasises that democratic ideals must be respected in order for self-determination to take place. The right to democratic government has been interpreted as national self-determination.

1.6.3 Communitarian Theory

Communitarian thinkers argue that nations are formed on communities, and that the concept of national self-determination recognises community rights. According to Margalit and Raz, the right to self-determination essentially refers to a group's transfer and

handing over of political rights to another group. Members of a group with a shared cultural background can be granted self-determination because they shape and establish people's identities. Individuals with a shared cultural history have the right to decide whether the areas in which they live require autonomous states to preserve the group's culture, and it is critical to retain this cultural identity within the communities. According to this theory, there is no need for persecution or repression in order to achieve fulfillment or demand self-governance. They placed a higher value on self-government than independence, fearing that independence would cause greater problems for those seeking self-determination.

1.6.4 Realist Theory

Shehadi has advocated for the most promising self-determination theory of the Realist school. Realists believe that the international community has failed to put self-determination criteria to the test because secessionist violence has raged around the world since World War II. Realists believe that self-determination must find a balance between territorial integrity and state-facing self-determination movements, and that an international institution should be established to resolve self-determination issues through the rule of law rather than force. Both liberal idealism and realism believe that the right of people to self-determination should be recognised, and that the state should accommodate people's multi-cultural identities while also recognising self-determination without jeopardising territorial integrity.

1.6.5 Cosmopolitan Theory

Miller established the cosmopolitan notion of national self-determination. Miller's take on the nationalist concept of self-determination is cosmopolitan, and the theory considers the right to self-determination to be a human right. Realism and classical liberalism are considered cosmopolitan when it comes to international order and inter-country interactions. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) serves as the foundation for cosmopolitanism, and cosmopolitan ethics is based on the idea stated in Article 1 of the UDHR: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." The moral idea of cosmopolitanism does not oppose national integration or state self-determination. Others oppose the cosmopolitan conception of self-determination. It takes into account both the interests of those seeking self-determination and those seeking independence from them.

1.6.6 Cosmopolitan Realism

Cosmopolitan realism of self-determination prioritises human well-being over institutions and does not adhere to any universal moral code. It considers nations, states, and a wide spectrum of cultural diversity. According to the preceding explanation, realism can be cosmopolitan and cosmopolitanism can be realistic. Though it supports the right to self-determination, cosmopolitanism does not recognise general rights unless in rare circumstances since it supports the idea of a world of nation-states that the right to national self-determination implies.

1.7 United Nations and National Self Determination

As previously stated, the concept of national self-determination predates the United Nations (UN) and can be traced back to the American and French revolutions. Prior to the establishment of the UN, the League of Nations played a vital role in recognising people's aspirations for national self-determination. National self-determination was enshrined in a number of globally recognised laws, including the 1919 peace accords and the League of Nations Covenant. The League of Nations covenant emphasised national self-determination and provided protection for national minorities inside member nations based on international legal principles and standards.

In 1919, the League of Nations backed the principle of self-determination through plebiscites, which was overwhelmingly approved by Eastern and Central European nations. The League of Nations, on the other hand, was unable to deal with the challenges that were presented at it because it assumed that the existing power order, which was centred on Europe, would suffice. The United Nations, on the other hand, differs from the League of Nations in that it prioritises national self-determination. However, the UN's significance was recognised until after World War I. Since the organization's inception, the UN has recognised national self-determination as a fundamental political value, and it has become a worldwide phenomenon.

The United Kingdom and the United States paved the way for a systematic and gradual spread of national self-determination and political theory across the world's politically and economically dependent peoples. Both the United Nations and the League of Nations advocate the principle of openness to all nations at varying stages of development that subscribe to and accept the covenant and charter's

norms and laws. Regarding the concept of national self-determination, the international community has understood it in a limited manner, associating it with emancipation from colonial masters. When it comes to the value of self-determination, Lord Avebury believes it is the most important of all human rights.

Recognizing the significance of self-determination, Gros-Espiell believed that the effective exercise of one's right to self-determination is a necessary condition for the actual presence of all other human rights and freedoms. However, the UN Secretary General, U Thant, dismissed such a notion, claiming that the concept is misunderstood in many regions of the world. The right to self-determination of people should not be understood as the right to self-determination of all people, according to the UN's elite members. The UN charter, on the other hand, recognises the importance of national self-determination and includes provisions for it.

The importance of national self-determination is highlighted in the UN Charter I "To develop cordial relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and peoples' self-determination." The United Nations concept has pushed states to voice against the colonialism and racism around the world. Furthermore, the two Human Rights Conventions of 1966 gave the right to self-determination a prominent place and demonstrated that UN member nations recognised its value. Most crucially, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia disintegrated as a result of claims to self-determination and ethno-nationalist violence. In the case of Yugoslavia, however, the international community's strategy of self-determination failed to fulfil its goals.

Furthermore, when it came to recognising self-determination movements, states were extremely careful, attempting to retain territorial integrity while maintaining international peace and stability. In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter, which reaffirmed national self-determination as one of the goals of Anglo-American policy. Western leaders' policies, on the other hand, were less effective in fostering the Asian and African self-determination movements.

National self-determination was not mentioned in the League of Nations' covenant. The United Nations, on the other hand, prioritised national self-determination by including three particular parts in its charter. Chapter XI of the UN Charter contains a declaration on non-self-governing territories. According to the Article, member nations must "promote self-government, taking adequate account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and supporting them in the

progressive development of their free political institutions." Similarly, the UN Charter's Chapter XII addresses the international trusteeship system, with the main goal of "promoting progressive development toward self-government or independence, as appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples, as well as the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

Despite the UN Charter's inclusion of such articles, the UN does not encourage independence and instead advocates for self-government, as independence would contradict the UN's mission. The United Nations has campaigned for federation rather than sovereignty, as well as a government based on the consent of the governed, which recognises the importance of people's equality in a democratic culture. National self-determination was endorsed by both the United Nations and the United States, despite the fact that it could not be completely implemented.

"The United States government and the American people wholeheartedly believe in the principle of peoples' and nations' self-determination, and they believe that the right of self-determination should be exercised by the peoples of all territories, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned," Roosevelt stated in the General Assembly on December 16, 1952. As a result, if individuals with distinctive traits who live in a region are granted full self-government under UN Chapter XI of the Charter, the UN will not create any obstacles. The United Nations defines national self-determination as the achievement of a state of self-government with free expression of people's preferences, rather than independence in the limited sense.

1.8 South Asia and National Self Determination

South Asia is a melting pot of people with many ethnicities, customs, faiths, and languages. Separatist movements and attempts to establish independent states have occurred throughout the region. Furthermore, the region's people have faced a number of challenges, including acute poverty, socio-political upheaval, and cultural and traditional inequality. Furthermore, interstate wars and tensions increased, as did religious and linguistic divides inside nations, resulting in polarised and intolerant civil society and authoritarian states throughout the region. South Asia has seen the formation of a number of separatist movements, some seeking autonomy and others outright secession. The majority of separatist movements were armed insurgencies that were crushed by the government's repressive measures. Most crucially,

the Indian subcontinent was under British colonial rule, and a successful self-determination movement led to India's independence from the colonial power. The Indian subcontinent was one of the best examples of national self-determination-based decolonization. In 1947, the subcontinent was further divided, resulting in the independence of Pakistan and India, respectively. Another example occurred in 1971, when Bangladesh was established, freeing East Pakistan's Bengali-speaking community from Pakistan's discriminatory policies.

The inability of the state infrastructure to deliver and defend numerous constitutional rights and obligations is at the basis of the South Asian region's growing separatist movement. The rights to life, liberty, equality, and justice are all regarded fundamental. The right to life encompasses both the right to live and the right to be free of torture or killing. Similarly, the right to equality encompasses the freedom from discrimination based on religion, ethnicity, or language, as well as the right to be treated equally by the country's highest laws. Equality is a term used to describe equal access to opportunities. The rights of people from various walks of life are protected when the state appears to be just, and a strong nation can be built when the state also accepts plurality. These deep-seated tensions have resulted in armed warfare between diverse factions in pursuit of a state that best serves their own interests, resulting in increased state repression. All of the aforementioned scenarios, however, may lead to a self-determination, separatist, or secessionist movement if individuals face institutionalised discrimination and deliberate violation of their basic rights. Even after these rights were formalised, the region never stayed peaceful. Being disregarded by the state frequently resulted in social unrest and conflict.

The Sri Lankan Tamils' struggle for self-determination began in the mid-1950s, when the government began to discriminate against them. The first instance of discrimination against Tamils occurred in 1956, when the government implemented a "Sinhala Only" policy. Similarly, in order to undermine Tamil religion, the government designated Buddhism as the state religion in the 1972 constitution. Despite the fact that Sinhala and Tamil were designated as official languages in the 1997 draught constitution, Sinhala was retained as the sole language for keeping public documents in any district where Tamil speakers make up less than one-eighth of the population. Furthermore, the government has made knowledge of the Sinhala language a requirement for employment.

In the 1970s, Tamils began demanding self-determination in response to a discriminatory language policy and similar treatment in terms of employment and education. The Tamils' desire for self-determination was for the creation of a federal structure in which they could protect their rights. The movement began peacefully, but became violent after security forces were deployed to repress the protests in Tamil-populated districts. Sri Lanka's new constitution, adopted in 1972, explicitly rejected the aspiration for self-determination. Later, in the mid-1970s, the underprivileged Tamils created guerrilla groups, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and waged a violent armed struggle to achieve their goal in the Tamil-speaking majority districts.

Furthermore, the movement sparked demands for independence, and the LTTE armed group employed violence against anyone who disagreed, putting the entire country at risk through assassinations and deaths of civilians, security officers, and others. Even the LTTE's talks with the Sri Lankan government ended in failure, leading to all-out operations and the state's suppression of the Tamil movement, resulting in widespread human rights violations and the end of the Tamil movement.

India is the epicentre of a number of self-determination and separatist movements. While rejecting the desire for secession, the government was able to resolve such issues within the framework of the constitution. The abuse of civil liberties and the lapse of political pacts are key preconditions for the desire for secessionism in India. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir began with the timing of signing the instrument of accession, which was done under duress because the Indian administration refused to convene a plebiscite. As a result, under Article 370 of the Indian constitution, the state was admitted into the Indian Union with specific provisions, granting them special status.

The provision was made specific in order to respect the political accord and honour the document of accession treaty. Because of the state's geopolitical importance, a large deployment of security forces resulted in human rights violations, as well as the stagnation of democracy and citizens' fundamental rights. These factors aided the state of Jammu and Kashmir in its quest for independence from India. The Indian government, on the other hand, effectively thwarted all such attempts by separatists and mercenaries from across the border, referring to the states' demand for separation as a freedom struggle by Pakistan. However, in 2019, India's government repealed Article 370

and abolished the special status provision for Jammu and Kashmir, making it a fully integrated part of the country.

The Indian government also dealt successfully with separatist and separate statehood movements in India's north-eastern region, where the organisations generally claimed to be self-determination movements. Hundreds of different cultural and ethnic groups have claimed and sought secession as well as separate states. Furthermore, when dealing with successive secessionist movements in the North Eastern region, the Indian government adopted two unique ways to address their objectives. First, the security forces engage in a repressive engagement and operation to weaken separatist groups; second, once the separatist parties are weakened militarily, a forced negotiated settlement within the framework of India's constitution is offered. The government has done an excellent job of reconciling the demands of different groups. Some are resolved, while others are in the process, such as Mizoram's creation, Nagaland's problem, and various groups' aspirations from Meghalaya, Manipur, and Assam. In Assam, for example, the government has developed sub-federal structures to grant autonomy for self-rule, such as the Bodoland Territorial Region and various district councils. The United Liberation Front of Assam's (ULFA) demand for a separate independent state has also gone through various operation carried out by the security forces for which the group has shown willingness to come forward for a negotiated settlement.

Bangladesh's independence is one of the strongest examples of self-determination. The oppression and injustice meted out to the people of East Pakistan by the dominant Urdu-speaking west Pakistani political establishment in the 1970 election sparked a massive revolt and the demand for a separate state based on linguistic grounds. The main reason for the demand for a separate, independent Bangladesh was political discrimination, in which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was denied the opportunity to establish a government by the majority of West Pakistan's dominant Urdu-speaking politicians, despite winning the majority.

Furthermore, Bangladesh experienced a similar type of self-determination movement in the Chittagong Hills Tract (CHT) area long after the country was founded. Because the CHT has a distinct tribal culture, the government of Bangladesh's intention to relocate Bengali-speaking people from the plains to the CHT resulted in clashes between the indigenous Jumma population and the Bengali settlers. In that area, the state carried out a huge repression, resulting in serious human rights violations, including the genocide of the Jumma

people. The indigenous Jumma populace, on the other hand, pursued armed conflict alongside peaceful techniques of dialogue and negotiation in order to assert their right to self-determination. However, the Bangladeshi government was hesitant to take steps to recognise their right to self-determination. The Jummas signed a CHT peace pact in 1997, putting an end to their long struggle for self-determination by lowering their demand for "autonomy" to "regional autonomy."

The Madhesi people of Nepal's Terai area, which borders India, are also engaged in a self-determination movement. The Madheshi are people who live in the Terai region and have a distinct cultural set up. Rather than Nepalis, their culture, language, and traditions are more like those of Northern Indians. These people speak Maithili, Bajjika, Bhojpuri, and Awadhi and account for the majority of the population in the region. Cross-border marriage is common due to the region's proximity to India, and many Nepali women lose their citizenship as a result. Furthermore, the Nepali constitution does not grant full citizenship to children born to a Nepali mother and a foreign father, and as a result of the citizenship issue, many Madhesi people are unable to progress in the Nepali administration and security services, resulting in deprivation. Despite accounting for 50% of Nepal's overall population, the Madhesi communities remain underrepresented in the country's parliament. Two factors contribute to this underrepresentation: first, constraints on citizenship rights, and second, the existing political map of Nepal, which was built up in such a way as to dilute the Madhesi vote. Due to legal and constitutional limits, discrimination on the basis of equal participation in the political process has occurred. Furthermore, the Nepalese government is waging a campaign to curtail the Madhesi people's right to self-determination. Three Madhesi political groups created a single front called the United Madhesi Democratic Front (UMDF) to carry out their agitation and pressurise the Nepalese government to satisfy their demands in order to rationalise their demand for self-determination. However, the demands are yet to be met by the government of Nepal.

Similarly, a self-determination movement has erupted in Pakistan, particularly in the Balochistan province. Balochistan is Pakistan's largest province, home to a diverse ethnic population that includes Africans, Arabs, Persians, Turks, Kurds, Dravidians, and Sewais. Balochi is spoken by the majority of the population, while Pashto is spoken by the rest. With 71 percent of the population living below the poverty line and only 41% of the population having access to literacy, the province is considered Pakistan's poorest. Despite this, the

province has a lot of natural resources like gold, coal, copper, uranium, and a lot of natural gas. Balochistan's quest for self-determination is motivated by a variety of factors.

The province has a long history of marginalisation, which began with Pakistan's independence in 1947. The problem began in 1948, when Kalat, which is now part of Balochistan, declared independence, with the primary claim that Balochistan had never been a part of British India. Balochistan was given the status of a princely state under British administration during British rule. Separatists and politicians claim that Balochistan, notably the Khanate of Kalat, was never under British administration and hence cannot be a part of Pakistan. When Pakistan attained independence in 1947, the Khan of Kalat faced greater pressure to admit the Kalat state to Pakistan.

Balochistan's parliament, on the other hand, unanimously passed a resolution proclaiming that relations with Pakistan should be created as between two sovereign states rather than through accession. As a result, when Pakistan gained independence in August 1947, the khan of Kalat announced Balochistan's independence as well. The newly created Pakistani government, on the other hand, forced Balochistan's entrance to Pakistan. The Khan eventually signed the document of accession in March 1948, less than a year after Balochistan declared independence, under pressure from Pakistani authorities. This forcible incorporation of Balochistan into Pakistan, on the other hand, exacerbated the seeds of anti-Pakistan agitation. This was the start of a long battle that would last decades. The Pakistani government continued to overlook ethnic communities' desires and identities.

Certain accomplishments were made during the autonomy granted to the Baloch in the 1970s, but it was also quashed by the Pakistani government. Meanwhile, the administration of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in Islamabad overthrew the powerful National Awami League, a coalition of Baloch parties, which began to make substantial structural changes in the promotion of the Baloch people, following the 1970 election. The Pakistani government's interference provoked a fresh revolt in Balochistan, which resulted in killings, atrocities, state persecution, and human rights violations. Furthermore, the military coup that installed Parvez Musharraf in office in 1999 exacerbated the Baluchis' sense of isolation.

The divide was accentuated by the absence of Baluch representation in the army and the Punjabis' overwhelming influence. However, while Pakistan's transition from a military to a civilian government reduced the degree of violence in Balochistan, the assaults of 2009 and 2010

intensified it. As a result, the struggle in Balochistan has been ongoing for a long time and is exceedingly complicated, with historical, political, and social issues such as race and religion serving as underlying causes. The region's spiralling conflict was compounded by discrimination based on Baloch political rights, which were neglected by the Pakistani government, as well as low level representation in the national government.

1.9 Summing up

The right to self-determination cannot be used as a justification for secession. On the basis of national self-determination, an ethnic group, whether religious or linguistic, can constitute a state, but it must adhere to all democratic rules. Statehood is meant to be non-discriminatory and impartial amongst groups, and if a state is regarded to belong solely to one group, other residents who do not belong to that group are denied full citizenship. The most damning criticism of the nationalist thesis is that it tends to exclude non-members. And if minorities have no place in the state, it will be difficult for the state to meet the basic needs of justice for all and non-discrimination. The ideal kind of political community is one in which members of certain minority groups have a good amount of control over their fate thanks to institutionalised power and resource decentralisation. This is the only way for groups to gain self-determination. Self-determination does not need the formation of a separate state by a community. To suit the objectives of minority groups within states, self-determination must be reinterpreted. The realisation of the idea does not have to include violent renegotiation of territorial boundaries, unless the current state denies the people their right to self-determination. In other words, a group's right to secede is valid only if the current state has denied the group's right to secede.

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1.11 Model Questions:

1. What is National Self-Determination? How it differs from secessionist movement?

2. What are the problems faced by the Indigenous groups with respect to the question of right to self determination?

3. Discuss the various theories of National Self Determination?

4. Analyse the concept of national self determination in its historical setting?

5. Evaluate the role of UN to the concept of National Self Determination and its application?

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UNIT 5: STATE AND GLOBALIZATION

Unit Structure

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization refers to the increasing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and people as a result of cross-border commerce in commodities and services made possible by communication and technology. These movements have long been developed and facilitated by countries. Because of developments in communication and technology, humans have long sought out faraway regions to settle, produce, and exchange goods. However, the process of globalisation gained momentum in the nineteenth century. During the

colonization of Europe and with the advancement of technology such as the development of steamships, rail, telegraphs, and other innovations developed trade and commerce. However, with the development of the World War I, II and other events halted the process of globalization. Globalisation has a wide range of effects and it can be useful to society as a whole or may have tremendous bad impact at other times. Here, we will analyse the concept of globalisation, its characteristics, and the different types of globalisation in this unit with reference to the globalization in Indian context. In addition, we will also analyse and discuss whether the growing process of the globalisation has weakened the state.

5.2 OBJECTIVES

The basic objective of the unit is to understand and analyse the concept of Globalisation, how it has developed, various types of Globalization, whether globalization has undermined the state power and overruled the concept of sovereignty and also analyse the process of globalization in Indian context. After going through this unit you will be able to –

- *explain* the concept of Globalisation.
- *explain* the development of the process of Globalization.
- *explain* and able to understand the various types of Globalization.
- *explain and analyse* the role of the state in the era of globalization and able to understand whether the state still retains its sovereign character in the midst of growing globalization.
- Similarly after reading this unit one can *explain* and analyse the development of the process of globalization in India.
- *Finally,* the readers can conclude whether globalization is useful or not across state.

5.3 MEANING OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is a multidimensional process of interaction and integration among people, economies, and governments of many countries. Globalization is defined as the expansion of economic activities across political boundaries, referring to a process of economic integration, market-oriented openness, and increased

economic interdependence among nations. With the advancement of communication and technology, the process of globalization has been driven by global trade and investment. In wider sense, it covers a broad spectrum of issues such as cross-national intellectual exchange, migration, the flow of capital and commodities beyond sovereign borders and leading to a system of "Global Interconnectedness". The "global interconnectedness" has resulted in modernization and expansion of capitalism, encourages the integration and free flow of all forms of economic activities at the local, national, and regional levels, essentially transforming the world into a global market. Thus globalization has become a market-driven system that adjusts geopolitical borders with little or no state intervention fostering cross border trade and investment. As an outcome of capitalism, it proposes deregulation of the economy, removal of barriers, and movement of capitals, privatisation, and the reorganisation of local and national economies.

Many observers believe that globalisation is an unstoppable process that has resulted in technological, scientific, and economic progress. According to left ideology, globalisation is a process in which capitalists rationalise their ideology and operational framework, which is driven by greed and the goal for wealth accumulation and dominance. According to Leftist ideology, globalisation began with the European industrial revolution and with the establishment of the British Empire to serve the interests of capitalists. With the failure of socialism as a viable economic alternative after the fall of the Soviet Union, globalisation gained a foothold around the world.

5.4 DEFINITION OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalisation has been defined in a variety of ways by scholars. Globalisation, according to Ronald Robertson, is "a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of the world's consciousness as a whole." Thomas Larsson in his book, *The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization* defined globalisation as the "process of the world shrinking, the reduction of distances, and the closeness of things." According to the Sociologists Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King, "All those processes by which the peoples of the world are merged into a single world society." Globalisation, according to Anthony Giddens, is the "intensification of social relations throughout the world, uniting distant places in such a way that local happenings are produced as a result of events that occur many kilometres away and vice versa."

The current Neoliberal economic strategies that promote "economic freedom" and "consumer choice" has been increasingly affecting the cultural and social components of globalisation. Globalization has political implications since it is moulded by agreements and interactions shaped by transnational institutions and national governments, offering coherence and order to an increasingly interdependent world. The current neoliberal policies, as well as the universalization of liberal democracy, which cloaks neoliberal policies by projecting individual rights, liberties, and choices, have led to the rapid development of globalisation. According to neoliberal ideology, liberal democratic governments are essential because they promote capitalism's expansion outside its borders. Globalization has a tremendous impact on economic development, the environment, culture, and political systems, as well as people's physical well-being in various countries. Globalisation has socio-political and cultural manifestations in addition to economic aspects, and it is uneven in character, affecting societies as a whole.

The actions and decisions of one area of the world have a similar impact on other parts of the world as a result of globalisation. For example, the recent conflict between Russia and Ukraine resulted in a spike in the price of oil, as well as a downward trend in global stock markets. As the world has become a global village, the world has become increasingly important in policy debates. As a result, globalisation refers to "Transnational Activism," a process of increased connection at all levels. The rising liberalisation of trade and finance, deregulation, privatisation, the unprecedented rise of corporate power, the foundation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the proliferation of bilateral and regional free-trade and investment agreements has accelerated the pace of change.

The fall of communism, the advent of capitalism, the spread of liberal democracy principles, and the increase in global connectedness due to the advancement of information and communication technologies all contributed to the establishment of the global era. Globalisation evolved from the interaction of various variables, including political, economic, technological, and socio-cultural impacts. The current era of globalisation is distinguished by the emergence of new markets (foreign exchange, for example), new tools (internet, phone), new actors (such as the WTO), and new rules (Multilateral Agreements on trade, services, and intellectual property). Shrinking space, shrinking time, and disappearing borders are connecting people's lives more deeply, intensely, and immediately than ever before.

5.5 FEATURES OF GLOBALIZATION

The basic features of globalisation are the following:

1. Globalization has aided for the improvement of trade and commerce between nations with minimal government interference. The countries that have accepted globalisation have witnessed an increase in their Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which has resulted in increased wealth, investment, and international collaboration.

2. Globalization has enhanced the business environment for corporations while also assisting entrepreneurs in establishing and conducting businesses both within and outside the country. All trade obstacles have been removed, allowing more trade between nations and resulting in more concessions to sectors.

3. Globalization created the way for increased production capacity as well as increased employment prospects in nations where businesses have established operations.

4. Globalization has improved cross-country trade links and boosted engagement between people and enterprises, resulting in higher economic growth and improved living standards for the country's citizens. Countries have become more dependant on one another as globalisation has progressed. Businesses can import cheaper raw materials to make their goods, and the same items can also be exported to nations where there is a higher demand for their final goods.

5. Globalisation has allowed people to interchange ideas, behaviours, and beliefs with people from other countries as countries and people have become more interdependent. Communities are now more open than ever before as a result of globalisation. For example, cuisines from India, the United States, Turkey, and other countries have spread throughout the globe.

6. Globalization has resulted in an increase in the number of metropolitan centres around the world. When a large number of international corporations set up shop in one location, the area became a hub of economic activity. People who live near industry demand infrastructure such as housing, transportation, stores, and other institutions close to their workplace, resulting

in the development of urban centres in and around industrialised areas.

7. People's standard of life has risen as a result of globalisation, as economic activities and employment prospects have increased, and people have amassed more wealth than ever before, leading in an improvement in standard of living.

5.6 TYPES OF GLOBALIZATION

There are several types of globalization and these can be discussed under the following heading:

5.6.1: Economic Globalization

Globalisation as an idea has primarily developed as an economic concept. It is a system of economic interconnection between countries and the global economic system, as well as the removal of state-imposed regulations and the opening up of a country's internal economy to the global economic system. The process of foreign enterprises participating in the free flow of goods in the global market is referred to as economic globalisation. Certain international organisations have played an important part in the globalisation movement. Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) are crucial in determining global economic policies. However, it cannot be understood in such a restricted sense, and other actors, in addition to the above-mentioned international institutions, have also played a role in the rise of globalisation. It is vital to examine the distribution of economic gains, such as who benefits the most from globalisation, who receives less, and who suffers the biggest losses.

Large capital transfers across nations are a result of the economic globalisation movement. Some are self-initiated, while others are pushed by powerful countries and international agencies. Furthermore, it has increased commodity trade around the world, and nations' export and import limitations have been eased. Investors from developed countries primarily invest in underdeveloped countries because they expect a profit. Globalisation, on the other hand, has failed to address global migration since developed countries have rigorously managed their borders with strict entrance and exit laws, as well as being wary of using inward migration to address their own

unemployment problems. As part of the globalisation effects, it's crucial to remember that, whatever the policies of globalisation are, they don't necessarily provide excellent results everywhere. Some countries in the world have reaped greater benefits, while others have suffered more negative consequences.

Economic globalisation has resulted in a wide range of viewpoints around the world. Those concerned with social justice are concerned about the extent to which economic globalisation has driven states to withdraw welfare measures, believing that it helps only a small portion of the population while the rest remains underprivileged and reliant on government support schemes. They emphasised institutional safeguards to reduce the negative effects of globalisation on the weaker sectors of the society. Institutional safeguards, on the other hand, will not operate until globalisation is blocked, as it may result in economic deprivation, particularly for the poor in developing countries. Many economists have viewed economic globalisation as the rich, developed countries recolonizing the planet. Supporters of economic globalisation, on the other hand, see it as fostering economic growth by allowing people to participate in economic activities that are deregulated by the governments that support it. Moderate proponents of globalisation, on the other hand, believe that objections to globalisation may be solved wisely without blindly adopting it.

5.6.2: Political Globalization

Political manifestations of globalisation, in essence, refer to ideological developments in political ideologies. The term "liberalism" itself is an illustration of the political philosophy alterations that have accompanied the globalisation movement. In addition, the development, growth, and extension of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are symptoms of political globalisation. The rise of transnational organisations, environmental movements, and other significant international organisations, among other things, reflects political globalisation, and their work crosses national lines. Globalisation is also a deeply political phenomenon, with complex talks and exchanges between transnational businesses, nation-states, and international organisations aimed at providing coherence and order to an increasingly interdependent world defining political globalisation.

Political globalisation in the world refers to a process of establishing a unified world order based on a liberal democratic political system that is mostly driven by neoliberal policies that facilitate and expand capitalist ideology over the globe. The question of whether globalisation has weakened conventional notions of state sovereignty is still being debated. We must address three specific issues while examining this idea of weakening the concept of sovereignty. To begin with, globalisation has curtailed the function or power of the state or government to do anything it wants. The welfare concept of the state has given way to the expansion of neoliberalism's ideology, and states are now expected to have a minimum role that focuses on some basic issues such as maintaining law and order and ensuring the safety of their citizens.

The market, rather than citizens' economic and social priorities, is now the dominant determinant, rather than the welfare state. The growing global role of multinational firms and organisations has resulted in a decline in state and government activities. Furthermore, it is not always true that globalisation has constrained the functions and activities of the state, or that contesting the state's sovereignty is difficult. The realist version of the world has been replaced in international politics by more liberal contact among states in terms of business, but disputes between states in terms of protecting national interests have not subsided. Every effort is made to preserve a realistic view of global politics. As a result of technical advancements, state capacities have increased in some aspects, and they are now more capable of ruling rather than less adept. As a result of modern technology, the United States is more powerful than it has ever been. The most recent example is the present Russia-Ukraine war, in which Russia attacked Ukraine solely to prevent NATO and its allies from growing their influence in eastern European countries.

5.6.3: Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalisation is the process through which commodities, ideas, and information are created in one part of the world and distributed to the rest, culminating in the eradication of regional and ethnic heterogeneity. Western culture has spread around the globe as a result of globalisation. People from all over the world are either rejecting or adapting to the Western cultural pattern that has emerged as a result of globalisation. People may now easily connect with people from all over the world through social networking sites and interact with their culture and traditions, demonstrating the rapid rate of globalisation. Culture, on the other hand, reinforces the forces of globalisation while also demonstrating opposition to such a movement.

As a result of globalization, many people's living conditions have changed. It has had an impact on our living environment, eating habits, and clothing choices. It has also affected the way we think. The globe has created a fear psychosis that globalisation is a threat to indigenous culture because it leads to the growth of uniform culture, or cultural homogenisation, which is not the same as global culture. What we can observe is that Western culture is being pushed on the rest of the world under the pretext of global culture. The imposition of culture by the politically and economically dominant civilisation has an impact on the less powerful society.

Those who hold this idea see the world as undergoing a "McDonaldisation" process in which cultures strive to emulate the dominant American culture. It is a challenge for both emerging countries and humanity because it depletes the world's rich cultural legacy. Globalisation, on the other hand, is always positive in terms of culture. Some external influences remain damaging because they limit our power to choose and accept. External influences, on the other hand, can help us make better decisions by changing our culture without jeopardising the traditional one. Burger intake is not a substitute for masala dosa, but rather a non-demanding dietary option.

Likewise, people who wear jeans can wear Khadi Kurtas made at home. It means that people accepted jeans with the new addition of a Kurta, creating a distinct style, and when an American adolescent adopts this look, it looks fantastic. We've seen how well-known Hindi songs have become over the world. For example, Paul Kim and his sister Lip, two Tanzanian brothers and sisters, sung Hindi songs that became popular around the world. Similarly, on the Agogo Violin YouTube channel, an Indonesian artist plays Hindi tunes on the violin, quickly achieving international acclaim. Even if the musician does not comprehend the lyrics, playing the violin to the same tune draws millions of viewers. Although cultural homogenisation is a result of globalisation, it also has the opposite impact. Cultural heterogeneity refers to the development of more diverse and distinct identities as a result of culture. We can't deny that power imbalances exist, but cultural interaction is rarely one-way.

5.6.4: Environmental Globalization

Environmental globalisation is a term that refers to a set of internationally coordinated practises and policies for environmental protection in the form of global environmental conventions. The worldwide environmental issue has compelled individuals to consider global environmental protection and preservation. Growing industrialisation and development activities around the world as a

result of economic globalisation have a negative impact on the environment since industry releases toxic chemicals into the environment, endangering the environment. Overuse of chlorofluorocarbon-based air conditioners, refrigerators, and other appliances depletes the ozone layer of the atmosphere, allowing the sun's rays to reach the earth directly, resulting in a significant environmental problem. Throughout the world, there are numerous examples of environmental disasters.

The most famous example is the Bhopal Gas Disaster, which occurred on December 2, 1984. The Union Carbide pesticide plant accidentally released over 30 tonnes of hazardous gas known as methyl isocyanate, killing roughly 15,000 people and harming the surrounding areas. However, the negative consequences of this tragedy later resulted in the birth of mentally and physically challenged children. A similar mercury poisoning situation happened in Japan's Minamata Bay, affecting neighbouring countries. Massive deforestation in the name of development is wreaking havoc on the environment, forcing millions of people to flee their homes. All of this prompted to consider global environmental issues and make the decision to act and save the environment on a worldwide scale. While globalisation raises living standards, it also lowers them by polluting the air, water, and other living things, necessitating the establishment of global environmental responsibility.

5.6.5: Social Globalization

Traditional social institutions become weaker as a result of social globalisation, and socialised people's identities are regenerated. As a result of their new identity, people no longer belong to a specific group or nation. People's personal and social identities are eroding as the globalisation process continues. Previously, an individual's identity was determined by his or her family, ethnicity, tribe, village, religion, and other factors, and the population was made up of the same, and national identity reigned supreme. However, due to the creation and expansion of new technology, as well as the extension of business and communication networks, past identities have lost their significance, and relationships with individuals from all over the world have developed.

5.7: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF GLOBALISATION

There is no unified explanation for the globalisation problem. The topic has evolved into a multifaceted and complicated reality in academic discourse in the twenty-first century. Three approaches can be used to interpret globalisation. These approaches mainly differ in their support for or opposition to globalisation. The three globalisation approaches are as follows:

5.7.1 The Hyperglobalist Approach:

The "hyper-globalists," also known as global optimists, viewed that current globalisation has weakened the state's power and authority as a result of its rapid expansion. The spread of international capitalism, which has undermined local culture elsewhere and resulted in a uniform global culture throughout the world, is the source of globalisation's rapid rise. According to proponents of hyper-globalism, the positive phase of globalisation is characterised by economic growth, increased wealth as a result of capital movement, and the development of democracy. The global embrace of neoliberal economic policies has accelerated globalisation. The Neoliberal doctrine envisions less state intervention on the part of the individual and thinks that the state should allow a free market economy by reducing barriers to free market capitalism in order to promote development. The Neo-liberal approach calls for less government interference and should promote a business-friendly atmosphere to generate profit and compatibility in the commercial environment. The Hyper-globalists believe that the government should not restrict corporate movement and that allowing them to operate freely will generate wealth that will eventually trickle down to everyone and benefit the most. Friedman identifies a neoliberal economic set of principles, dubbed the "Golden Straight Jacket," that he believes must be adopted in countries to attain success and compete with the developing global economy. Such laws, according to Friedman, include economic deregulation, less protection for employees and the environment, privatisation of some industries, and tax cuts.

5.7.2 The Sceptical Approach:

The sceptics believe that globalisation has existed for centuries and that current changes in terms of globalisation have changed the extent of the phenomena but not its essential qualities. Globalisation's negative effects on society, according to the theorist, outnumber its positive effects by a factor of ten. According to Ralph Dahrendorf, a sceptic's theorist, the globalisation process has threatened social cohesion in the affected countries due to excessive individualism and competition as a result of capitalism's rapid expansion. Globalisation's gains are not evenly distributed, and he believes that globalisation has contributed to 10% of the benefit of the elite. He

predicted that as a result of the uneven impacts of globalisation, there would be a rich-poor divide in society that would be impossible to bridge amicably. By criticising hyper-globalists, Paul Hirst, Graham Thompson, and Mc Grew saw globalisation as a fiction that concealed the reality of an international economy increasingly divided into three regional blocs, each with its own powerful national government.

5.7.3 The Transformational Approach:

The "Transformationalists" argue that globalisation is the driving force behind the rapid, broad social, political, and economic changes that are currently altering and reconstituting modern society and the world order. According to the transformationalist position, the function of the state has altered radically with the onset of globalisation, and the state is now tremendously strong. According to the theorist of this approach, globalisation is the primary driving force behind changing and reshaping the world. The transformationalist opposes hyper-globalist attitudes that exaggerate globalisation's impact while not entirely rejecting it. According to theorists, globalisation is a complex web of interconnected links in which the state wields power primarily through indirect ways. They also believe that if globalisation has a negative impact, the process of globalisation may be reversed or managed. Cultural flow, according to theorists of this method, is a two-way exchange in which Western culture is influenced, modified, and enriched by cultures from the developing world, rather than a one-way flow from the west to developing countries. Sociologist Roland Robertson coined the term "localisation" to describe the process, which he defined as a product or service that meets the needs of both local and global clients. The Transformationlists believe that the global media has also played a significant role in disseminating different cultural styles around the world, resulting in new global hybrid styles in fashion, food, music, lifestyle, and other areas, as they believe that cultural plurality will become the norm in the future. Furthermore, global communication technologies and social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter have aided in the country's liberation from a restrictive political rule. For example, the "Arab Spring" movement in Tunisia and Egypt from 2010 to 2013 was effective in overthrowing dictatorial governments.

5.8: IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON STATE SOVEREIGNTY

Globalisation, as previously said, has resulted in more interconnection between different parts of the world, and it is sometimes asserted that this poses severe threats to state sovereignty. Globalisation, as previously stated, has a multifaceted impact on all elements of life,

including economic, cultural, and political dimensions. The enormous flow of capital between countries, along with multinational corporations' expanding strength, makes it increasingly difficult for any country to regulate such a flow, making it difficult for states to maintain sovereignty. States are finding it increasingly difficult to regulate MNCs since they can easily relocate to independent sovereign states, causing the state to erode, lose, and dilute.

It is difficult to imagine that globalisation has surpassed the nation state and economics has surpassed politics. In the meantime, the rise of global politics has resulted in the formation of regional and global rules that challenge state sovereignty. Similarly, the increasing prominence of international institutions such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), ASEAN, World Trade Organization (WTO), and others reflects the growth of global politics. Most crucially, the EU has posed a danger to member states' state power because decisions on monetary policy and defence are decided by member states themselves, compromising their sovereignty.

States have "pooled sovereignty" to adapt to globalisation's transformations in international society, according to the expert. The idea is that a weak and ineffective state might have greater influence by collaborating with other governments through international or regional organisations. Other researchers feel that the state promotes and shapes the kind and pace of globalisation. Trade agreements and regionalization are examples of this. According to some experts, nations are more concerned with safeguarding their global markets in order to protect their national economies, rather than with political sovereignty and security.

Globalisation has changed the role of the state, resulting in a "disaggregated state" in which member agencies communicate with equivalents abroad, international agencies, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on a variety of global issues. Due to the involvement of multilateral agreements in the global economy such as the IMF and GATT, which impair states' sovereignty, the United States plays a minor role in financial markets alone.

Despite growing globalisation and technical innovation, the state's importance cannot be considered as waning or shrinking. When there is a desire for a free market and a want to regulate the negative consequences, the state is always the first to intervene. It implies that the state preserves its sovereignty and has the ability to use coercion when necessary. The state will always be necessary for society's protection and social cohesion. It is crucial to reconcile disputes and maintain social cohesiveness, as well as to manage key issues such as

security, rights, and governance, which cannot be compromised in the name of globalisation. The state is still important, but in the name of global governance, state autonomy is being jeopardised.

Despite the fact that globalisation has influenced every part of life, the state retains its absolute essence, and its role has not reduced as a result of increased coercive power when necessary. The state is always ready to intervene if a move threatens the nation's security, integrity, rights, governance, or interests. Marx believed that the state would wither away if society was governed. Similarly, philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, and Keynes have called for a powerful state, but one with varying qualities, such as laissez-faire, welfare, and crisis management. It remains relevant, but at the expense of national autonomy in terms of global governance. The autonomy of the weak state is jeopardised more than that of the great state. The United States, as the world's most powerful country, dominates the global economy and makes the necessary structural changes to operate in its direction. In reaction to the perceived worldwide terrorist-related security danger, John Gray believes that the "period of glory is finished" and that nations have reasserted their power and borders have gotten stricter.

The influence of globalisation on culture and societies around the world is a major cause for concern. Some argue that it has jeopardised traditional institutions such as family and school, as well as global community lives. People's economic situations, work opportunities, and livelihood possibilities, especially in rural areas, are regularly highlighted. As a result, small businesses and entrepreneurs faced increasing challenges in the global marketplace, while rural-based businesses remained marginalised and impoverished. Many academics are concerned about job losses due to industry restructuring in competitive global markets, as well as a global decline in working-class rights.

It is said that the impact of globalisation resulted in the unfair domination of the global economy, and that such effects were skewed in favour of the wealthy and powerful while disregarding the poor in strikingly similar ways all over the world. For example, high-yield seeds and similar uses of pesticides and fertilisers to boost production deplete soil conditions, making it impossible to grow another species of food grain on the same area. This has a wide range of consequences for those who rely on agricultural production.

A fresh demand for the state to play a larger role is based on the rule of law and democratic institutions, as well as collaboration with other social actors, and it is clear that globalisation has greatly undermined

the state. Furthermore, the state must improve its defence capabilities, regulate economic activity, promote equity and fairness, provide important public services, and participate effectively in international talks in order to adapt effectively to globalisation.

Regional integration was considered as a path to a fairer, more inclusive globalisation, and as a result of this development, countries were able to work together to address the issues brought by globalisation pressures. European Union (EU), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and Southern Cone Common Market (Mercosur) are just a few examples. People also voiced concern about strengthening the UN and other multilateral organisations as the best way to address globalization's difficulties.

Whatever the bad consequences of globalisation today, it is a fact that states must alter their policy objectives to deal with it. "If globalisation is a river, we must build dams to generate power," a participant in a dialogue in Poland stated. (Include the dialogue's year and theme.)

The Asian discussions recognised the continent's diversity (in which year). Globalisation was perceived as selectively benefiting some countries and people while failing to benefit others, according to participants. India and China were able to significantly reduce poverty in their respective countries once their economies were opened up to globalisation. Globalisation has boosted China's economic growth and industrial productivity, assisting the country in combating its unemployment crisis. The globalisation movement in China, on the other hand, has weakened traditional livelihood patterns, worsening rural-urban and intra-regional inequality.

In terms of the impact of globalisation on India, there are winners and losers. Globalization has benefited the lives of educated and wealthy people in India, according to reports. Information and communication technology are the biggest winners in India as a result of globalisation. The bulk of people, however, have yet to receive the benefit. Due to the huge number of socially disadvantaged rural poor, new difficulties are arising. Participants were concerned that globalisation would destroy democratic and social justice principles, as a considerable number of poor people who fought hard to overcome abject poverty had their benefits reversed. "Much was said about markets, but in reality there was very little access, much was said about jobs, but they were elsewhere, and much was said about a better life, but for others," according to the Philippines' globalisation discussion.

5.9: INDIA AND GLOBALIZATION

India's first step toward globalisation began with the government's economic reforms in 1991, when it resumed an import substitution strategy that had been suspended for nearly four decades. Priority was given to public-sector agencies, which were tasked with steering the economy toward a high-growth path. Though economic growth has been generally steady since 1991, other growth indicators are showing signs of improvement. India utilised an inward-looking policy of import substitution to become self-sufficient, even if it did not achieve the expected goals, such as predicted growth rates, poverty reduction, and increases in human development indicators.

In order to fully participate in the globalisation movement, India looked for additional economic opportunities that were viable for economic growth. India adopted economic liberalisation for multiple reasons: first, to improve government performance; second, to ensure long-term foreign direct investment flows; produce job possibilities; and, last, to achieve and adapt to globalization's rapid expansion. India has begun to change its political system. Government protection has been removed, while greater participation in the globalisation process has been encouraged. Furthermore, in the late 1980s, India went through a severe balance of payment crisis, during which the country's foreign exchange reserves were drained, prompting it to seek loans from the IMF and the World Bank.

As part of the loan deal, these two banks imposed reform criteria. Due to external and internal pressure, as well as to respond to the rate of globalisation and integration into the global economy, necessary reforms were enacted. India's liberalisation and globalisation strategy does not imply that only foreign firms can do business in the country. At the same time, potential Indian firms can invest in and conduct business in other regions of the world. Some believe that major financial institutions will take over the government in the name of globalisation. However, there were no reports of businesses seizing control of the country's government or political system.

The development of ASEAN countries may be connected to trade and investment liberalisation policies, and they have never faced such a threat. In the past, globalisation did not improve people's standard of living, particularly in India. However, the government's structural reforms in response to opportunities with enough safety nets resulted in modest progress over time. Government programmes targeted at improving the lives of the poor, on the other hand, continue to exist in order for them to adapt to the same globalisation process. Globalisation has a wide range of effects on different countries and

segments of the Indian population. Globalization appears to be an unavoidable fact, with little pushback.

However, it is also vital to harness the momentum of globalisation in order to improve human well-being and minimise some of its negative implications. However, the issues raised by liberalisation and WTO agreements necessitate the government focusing on competitiveness while adopting proper precautionary measures to ensure the country's existence and prosperity. The Indian government must embrace the concept of "welfare economics," with the goal of maximising overall national net benefit while compensating loss-making sectors or others. As a result, there is a need to achieve the proper balance between the various forces at work, such as governments, markets, and other institutions that take into account the interests of all stakeholders.

5.10. SUMMING UP

Based on the preceding debate, it is possible to infer that the process of globalisation has become rapid, with both positive and negative consequences for society and the people. Initially, the process of globalisation appears to be difficult, yet living circumstances have improved dramatically in practically every country throughout the world. However, advanced countries' improvements are more obvious than poor countries'. Aside from that, there is an income difference between high and low-income countries, which is a source of concern for everyone, and this gap must be narrowed. The process has gotten so rapid that the poorest countries can no longer remain isolated and must adopt measures to address their countries' economic issues. As a developing country, India has already begun structural adjustment to keep up with the pace of globalisation and is successfully leading the world economy. The Indian government has implemented welfare policies to ensure that no one suffers the negative consequences of globalisation.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is Globalization? What are the various types of globalization?
2. Discuss the various approaches to the study of globalization?
3. Do you think that the rapid pace of globalization has undermined the state sovereignty? Illustrate.
4. Do you think that India by adopting the globalization successful in improving the economy of the country and the people? Discuss.

UNIT 1

Chapter: Power Authority and Legitimacy

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Power, Authority and Legitimacy are three important concepts of political science. From the very beginning of political science these three terms are playing key role in the domain of political debates, analysis and even in practical field. For some scholars, political science begins and ends with power. All three terms are interlinked with each other and even in many times these terms are used synonymously. Yet there are some fundamental differences among them. This chapter is an attempt to introduce the meaning of the concepts, its sources, and different forms of the terms and find out the relationship among the terms.

1.2: Objectives: The main objectives of this unit are:

- Understand the concept of Power, its sources and its various forms
- Understand the concept of Authority and identify its types
- Understand the relative meaning of Power and authority
- Understand the concept of Legitimacy and identify its types
- Understand the relative meaning of Power, Authority and legitimacy

1.3 Meaning and Nature of Power

Power is one of the core issues of political science. Politics is considered as the struggle for power. In real sense no one separated politics from the study of power. Yet there is no agreement among the scholars regarding the meaning of power

The word "Power" is derived from the Latin word "potere" or "potestas" which means ability to done something. So in general power is considered as the ability to do something in favor of himself of herself. The dictionary meaning of this term gives little insight into the definition. Oxford English Dictionary defines power as the "ability to do or act" and control, influence, ascendency. Webster Dictionary defines power as the possession of control, authority or influence over others. Both these dictionary defines power as influence, control, ability through which one can make himself superior and through his superiority he/she can control the behavior of others for his/her favour. Social and political scientist have been attempted to define power from their perspectives. Bertrand Russell in his book "Power: Anew social analysis"(1938) has defined power as "the production of intended effects". By his definition he defines power as the ability of a person to fulfill his desires or achieve something in favor of him/her. According to David Easton power is the "relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former s' own ends". For Easton power is the capacity of an individual or a group to control or affect the actions of others in accordance with his/her own wishes. karl Friedrich define power as "certain kind of human relation" . While for Tawney "it is the capacity of an individual or a group to modify others" communist leader of China Mao Zedong described power as "flowing from barrel of gun". On contrary to Mao, Mahatma Gandhi analyses power from his viewpoint of nonviolence

and love. For him power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love. Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent then the one derived from fear of punishment. Michel Foucault uses the phenomenon of power synonymously with knowledge. For him 'knowledge is power'. Foucault uses the term power/knowledge to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and truth… in fact power produces, reality: it produces domains of object and rituals of truth. Though different scholars have different opinion regarding the concept and meaning of Power yet we can sum up it as follows

- Power basically means more ability, capacity, skill, knowledge in comparison to others.
- Power assumes a relationship between dominant group and subordinate group.
- Power is a means to fulfill one's need.
- Power is relative. It is situational.
- Power basically means controlling others behaviour or activity in accordance with one's will.
- Power manifests itself in a variety of ways.

Nature of power: The analysis of the concept of power gives a few nature of it. Some of them are-

1. **Power means capacity**: Power is the capacity to influence the behavior of others. When an individual or a group is considered as powerful he/she must have some superior capacity than the others. This superior capacity enables him/her to get things done from others as his/her wishes.
2. **Power belongs to relationship:** Fredrick defines 'power is a certain kind human relationship'. It is not the property of single individual. For use of power, there must be two actors, one who exercises the power and the other upon whom power is exercised. Power does not exist in vacuum. Power can be only exercised in relation to others.
3. **Power is situational:** Power is not absolute but relative only. Power depends on situation, circumstances and position. For example an officer may use his power and give order to his subordinate when he is in service, the subordinates are also bound to follow him as he is more powerful than them in terms

of service law but they may not follow his order after his retirement. Likewise a teacher may exercise his power in school campus but that teacher is not able to use his power in a market place. Hence power is situational.

4. **Positive and negative aspects of power:** Power has two aspects, one is positive and other is negative. Positive aspects of power helps to initiate an activity for the wellbeing of society while negative aspect of power restricts or put some hindrances in the development of society.

Stop to Consider:

- The word "Power" is derived from the Latin word "Potere" or "Potestas"
- Power is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others.
- Power is not absolute but relative only
- Power is always relational.

Check your Progress

Question 1. Define Power.

Question 2. Who opined that 'Power comes from barrel of gun'?

Question 3. What are the natures of power?

1.4: Sources of Power:

There are many sources of Power. The major sources of power are Force, Political organization, skill, money, Knowledge, customs, personality, law, spiritual dominance etc.

Force: Force and physical power is one of the important sources of power. By physical power a man can control the behaviour of other people. In international politics also nations use force (military power) to fulfill their national interest. According to Mao force is the prime equipment for political power.

Organization: Organization is another source of power. When people work together their strength increases. For example a person having support by an organization his power automatically increases in comparison to individual power. The supporter of the Elite theory also propounded that organization plays an important role in society behind the acquisition of power. In democracy political organization especially political parties play a pivotal role in acquiring power in state.

Skill and Knowledge: According to Lasswell the main source of power are skill and knowledge. A tactful person is more powerful than an ordinary person. Knowledge is considered as the most important source of power in present time. Knowledge helps a person in investigating, learning, thinking and development of mind and soul. A well-informed and skillful person can easily influence others . Michel Foucault also admits that those who have knowledge become powerful automatically.

Money and Property: Money and property is always considered as one of the sources of power. Robert Dahl rightly says that an individual with better resources will capture more power than others. In present time also a rich man can put pressure even on the legal authority getting thing done in his own way. At present, in almost all states most of the development plans and policies are drafted on influenced of capitalist by virtue of his economic status.

 Law: Law is also considered an important source of power. In democracy constitution (fundamental law) is considered as the sole source of political power. So those who have legal sanction they are powerful in democracy.

Personality: personality of a person is considered as a source of power. That personality may be due to wisdom, beauty, courage, oratory, organizational capacity to take quick and proper decision. A person who possesses charismatic personality is always more powerful than an ordinary man.

Tradition and spiritual dominance: Some People enjoy power in society due to the customs prevailed in that society from the very ancient time or for the religious belief. In India the priests and moulana acquire a dignified status in society due to the religious belief and customs.

Besides these there are some other sources of power which are varied from society to society.

1.5 Different types of Power

Like the concept of power, there is no agreement among scholars regarding the types of power. As the concept of power is multilateral so scholars have classified power from their own perspectives. However generally, power is said to have three forms. These are-

1. Political Power
2. Economic Power
3. Ideological Power

Political Power: Political power means the power of state and government. The state through its agencies especially through the government exercises power over the individual and associations in its territory. E. P. Allens defines political power "is evidenced by the ability of those who control the instruments of government to secure obedience to their decisions."

In general political power is exercised by the formal organs of the government: executive, legislature and judiciary. Executive and legislature, together make laws, policies and decisions regulating the allocation of values in a society. They impose taxes, issues licenses, permits and regulate a large variety of citizens' actions. There is also police force for maintaining of laws and orders, judiciary to settle disputes, military to deal with foreign aggressor. Apart from these formal organizations there are a lot of informal organizations, who also enjoys and exercises political power. Political parties, different pressure groups, public opinion, popular movements also exercise political power.

Antony H. Birch has identified four form of manifestation of political power-

A. The most popular form of manifestation of political power is coercion. In many times government uses force to make its presence felt. Through Police force and military government uses some coercive measures like lathi charge, imposition of curfew, demolition of encroachment in public property to maintain law and order and run development project.

B. According to Birch the second manifestation of political power is enactment and execution of law. The law making function is performed by legislature, the executive and bureaucracy, implement them and the courts interpret and adjudicate them.

C. Another way of manifestation of political power is influence. Influence is exercised by various political parties, pressure groups to fulfill their demands and redress the grievances.

D. Lastly is the political manipulation. It is defined as the activity of shaping the public opinion, values and behaviour of others without latter realizing that this is happening. Using mass media for political interest of a particular political party, teaching biased political ideology by a teacher in the classroom are some example of political manipulation.

The basic function of political power is to maintain law and order and dispense justice. However at present political power has been used in a wide range of issues and problems eg. reconciliation between conflicting interest, look after common good etc.

Economic Power: Economic Power is the power emanating from the material resources. It can also be known as power of wealth. Economic power denotes dominance in the material and non material property. As a result dominant economic group always plays an advantage role in political arena. Even in many societies economic power governs political power. In other way political power also influences the economic power. In socialist state, economic power is in the hands of people who control political power. Here the entire economy is handled directly by state, from the ownership of means of production to the distribution of goods and services. In liberal democracy the possessors of wealth exercise their influence on politics through various means. Here economic power is vested in the hand of capitalist. They control the means of production as well as the distribution of goods and services. In Welfare state economic system is highly regulated by the political power for the greater interest of the subaltern group.

Ideological Power: The main basis of ideological power is ideology. Ideologies are fundamental vehicle of power as they serve to control the positive and negative ways of how individuals and groups adapt to master their environments. Ideological power does not itself helps in acquiring or using power in society rather it indirectly helps in

accepting or sustaining in political power. Ideological power is the rationalization of any system in terms of ideas and beliefs with the desired objective of justifying that system. The sanction behind the ideological power is religion, belief, custom, culture, way of living etc. Ideological power with the help of those ideas and beliefs designed to legitimize and maintain a particular political and socio- economic system in its totally. The ideological power propagated through the family environment, education system, culture, ethics etc. At present the mass media also plays a substantial role in moulding and planting the ideologies into peoples' mind.

Check your progress

Question 1. What are the sources of power?

Question 2. What is Ideological power?

Question 3. Write about political Power?

1.6 Different Perspectives of Power

Like the other domain of political science, power has been discussed by different scholars from different perspectives. Some of these are discussed bellow-

1.6.1 **Class Perspective of power:** Class perspective of power developed by Karl Marx and his followers. According to them political power is the product of economic power. Economic power is controlled by the owners of the means of production. This particular group by using the political equipments specially the state exploits the other sections of society. For them in each society there are two classes- haves - have-nots, master-slave, landlord-serf, and capitalist-worker.

This theory recognized class as a unit for exercising and mobilizing power. Those who are able to grab the ownership become dominant class and rest are forced to work in accordance to their order. At one stage of history the dependent class will be able to organize themselves and launch a struggle against the dominant class. This would lead to the emergence of class struggle. But the dominant class does not give an opportunity to organize the dependent class. It is only under the

capitalist system the dependent group will get an opportunity to form a strong organization to fight against the capitalist, the dominant class of capitalism. Marx and Engels believed that the overthrow of capitalist class was not only imminent but also inevitable. The followers of Marxism believe that the class struggle led by the working class would eliminate the exploitation of dominant class and will bring a new socio-political system where each and every person will get equal economic and social status.

1.6.2 **Feminist Perspective on Power:** The feminist thinker analyses the domain of power from gender perspective. Like the Marxist thinker, feminist also recognizes the division of society into two broad groups. For Marxist the base of division was economical, whether feminist considered the division on the basis of culture. The feminist thinkers urged for the reconstruction of society on the basis of gender equity. For them, reconstruction of society means restructuring of power sharing mechanism on the basis of gender. Feminist criticizes prevailing patriarchal system based on male dominance and addresses the domain of power in three ways- as a resource to be (re)distributed, as domination and as empowerment. Those who conceptualize power as a resource understand it as a positive social good that is currently unequally distributed amongst men and women. For feminist who understands power in this way, the goal is to redistribute the resource so that women will have equal power to man. A group of feminist thinkers conceptualize power domain from the view point of domination. They criticize the prevailing power structure of the society which is biased towards male. Another strand of feminist who conceptualize domain of power as empowerment, have tended to understand power not as power-over but as power-to. This group of feminist urge for transformation of power structure towards woman. For them by using the new structure women should empower themselves to compete with male in every field.

1.6.3 **Group perspective of Power:** Group perspective of power is related to the pluralist approach. According to this theory power is not concentrated in one group or area. Power is dispersed in different social, economic and political groups. Each of the groups has a share in power in accordance with the contribution to society. Those groups are largely

autonomous and almost independent centre of decision. However they are more or less interdependent within the social organization as they operate in same society. It thus tends to balance each others' power. Public decisions are largely result of the outcome of these balances.

1.6.4 **Elitist perspective of Power:** Elitist theory considers power as a property of superiority or the elite. According to them, all people in society do not possess that superior quality required to be ruler. Only few people of society have such type of qualities. Hence power rests on only those people and the rest of the society is ruled by the elite or the superior. Thus the supporter of elitist theory like the Marxist and Feminist also recognizes the division of society into two broad groups: ruler and ruled or elite and masses.

1.6.5 **Gandhian perspective of power:** Gandhi, the father of the nation of India gives an alternative perspective on power. For him power resides within the people. Gandhi stated that power is of two kinds. One is obtained by fear and other by acts of love. Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment. The main three sources of power according to Gandhi are: nonviolence, truth and love. Through these three sources one can transform himself to transform the world. Gandhi recognizes importance of political power. For him political power means "swaraj". The literal meaning of swaraj is: *swa* means self and *raj* means rule. Gandhi stated that swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. Here Gandhi defines power from the view point of ruled. It implies that rulers should never gain absolute authority over its' citizen. If the ruled feels that their authority is becoming too powerful, they would use their moral power to challenge the authority of the rulers.

Stop to consider:

- There are different perspectives on power
- Class perspective believes political power is the product of economic power. For them, in each society there is seen presence of two classes. Power is held by the dominant classes at the expenses of the rest of society.
- Feminist perspective considers power as the construction of culture based on gender. They believe, through different arrangements and construction of culture male people keeps power in their hand. For an equitable society transformation of those cultural role based on gender must be achieved.
- Group perspective advocated that power is not a business of single organization diffused in different social and political groups. Power arises from the activity and services done by those groups towards the society.
- Elitist perspective considers power as the product of superior quality. On the basis of quality society is divided into two groups: ruler and ruled or elite and masses.
- Gandhi considers power from a different angle. For him power does not mean controlling others, rather it is product of self transformation for acquiring virtue of love, nonviolence and truth.
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Check your progress

Question 1. What are the different perspectives on power?

Question 2. How Gandhian perspective of power is different from other perspectives?

1.7 Authority: Meaning and its' Nature

Authority is also another central concept of the domain of political science. The word authority is derived from the Roman word "auctor" or "auctoritus' which meant advice, opinion or influence. There was a roman custom that the senate had the power to judge the decision of popular assembly. During that time senate was considered as the house

of 'men of reason' or 'elders with experiences'. This custom was called as 'auctoritus' by the Roman. From this view point authority denotes legitimization of power. Generally authority means power given by the state in the form of government or different officials. In the opinion of Maciver 'By authority we mean the established right within any social order to determine policies to pronounce judgment or relevant issues and to settle controversies or, more broadly to act as a leader or guide to other men. ' D. D, Raphael offers a very precise definition of authority. He says 'To have authority is to do something is to have the right to do something.' Raphael used the word right in two senses. An authority or a man has right implies that he may do something or he is permitted to do something. It signifies that the person has been licensed to do the job or take an action. In the opinion of Raphael right has another meaning to. This meaning proposes that right means to receive something. Here an individual can claim to have something. So for Raphael authority is used in both the senses. An individual can do something and when he is challenged by others he will meet the challenge by saying that he receives to do this either from established law or from the consent of the people. Thus authority is called as institutionalized and legal power inherent in a particular job, position or function that is meant to enable its holder to successfully carry out his or her responsibilities.

Nature of Authority: There are certain characteristics of the concept of authority. These are-

- **Legitimacy**: Authority is a legitimate power. It is the legitimate, recognized and accepted power of the authority holder. It is backed by the constitution of the state or laws of the state or custom or traditions. It is legitimacy which make authority just and effective.
- **Relationship**: Authority is relationship. Authority involves a minimum presence of two actors, one who has the recognized power to use power over others and the other upon whom this power is exercised.
- **Reason**: The basis of authority is reason or logic. We accept authority because it is based on logic. Fredrick writes, ' the man who has authority possesses something that I would describe as the capacity for reasoned elaboration, for giving convincing reason for what he does or proposes to have other to do.'

- **Responsibility or Accountability**: Another characteristic of authority is responsibility or accountability. The man or the group who possesses authority is always responsible or answerable to some higher authority. In democracy, authorities are answerable or responsible to the general public.
- **Dominance:** An authority holder enjoys dominance over his subjects. He can command obedience.

Stop to consider

- The word authority is derived from the Roman word "auctor" or "auctoritus' which means advice, opinion or influence.
- Authority is that form of power which is legalized and legitimized.
- There are certain characteristics of the concept of authority. These are-
legitimacy, relationship, reason, responsibility or accountability, dominance etc.

1.8 Different types of Authority

Max Weber, a German sociologist and political economist explained typology of authority in his book 'The Theory of Social and Economic Organization'(1971).Weber divided authority into three types: Traditional Authority, Charismatic Authority and Legal Rational Authority.

Traditional Authority: Traditional authority is that which is based on ancient customs or traditions and conventions. Traditional authority is closely related to hereditary system of power. According to Weber, the power of traditional authority is accepted because that has traditionally been the case; its legitimacy exists because it has been accepted for a long time. Britains' queen Elizabeth for instance, occupies a position that she inherited based on the traditional rules of succession for the monarchy. People adhere to traditional authority because they are invested in the past and feel obligated to perpetuate it.

Traditional authority can be intertwined with race, class, varna and gender. In most societies, for instance, men are more likely to be

privileged than women and thus are more likely to hold roles of authority. Similarly members of dominant racial groups or upper class families also win respect more readily. In India the Brahmins win a upper hand respect from all other groups due to the hierarchical varna system. However the acceptance of traditional authority is declining day by day due to the growing acceptance of democracy.

Charismatic Authority: Charismatic authority based on charisma. Charisma denotes personnel qualities. Max Weber says, 'Charismatic authority rests on the devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person.' Followers accept the power of charismatic authority because they are drawn to the leaders' personal qualities. Charismatic leader usually emerge in times of crisis and offer innovative and radical solutions. They may offer a vision of new world order.

Charismatic leader tend to hold power for short durations and according to Weber they are just likely to be tyrannical as they are heroic. Diverse leaders from different background are considered as charismatic authority e.g. Hitler, Napoleon, Jesus Christ, Cesar, Margaret Thatcher, Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi. Mother Teresa etc. All of them were able to make a huge number of followers by their exemplary character.

Legal Rational Authority: Legal Rational authority is that which is used in accordance with the law. Such kind of authority exists only in democracy. In this type of authority, power is vested in a particular rationale, system or ideology and not necessarily in the person who implements the specifics of that doctrine. A nation that follows a constitution applies this type of authority.

Comparison Table

Sl No	Particulars	Charismatic	Traditional	Legal Rational
1	Type of ruler	Charismatic leader	Historic personality	Functional Superior or bureaucratic official
2	Position determined by	personality	Established traditions	Law

3	Ruled using	Extra ordinary quality and exceptional powers	Acquired or inherited	Rationality or established norms, rules and regulations
4	Loyalty	Interpersonal and personal allegiance and devotion	Traditional allegiance	Authority/rules

Weber noted that legal rational authority is the most advanced one. Societies try to evolve from traditional and charismatic authorities to legal rational one because the feudal standard of traditional authority and instability of charismatic authority automatically force it to routinize into a more structured form of authority.

Check Your Progress

Question 1: What do you mean by Authority?

Question 2: What are the different characteristics of Authority?

Question 3. What are the three types of Authority?

1.9 Relative meaning of Power and Authority

Power and authority are two important terms of political science. For some scholars authority is a species of power. Weldon analyse authority as 'power exercised with the general approval of the people concerned.' There are also some scholars who use these two terms interchangeably. As a result of this fact many scholars ignore authority in their discussion or theoretical analysis. For example Machiavelli and Hobbes devoted considerable space in analyzing how power is used to regulate human life but said practically nothing about authority. Normative theories reject the attempt to analyse authority in

terms of power. C. J. Friedrich observes 'authority is not a kind of power something that accompanies it.'

Power and authority are two ways of regulating social behavior and conduct. A man with power may regulate those conduct and behavior either by consent or by force on the other hand a man with authority can do this only by the consent of people and social norms. That is why authority is always considered as legitimate whereas power may be legitimate as well as illegitimate. Power is generally based on force, whereas authority is based on consent. In this sense authority is more democratic than power. In the words of Lasswell 'power becomes authority when it is legalized. Capacity to issue order is power, whereas authority is that point where the decisions are taken.'

Although, there exist many differences between power and authority yet both the terms are related to each other. Authority cannot exist without power. The exercise of authority always means exercise of power. Power to be effective and stable must be accompanied by authority. Gauba analyses this relation with a meaningful quote; 'If we think of power as a naked sword, authority may be envisaged as a sword in its scabbed.'

Differences between Power and Authority

Power	Authority
1. Power is not always legal.	1. Authority is always legal.
2. Power is described as the ability to influence the behavior of others.	2. Authority is described as the right to do so.
3. Power brings about compliance through persuasion, threats, coercion or violence.	3. Authority brings about compliance through moral and legal obligation.
4. Power may not be directly related to social values and norms.	4. Authority is very much closely related to social values.

Power can be attained by ignoring or dominating social values	5. One cannot dream about authority without power.
5. Power can be sustained without authority. Though it may be for a very temporary period.	

1.10. Meaning and Basis of Legitimacy

The concept of legitimacy also has acquired a significant place in modern Political theory. Although the significance of these terms can be seen in the writings of ancient Greek thinkers but its systematic exposition have been carried only by modern political thinkers.

The term legitimacy derived from the latin word 'legitimus' which means lawful. Cicero used the term legitimus to denote the power constituted by law. Later, the word legitimacy was used for traditional procedures, constitutional principles and adaption to tradition. During that period consent was also considered as the essence of legitimate rule. The meaning of legitimacy has changed from age to age. During the middle age it was used to express the feeling against usurpation. But in the present age, all revolution or coup cannot be considered as illegitimate. For example the revolution of Bangladesh against Pakistan to secure freedom cannot be termed as illegitimate. Thus new principles of legitimacy replace the old principle.

Different thinkers have define legitimacy different way. For example-

According to S.M. Lipset, 'Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institution are most appropriate for the society.'

According to Jean Blondel, 'Legitimacy can be defined as the extent to which the population accepts naturally, without questioning, the organization to which it belong.'

According to J.C. Plano and R. E. Riggs, 'Legitimacy means the quality of being justified or willingly accepted by subordinates that converts the political power into rightful authority.'

Though there are many views regarding legitimacy we may conclude that legitimacy means the capacity to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political system is most suitable to the society. The

citizens must obey it un reluctantly and accept its sanctity and consider it worthy of respect and reverence.

Basis of Legitimacy: Like power and authority, Legitimacy has also its own grounds. According to max Weber there are three sources of legitimacy-

(i)Tradition: Legitimacy may rest on an established belief in the sanction of immemorial traditions and on the need to obey leaders who exercise authority according to tradition.

(ii) Exceptional Personal Qualities: The second basis of legitimacy is Charismatic quality of a leader or a person. This is based on 'devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity or exemplary character of an individual person and the normative pattern or order revealed or ordained by him.'

(iii) Legality: According to Weber, the third important source of legitimacy is law. Legitimacy may rest on the belief that power is wielded in a way that is legal. What is done legally is regarded as legitimate.

Robert Dahl refers to another three kinds of the basis of legitimacy. These are: Personal Choice, Competence and economy.

G. A. Jones has described seven sources of legitimacy in the context of British system viz., Continuity with the political and social system, tradition of non-violence, religious belief, belief in values, electoral process, liberty and unanimity, continuity of its tradition and adaption of political culture.

From the above analysis it is evident that legitimacy is not merely a moral feeling. It is a belief which leads the people to accept that it is morally right and proper for the officials or leaders of government to make binding rules**.**

Stop to consider
- The term legitimacy is derived from the Latin word 'legitimus' which means lawful.
- Legitimacy means the capacity to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political system is most suitable to the society.
- There are many sources of legitimacy: tradition, personal quality, legality etc.

1.11: Types of Legitimacy

David Easton refers to three forms of legitimacy viz., ideological, structural and personal.

(i) **Ideological Legitimacy:** When legitimacy comes from the ideology prevailed in the society than it is termed as ideological legitimacy. A political system is also an articulated set of ideals, ends and beliefs which help the members of that system to interpret the past explain the present and offer a vision of the future. These set of ideas may be deceptive myths about political life or they may be realistic appraisals and sincere aspirations. But these always have the potential to capture popular imagination. However all kinds of ideologies do not contribute to the growth or maintenance of legitimacy. Those sets of belief that go to the heart of the regime and help in sustaining the system are called legitimating ideologies.

(ii) **Structural Legitimacy:** The principles which motivate the members of a system to accept their authority holders as legitimate can also contribute to the justification of structures and norms of the regime. Every system has some rules through which authority is wielded and there are always some rules which govern the exercise of power. The fact of occupying these roles and of abiding by the rules applying to them normally places the seal of moral approval upon the authorities. This basis of validation of authority is called structural legitimacy

(iii) **Personal Legitimacy:** If the behavior and personality of the occupants of authority roles are of dominating importance and if the members consider this authority as trust worthy this is known as personal legitimacy. David Easton is of the view that a large class of leaders, regardless of any conviction of being called, or outer recognition as such by followers, manage to build up a belief in their legitimacy. The belief in the validity of authorities is based on their personal qualities.

1.12. Relationship among Power, Authority and Legitimacy

Power, authority and legitimacy are inherently linked concept. Power is an entity of individuals' ability to control or direct others, while authority is influence that is predicted on perceived legitimacy. Power is necessary for authority, but it is possible to have power without authority. In Other words power is necessary but not sufficient for authority. Authority consists of two important components: power and legitimacy. Power becomes authority when it is legitimized. Without legitimacy, power also cannot sustain for a long period. Through legitimacy, power gets recognition and become authority. Even without legitimacy authority cannot exists.

<div align="center">

Power + Legitimacy = Authority

</div>

In reality none of the concept is completely independent of each other. The following diagram depicts inseparable relation among them.

1.13 Summing up

Power, Authority and legitimacy are three important concepts of political theory. Power refers to the ability or capability of a person or a group to control the behavior of others as their wishes. There are many sources and types of power. Like power, authority also denotes capacity but it rests on consent and norms of the society. Without those norms and consent authority cannot exists. Legitimacy basically means consent. All these three term (power, authority and legitimacy) are interlinked. Authority is the outcome of power and legitimacy. Through legitimacy power become more effective and stable. O.P. Gauba analyses this relation with a meaningful quote; 'If we think of power as a naked sword, authority may be envisaged as a sword in its scabbed.'

1.14 References and suggested Readings

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1.15 Questions

1.   What do you mean by power? Discuss the characteristics of it.
2.   Mention the elements/ Sources of power.
3.   Write a comprehensive note on different forms of Power.

4. Write a note on different perspectives of power. Examine how elitist perspective of power is different from group perspective of power.

5. What is Authority? Discuss different forms of Authority as put forward by Max Weber.

6. Define the relationship between Power and Authority.

7. Define the concept of Legitimacy. What are the different types of legitimacy?

Unit 2
Dimensions of Power

Unit Structure :

2.1 Introduction

One of the most discussed topics in the arena of politics is the issue of power. Power is one of the central themes of politics and hence in today's time many regards politics as the struggle for power. Power is crucial for each and every state in this world and it is the most essential element of each and every state. All countries tries to acquire power. In-fact the desire to acquire more power is inherent in all human beings. Power is the essential characteristics of the state system. One of the most eminent political scientist, Robert A. Dahl, said that power is synonymous with politics. According to V D Mahajan "power is the key concept because if politics is the resolution of conflict, it is the distribution of power within a community that determines how the conflict is to be resolved and whether the resolution is to be effectively observed by all parties". It may be stated here that power is unevenly distributed. Not everyone is having equal amount of power. Eminent political scientist Hans J Morgenthau said that politics is a struggle for power. In the arena of political science there are views that political relationships are actually a power relationships. However, one must keep in mind that though power is an important concept within politics, but politics is not all about power. Within politics there are so many other aspects. One must also note that though the desire of acquiring power is an important

characteristics of human beings, but human beings are not exclusively a power hungry animals. In this unit we will learn various ideas regarding power with special reference to the dimensions of power.

2.2 Objectives

- To know the meaning and definitions of power
- To know the characteristics of power
- To know the kinds and forms of power
- To know the dimensions of power
- To know the methods of exercising power

2.3 Meaning and definitions of power

There is no agreed definite meaning of power. Different scholars have defined in different ways. In simple terms, power refers to a person's ability to influence the behaviour of another person or a group of people in accordance with his or her own desires. According to Robert A Dahl power is a special case of influence involving losses for non- compliance. According to David Easton power is a relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former's own end. People's relationships are marked by subordination and super-ordination when they have power. Many social scientists, especially sociologists, are primarily concerned with the repercussions of power dynamics in social relationships. This unit begins with a discussion of the definition and notion of power before moving on to important theoretical approaches to understanding power in sociological texts. We analyse the perspectives of six sociologists who describe the various characteristics of power in this article. Later in the Unit, we'll look at how power is articulated in two very different contexts: the elite on the one hand, and local communities on the other.

"Power may be described as the power of a person, or group of individuals, to alter the behaviour of other individuals or groups in the manner that he desires, and to prevent his conduct from being modified in the manner that he does not", writes Tawney (1931: 229).

At least two actors must have a social relationship in order for power to exist. It can't be attributed to a single person. It is nonsensical to assert that an individual has power unless it is indicated over whom this authority is exercised. An individual or group of individuals in positions of power can persuade others to do what they wish. Those who are subjected to the exercise of power are punished in one way or

another if they oppose or refuse to obey the powerful. Power always creates asymmetry in relationships. Those with better access to limited resources, such as financial control, ownership or control over means of production and/or distribution, are more powerful than those who do not. Power is the ability to exert control over such resources The use of sanction in imposing one's will is an important component of power, and it is on this point that power differs from influence.

When power gains legitimacy or justification, it is referred to as authority. It should be noted that authority receives voluntary submission. A person with authority has the ability to command or control others. Consider a senior bureaucrat who assigns tasks to his or her subordinates and may even transfer some of them to another city. This is because the bureaucrat has the authority to do so due to his or her position and status within the government machinery. In formal organisations, authority is clearly defined and distributed through the organization's rules and laws. At this point, it is possible to understand that the exercise of authority does not always imply the superiority of the person who commands. A teacher may be a better scholar than the Principal of the school who dismisses him/her. The Principal may suspend a teacher solely because of the authority that the Principal possesses. Power can thus be exercised as institutionalised authority in formal organisations and as institutionalised power in informal organisations. b) Status and Power E.A. Ross (1916) drew attention to prestige as the immediate cause of the location of power. It was said that the class with the most prestige would wield the most power. Prestige, therefore, is a important source of power. It is incorrect to associate prestige with power because prestige is rarely associated with power. Power itself becomes the basis of prestige, i.e., when a person has power, he or she has prestige, but when a person has prestige, he or she may not have power.

There is a strong link between power and influence. Influence is persuasive rather than coercive; power commands obedience and submission. Power implies intended control, which is usually carried out through sanctions, whereas influence does not involve the use of sanctions or punishment. Influence does not necessarily imply power. For example, Newton was a man of influence but not power. A police officer may be powerful, but he has no influence. Similarly, the Prime Minister of the country is a person with both power and influence.

Weber gave particular attention to those forms of power that involve stable and enduring relationships, and when power is structured in this way he learned it 'domination'. He referred to this structure of power as "domination." Power is structured into distinct forms of dominance through rationalisation processes: power relations that were previously unreflective custom and habit become more

conscious and deliberate social practises. The rationalisation of action entails replacing unreflective patterns of customary and habitual action with actions oriented toward self-interest calculations and commitment to ultimate values. Weber appears to imply two types of rationalisation, which can be labelled 'instrumental rationalisation' and 'value rationalisation.' Customary or habitual forms of social order evolve into forms of social order that are sustained by calculations of expediency through instrumental rationalisation. They become forms of social order that are sustained by the concept of legitimacy through value rationalisation (Weber, 30, cited here from Scott 1996: 22-23).

Class and Power in Karl Marx Marx (1954, 1955) is well-known for his ideas on class and class conflict. In the capitalist society, he distinguishes two classes: the bourgeoisie (or ruling class) and the proletariat (or working class). He claims that the proletariat rules and commands the bourgeoisie's obedience. The bourgeoisie's power is founded on control over capital on the one hand, and control over military force and idea production on the other. Bottomore (1964: 24-25) states that "the lines of conflict are most sharply drawn in modern capitalist societies, because in such societies the divergence of economic interests appears most clearly unobscured by any personal bonds such as those of feudal society, and because development of capitalism brings about a more radical polarisation of classes than has existed in any other type of society by its unrivalled concentration of wealth at one end." The proletariat, on the other hand, seeks to increase the ruling class's capital. The relationship between the two classes is one of exploitation, with the ruling class profiting at the expense of the wage labourers who make up the proletariat. Workers produce commodities for the bourgeoisie in exchange for wages. Their wages are barely enough to cover their basic needs. Certainly, there is a large disparity between the value of the commodity that workers produce and the wages that they receive, and this disparity is appropriated by the ruling class. The proletariat class is perpetually at odds with its employers over wages and working conditions. Previously, the conflict was disorganised and ineffective. Modern industry and factory system of production ushered an era of political organisation of class struggle. The class conscious political organisation arose. Marx believes that the proletariat will one day overthrow the bourgeoisie and be free of the long-standing domination and exploitation. c) Robert Michels: The Oligarchy's Iron Law Michels believed that the desire for power is inherent in the nature of humans. Those who acquire power seek to maintain it. Against this backdrop, he contends that democracy necessitates organisation, which leads to oligarchy. The Iron Law of Oligarchy refers to the trend toward oligarchic rule in party organisations. He agreed that

"democratic currents of history" frequently "break on the same shoal." However, they are "ever renewed." One of the reasons for the revival of democracy is that oligarchies were perceived to be oppressive and were overthrown. Michel is adamant that democratic currents will always violate the Iron Law (Michels 1959). It is understandable that a large group of people in an organisation cannot govern or administer their common affairs. Over time, specialisation develops and the division of labour evolves. Organizations are becoming more complex. Some people are chosen to represent the masses and carry out their wishes. According to Michels (1927), every organisation, no matter how democratic at first, develops an oligarchic character. He was convinced that the masses expect leaders to govern them and address their concerns. In the domain of political life, leaders derive power from the masses' incompetence. The inept masses submit to leaders whose expertise they are convinced of. Oligarchies preserve leadership stability and longevity. More importantly, oppressive conditions do not cause unrest in and of themselves. The awareness of these conditions is what sparks class conflict. Struggles and revolts are frequently suppressed. Power Conceptual and Theoretical Issues 106 Michels believes that determining the limits imposed by oligarchies on individuals is appropriate. He claims that decentralisation does not necessarily lead to increased liberty in the hands of individuals, nor does it increase the power of the rank and file. Typically, it serves as a mechanism through which weak leaders seek to escape the dominion of the stronger ones. However, weaker leaders may establish centralised authority within their own domains. One oligarchy gives way to a slew of smaller oligarchies, each powerful in its own right. He focused on instilling in the masses a spirit of free inquiry, criticism, and control over the leaders. It should be noted that these are necessary steps in the process of strengthening democracy (Zeitlin 1987). d) Steven Lukes: Human Agency and Power Lukes affirms that all power is attributed to individual or collective humanagents. Human agents frequently have several options or alternatives from which to choose their course of action. "Human agents exercise their characteristic powers when they act voluntarily on the basis of wants and beliefs that provide them with justification for doing so." Such an exercise of human agency implies that the agent at the point of action has the power to act otherwise, that is, at least the ability and opportunity to act or not act, it is in his power to do either; there is 'an openness between performing or failing to perform the action,' and there is no set of external circumstances such that the agent will necessarily act in those circumstances (Lukes 1977, rpt. 1982: 159). Two conclusions emerge from this viewpoint: the one who wields power had the option or alternative to act differently; and those over whom power was

wielded had the option or alternative to act differently if power was not wielded over them. Luker's power proposition accepts that, despite the fact that actors operate within "structurally determined limits," they have a certain degree of autonomy and can act autonomously and differently. In other words, power would have no place in a world of total structural determinism and imposed constraints that limit the options of human agents. He cites the example of an employer who declares some of his workers redundant because he wants to cut costs. In another case, an official government liquidator declares an insolvent company bankrupt, putting workers out of work. While the first case is a straightforward exercise of power, the second is not because we assume that the liquidator had no other options. According to Lukers, social life can be properly understood as a dialectic of power and structure, a web of possibilities for agents to make choices and pursue strategies within given constraints. e) Anthony Giddens: Power as Domination and Dependency Anthony Giddens' concept of power in the context of interaction is founded on dominance. He distinguishes between power in its broadest sense and power in its narrowest sense. Power is defined in a broad sense as the transformative capacity of human agency. The term capacity refers to an individual's ability to change the course of a series of events through intervention. Power, on the other hand, is largely relational in the narrow sense. It is the ability to influence outcomes when those outcomes are dependent on the agency of others. The primary distinction between the two is agency. While use of power in the broad sense Understanding Power 107 is grounded in an individual's ability to directly effect outcomes, whereas power in the narrow sense is grounded in the ability to effect outcomes in situations where they rely on others (Stewert 2001). More specifically, power in the narrow sense implies reliance on the agency of others and the ability of an individual to prevail upon them. The emphasis is on dominance on the part of the individual who is said to wield power and compliance on the part of those over whom the individual exercises control. This relationship can thus be understood as one of dominance. 'It is in this sense that men have power over others; this is power as domination,' writes Giddens (1976; 111). Giddens' fundamental conception of power is concerned with the acquisition and application of resources or capabilities manifested in struggles and subordination. 'Power, in either the broad or restricted sense, refers to capabilities,' writes Giddens (1976:111). Power, unlike meaning communication, does not come into being only when it is 'executed,' even if there is no other criterion by which one can demonstrate what power actors possess. This is significant because we can speak of power being "stored up" for future use. Later, Giddens (1984) proposes that reproduction of dominance structures leads to the

generation of power. Thus, power is determined by the distribution of resources and the ability of individuals to make the best use of them. He maintains that in actual situations, everyone has the ability to exercise power. An individual in a subordinate position is never completely dependent and is frequently able to convert available resources "into some degree of control over the system's reproduction conditions" (Giddens 1982: 32). According to Giddens, power is not always oppressive. In fact, power may be best defined as the ability to achieve results. In fact, power flows smoothly in processes of social reproduction within the larger matrix of domination structures. More importantly, despite the fact that power's constraints cannot be ignored, power is frequently used to achieve freedom or emancipation. f) Michael Foucault: Domination as Power In conceptual, methodological, and political terms, Michael Foucault associates power with dominance. Within the framework of dominance, he distinguishes between the characteristics of modern and classical power. Disciplinary power as a modern form of domination contrasts sharply with sovereign power as a pre-modern form of domination. For starters, whereas disciplinary power is constant and completely pervasive, sovereign power is periodic (and thus not constant) and has a low social penetration (therefore not allpervasive). Second, whereas dominance in the disciplinary model is expressed through political rationalities and seemingly insurmountable technologies of power, dominance in the sovereignty model is expressed through prohibition, and if that fails, punishment for the action that should not have been performed. Third, while the disciplinary model has a contrasting actor constitution (subjectivisation in the sense of control and dependence), the sovereignty model is based on the given ness of the actors involved (Stewart 2001). According to Foucault (1982:212), "this (modern) form of power applies itself to everyday life, categories the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others must recognise." Power Conceptual and Theoretical Issues 108in him It is a form of power that subjugates individuals. The word subject has two meanings: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings imply a type of power that subjugates and subjects. This implies that the law of truth is the defining criterion of modern forms of power. Furthermore, modern forms of power are based on dominance, hierarchy, asymmetry, and control. He maintains that new forms of dominance emerge, and he contends that liberation or freedom from constraints (at both the individual and collective levels) is impossible. He believes that global public-oriented

emancipatory politics are not possible. Certainly, Foucault has been accused of a kind of fatalism inherent in the concept of power.

Stop to consider

It may be stated here that there are many sources of power namely knowledge, organisation, status of an individual, skill of an individual, faith or belief, authority, mass media, personality etc.

One important characteristics of power is the issue of capacity. Power involves the capacity of an individual or a state to get things done according to the wishes of the individual or the state. Another important characteristics of power is that power don't exist in vacuum, i.e power must be exercised in relation to others. Power is also situational, i.e it is very much dependent on situations/circumstances. Power is also very much dependent on its use. Power is backed by sanction because power often involves coercion. Power is also dependent on time. Time can really change the power-relations. The two important aspects of power are "actual" and "potential". Actual power means the power actually used by a person or a country or a group. Potential power is the power that someone can exercise but someone may not use it also.

Stop to consider

It may be stated here that the concept of power and various discussions regarding it can be traced backed to the times of Aristotle. According to Montesquieu power is the central point of political science.

2.5 Kinds and forms of power

There are many kinds of power namely legitimate, illegitimate, direct, indirect, manifest, unilateral, bilateral, centralised, decentralised, etc. Legitimate power is that power which is backed by law, constitution, or traditions. Constitutional power, traditional power, charismatic power are some examples of legitimate power. Illegitimate power is the opposite of legitimate power, i.e, the power not backed by law, constitution or traditions. When someone is using power directly, i.e a person himself/herself is using the power directly, is known as direct power. When someone is using power with the help of

subordinates or others, it is known as indirect power. When power is used openly, it is known as manifest power (e,g Army etc). When someone is using power over someone who don't have power, is known as unilateral power. Bilateral power is the opposite of unilateral i.e both sides are using power. When power is accumulated at one place, it is known as centralised power. When power is divided, it is called decentralised power.

According to Crespigny, there are six forms of power relationships namely coercive, inductive, reactional, impedimental, attrahent, persuasive. Coercive relationship involves threats and coercion. Inductive relationship involves attractive offers. Reactional relationship involves hopes and expectations on the part of the subordinates. Impedimental relationship involves creating obstacles. Attrahent relationship involves willingness to do. Persuasive relationship involves persuasion based on rational and non rational arguments.

SAQ
Explain the kinds and forms of power in brief.
....
....
....

2.6 Dimensions of power
2.6.1 Power as decision making

A decision must appear reasonable, have face validity, and include built-in justifications and excuses if the outcome is unexpected (Keeley 2001: p.154). The decision-making process is a series of interactions that transform demands into outputs (Pettigrew 1972). Decision makers are expected to produce outcomes that are consonant with their own system`s goals, and the decisions are influenced by power in the organization and by corporate communication. Decision makers strive for mutually acceptable solutions when confronted with conflicting values, personalities, and backgrounds. The potential for conflict grows with organisational size and diversity, and the likelihood of conflict varies with decision-making patterns across cultures.

Eastern and Western cultures have distinct worldviews that are frequently compared. And existing cultures can be classified and compared using the Collectivism and Individualism scales. Individualistic societies have an independent social orientation, with

the characteristics autonomy and self-expression being highly valued. The societies of collectivists are interdependent, with the characteristics of harmony, relatedness, and connection. Interdependent societies are found among Eastern nations, while independent societies are found among Western nations. Many empirical studies (Ali, 1989; Tayeb, 1988; Mann et al., 1998; etc.) have confirmed the importance of cultural background in decision-making style selection. According to N. J. Adler (1991), decision-making styles must be linked to the corresponding national culture, values, and norms. MODEL OF DECISION-MAKING It has been well quoted and researched that culture plays an important role in decision-making. 1. The Universal Model: This model assumes that there is little difference in how individuals from different cultures make decisions and that the results obtained from one group can be attributed to people in general. 2. The Dispositional Model: This approach recognises that there are cross-cultural differences in decision-making, and it is argued that whatever differences found in studies indicate that the omnipresence of cultural inclinations in individuals' minds is bound to emerge under all circumstances and in all situations. 3. The Dynamic Model: This viewpoint holds that there are cross-cultural differences in decision making. Higgins and Bargh (1987), who studied several decision-making models, discovered that culture, which they called filters and simplifying mechanisms, aids people in processing information and interpreting their surroundings.

Hofstede's (1984) research identifies four cultural dimensions: a. power distance, b. individualism, c. masculinity, and d. uncertainty avoidance. According to Hofstede (1984), power distance is the extent to which less powerful individuals in a society accept and accept power inequality as normal. Although inequality exists in all cultures, the degree to which it is accepted varies from one to the next. There are two types of ethical theories: deontological and teleological (Murphy dn Laczniak 1981). The deontological theory focuses on specific actions and behaviours of an individual, whereas the teleological theory focuses on the consequences of those actions and behaviours (Hunt and Vitell 1986). They proposed that cultural norms influence perceived ethical situations, perceived alternatives, perceived consequences, and stakeholder importance. However, Hunt and Vitell did not elaborate on how cultural norms influence ethical decision making.

Many people have conducted extensive research on decision-making theories and contributed to the body of knowledge in order to compare cross-cultural differences. The findings indicate that choice and behaviour are core characteristics of decision-making phenomena that explain cognitive patterns of reactions with judgments,

expectations, and evaluation styles of the situation. The descriptive, psychological decision theory focuses on how individuals make decisions, whereas the normative, rational decision theory elucidates how decision makers should make decisions. Psychological theories have revealed basic principles that people use when dealing with problems, and rational methodologies explain how decision makers analyse a number of outcomes from each alternative scenario in order to make a final decision. The existence of special mechanisms through which people process information and interpret their surroundings is referred to in the body of psychological decision-making models. Such cognitive processes are based on the idea that people's beliefs and values can influence how they process information. More research is now being conducted on the decision-making process across cultures. According to the findings of the study, there are cross-cultural differences in behaviour and decision-making strategies in particular.

2.6.2 Power as agenda setting

The second face of power i.e agenda setting generally involves controlling the parameters of a discussion. Someone may want to do this because that someone don't want the participants of the discussion to address things that are in the benefits of the participants. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) describe this form of power like this: 'To the extent that a person or group – consciously or unconsciously – creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, that person or group has power'. It means that I might be able to prevent someone else from making a decision, or discussing a decision. In doing so, I am demonstrating my power over them

2.6.3 Power as Thought Control

Now let us think of some other situations. It will be even easier if rather than preventing somebody discussing something, if we can prevent someone from realizing what is in their real interests. Many times it has happened in reality also. Throughout history it is happening all time and is one of the most important issues to address in the current times also. Through ages because of the patriarchal nature of the society woman were not able to realize their true interests. According to Lukes 'The most effective and insidious form of power is to prevent … conflict from arising in the first place' Steven Lukes (2005).

2.7 Methods of exercising power

There are many ways or methods of exercising power. One of the most important and effective method is the method of persuasion. Many statesman around the world, international organizations are using the method of persuasion to get things done. Another method is the method of reward. There are different kinds of rewards like economic, psychological, political etc. Another method is the method of punishment. Punishment generally involves force or coercion.

Stop to consider

According to Robert Bierstedt, force means manifest power. According to V D Mahajan, force is power in action or force is power exercised.

2.8 Summing up

After reading this unit, you will understand the concept of power. In simple words, power is the ability of someone to influence others. You will also have an idea on the characteristics, kinds and forms of power. You will understand that the concept of power is having many characteristics, forms and kinds. After reading this unit you will also understand the dimensions of power namely power as decision making, power as agenda setting, power as thought control. You will also know the various methods of exercising power.

2.9 References and Suggested readings

Political Theory by V D Mahajan, S Chand & Company Ltd, New Delhi, Reprint, 2009

An Introduction to Political Theory by OP Gauba, Macmillan, Delhi, 2009

Unit 3: Ideology and power

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Power, authority and ideology have occupied predominant position to the study of Political Sociology. In short, every phenomenon of politics revolves around these three concepts. We have already studied the basic concepts of these phenomenon. Let us again discuss these concepts very briefly. We know that sociology determines the relationship between people and the society. In this context, power plays an important role in determining one's position. Again, authority denotes ones legitimate power and ideology helps us to examine ones attitudes and opinions towards his socio-political system. In short, power gives us the ability to control others behaviour and authority makes it legitimate, while ideology provides the way to find out the solutions. Here in this unit we are going to discuss various aspects of power, authority and ideology.

1.2 Objectives

It is well known to you that power is the central theme of political science and authority makes it legitimate while ideology provides a concrete way to 186 (6) achieve ones desired goals. After going through this unit you will be able to: • discuss the meaning, concepts and various theories of power • describe the meaning of authority •

analyse relationship between authority and leadership • discuss the relationship between power and authority • examine the meaning and role of ideology

1.3 Definition of Power

The term power has been derived from the Latin word 'potere' meaning 'to be able'. Power simply means one's ability or capability to control others behaviour and it is generally said to be the capacity of an actor to affect the actions of others in accordance with his own intentions. We can also define power as a tool of measurement of one's ability to control its environment, including the behaviour of other people. We can find a comprehensive account of power in Steven Lukes' (2005) Power: A Radical View where he discusses the three dimensions of power. According to him, power can be seen as various forms of constraint on human action, but also as that which makes action possible, and basically, power would be addressed in abstraction like a social construction. In this context, we can point out some factors that determine the power's jurisdiction such as behaviour, decision- making issues, observable conflicts, subjective interests. However, it is very difficult to find out a precise and universally applicable definition of power. It is because scholars have forwarded various views regarding the concept of power. For example, for Eric Wolf, political power is composed of three basic elements: a) individualism and ambition for some persons over others, b) an ability for a psychological ego to impose the proper desires to "an external alter" unidirectionally, c) an outstanding capacity in centralizing specific strategies (Wolf, 2004:3). Here in this section we are going to quote some important definitions of power as prescribed by some prominent scholars. • According to Herbert Goldhamer and Edward Shills 'power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends.' • Hans Morgenthau defines politics as a struggle for power, as a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the formal control of certain actions of the later. To quote him, 'by power we mean the power of man over the mind and actions of other man.' Power is a possession but not in a tangible form like money. • MacIver writes, 'by the possession of power we mean the capacity to centralize, regulate or direct the behaviour of persons or things. • According to Samuel Beer, 'one person exercises power over another when he intentionally acts in such a manner as to affect in a predictable way actions of others'. • Lasswell and Kaplan define power as participation in the making of decisions. • M.G. Smith says that 'power is the ability

to act effectively over people and things using means ranging from persuasion to coercion'. • In the words of George Schwarzenburger, 'power is capacity to impose one's will over another by reliance on effective sanctions in case of influence involving losses for non-compliance. If A confronts B with the prospects of shifting his behaviour, A is attempting to exercise power over B'. • David Easton defines power as the 'relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former's own ends.' On the basis of these definitions we can say that in social terms, power, involves the rule by the few over the majority. By power we also mean the ability of individuals or groups to make their own concerns or interests count, even where others resist. Power sometimes involves the direct use of force, but not always Politics, in this sense, is a concept that can be defined as a process involving the "exercise of control, constraint and coercion in society". However it needs mention here that Power which is derived from social positioning lacks legitimacy. It is dependent upon individual strength and competencies.

Stop to Consider:

Types of Power Depending upon situation, there are several kinds of power, some of which are described below: • Reward power- When a person holds power to bestow rewards it is called reward power. These rewards may be of any form like job assignment, benefits, time off, gifts etc. • Coercive power- When a person is in a position to punish others and when the power relationship is based on coercion, it is called coercive power. • Legitimate power- If the power holder exercises power in compliance with the law of the land or the constitution or the accepted tradition, it is called legitimate power. • Expert power- Expert power refers to the expertise of a person. This expertise comes from education and experience. • Referent power- Referent power is exercised by a person who has the ability to attract others. For example- the strong personality of a sport person helps him in endorsing products.

1.3.1 Theories of Power

Though power manifests itself in three forms viz, political, economic and ideological, we have various theories of power. Let us discuss some of them in this section. 1. Class theory of Power This class theory of power is put forwarded by the Marxists. According to this theory, since the inception of the institution of private property, power belongs to the economically dominated class of the society. In other words, class theory of power holds the view that power is concentrated

in the hands of those classes of the society, which control the means of production. They are of the view that state legalises their actions. According to them, state is the tools in the hands of rich class to exploit the weaker sections of the society. We can find a systematic analysis of class theory of power in Das capital written by Marx and Angels. They wrote, "political power, properly so called is merely the organised power of one class for suppressing another." They argue, in different phases of time various dominant classes emerged in the society to exploit the weaker sections, for example, in the ancient society the masters dominated the slaves, in the feudal society the nobility dominated while in the capitalist society the industrialist class dominates the workers. Marxists are of the opinion that only through a revolution we can change such kind of societal system. Gramsci, a notable Marxist writer is of the view that the domination of class is achieved not only through economic structure and coercion but also through the active consent of the weaker or propertyless class. He suggests that the consent of propertyless class is achieved through the use of intellectual, moral and political persuasion and leadership. Again a twist came to the class theory after the Second World War. This period led to the reduction in the economic burden of the working class and enhanced the legitimacy of the capitalist system in their eyes. But the economic growth has benefited the capitalist class rather than others. Though in recent years, welfare state system has acquired popular support, still it by and large serves the interests of the owners of the means of production. In short class theory of power holds the view that in the society mode of power is the power of economically dominant class in the society.

SAQ: Do you think that the class theory of power is sufficient to explain the present power structure of the Indian society ? (100 words)

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2. Elitist Theory of Power

In the Class Theory we have learnt that in a society, power belongs to the property holder. Like this theory, the Elitist Theory of Power holds the view that every society is dominated by a group of people and power belongs to their hands, but they are minority. According to this

theory, this minority group is known as elites, which can take all the major decisions of the society and all power is concentrated in their hands. We can find the roots of this theory in the writings of our classical writer, but in modern sense the theory is developed by Pareto, Mosca, Mitchels and the sociologists of USA.190 (10) In the writings of Pareto we find that he is of the view that in all societies people are divided into a. a small governing elite and non-governing elite, and b. mass of population. He says that the small elites consist of administrators, dictators, warriors, wealthy men, religious priests or any other group of men in the society. Again he says that depending on circumstances and nature of the society the composition of elite class may differ but they are always present in any form of society. Pareto also rejects the Marxist concept of power as power is determined by the economic class structure and declars that only skilful political man can exercise power. In favour of his opinion he has forwarded the following two reasons: a. the elites, unlike the commons can organised themselves better b. they possess some attributes superior to the common people of the society. Again, in the writings of Mosca we find a different view of elitist theory. He has said that the superior organisation and calibre of the elite ensure their rule over society. He like Pareto also believes that though elites are minority in nature, due to their organised nature their rule or domination over the society is inevitable. On the other hand Michals has propounded the rule of "iron law of oligarchy". It means rule by few. According to him, "one of the iron laws of history, from which the most democratic modern societies and within those societies, the most advanced parties have been unable to escape". In short the rule by few is applicable to all types of society. Thus it is seen that elitist theory of power argues for rule of few. According to this theory political, economic and ideological power is concentrated in the hands of a minority group so they enjoy more powers. Moreover in democracy, although powers rest in the hand of people, practically all the decisions are made by a few people or elites.

SAQ: Do you think that Indian democracy represents elites rule? Give reasons in favour of your answer. (80 words)

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3. Pluralist Theory of Power

The theory rose as a reaction against the Marxist and Elitist theory of power. We have learnt that elitist theory makes minority as power holder while Marxist theory makes capitalist class as the ruling class of the society. On the other hand, pluralist theory makes majority as power holder of the society. According to this theory, in modern democracies power does not belong to a single elite group, rather it belongs to the different groups and interests which compete for influence and share power at different levels. It views politics as a struggle among different societal groups to control the decision making process. Hence, policy-making is a complex process and is not influenced by only a single elite class due to the bargaining of different institutions. Thus, the decisions in a society are the result of agreements and compromise among different groups. It clear that the theory holds the view that power is not the property of a single class; it involves various organisations attached with everyone's emotions. 4. Feminist Theory of Power: Since the inception of human civilisation, the male always controls society and women are always treated as second-class citizen. As against male hegemony over decision-making process of the society, Feminism emerged. Feminist theory of power views the gender difference as an elaborate system of male domination and try to end this system. According to this view, politics and society can be understood as a power relationship where one group of person i.e. women is controlled by another group i.e. men. Feminist theory of power argued that the gender differentiation has resulted in number of inequalities and discrimination against women in the family and occupation, unequal educational opportunities and devaluation of their works. They argue such kind of discrimination is only end through the transformation of the society. It is worth mentioning here that the struggle of women for justice and transforming society is quite old and manifests in various forms as suffrage movement. But all of them are directed towards the establishment of a just social order based on equality.

1.5 Meaning of Ideology

We have already discussed the concept of ideology. Now let us discuss the concept of ideology in this section briefly. It is known to you that, ideologies offer the most useful guidance and new values or ideas to examine social phenomenon properly. You have also learnt that ideology may be defined as a body of moral beliefs and social prescriptions aiming radical change in the existing political structure

for the creation of an Ideal Society. (17) In terms of power and authority, we can find a useful analysis on authority in the writings of Shill. He comments that 'ideologies are always concerned with authority, transcendent and earthly, and they cannot therefore avoid being political'. We can also define ideology as an ideal political system that prescribes the rules for achieving and maintaining it. Those in power preserve and promote the ideology. Ideological principles are a source of law. In contemporary world, ideology is inseparable from the study of political behaviour or expression of nation-state. Since the beginning of modern nation-state, ideologies play a crucial role in moulding the behaviour of the nation. Though, Francis Fukuyama proclaimed in his book The End of History that the close of the Cold War marked the world's turning away from ideology. With the exception of Maoist beliefs that continued to guide rebel groups in a few far-flung countries like Peru and Nepal, the age of ideology did seem to be at an end. But still it is ideology through which we can logically examine the true nature of one nations activities. Again a close analysis of an ideology helps us to explore the hidden ideas behind the policies and programmes of a nation. Again like all other concepts of political science it is also very difficult to define ideology in a word. Many scholars put forwarded various opinions regarding the concept of ideology. Let us examine some of them. To Alan Ball, ideology is the mechanism to legitimize the political structures and distribution of political power within that system and it serves to legitimate the political process. Preston King, one of the prominent scholars of modern political analysis discusses ideology as an actual application of one nations policies and programmes which may involve the entire political ideas to a political system. Thus it is seen that political ideologies are seen as set of fundamental ideas that are only permissible to a political system. Political ideologies are same as the common ideologies which represent the beliefs, values and attitude of a nation. With the following diagram we can illustrate political ideology very clearly.

Check Your Progress:
1. What do you mean by ideology?
2. Examine the relationship between power and authority.
3. Choose the correct one
a. Francis Fukuyama/ Marx/Aristotle wrote the book The End of History.
 b. Weber said about 3/4/5 types of authority.
c. Das Capital was written by Marx/Marx and Angels/Marx and Lenin

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1.5.1 Role of Ideology

No one deny the fact that in a society, ideology is probably the most important factor that affects the activities of the leaders and common people. Again, it is believed that ideology is both a means to an end and an end in itself. In other words we can say that ideology determines the external behaviour of the society or a nation. In this context, we can put forward the arguments of Prof. Norman Hill, who opines that ideology is the readymade package of ideas on the basis of which we can simplify the relationship among the nations. In other words, we can say that our society revolves around the concept of

ideology for its proper explanations of incidents. However, in terms of ideological elements or impact of ideology in politics there is a difference of opinion among scholars. As we mentioned earlier ideology is regarded as a body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture. The major international incidents are the reflection of ideological differences. For example, In the course of World War I, a new element has been introduced. By 1916 the Allies were being urged to think of their endeavour as a war "to make the world safe for democracy," and the Germans, on their side, were correspondingly encouraged to visualize the war as a struggle of "culture" against "barbarism." Hence, it is clear that ideological elements are the basic cause behind the War. However it is not true to accept this, because there are also some other causes which are responsible for the war. However, ideology has tremendously influenced the relationships between the countries in the international arena. During the period between the First and Second World Wars, Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany had considerably influenced the foreign policies of these countries. Policy makers of various countries try to mould the public opinion in support of their policies. Particularly in the totalitarian states, the rulers justify their actions through ideologies. On the other hand it can be said that ideology is a set of doctrines or beliefs that form the basis of a political, economic, or other system. And we know that one country's foreign policy is the reflection of its international and external behaviour and composite desire and beliefs of its people. Through foreign policy one country tries to adjust its relationship with other nations. From this standpoint ideology enables us to discover the lines of differences. For example during the Cold War period we may easily point out that due to the ideological differences the then two super powers moved against each other. Again the rise of Communism marked a corresponding increase in the role of ideology. and, Fascism helped to speed the process. The Spanish Civil War of the 1930s was an almost clear-cut confrontation between the ideologies of left and right. The balance of power in today's world is a balance weighted by ideological commitment. In the contemporary period it is believed that ideology has transformed international relationships form traditional to a modern one. Earlier centuries experienced dynastic wars, national, civil, and imperial wars, and diplomacy designed to further national security or national expansion or to promote mutual advantages and general peace. Such factors, indeed, appeared to govern international relations until recent times. International relations today are seemingly dominated more often than not by the exigencies of "-isms": wars are fought, alliances are made, and treaties are signed because of ideological considerations. Hence it is seen that the balance of power

in the contemporary world is a balance weighted by ideological commitment. Thus it is seen that, almost all incidents of politics constitute a belief system of one kind or another. However, some such belief systems are more structured, more ordered, and generally systematic than others, so they are still prevalent. For example, ideology of democracy or liberalism. Hence it is clear that ideology plays an important role in our society. Ideology plays both divisive and co-operational role. While common ideology may unite different countries, differences in ideology may divide them. It provides rigid framework for foreign policy makers. Ideology is also closely related to struggle for power.

SAQ: Do you think that contemporary world depends on ideology in its policy making process. Give arguments in favour of your answer. (50 words) -- -- -- -- -- --

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UNIT 4

Pluralist and Elitist notion of Power

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

There are numerous schools of thought who have been analysing the notion of power from different perspective. Pluralist and Elitist are two important schools of them. This chapter will give an analytical view on these two approaches. It also has a comparative statement on these two approaches.

1.2 Objectives

The main objectives of this chapter are

1. To Understand the pluralist notion of power
2. To Understand the Elitist notion of power
3. To make a comparison between pluralist notion of power and elitist notion of power

1.3 Pluralist notion of Power

Pluralist school of thought is one of the dominant schools in terms of analysing the nature and distribution of power in society. Pluralist believes that power does not reside in one hand or one group. This theory gives a description of actual distribution of power in society as well as its justification. Power is distributed among different groups of society according to their contributions or responsibilities. The main advocates of this theory are Laski, Barker MacIver, Truman, Dahl, Pollitt and others. Pluralism as a concept has its root in American history and it is in the United States of America that it developed and took a concrete shape.

1.3.1 Pluralism: Meaning

Pluralism as a political philosophy recognizes diversity within a political system or body. They believe that political power is fragmented and dispersed. The existence of classes, political parties, interest groups, status groups, pressure groups and other organization and association of society testifies to the distribution of power. There is no sole source of power. Power arises from the contribution and responsibilities performed by different associations towards the society. These groups cannot be classified as dominant and dependent groups. They have their share of power in their respective sphere of operation. These groups are more or less autonomous and independent within the social organization. The larger the groups the more influence it will have. Policies are the product of bargaining and compromise will tend to be moderate, fair to all and conducive to social stability. The state is neutral between these competing groups and acts like a referee between them. N.D. Arrora and S.S. Awasthy in

their book Political Theory analyses the meaning of pluralism in following points:

1. 'Pluralism represents interest of numerous organised groups.
2. These organised units are voluntary, competitive non hierarchical.
3. These units or groups do not play or play the least role in the selection of the state mechanism
4. The state assumes upon itself the role of an arbiter in adjudicating and reconciling conflicts and promoting common interest as against the particular interest of such groups.
5. These groups are basis and not the engines of power'

1.3.2 Pluralism and sources of power

The pluralist considers group as the prime unit of power. For them individual shares common interest through groups. Latham in his book 'The group basis of politics' says that group is the basic political form and that the political process is essentially a struggle between such groups. Power does not reside in an individual, but exists in the relationship between the individuals and the group it forms. The pluralist says that power is not hierarchically and competitively arranged. It exists as a part of the endless process of bargaining and competition between groups with relative interests. Pluralists also make differences between actual power and potential power. Actual power means the ability to compel someone to do something and is the view of power as causation. While potential power refers to the possibility of turning resources into actual power. For example cash, one of many resources is only a stack of bills until it is put to work. A billionaire may or may not be politically influential; it all depends on what wealth is spent.

According to pluralist Power can be understood in terms of resources. The list of special sources of power is endless: money, authority, prestige, skill, knowledge, legitimacy, etc. However resources are limited. Therefore competition is inevitable. So, for pluralist it is the competition which ultimately decides things. As competition prevails in each and every time no one group is able to establish himself as dominant. As a result power relation among groups is never permanent and they keep shifting with the change in the claims and demand of numerous groups.

1.3.3 Different Perspectives of Pluralism

There is no specific Pluralist theory of power. Different scholars of pluralist school of thought have forwarded their views from a different perspective. Mention may be made about at least three perspectives of pluralism. These are-

    (i)   Classical Pluralism
    (ii)   Elitist Pluralism
    (iii)   Neo Pluralism

1.3.3.1 Classical pluralism:

Classical pluralist emphasises on the role of numerous organizations in society. It seeks to explain that there are many organization and association in society and perform many important functions in state. However politics and decision making are located mostly in the framework of government and all other associations exert influence on that. The basic question for the classical pluralist is how equilibrium exists in society. According to classical pluralist, all these groups in society are competing with each other by their performance and contribution towards society to make an influence on state. For example Greenpeace has dramatically changed the way we view the environment. They play an intermediary role between government and individual. These groups are in direct connection of people. As a result they are able to articulate the problems of the people and influence the government to solve those problems. French writer Alex de Tocqueville observed that the absence of these intermediate groups in French was responsible for French revolution (1789) whereas the United States was able to maintain democracy due to the presence of such groups. Tocqueville suggests that in order to protect democracy these intermediate groups should be kept free from state interference. Robert Dahl and Hewitt is another two supporter of this theory. Robert Dahl's 'A preface to Democratic Theory, and 'Who Governs?' based on the assumption that there was a widespread distribution of political resources and that different interest prevailed in different political disputes and at different times. Dahl in his model 'polyarchy', postulates that society is controlled by a set of competing interest groups, with the government as little more than an honest broker in the middle.

1.3.3.2 Elite pluralism:

Over the period sociologist and political scientist have realized that there are numerous drawbacks and loopholes of classical pluralism. Even Dahl himself conceded that the unequal distribution of wealth in the US makes equality and plurality impossible. As a result of it David Marsh created the theory of elite pluralism to discuss the real nature of power distribution.

Elite pluralist also admits with the classical pluralist that there is plurality in society. However this plurality is not pure. Because some people have got an advance position than others due to their resources. This section of people is more capable to influence and pressurise the state than others. So inequality arises because society has 'elites', people who have more power ,perhaps through money, inheritance or social tradition than others.

The supporter of elite pluralism advocates that though all societies are plural in nature and different associations influencing government by their performance yet elite play a big role in decision making.

1.3.3.3 Neo Pluralism:

Neo pluralism is the recent and third shade of pluralist approach. It admits that numerous pressure groups competing for political power and in which political system is biased towards corporate power. Neo pluralist does not consider state as an umpire mediating and adjudicating between the demands of diverse interest groups but relatively autonomous actor that forges and looks after its own interest.

1.3.4 Characteristics of Pluralism

The key characteristics of pluralism are-
1. Pluralist believes that state or government is not dominated by a single group but by a multiplicity of relatively small groups. Some of which are well organized and some are not. Although a few are larger and more influential than the others.

2. The groups are politically autonomous and independent. They have all right and freedom to do business in the political marketplace.

3. Intergroup competition leads to countervailing influence: the power of one group tends to cancel that of another so that a rough equilibrium results. Sometimes the group membership overlaps as well. Overlapping memberships reduce the intensity of conflicts because loyalties are often spread among many organizations. Pluralists foresee a type of equilibrium which maintains the whole fabric.

4. Like the Marxist, Pluralist does not consider that political power and control of the state are linked with the dominant economic groups. Rather, Pluralists are of the view that both political power and economic power stands distinct from each other.

5. Pluralists are of the view that state is neutral actor. State controls the conflicts of numerous groups impartially.

6. Pluralists uphold a political system which is suited to a pluralistic society. A pluralistic society is that society in which power and authority are not concentrated in a particular group but they are spread to various centre of decision making.

Stop to consider

1. Pluralism as a political philosophy recognizes diversity within a political system or body

2. The pluralist considers group as the prime unit of power. For them individual shares common interest through groups.

3. Pluralist believes that state or government is not dominated by a single group but by a multiplicity of relatively small groups

4. There are at least three perspectives of pluralism. These are-
Classical Pluralism, Elitist Pluralism, Neo Pluralism

1.3.5 Criticism of Pluralist notion of power

There are some limitations of pluralist notion of power. These are-
1. Critics points out that pluralists focuses only on the decision making process. It gives less importance on the other parts of society. Steven Lukes in his 'power: a radical view' has pointed out three dimension of power: **Decision making,**

Agenda setting, Thought control. According to him Pluralist theory failed to address the issues of agenda setting and thought control.

2. Though pluralist considers state as a neutral organization but in reality state is not neutral. For Marxist state is dominated by the economic privilege classes. For feminist state is dominated by the male people. For elitist state is controlled by the elite group. So it is not right to say state as neutral in each and every society.

These points of criticism have led to some modification in the pluralist theory of later development. Apart from this criticism, Pluralist theory of power has opened a space for each and every associations of the society in the arena of state power. So this theory can be considered as a way to democratization of society.

Check your Progress

Question 1. What do you mean by Pluralism ?

Question 2 Who wrote the book 'who Governs?'?

Question 3 Mention three characteristics of pluralist approach of power.

1.4 Elitist notion of Power

Elitist notion of power is another dominant notion regarding the analysis of power. While pluralism deals with how power is distributed, elitism deals with how power is concentrated. Elitist theory of power was advanced in early twentieth century by three famous thinkers: Pareto, Mosca ,Michels and Mills. The key concept of this theory is that each and every society is run by a minority section of people. They are able to control power by virtue of their superior quality.

1.4.1 Meaning of Elite

The term 'Elite' was derived from the French word 'elite' which means something excellent. Vilfredo pareto used the term 'elite' for the first time in his book 'The mind and society'. The term elite basically mean a small group of people who have superior position in society by virtue of wealth, knowledge or any other superior quality. The elites are therefore always in minority yet they take all major decisions and ensure that these are implemented.

1.4.2 Main features of Elitist notion of Power

There is no specific elitist theory of power but theories. Different scholars have analysed elite theory from different perspectivess. However scholars of elitist theories admit consensus on certain things. These are-

1. In every society, power is really enjoyed by a small group of person who have high prestige and widespread influence. They are known as elites.
2. The members of elites occupy key position and control the decision making mechanism.
3. Elites are not permanent. They are subject to change. This has been described by many as the 'circulation of elites'.
4. Elite theory postulates a division of society into two groups: the elite and the masses, the former governs and the latter is governed.
5. Elite theory admits that elites have some superior qualities than the masses.
6. Elite theory further holds that what we call majority rule is in reality a minority rule. There is no society or system which is ruled by majority.

1.4.3 Variants of elitist notion of power

There are different variants of elitist theory as scholars have analysed elitist notion of power from different viewpoints. Some of them are—

1.4.3.1 Vilfredo Pareto's theory of Elite

Pareto, an Italian sociologist gives an analysis on elite from his view point. Pareto believes that men are unequal in terms of physical, intellectual and moral ground. In other words there are biological differences which resulted inequalities of men and thus it makes inequality in society. Some people are superior in quality whereas some are inferior to them. Those who are superior they are known as elites. The main qualities of elites are intelligence, talent, courage and cunningness. The other parts are known as masses. Masses are characterized by the lack of qualities of leadership and the fear of responsibility. They feel that it would be safe to follow the elite.

According to Pareto there are two types of elite in society. One is governing elite and other is non-governing elite. Governing elites are those who are directly involved in decision making process and non governing elite are not connected with administration but occupy such a position in society that they somehow influence the administration.

Pareto considers that governing elites are not permanent. There is a continuous competition between governing and non-governing elites to control the state. Here he mentioned about rise and fall of elites. In some point of history the non governing elite becomes more influential than the governing elites. This results in what is called **Circulation of Elites**. Circulation of elites is between governing elites and non governing elites. It refers to a process in which one elite is replaced by other elite. This is an uninterrupted process of history and thus power revolves in the hand of elites.

1.4.3.2 Elite theory of Mosca

Mosca, an Italian sociologist also gives an analysis on Elite in his great work 'The Ruling Class'. Like the Pareto, Mosca says that in any type of society at any point of history, there are two classes of people- a class that rule and a class that is ruled. Instead of Pareto's 'elite' class, Mosca regarded the dominant class as 'ruling class'. While Pareto regards intelligence and talent as the quality of elite Moscas' ruling class is distinguished by its capacity of organization. The ruling class controls all the sources of power like wealth, prestige and others in society while the ruled are not competent to replace it. The former

contains a few numbers of people whereas the latter consists of a large number of people.

Mosca says that whatever form of government might be adopted, it is always the minority which exercises all power in society. So the ruling class comprises from the dominant minority group of society. The logic of ruling class, for Mosca is simple: the ability to organize easily and effectively. Minority is always organised, therefore it has the ability to overcome unorganized majority. Members of the ruling minority always enjoy high degree of esteem in the eyes of the people because of their superior qualities.

In fact ruling class of Mosca, like paretos' elite strata consist of two strata: the upper strata and the lower strata. The upper strata are core of the ruling class but it could not work sufficiently unless the lower strata help. Like Pareto, Mosca also held that there is a constant competition between the two strata and this will lead to circulation of elites. Weakness of dominant group (upper strata) and isolation of lower strata of ruling classes can lead to political upheaval in the society and as a result of this upheaval the ruled classes representatives can have place in the ruling class. Because when isolation takes place, another ruling class emerges among the subject classes. Thus Mosca admits that ruling classes can be emerged from the subject classes also.

1.4.3.3 Elite theory of Robert Michels

Robert Michels, the German sociologist gives a significant contribution towards elitist notion of power. Michels in his book 'Political Parties: a sociological study of the oligarichial tendencies of modern democracy' explains his views on elitist notion of power. Like the other two contributors (Pareto and Mosca) of elite theory of Michels also believes in rule of minority. For him elites are the product of professional quality of leadership. Through his term '**iron law of oligarchy'** he defined how professional leaders of the society are able to keep power in their hands. He proceeded to demonstrate that every organization- whatever its original aims- is eventually reduced to oligarchy. He asserted that majority of individuals are uninterested, idle, and mindless. They are incapable to self government. So they are dependable on the leaders for their social objectives.

 Michels also pointed out that all forms of organization, regardless of how democratic they may be at start, will eventually and inevitably develop oligarchic tendencies due to the growing size and

complexities. The management of organization becomes very complex for the masses and it is possible for the professional experts. In due course these professional experts will become indispensible for the organizations. They become so prominent that it becomes impossible to replace them at periodical election. As a result, these professionals become the permanent decision taker of society and the original aims of the organization are left aside. Thus Iron law of oligarchy completely makes circulation of elite invalid. Thus Michels, through his elite theory gives argument in favour of rule of professional leadership (Oligarchy) and completely denied the democratic nature of organizations.

1.4.3.4 Elite Theory of C. Wright Mills

C Wright Mills, an American sociologist developed a different perspective on elitist notion of power in his famous book 'the power elite'. Mills used the term power elite instead of ruling class or elites. According to him in our present day society social structure was such that all powers got institutionalised. Mills examined his theory of power elite on the basis of American society. His concept of Power elite is combination of several groups who exercises all power due to their high status in every sphere of society. Mills used the term power elite to refer to his theory that the United States is actually run by small groups representing the wealthiest, powerful and influential people in business, government and the military. The great masses of people are largely unorganised, ill informed and virtually powerless; they are controlled and manipulated from above.

Mills in his elite theory believes that neither psychological nor superior qualities make elite powerful, rather the structure of the institution in a society in such that those occupying positions in institutional hierarchy have the levers of power in the society.

Check Your Progress
Question 1. Who first used the term Elite?
Question 2. What is the meaning of 'Iron law Of Oligarchy'?
Question 3.Who wrote the book 'The Ruling Class'?
Question 4. Discuss Mills concept of Power elite.

1.4.4 Limitation of Elitist notion of Power

There are some limitations of elitist notion of power. These are

i.   Elitist theory opposes democratic values in society. For the elitist, it is only the elite who are able to control and manage power in society. Elitist lacks faith in common people.

ii.   The elitist theory is a conservative theory because it gives a theory of democracy to justify the prevailing social, economic and political inequalities in several societies. It builds up a strong thesis, though partial and subjective, in favour of traditional existing malpractices.

iii.   This theory is based on the institutional and not the ideological aspect of democracy. It believes in end of ideology and maintains that ideologies are meaningless because every political system is bound to be governed by iron law of oligarchy.

iv.   Elite theory violates the natural equality principles and gives a bias judgement towards elite that elite are more capable than others.

1.5 A comparison between pluralist and Elitist notion of Power

Pluralism and Elitism are two different theories that are used to explain how power is spread between individuals and groups in society.

Pluralism suggests that power is spread amongst different groups in society and that it is the pushing and pulling between these different groups that explain how decision are made and how governments are influenced. In general terms, it can be said that the Pluralist theory is one where all those who participate have an equal status whether it concerns possession, power or rights. Pluralist theory believes in equal footing of masses or under privileged class with privileged or upper classes. The key principle of the pluralist school is that power is not concentrated in one hand or in one group rather it is distributed among different associations of society. So there is no privileged and underprivileged group. All are having equal status.

Elitism is exact opposite to pluralism. Elitist believes that power is not property for all. Only few groups are able to control power. Elitist believes in unequal society. For them all men are not equal. Some are more capable, wealthier and more skilful than others.

So, the whole decision making mechanism should be run by the few. Elitist argues that some are born to be rule and some are to be ruled. So Power is possessed by only few that are upgraded, superior to others.

Elitism accepts that, in every society and political system, there are certain individuals and groups who are powerful and their decisions are taken on the basis of consensus. On the other hand pluralism refers to acceptance of diverse views and opinions and decisions are taken on the basis of consensus.

Elitism is closer to the aristocratic political system while pluralism is closer to the democratic political system.

However, in reality no political system follows either of the two exclusively in pure form. Rather, both of the notions of power co exist in most of the political society.

1.6 Summing up

Both Pluralism and Elitism analyses the domain of power from different perspectives. In the pluralist theory, there are multiple groups and people who are in power. On the other hand for elitist, there are only a noble few who have power. Both the perspectives justify their argument from their own viewpoint. Both of them are opposite to each other. However both of them have their own pragmatic values also.

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1.8 Questions

1. What is Pluralism? Discuss pluralist notions of power.
2. What is Elitism? Discuss Elitist notions of power.
3. Make a comparative study between pluralist notions of power and elitist notions of power.
4. Write a note on Vilfredo Pareto's theory of Elite. How Paretos' Elite theory is different from Elitist theory of C. Wright Mills
5. Write a note on Elite theory of Robert Michels

Unit-5

Power as subject: Foucauldian perspective

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Power as a concept is interpreted differently in different disciplines. In Political Science or Political Theory, power is a central concept, thought of as relationship, as exercise of control by one person over another (Heywood: 1994). Etymologically, power is derived from the Latin word "*potere*" which means "to be able." Power is however, a contested concept. There are numerous definitions of power. Bertrand Russell defined power as "the production of intended effects". Robert M. MacIver defined power as "the capacity in any relationship to command the services or compliance of others". The significance of power in the political phenomena is brought out from traditional thinkers to modern and post modern thinkers. Traditionally, power is considered as a centralised concept of the state apparatus. Power is exercised in numerous capacities like by the ruling government as a capacity to make formal decision for the entire society, imposing one's decision over other is also a power. Influence, is another attribute of power to seek others consent through lobbying or rational persuasion. As there is no agreed dentition of power different scholars have adopted different approach to analyse power. The liberals thought power is based on legitimacy and consent whereas, the Marxists, socialists etc. describe power as an oppressive and exploitative mechanism. Later, power has been reconceptualised by different schools of thought like structuralism, post-structuralism etc. Such reconceptualisation disagree the conventional notion which equates

power with rule of law, violence, wealth etc. Michael Foucault is one of the prominent scholars who have interpreted power in different ways and has given a new meaning to it. In this chapter, we shall discuss how Michael Foucault reshapes his views on power.

1.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to analyse Michel Foucault's ideas on power. After going through this unit you will be able to -

- *Describe* briefly the political philosophy of Foucault
- *Explain* Foucault's views on power
- *Understand* Foucault's view on power as subject
- *Analyse* the limitations in Foucault's view on power

1.3 Michel Foucault: a brief note

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) is a 20th century radical French philosopher and historian. He has diverse interest in different areas like history, philosophy, psychology, psychopathology etc. Although, Foucault has his own distinct political philosophy but he was very much influenced by Marxist, Freudian and Structuralist schools of thought. He was a critique of bourgeoisie front and therefore, started analysing how power work in the capitalist society. He has been influenced by different scholars. He interpreted history after he read the book '*Untimely Meditation*,' authored by Friedrich Nietzsche. In this book there is an essay 'On the Uses and Abuses of History for Life' where Nietzsche criticized different intellectuals who misinterpreted history and demotivate us in reading history or the past. Nietzsche argued from history we should learn ideas and concepts that help us to lead a good life. This essay helped Foucault to be a philosopher cum historian who would interpret history to find solution to numerous issues of his own time. His works thereafter followed and influenced by this new understanding. Thus, he has analysed and interpreted the relationship between power and knowledge and the way these are used as tool of social control by different social institutions. This is his most influential contribution. He studied about the nature and the modes of power and this overlapped with knowledge and truth. He said that the mechanisms of power have not received much importance in history. So, he addressed the issues of power which has not been considered in history.

1.4 Foucault's alternative views on power

The modern views of importance of power come from the works of Michael Foucault. His famous explanation 'Power is everywhere because it comes from everywhere', has actually redefined the very notion of traditional view of power. He has written about Discipline and Punishment as different technologies of power. He said, 'discipline is a complex bundle of power technologies.' According to him power is exercised with certain intention. But rather than analyzing different intentions he focused on intersubjectively accepted knowledge about how to exercise power (Newman: 2005). For him power is an interaction of actions. He does not recur to violence but says that power presupposes freedom in the sense that power is not enforcement but ways of making people by themselves behave in other ways than they would have done (Newman: 2005).

Foucault while analyzing power has actually criticized the traditional dimensions of power based on sovereignty, commodity and repression. As we have already mentioned that, the traditional thinkers equate power with rule of law, wealth, repression etc. So Foucault attacked these traditional understanding of power where the sovereignty model is based on rule of law or state is the prime institution of power, commodity model is based on wealth and repression model is violence respectively. Power according to him is productive, regulatory and dispersed or capillary in character. He has developed the concept of 'Governmentality' in order to establish the fact that power is not concentrate in one place, like in traditional governance system. He reconsidered the modern notion of governance which is administered by social factors, individual, population etc. It is a process of governance which harnesses the productive capabilities of the individuals so as to govern the entire population. He enlarged the

concept of Government and said that it involves in self-regulating activities which aimed at shaping people's thought, actions and emotions. According to Foucault, the word Governmentality comprised of two words – govern and mentality which defines process of governing and mentality of the government respectively. There are four characteristics of Foucault's concept of Governmentality - 1. Governmentality tries to organize one's needs, capacities, energies, desires to make it productive, instead of unproductive, constructive rather than destructive. This separates it from traditional concept where, those who has power, dominates the subjects. 2. Operation and application of Governmentality is not based on discourse of rights, instead it involves diverse discourse like discourse of health, and many other modern liberal democratic discourse. 3. Governmentality works through a number of invisible as well as non-accountable social powers. 4. Governmentality has accommodate divers discourse which were previously not included in the sphere of analyzing political power like- science, pedagogy, criminology, medicine etc.

Thus Foucault's concept of governmentalisation indicates 'internal configuration of the state by the project of administration and its links to external knowledge, discourses, and institutions that govern outside the rubric and purview of the state.(Dryzek, John. S, Honnic B, and Phillips, A: 2006).

Stop to Consider

Major contribution of Foucault: his first major work 'Madness and Civilization' (1961) where he explained how change of social attitude led to the birth of asylum which segregated from the normal society. In a similar way he tried to explain the genesis of clinic and prison in his work 'The Birth of the Clinic' (1963), Discipline and Punishment (1975). His other influential writings are 'The Order of Things' (1966), 'History of Sexuality' (1976) etc. (Heywood: 1994).

Check your progress
1. What is Governmentality? Discuss the main features of Governmentality provided by Foucault.
2. Why Foucault did criticized the traditional understanding of power?
3. Discuss on the reconceptualisation of power by Foucault.

1.5 Power as subject: Foucault's contribution

Power is a central concept of Political Theory. The modern notion of power is reflected in the Foucault's interpretation of power. Discarding the traditional notion that power is repressive or coercive which restricts one from doing what one wants to do, Foucault said, power today produces identity and subjectivity. Power emanates from everywhere rather from a single source i.e. the state or sovereign authority. Power is understood to construct and organize subjects in a variety of domain and discourses, including even those subjects which were initially thought to be free from power like Science, Arts, sexual desire etc. He talked about those forms and operations that categorize the individual and mark him by his own individuality, attach him to his own identity, impose a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others must also recognize in him. So he is talking about the kind of power that makes individual subject (Foucault: 1982).

According to Michel Foucault understanding power relation is a very complex subject. The power relationship itself constitutes the subject. In his text "*The Subject and Power*", Foucault explains the ways through which power and power relationship develops and that results in subjugation and subjectivity of the individual. The kind of subjugation that he is talking about itself manifests in the form of power through resistance. In this chapter we will discuss this critical notion of power as depicted by Michel Foucault.

Unlike human relation of production in economics or human relation of significance in linguistic which offer good instrument there is no such tool to study the power relation. We have to rely on certain way of thinking or model like legal model which seeks to explain what is legitimate power? or institutional model which tell us what is state. Foucault in his famous seminal work "The Subject and Power" said power is a kind of action upon other action. He does not explain the phenomenon and foundation of power rather he analyses different modes that transform human beings into subject. He elaborates his position from three standpoints- 1) the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences. 2) divided practice 3) sexuality. Subjectivity has a dual meaning-1) to subject someone else through control or dependence 2) bound by one's own identity. Foucault talked about close relationship between power and subject and also highlighted the power struggles which purpose was to form a power that makes individual subjects by marking one by their own individuality, categorizing them, imposing laws of truth which one must recognize and other must recognize as well. All forms of

subjection according to him are the consequence of socio-economic phenomenon of the society. (Foucault: 1982).

Foucault challenged the traditional notion of power as a 'capacity to act' and said it is not a centralized act or use of force by an individual or institution. Rather power he said is diffused and decentralized which can be present in mental asylum, prison or can be operated through sexuality. So, power carries several attributes operating through varied social network. As Foucault says, 'Power is everywhere...because it comes from everywhere.'(Newman: 2005) power is neither static nor concentrate only on political actors or state which Foucault termed as 'juridico-discursive' paradigm. Foucault's observation on power operates at various levels was previously unnoticed by other theorist of power. He rejects the dominant notion that power is associated with the sovereignty of the state instead power has to be understood as inter-subjective relationship. Power relationship must have follower or other. The follower or other must acknowledge power which is being exercised on him in order to make power relevant. However, here though power involves a kind of control, nevertheless power relation must also allow the subject to act on his freedom. Power is only exercised over free subjects. But there are contradictions as on the one hand he said freedom is a pre condition to use power, on the other hand freedom disappear whenever power is exercised.   He said, identity is not fixed but rather a discourse mediated by our interactions with others. It means he talks about a form of power which makes individuals subjects. How subject is produced by power he said that the way a prisoner whose marginalized identity is constructed through disciplinary and normalizing techniques of power in the prison, and the discourses and bodies of knowledge that supports them produces subject. The subjectivity of the prisoner thus constructed at the intersections of power/knowledge. (Newman: 2005) Subjectivity is itself an effect of power. This according to Foucault is 'ruse of power.'   Power is productive and it is no longer repressive or prohibitive.

Violence no longer constitutes the basic nature of power. Social, religious, ethnic domination which symbolize violence is part of power. But Foucault rejects this established notion and developed a new economy of power relationship which focuses on different types of resistance to different forms of power. He was of the view that in order to understand the power relationship one needs to understand this resistance to different forms of power. Such resistance ultimately leads to power struggle which attach not the institutions of power, group or class, rather the forms of power itself. The struggles are to

fight a form of power that makes individual subjects. These struggles create individual identity and ultimately create the individual subjectivity. His form of power marks the individuality, identity, the laws of truth etc which are associated with everyday life of the individual. Subjectivity that Foucault discussed has two fold meanings- 1) to make one subject through the use of force or control 2) bound by one's own identity, conscience or self-knowledge (https://www.ukessays.com/essays/sociology/analysis-of-foucaults-views-on-power-and-subjectivity.php). But both these meaning of power subjugates individual. So, subjectivity is very much inherent in his concept of power. He further described that the whole idea of subjectivity is determined by different forms of subjection as well as consequence of economic and social phenomena, forces of production, class struggle, ideological struggle etc. Power is thus related to subjectivity arises from power struggle. And such power struggle is not confine to a particular government or economic system rather these struggles or opposition to power are immediate, situational and emerge from common activities like men domination over women etc. So power struggle produces subjectivity and recognize individual's right to be different with different identity. But in 16th century when the 'state' emerged as a new political structure it starts using power of domination, exploitation against individual which actually subjugate the individual. To counter state's regressive nature of power the individual resist, this constitutes subjectivity as Foucault said. Foucault delivers a new economy of power relation where the resistance from the individual and their role and responsibilities forms the subjectivity. Human being, being the subject of power relation must know their specific position in the power relation.

Check your progress
1. What does Foucault mean by Subjectivity?
2. How power is related to the concept of subjectivity?
3. Why did Foucault say power is productive? Justify.

1.6 Limitations and criticism

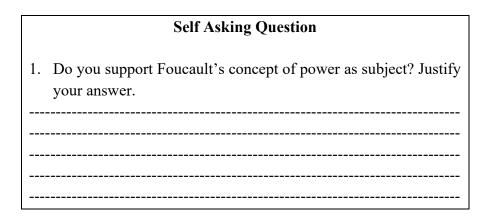Foucault's power as subjectivity has been criticized by numerous scholars. Charles Taylor is suspicious of the fact that Foucault's idea of subjectivity would be incoherent as he wanted a space for both freedom and resistance. He even did not mention about relative or perpetual power which would limit freedom or subjectivity. Again, Foucault fails to give any sense of inter subjective and collective

nature of social agency. Moreover Foucault's concept often ignores the pluralistic character of power which enables actors to seek consensually agreed upon, publicly criticised, and limits what kind of subjectivity may be possible in a given socio cultural situation or historical knowledge. (Lewandowski: 1995). As Foucault's concept of power diverts from agencies and structures so it limits its practical utility. Moreover, like he said if power is to emerge from everywhere then it automatically losses its identity and in order to establish itself as separate identity, it must be recognized in the public domain. And if it emerges from everywhere then there is no question of resistance.

Self Asking Questions

1.   Is Foucault's concept of power as subjectivity a realistic concept?

1.7 Summing up

Foucault's famous saying 'power is everywhere' and 'it comes from everywhere' has actually reshaped the conventional concept of power. It is marked by a sharp departure from the traditional understanding of power. He understands power as a positive force. Scholars like John Goventa appreciated Foucault's effort to interpret power as a productive concept rather than laying a repressive or negative connotation to it. He diverts from the traditional mainstream idea of power in the sense that power is beyond state and politics and he saw it as a regular, socialized and embodied phenomenon (https://epgp.inflibnet.ac.in/Home/ViewSubject?catid=29). History has always taken into consideration 'what' and 'why' with regard to power, whereas Foucault was keen to examine 'how' power is exercised by one over other. According to Richard A. Lynch, the purpose of Foucault's theory of power is to increase peoples' awareness of how power has shaped their way of being, thinking and

acting, and by increasing this awareness making it possible for them to change their way of being, thinking and acting (Lynch: 2011).

Self Asking Question

1. Do you support Foucault's concept of power as subject? Justify your answer.

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Model questions

1. Critically discuss Foucault's view on power and subjectivity.
2. What are the differences between traditional concept of power and Foucault's concept of power as subjectivity?
3. What is Governmentality? How did Foucault interpret this concept?

Unit-1

Procedural vs. Substantive conception of Democracy

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Democracy is the most desired form of modern political system. From the time of Greek city states the concept and form of democracy is continuously evolving till date. Although democracy is usually understood as a form of government but, it is now signified as a way of life. As a form of government, democracy seeks consent of the people through their political participation. In the Athenian model of democracy, popular during the Greek period, we found the prevalence of direct democracy where there was high degree of direct participation of the people who collectively decides, often through mass meetings on the major issues. It is to be mentioned here that Britain is regarded as the first modern democracy. In the aftermath of the Civil War in the seventeenth century absolute monarchy was brought to an end in Britain and powers were transferred from the

crown to the two houses of parliament with constitutional monarchy. Although initially, the franchise was restricted, but later in the 19th century it was expanded (https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/23668/1/Unit-2.pdf). In 1779, after declaration of American War of Independence which gave legal sanction to the creation of America, that simultaneously gave effect to democracy in the country. Again with the outbreak of French revolution in 1789, a more radical form of democracy was visible which was driven by the principle of popular sovereignty, liberty, equality, fraternity etc. Later, these principles have become the bedrock of many democratic countries like India also. As such the horizon of democracy has been expanding from time to time. In the process of evolution, democracy has manifested in different forms. Though the underlying principle of all these forms are same, but different forms have different interpretations and distinct differentiations. Democracy must not only be thought about in a procedural way but it must also be conceived from moral principles and from a substantive degree of substantive or material equality. Taking that into consideration, here, we intend to introduce two different forms of democracy – procedural and substantive.

1.2 Objectives

This unit is an attempt to analyse the concept of procedural and substantive notion of democracy and the different issues and perspective related to these dimensions of democracy. After going through this unit the students will be able to-

• *Describe* what is procedural and substantive democracy

• *Explain* the principles and perspectives of procedural and substantive democracy

• *Discuss* the limitations of procedural and substantive democracy

• *Understand* the differences between procedural *vs*. substantive concept of democracy

1.3 Procedural democracy: meaning and definition

Procedural democracy simply indicates existence of certain kind of democratic procedure or mechanism in the democratic system of governance. Procedure in other words means those rules of social

practice which determine the legitimacy of the course of action not looking at results or outcome of such action (Barry: 1995). The democratic procedures are some sorts of institutional framework that involves people in the decision making process which is totally absent in an autocratic system. The procedural democracy gained prominence with the popularity of indirect or representative democracy in which a procedure is widely followed where people elect their representatives by casting votes in the periodical elections. Modern democracies are largely indirect democracies based on majority rule contrast to the direct democracy practiced during the ancient Greek period, which work through representative institutions. So that democracy is regarded as a procedure which is designed to obtain consent of the people for arriving at public decisions which naturally leads to welfare of the people (Gauba: 2016). The foundation of any democracy lies in the popular will that is realised through a free and fair decision making process. Therefore, democracy is termed as a method to arrive at a collective decision which reflects the procedural dimension of democracy. The procedural dimension merely focuses on procedures or means to attain democracy. It argues that regular competitive elections on the basis of universal adult franchise and plural political participation would produce a democratically elected government. The core feature of the procedural democracy is the existence and operation of duly constituted election system and electoral process by which authority is placed in the hands of elected representatives of the people (Ghai: 2019). Thus, Procedural democracy is understood as having certain procedures like conducting regular free and fair elections, maintaining rule of law, constitutionalism, responsibility and accountability of executive to elected assemblies, basic civil liberties, including the freedom of expression and freedom to form associations and organisations for all people and independent and duly empowered judiciary are at work etc.

Stop to consider

The principle of **Rule of law** defines that law is supreme and laws should be properly defined so that citizens can understand how it affects them. No citizens should be arrested or detained arbitrarily except by the procedure established by laws.

Democracy is most preferred and popular form of government as it is based on people's consent. While analysing democracy many scholar defined it as a method. J.A Schumpeter defines democracy as a political method to arrive at political, legislative and administrative decisions by placing in certain individuals the power to decide on all

matters as a consequence of their successful pursuit of people's vote (Ramaswamy: 2003). Huntington too put forwarded that "The central procedure of democracy is the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern" (https://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/57889/1/Unit8.pdf). The governments in Central Asian countries could be described as procedural democracies as the power has been concentrated in hands of a single individual although periodic election which are held from time to time. Renowned Indian scholar Atul Kohli claimed that India's democracy is successful because of its procedural character. He argued that India is marked by gross poverty, diverse caste and religion and inspite of that India's democracy succeeded because of its constitutional and political arrangement. According to him, India's diverse forces are balanced due to its procedural notion of democracy.

Stop to consider

Constitutionalism is a kind of ideology or doctrine which says that government's authority is determined by some set of laws or the Constitution. It describes the basic principles of the state, the structures and processes of government and the fundamental rights of citizens in a higher law that cannot be unilaterally changed by an ordinary legislative act.

Stop to Consider

J.A Schumpeter was an Austrian based political economist. Some of his important contributions are Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Theory of Economic Development, History of Economic Analysis etc.

1.4 Essential principles of procedural democracy

Procedural democracy has certain essential principles. These are as follows -

a.   Election of the representatives by the people through a well established free fair periodical election system is an important principle of procedural democracy. Here the principle of 'government by' and 'government for' the people is well reflected.

b.   Political parties compete during elections under equal conditions for votes of the citizens.

c.   Every citizen gets a democratic platform to exercise equal political rights. Thus procedural democracy promotes the principle of political equality. Everyone should be allowed to vote and participate in the governmental decision making.

d.   The system of procedural democracy supports majority rule. Here, the representatives are elected by the people. The elected representatives have the authority to act and take decisions, and to formulate policies on behalf of the people.
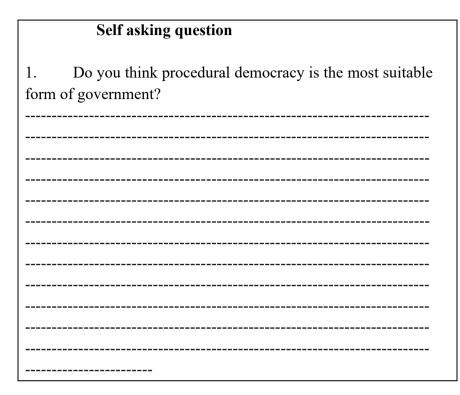
e.   The elected representatives throughout their tenure are responsible and accountable to the common people. They always remain responsive to the public opinion.

1.5 Limitations of procedural democracy

So far democracy is concerned, mere existence of procedure or institution is not sufficient. Procedural democracy is only a formal democracy. The structure of the democracy can't be conducive unless it achieves the desired objective i.e. the welfare of the people. The goal of democracy is the welfare of the people that should take precedence over procedure. While addressing political equality, procedural democracy fails to see the socio-economic inequality exist in the society. These socio-economic inequalities make formal participation in the democracy ineffective. It is a democracy of elected representative political institutions which may or may not act efficiently and effectively for securing the objectives and goals of all round socio-economic-politico-cultural development of all the people (Ghai: 2019). Procedural democracy is also criticised as minimalist as it is limited to people's formal participation in the electoral process to elect representatives. As there is no system of check and balances in the system, the elected leaders could manipulate procedures and power for their own benefit leading to authoritarianism (https://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/57889/1/Unit8.pdf). Procedural democracy is also criticised as illiberal as it ignores constitutional limits on their power and deprives citizens of rights and freedoms though governments are elected democratically. Here, elections are there with no freedom e.g. Russia under Vladimir Putin. It is not an open society.

Check your progress
1.   What is procedural democracy?
2.   What are the limitations of procedural democracy?

1.6 Concept of substantive democracy

The concept of substantive democracy not only talks about the institutional aspect but also on the actual working of the government. Substantive democracy insists that, a society of truly equal citizens, who are politically engaged, tolerant of different opinions and. ways of life, and have an equal voice in choosing their rulers and holding them accountable (https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/23668/1/Unit-2.pdf). The outcome and decisions are the result of such kind of democratic process that ultimately brings welfare of the masses. So, substantive democracy tries to emphasis that the democracy must functions in the interest of the people. The defenders of substantive democracy do not accept the position of procedural democracy which support that the 'government by the people' automatically prove to be 'government for the people'. They said that the people's welfare should take precedence over its procedure (Gauba: 2016). It talks about the common good of all the citizens rather than the aspiration of selfish interest of the rulers. The

supporters of substantive democracy advocate for the universality, protection and effectiveness of social rights and for the respect of dignity and autonomy of all humans. It further says that a democratic society which is engulfed with the majority disadvantaged, poor and vulnerable people, their voice should be addressed and responded. The social inequality needs to be addressed in order to achieve political equality. The rights of the marginalized section like women, minorities should be protected and the state should intervene to ensure that their rights are protected and participate in the political process of the system. Thus, substantive democracy actively concerned with achieving socio-economic development goals to establish an egalitarian society. Political scientists like John Locke, J.S. Mill, Immanual Kant etc. have supported this form of democracy where formal democratic institution receive political legitimacy.

Stop to Consider

Immanual Kant is a German philosopher who believes in human freedom. Human freedom is very much necessary for moral appraisal and moral responsibility of the individual. He was of the view that if a person could not act otherwise, then his or her act can have no moral worth.

1.7 The elements of substantive democracy

Following are the elements of the substantive democracy:

a)   Democracy and economic development

Substantive democracy promotes social as well as economic development. Amartya Sen identifies that economic development is closely associated with individual freedom and individual capacity. The economic freedom is the foundation of political rights particularly in liberal democratic system. He also said, 'no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent country with a democratic form of government and a relatively free press'. The underling argument of this statement is that political leaders in a multiparty democracy with free elections and free press have incentives to respond to the expressions of needs of the poor (McKinnon: 2008). Democracy is associated with higher human capital, higher economic freedom etc. Democracy is closely tied with economic resources of growth like education levels and lifespan through improvement of educative institutions as well as healthcare (https://en.m.wikipedia.org). This

reflects the substantive part of democracy that seeks outcome of the governance must reach to masses.

b)   Recognition of social rights

As we have discussed earlier, substantive democracy aims at socio-economic welfare of the people to establish social equality. It is due to the fact that, existence of social inequality makes formal political equality relatively meaningless. Democracy though refers government based on political equality which means consent of every individual is necessary who forms the political community. Substantive democracy believes in free exercise of franchise that require freedom from caste domination, or in the case of women from the male domination etc. so that they can actively participate in the decision making process. Democracy encourages individuals to be free, rational and autonomous.

1.8 Comparison between procedural versus substantive democracy

The procedural dimension of democracy focuses on the presence of free, fair, competitive election based on universal adult franchise as well as plural political participation. It emphasises that, procedure or method is important for the attainment of democracy. Whereas, in the substantive democracy although procedural standards are met. More political rights and civil liberties are offered. People are the passive agent of electoral participation in the procedural democracy who is governed by their representatives only. This form of democracy deprives citizen from their rights which are due recognised by the substantive democracy. Only structure of democracy can not ensure people's welfare.

Unlimited majority rule of the procedural democracy can result in some policies unfavourable for minorities. Democratic procedures are often used to advance sectional interests or the interests of the rulers. However, in a substantive democracy, the diverse interests of the masses through their active participation is highly anticipated and addressed. This shows that procedural democracy reflect a minimalist view whereas the substantive democracy shows a maximalist view of democracy.

Procedural Democracy entails some commitment to political quality, but any form of rule involves some kind of political inequality. However, while recognising political equality, procedural democracy sidelined the social democracy. But, substantive democracy aims at

social equality amidst heterogeneity to establish active and strong political framework. It tries to mitigate the socio economic differences that could not hamper the political participation of people in the democratic process. So, substantive democracy stresses on common good rather than the benefit of the limited individuals.

In order to understand the difference between the procedural and substantive form of democracy, we can take the example of existing democratic political system in India (https://thewire.in/politics/procedural-versus-substantive-democracy-how-india-fares). So, far as procedural democracy is concerned it is functioning quite well in India. Periodical elections are held regularly and India never had any military coup. The three constitutionally mandated institutions – judiciary, President, Election Commission are autonomous and functioning well. The procedural part of Indian democracy is largely successful due to the inclusive nature of Constitution of India. It has enumerated provisions like cultural autonomy, by making state and linguistic boundaries roughly coincide, giving religious and linguistic minorities rights to open their educational institutions, and recognizing personal laws as legitimate etc. (https://thewire.in/politics/procedural-versus-substantive-democracy-how-india-fares). Moreover, provision of reservation of seats in education and public services has also been included for minorities like other backward caste (OBC), Schedule Caste (SC) and Schedule Tribe (ST) etc. Many scholars opined that, only such procedures help to make Indian democracy successful. However, to make democracy successful the substantive goals are equally important along with the procedural aspect. The Indian Constitution has mentioned the provisions that not only bring political equality but also the social equality. In order to establish political equality i.e. one man one vote, social inequality has to be removed. Therefore we see institutional space has been awarded to the marginal groups due to which the dalit leaders, ST, SC leaders have also come to power. Moreover, Panchayati Raj Institution has ensured space for women by according them 33% reservation in the local level political process. But, mere existence of such arrangements does not mean accomplishing the goals. Substantive democracy focuses whether these arrangements could attain upliftment of the vulnerable groups in true sense of the term. In case of India, the basic problem is the political style that underplays the importance of institutions and structures. Political scientist Rajni Kothari has discussed this situation as 'a crisis of institutions' that has resulted in decline of morale and effectiveness of the leaders. These factors ultimately abandon the goals of substantive democracy.

The debate between procedural democracy and substantive democracy shows that democracy is essentially a holistic and contested concept. Both aspects are complementary, contradictory and dependent. A truly successful democracy encompasses both procedural aspect-free fair election, effective political institutions, political equality, constitutional government, and substantive aspect-socio-economic equality, accountability of the rulers, political engagements etc.

Check your progress

1.   Discuss elements of India's procedural democracy
2.   Is substantive democracy successful in India?

Self asking question

1.   Which form of democracy do you think is functioning in India? Analyse with arguments.

1.9 Conclusion

Democracy is evolving as a form of government and over the years has become the most acceptable form of government across the world. Thus, democracy as a process of collective self-rule enjoys extraordinary legitimacy in today's world. Though initiation, establishment of democracy is easy but consolidation of democracy is difficult to achieve. The success or consolidation of democracy largely related to state's role in managing, organising, limiting, and intensifying the powers through which democratic self-rule is organised and achieved. As democracy is the way of life which is associated with demand for democratisation at all levels, so the need is- those affected by particular institutional decisions should have their

say and representation in the decision making level. Democracy irrespective of its variance should achieve welfare of all. Democracy has evolved as a concept over the years and has become more inclusive. A democratic procedure must follow democratic principles to fulfil the desire of the common people. To sum up, procedural democracy and substantive democracy reinforce as well as interfere with one another. Thus, successful functioning of procedural aspect of democracy requires some substantive aspect of democracy – tolerance, equality, freedom etc. that would make democracy vibrant.

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Model Questions

1. What do you understand by procedural and substantive variance of democracy?
2. Discuss the essential elements and criticisms of the procedural democracy.
3. Explain the essential components of substantive democracy.
4. Critically discuss the differences between procedural and substantive democracy.

UNIT 2

Liberal Democracy: Issues and Perspective

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Democracy is one of the most discussed concepts in political theory. The word democracy is derived from the Greek word 'demos' which means 'the people' and 'cracy' which means 'rule' or the 'government'. In simple words, democracy is a system of government where there is equal participation of the people in the government formation or decision making and whereby the government concerned is bound to fulfil the aspiration of the masses. Former President of America Abraham Linclon said 'democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people.' According to J.S Mill democracy is a form of government in which "the whole people or some numerous portion of them, exercise the governing power through deputies periodically elected by themselves". Again C. B. Macpherson said "Democracy is merely a mechanism for choosing and authorising government or in some other way getting laws and political decisions made". Though democracy has a long tradition, but it is only in the contemporary time democracy is the preferred form of government across the globe. In ancient Greek period democracy did not enjoy the

same status that it has today. Although, democracy was prevalent in the Greek city-states but it was not an ideal and widely acceptable form of government. Plato did not approved the democracy as a best form of government because he thought only the philosopher kings are eligible to form of government, and people in general who are not equip with education do not have the reason and intellect to select the rulers. Aristotle too termed democracy as a perverted form of government as it signifies the rule of the mediocre who seek for their interest instead of fulfilling the interest of the state. It is based on the false assumption of equality.

Though democracy is considered as the popular form of government but democracy is not merely a form of government confined only to elected representatives and suffrage of the people. Democracy is a form of government, state as well as a society. It signifies a way of life as well as an order of the society. This wider connotation of democracy is explained by John Dewey who said "To say that democracy is only form of government is like saying that home is more or less geometrical arrangement of bricks and mortar, or that church is a building with pews, pulpit and spire."

Looking into the wider dimension of democracy, different schools of thought have put forward their own interpretation. In this chapter, we will basically focus on liberal democracy and different issues and perspectives associated with it.

1.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to analyse the concept of liberal democracy and the different issues and perspective related to liberal democracy. After going through this unit you will be able to-

* *Describe* what is liberal democracy
* *Explain* the principles of liberal democracy
* *Discuss* the issues and perspectives of liberal democracy
* *Understand* the limitation of liberal democracy

1.3 Meaning of the term liberal/liberalism

Before discussing what liberal democracy is, we have to understand the two complex and interdependent terms – liberalism and

democracy. We have already discussed about democracy. So let us also briefly discuss what is liberal or liberalism? Liberal or Liberalism is primarily a political ideology. It considers freedom of the individual and liberation from restraints is the ultimate goal of public policy. Liberalism emerged as a transition from feudalism to capitalism. With the rise of capitalism from 16th century onwards, the newly emerged capitalist class sought to put limits on the absolute power of the monarch or the feudal aristocracies in European states. Liberalism believes in an open society where every individual is free. Thus, Liberalism is individualist as it confers same moral status to all individuals. The underlying principles of liberal philosophy are- a) human beings are rational, b) liberalism promote civil liberties of the individual, c) the power of the government is limited d) in economic front liberalism co-exist with the capitalist economic system, whereas in political side it supports democracy e) Liberal view of freedom, equality, justice, and democracy is a search for right procedure in different spheres of social life (Gauba:1981). Thus, the core themes of liberalism are individualism, freedom, reason, justice, toleration etc.

In contemporary period, democratic form of government equates mostly with liberal democracy. Accordingly, liberal democracy entails the system of government where people are the ultimate source of all power of the state.

1.4 Liberal democracy: the concept

The liberal ideas of democracy gained prominence from 17th century and it continued to retain the significance till today. Among the different model of democracy the liberal model of democracy is considered to be the dominant one. The concept of liberalism and democracy is inseparable. For the early liberals, democracy was meant to be protective, as they thought rights and freedom of the people should be protected and safeguarded from the tyranny of the state (Bhargava, Acharya: 2009). The first systematic explanation of liberal democracy found place in the two essays '*On Liberty' and 'Considerations on Representative Government'* which was written by J. S Mill. His idea was to identify the factor that may limit the functioning of democratic government. There should not be any scope for tyranny in democracy. As democracy is a government where power resides in the hands of the people so he thought need is now 'to limit the power of the people over themselves'. So, Mill tried to analyse the principle to limit the unauthorised exercise of power in the civilised community. Democracies in order to function adequately, certain

liberties of the people need to be protected. Thus, the term 'Liberal' represents the ideological basis of democracy which believes in popular sovereignty i.e. people are the source of political power. The fate of the state and the government is based on the consent of the people. This system operates as a transparent, free and fair system of governance. People have the freedom to express their opinion and criticise the government. The government is responsible and accountable to the public opinion. There is free and open political struggle among different political parties and all decisions are taken on the basis of majority consensus. The ideology of liberalism gives highest emphasis on rights and freedom of the individuals. As such the concept of liberal democracy respects freedom of expression of the people, voice of dissent, freedom to form association, open competition for political power, freedom of press etc. (Ghai:2019). Further, it stresses on the existence of a constitution which imposes restraints on the government and also supports institutional checks and balances. So, the key features of liberal democracy are- a) the government is elected on the basis of regular and competitive elections based on universal adult franchise. b) constraints on the government is imposed by a constitution, institutional checks and balances and protection for individual rights c) liberal democracy respect the existence of a vibrant and healthy civil society based upon respect for civil liberties.

Stop to consider

John Stuart Mill (J.S. Mill) (1806-73) was a British philosopher. He was an ardent champion of liberty. He supported representative democracy because that helps in free development of individual. He was one of the leading early philosophers defending the equal rights for women. His '*The Subjection of Women*' (1869) is one of the significant texts of feminist discourse.

1.5 History and development of liberal democracy:

In the past democracy did not receive much attention as it has achieved today. Earlier as we have already discussed during Greek tradition democracy was not considered as the rule of the wise. It was treated as a perverted form of government. In the early history democracy was thought to be a rule of the masses who were poor and ignorant, was fatal to individual freedom and to all the graces of the civilised living (Asirvatham, Misra: 1936). French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville too was critical of democracy who said democracy as the 'tyranny of

the majority'. Of late with the end of devastating First World War in the 20th century few countries, particularly the allies tried to follow democratic principles in order to make the world safer. Gradually, most of the countries of the world started to follow democracy as the noble form of government. However, later during the emergence of Second World War, the democratic norms were challenged by the socialist school and state due to its inclination towards capitalism. After the Second World War most of the countries of Asia and Africa achieved independence. Though most of these countries considered themselves as democratic but they did not prefer the principles and ethos of western model of liberal democracy. However, the changed circumstances and time proved that the western model of democracy should not only considered as the only model rather there are other model which too need due consideration. But here, we will look at the background of the triumph of liberal democracy in modern era.

Stop to consider

Capitalism is a mode of economy. This economic system is based on the private ownership of means of production. Under this economic system, the society is divided into capitalist class and working class. The state is dictated by the capitalists. The Marxist school of thought is the greatest critique of capitalism who said, the 'state is the executive committee of the capitalist or the richer class."

As per the historical fact, capitalism was mostly popularised after the rise of liberalism in the west during 17th century, which supports the growth of an entrepreneurial and restraint state. According to liberalism, market society is a model social organisation and the role of the state should only confine to protection of individual rights and freedoms and maintenance of the law and order. Liberalism rules out the absolute authority of the state. Initially, liberalism specifically classical liberalism, which actually promotes the growth of capitalism and capitalism resulted in gross inequality in the society, and this contradicts the principles of democracy. Moreover, classical liberalism insisted on property qualification of the people for acquiring the right to vote which is also against democratic norms (Gauba: 1981). However, capitalism induced rapid urbanisation and industrialisation led to the rise of competitive economy, exploitation of working class by the capitalist class led to the emergence of class consciousness among the working class. This assertion ultimately compelled the liberal state to accommodate the democratic principles and the interest

of the working class and uplift their rights and freedoms as well. The assimilation of such democratic principles co-existing with capitalist economy within the broad framework of liberal ideology led to the growth of liberal democracy. So, in economic side liberalism promotes capitalism and in political side it promotes democracy. But while democracy aims to fulfil the needs and aspirations of the common people, on the other hand, capitalism promotes concentration of wealth in the hands of the few and this led to inequality in the society. This situation has actually transformed the liberal state into welfare state.

It is found that liberal democracy has become a dominant political regime not only in developed world but also in developing world. In the 'End of History' text F. Fukuyama too mentioned that the end of communism after the end of cold war and emergence of capitalist west as the dominant world, introduction of liberal democratic reforms like electoral democracy, economic liberalisation in newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1980s has actually made the liberal democracy as the most popular form of democracy (Heywood: 1994).

Stop to consider

Welfare state is a way of governing in which the state that takes primary responsibility for the welfare of its citizens and discharge numerous social security services in the sphere of health, education etc.

1.6 Liberal democracy: different perspectives

John Locke, the British philosopher was one of the early exponents of classical liberalism. Most of the scholars of liberal democracy later were influenced by his ideas. John Locke concept of liberal state was based on consent of the people, representative government as well as supremacy of the legislature. He opposed the tyranny of the state power and said that the rights of the citizens must be protected from arbitrary power of the state. So, protective version of democracy is reflected in the explanation of the early liberals. According to him the political authority or the government must be responsive, responsible and accountable towards the masses and it should also respect the rights of the ordinary people. The individuals of the john Locke's liberal state are rational and they have the capacity to judge and criticise their government. Such kind of articulation has stimulated the growth of the conception of liberal democracy. Later scholars like Montesquieu, the advocate of the concept of 'separation of power' were also inspired by the ideas of Locke. He too suggested that the

liberal democratic state must have limits of its authority and there must be political checks and balances in the government.

A kind of developmental aspect of democracy is reflected in the writings of J.S Mill. As already mentioned in the works of J.S Mill we could find a systematic explanation of liberal democracy. He particularly advocated for the liberal democratic representative government which gives space to the people to participate in the process of governance. Mill has emphasised on prevention on the abuse of power, individual rights and liberties, safeguarding the rights of the women, tolerance, vigilance of the citizens for the adequate functioning of the democracy. When individuals have the liberty to make their own choices, they use different human faculties like perception, judgement, moral preferences etc. Mill has highlighted three kinds of liberty- liberty of thought and expression, liberty of action, and liberty of association. He interpreted democracy as a form government which allows development of individual's personality. Mill further said that socio-economic equality is very much essential for the promotion of liberty as well as democracy (Bhargava, Acharya: 2009).

Alexis de Tocqueville in his book Democracy in America (1835) has talked about equality of status, manners, and customs of American democracy. For him democracy not only means, political participation, it also indicates social and civil equality in the society.

The perspective on liberal democracy is also reflected in the writings of pluralist theorist like Robert Dahl. In his book 'A Preface to Democratic Theory (1956)', Robert Dahl has analysed the pluralistic nature of democratic society. According to pluralist, power does not concentrate in one class rather it is spread throughout the society. Dahl is of the opinion that power is the capacity to influence...the process and outcome of the decision-making (Bhargava, Acharya: 2009). In any society there are diverse groups of people with varied interest. Different group of people adopt different mechanism to promote their interest or to influence the decision making. So, democracy provides such a space that provides opportunities for everyone to articulate interests, mobilise support and seek representation (Bhargava, Acharya: 2009).

Self asking question
1.   Why liberal democracy is a preferred form of government ?   --   --

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1.7 Principles of liberal democracy

Liberal democracy is based on certain principles. These are discussed below -

a)   **Representative form of government:** in liberal democratic system government is elected by the consent and vote of the people. The system grants universal adult franchise to all the eligible people without any discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, gender, religious faith etc. based on which people elect their representative.

b)   **Constitutional Government:** in liberal democratic system the Constitution decides the rules and laws for the government. It is essential to have a well-established tradition of law and constitution for the stability of a democratic system (Gauba:1981)

c)   **Civil liberties:** liberal democratic system respects the rights and freedoms of the people. Right to freedom of speech and expression, freedom of press, freedom to criticise the government, public opinion etc are recognised under liberal democratic government.

d)   **Majority rule and recognition of minority rights:** in liberal democracies which support representative government, decisions are based on majority votes. The principle of political equality which implies one man, one vote is followed. Although, decisions are taken on the basis of majority that does not mean the rights of the minorities are suppressed. Necessary constitutional measures and legal safeguards are undertaken to recognise the rights and maintain the dignity of the minorities.

e)   **Political checks and balances:** mass political participation and public opinion are the essence of liberal democracy. None of the organ of the government is allowed to be autocratic and coerce the masses. Each organs of government has different set of power and functions granted by the Constitution. The division of power among the organs of the government act as the internal brake and prevent the government from becoming autocratic (Ghai: 2019).

1.8 Issues and criticism

The critics of liberal democracy in general regard it as the political expression of either western values or capitalist economic structures. Few arguments against liberal democracy are discussed below-

The Marxian critique of liberal democracy: the philosophy of liberal democracy is particularly criticised by the Marxian philosopher. This category of criticism was particularly advanced by Karl Marx. Marx particularly criticised the liberal democracy as it exclusively serves the purpose of capitalist economy where class based inequality is very much persistent. The liberal democracy supports representative government, but rather than serving the common masses it promotes the interest of the capitalist. Referring to liberal state as modern state, in the 'Communist Manifesto' Karl Marx said, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." In a capitalist system, the political power is always based on the economy of the society. As economy is under the control of the bourgeoisie, they control all the political institutions and seek legitimacy from the working or the lower class. The alliance between liberal state and capitalism only serves the interests of the richer section, because of which Marxist criticised liberal democracy which claims equal status of all individual. They further said the liberal democracy fails to address the class inequality and discrimination exists in the society.

The radical view of liberal democracy: The radical view mainly criticised the liberal democracy because as it fails to fulfil the traditional values of democracy like political equality, freedom, accountability of the government etc and also its adherence to capitalist economic norms. Democracy cannot be viewed as maximising the interest of the individual rather it should be concentrate on promotion of common good and co-operation in the society. The radical view of democracy is best reflected in the theory of C.B. Macpherson. Macpherson in his book, 'The Real World of Democracy (1966)', stated that liberal societies which grant universal suffrage, a choice between political parties, and civil liberties have no

exclusive claim over democracy (Gauba:1981). He also said that liberal democracy needs a more humans touch which is absent as liberal democracy exist in capitalist world. He therefore stressed on a society based on 'creative freedom' that leads to human emancipation. He developed the humanist model of democracy in contrast to capitalist model where humanist aspirations are not recognised.

Again, though J.S Mill was a supporter of liberal democracy, but he too was critical of liberal democracy. According to Mill, in democracy or liberal democracy majoritarianism not only excludes the voice of the minority but it also lowers the standard of the government. The preference of majority rule even allows the low intelligence people to perform the task of legislation and administration. As a remedial measure he has suggested for plural voting. Plural voting means that with everyone having at least one vote, some individuals would have more than one vote because they were presumably more qualified.

Stop to consider

Karl Marx is the propagator of scientific foundation of socialism. The political and economic principle developed by Karl Marx is known as Marxism. Friedrich Engles was his close associates. Few major contribution of Karl Marx are- *Das Capital*, *Communist Manifesto*, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844, etc.

Liberal democracy has also been criticised as the rule of the ignorant and incompetent. The principle of equality which it advocates is not possible in the real sense. The majority can exploit the minorities in liberal democracy. Political parties and interest groups can keep the people fragmented and give rise to the problem of maintaining national unity and integration. Moreover, in the liberal democratic system the periodical election involves a huge expenditure and often takes recourse to unethical means.

Self asking question

1.   Do you think liberal democracy is really successful ?

1.9 Conclusion

Today, liberal democracy is the most dominant form of democracy as most of the countries of the world practiced this model in one form or other. To aggregate individual choice and preferences liberal democracy is the preferred form of government. Liberal democracy allows widest possible range of views and beliefs. By implementing popular rule it tries to protect people from tyranny of the government. However, we cannot ignore the possible threats that may arise in developing countries like India. The structure of liberal democracy often threatened due to large scale poverty, illiteracy, nexus between politicians and business tycoons etc. due to these threats often rights of the citizens like freedom of speech and expression, freedom of press etc have been compromised. So, only, the structure of liberal democracy cannot make the principles and objectives of democracy. Political consciousness of the masses and democratic attitude of the power holders is absolutely desirable to make democracy vibrant.

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Model questions:

1.	What is liberal democracy? What are different principles of liberal democracy?
2.	Discuss the historical development of liberal democracy.
3.	Analyse the different perspective of liberal democracy. What are the limitations of liberal democracy?

UNIT 3: DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

Unit Structure:

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Democracy is understood to be a form of government in which individuals have the power to make decisions for themselves, either directly or through elected officials. Considering the difficulties of system adherence, however, the advent of representative democracy has resulted in a more passive than active participation of the populace in the political system. A successful democracy also needs engaged public participation. Participation, freedom, and rights are nevertheless conceivable in a democratic society but are not something that can be anticipated in an authoritarian one. As a result, democracy is necessary for citizenship, and citizenship is only feasible under a democratic government. Therefore, it is crucial to examine and discuss how citizenship and democracy interact.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

The basic objective of the unit is to understand and explore the various concept of Democracy, Citizenship and also their relationship. After studying this unit you will be able to explore and analyse the following:-

- *explain* the concept of Democracy and Citizenship.
- *analyse* the various theories of Democracy.
- *trace* the development of the concept of Democracy and Citizenship.
- *establish* the relationship between Democracy and Citizenship.

3.3 MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

The word "democracy" derives from the Greek concepts "demos" and "kratos," which mean "people" and "power," respectively. It implies that the term "democracy" refers to a type of governance that upholds people's authority and will. It does not mean oligarchy, in which a small group of people rule, autocracy, tyranny, or being ruled by one. It excludes even majority rule, which completely disregards the interests of minorities. A democratic government respects all citizens' wants and desires. Individual liberty and equality are the two fundamental concepts that give democracy moral significance. Individual autonomy, as opposed to equality, which refers to everyone having the same ability to influence societal decisions, refers to a society in which no one is subject to enforced rules. While rudimentary democracy can be found in many regions of the world, democracy as we know it today was founded and established by the ancient Greeks in the fifth century B.C. In the face of autocratic rules of the time, the Athenian democratic paradigm stood out.

Because there are numerous distinct varieties of democracy and democratic states in the globe, no two political systems can be considered "models" to be followed. In addition to presidential and parliamentary democracies, there are federal and unitary democracies, proportional representation democracies, and so on. People's representatives have a different role in governing in the modern democratic system than they did in the past. The practise of electing representatives through elections rather than actively engaging in the political process is known as representational democracy. Representative democracies are founded on two guiding principles: equality and individual liberty. When elections are mainly free, transparent, and fair, the term "democracy" is used. Elections are complex enough, but defining "democracy" is even more so. Understanding that elections are more than simply a display of democracy and should reflect popular will rather than institutional voting procedures is critical for determining a country's democratic standing. A democratic system promotes progress by including

everyone, particularly in decision-making, and by providing individuals greater true authority. It is more inclusive, introspective, and receptive to people's desires.

Those who are not entitled to vote, such as immigrants, workers, prisoners, and juveniles, must still abide by the law in a small number of democracies around the world. Democracy requires much more than merely voting, as was already mentioned. It is essential that common citizens are given as many chances as possible to engage in the governance process. Citizens can accomplish this in a variety of ways. A democratic government should not make decisions that seem to go against democracy or to violate human rights. If it appears that the public's opinions are not being heard, a democratic government must reconsider its decisions.

The term "democracy" has a wide range of meanings, making it difficult to give a precise definition. It's a contentious, controversial, and hotly debated idea. Although most people think of democracy as a type of government, some experts see it as a way of life. As a result, it is critical to explore the concept of democracy, which is both complex and contentious. When looking at the existing administrations around the world, it is clear that the states are following a democratic governance model. Even governments ruled by military dictatorships claim to be pro-democracy. "The greatest and most real democracies in the world today are the German and the Italian," Mussolini, the Italian fascist, proclaimed in 1936. Until his death, German dictator Adolf Hitler crucified democratic principles. Democracy, according to George Bernard Shaw, is a nebulous concept that appears to exist everywhere but actually does not.

Democracy is often regarded as one of the best forms of government, serving as the foundation for the majority of today's states, organisations, and associations. Liberty, freedom, equality, and justice are fundamental democratic principles. In some cases, concepts such as liberty and freedom are jeopardised in the pursuit of justice. Many intellectuals, including Alexis de Tocqueville, John Locke, John Stuart Mill, James Bryce, John Austin, A L Lasswell, A V Dicey, and John Seeley, lauded democracy as the best form of government. The most popular definition of democracy is "government of, by, and for the people," as stated by Abraham Lincoln.

According to Dicey, democracy is a "type of government in which the governing body includes a proportionately significant portion of the entire nation." "Democracy is a form of administration in which the people play a major part in the construction of institutions and representatives of the government," writes MacIver. According to the above-mentioned points of view, the people decide what the government should do or what policies must be adopted and implemented in a democratic system of governance. As a result, democracy can be characterised as a procedure that is strongly related

to and determined by people's well-being. A democratic government can never be absolute; rather, it is an institution that upholds a person's life values.

3.4 DEMOCRACY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations (UN) supports fundamental ideals such as human rights, advancement, peace, and security and upholds democracy as a fundamental ideal. In comparison to other international organisations, the UN has prioritised democracy support since the establishment of the UN Charter. The United Nations has aided nations all over the world in encouraging good governance and assisting civil society in supporting democracy and its institutions. Furthermore, it encourages the development of new constitutions in post-conflict settings and ensures self-determination in nations liberated from colonial authority. The UN promotes democracy through many UN organisations, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF), and others. The authors of the UN did not mention democracy, but the charter's initial words, "We the Peoples," represent the essential principle of democracy and view the people's will as the sole valid source of power for the ruler. The United Nations emphasises public participation, equality, security, and human rights rather than any specific style of democratic governance.

Since 1990, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has published annual reports on human development, equating democracy with development. The term "democracy" refers to more than just a political system. Democracy is now also thought of as a way of life, referring to a way of life founded on democratic ideas and values. The United Nations has recognised the importance of democracy in the world by proclaiming September 15 as "International Day of Democracy."

Moreover, Human rights and democracy are intertwined and both place a high value on equality. Based on that, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) views that "the will of the people will be the cornerstone of government authority." Three rights related to the concept of democracy are enumerated in numerous sections of the UDHR: freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of expression; and freedom of assembly and association. However, any violation of other rights may also influence which individuals are denied the ability to express their thoughts, diminishing the importance of their decision.

3.5 VARIATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a form of government in which the people wield ultimate power, either directly or through representatives. Democracy can take many forms, but it generally refers to majority rule, individual and minority rights, equality of opportunity, equality before the law, and civil and political liberty. The definition of democracy has been broadening and changing over time. Democracy was once thought to be a government that guaranteed the people's intrinsic rights. For example, John Locke considers democracy to be a part of the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and property, which are all possible in a democratic society. With the rise of liberalism, the state was seen as necessary but limited, and it could exist in a democratic form of government only if it did not interfere with people's daily lives. However, in today's world, democracy is defined as a government that provides security, liberty, freedom, and justice of its citizens. Democracy has taken on several forms throughout its growth, and it may take on multiple forms at any one time. However, the fundamental principle remains the same. Moreover, there are significant disparities between the various democratic forms. We'll look at three different types of democracy here.

3.5.1 Classical Democracy

Greek city-states were the forerunners of the democratic system of governance. Classical Democracy was utilised in small republics with a limited population who had equal status and actively participated in the functioning of the state. Plato and Aristotle discussed the importance of democracy in Greek city-states such as Athens and others throughout their time. This concept isn't optimal because it lacks numerous democratic government prerequisites. This democratic model, on the other hand, included aspects such as equitable participation, consensus-based decisions, and the idea of state allegiance. They weren't enough to make a perfect democracy, but they laid the groundwork for the concept. Furthermore, while earlier thinkers such as Plato discussed democracy, he did not advocate for its implementation, as he did in his masterwork "Republic," where he favoured an aristocratic ruler in the form of a philosopher king. Aristotle, on the other hand, saw democracy as the worst form of government and polis as the best. He considered democracy as the government of regular people striving to pursue their own narrow interests, and he believed democracy was predicated on a false sense of equality. In his work "Politics," Aristotle proposed for a composite constitution based on principles and aristocracy. The relevance of classical democracy in today's world, on the other hand, is a myth, as governments have risen in size and population.

3.5.2. Liberal Democracy

The terms "democracy" and "liberalism" have no common predecessor. In contrast, liberalism has a recent history, whereas democracy has a long history. However, the terms are occasionally used interchangeably, and the two have been combined to produce the term liberal democracy. Classical liberalism envisions absolute individual liberty, laissez-faire individualism, and a minimal state that permits capitalism to thrive. To maintain comprehensive individual freedom in a liberal state, they devised democratic criteria that foresee individual freedom. As a result of the combination of the principles, promoting universal adult franchise and the market economy, the popular concept of "Liberal Democracy" emerged. The welfare state concept of liberalism was also capable of closing the gap between capitalists and the masses, as the welfare system enabled the government to see the problems caused by classical liberalism, such as unemployment and the massive gap between the rich and the poor, with minimal intervention. The liberal welfare state concept was popular because it mirrored the desires of all segments of the people and provided the masses with adequate rights and obligations. Liberal democracy has grown in popularity as a result of its emphasis on the value of all aspects of society, particularly minorities. The Liberal Democracy is characterised by consent-based democracy, public accountability, majority rule, an emphasis on minority rights, constitutional government, and judicial independence.

3.5.3. Socialist Democracy

The protection of people's social and economic rights is encouraged by socialist democracy, which believes in holding elections or ruling through a multiparty system. Societies, according to socialist democracy, are divided into classes, and true democracy cannot be achieved unless the exploiting classes, such as feudal lords, capitalists, and imperialist powers, are defeated. After such exploitative forces have been eliminated from society, the political system should be managed by the proletariat. Furthermore, it is widely considered that individuals in a socialist democracy are subject to the state, but the Cuban revolution revealed that this is not the case, and the revolution exemplifies individuality and dignity. When it comes to human rights, there is a distinction between liberal and socialist democracy. Furthermore, while social democracy emphasises social and economic rights, liberal democracy places a greater emphasis on civil and political rights.

3.6 TYPES OF DEMOCRACY: DIRECT AND INDIRECT

In today's world, the most common form of democracy is mostly indirect. In general, there are two types of democracy: direct and indirect democracy. The fundamental differences are procedural in character; namely, the extent of public participation in terms of electing the administration as well as monitoring and managing it.

3.6.1. Direct Democracy

At the commencement of the democratic administration system, democracy was direct in nature. The procedure for direct democracy is adopted particularly in nations with tiny populations. It alludes to a political structure in which the people have the majority of the authority. Direct democracy, in essence, refers to a system in which citizens directly participate in decision-making rather than relying on representatives, and supporters of direct democracy believe that democracy is more than just a procedural issue. Political choices are determined via a direct democracy in which all citizens of a nation are present and participate in voting. People have the opportunity to have an impact on the formulation of policies since the system respects all individuals equally. As previously stated, direct democracy was common in Greek city states, some portions of England, and even India at the period since they were less populated. However, due to rising population and industrialization, direct democracy lost its relevance. But certain concepts of direct democracy are still implemented in Switzerland, particularly in the operation of cantons and sub-cantons. The following are the ways of direct democracy:-

A. Initiative: It's a procedure that allows citizens to directly engage in legislation and constitutional amendment. The legislative body cannot ignore a majority vote in favour of enacting laws and amending the constitution. Through this approach, the government can solicit public input on a national issue. In most cases, the government initiates this procedure. In a nutshell, it refers to the electorate's position on issues of national importance.

B. Referendum: It refers to a piece of legislation that is presented to a popular vote for final approval. The initiative can be approved or rejected by the general public.

C.Recall: Without a question, this is the most effective direct democratic method. This tactic illustrates the people's unrivalled ability to overturn the government.

3.6.2. Indirect or Representative Democracy

In today's world, indirect democracy is becoming increasingly popular, with various countries implementing it. Indirect democracy, often known as "Representative Democracy," is a type of government in which citizens are represented by representatives who act and make decisions on their behalf rather than engaging directly in the political

process. However, because it involves multiple institutions and technology in its administration, this system is slightly more sophisticated than direct democracy. The indirect democracy process operates through many techniques such as geographical representation, proportional representation, functional representation, and so on. Citizens in India can participate in the democratic process through many levels of representation. Examples include the federal parliament, state legislative assemblies, and Panchayats and municipalities at the grassroots level. Furthermore, some autonomous council has been established in the northeast India under the sixth schedule of the constitution, to ensure participation and representation of the tribal community.

3.7 THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

In an effort to explain the degree of public participation in politics, many democratic theories have been proposed. Elite, pluralist, and deliberative theories are the three that are most well-known. Following is a discussion of the theories' specifics.

3.7.1. Elitist Theory of Democracy

The traditional, egalitarian-based classical paradigm of democracy is opposed by the elite theory of government. The theory aims to explain the continuing power dynamics in society. The conventional definition of democracy emphasises the population's active involvement in politics and also refers to a system that is controlled by the public, either directly or through their representatives. The elite theory, which disagrees with such viewpoints, contends that a small elite group, notably from the wealthy and powerful segments of society, genuinely controls society. Majority of the power in the United States is held by the elites, and this authority is unrelated to the democratic electoral system in place there. Through a variety of routes within the government, whether they be political or economic, they exert influence over the government.

The elite theory contends that democracy is an unrealistic ideal and rejects pluralistic viewpoints. It rejects the autonomy idea in a similar manner. According to the argument, elites cannot be avoided in a democracy. Since ancient times, the political system has been ruled, controlled, and governed by a small group of individuals known as the elites. Rural and industrial elites, including feudal lords and industry owners, held a disproportionate amount of power over resources and production in both agrarian and industrial cultures. Government is heavily influenced by the same wealthy and powerful elite. Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels, and C. Wright Mill are three significant leading elitist democratic thinkers whose sociological foundations may be found in them. Theorists contend that high levels of

citizen participation do not necessarily indicate a successful democracy; rather, they suggest that such participation tends to weaken democratic government. Theorists contend that because citizens lack the necessary education to engage in politics, it is simple to manipulate them and abuse of democratic standards may take place.

The terms "elite" and "masses" were first used by Pareto, who also demonstrated the distinctions between the two. Pareto asserted in his book "The Mind and Society" that the elites are psychologically and intellectually superior to the people. He believed that even the elites come in two varieties: the governing elites and the non-governing elites. Additionally, he held the view that the elites themselves supplanted the previous class, which he popularised as the "Circulation of Elites." One elite may be replaced by another in a process known as the "circulation of elites," which also includes the migration of individuals from non-elite to elite organisations and vice versa.

Additionally, Mosca in "The Ruling Class" emphasised the sociological and psychological characteristics of the elites, saying that they are an organised marginal group and the people are an unorganised majority. He claimed that sub-elites and the ruling elite make up the ruling class, or elites. According to Mosca, the elites have superiority in knowledge, morals, and material possessions that support their ability to dominate society.

Michels created the concept of the Iron Law of Oligarchy in his book "Political Parties: A Sociological Study of Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy." He holds that all forms of government can be reduced to an oligarchy, in which the elites make up the minority that rules. He said that since the vast mass of people are typically apathetic, sluggish, and subservient, they cannot govern themselves. Because the majority feels safe under such leadership, he justified the rule of the elites as natural and good.

In his book "The Power Elite," C. Wright Mills promoted the idea of the "Power Elite" based on his research into American politics and society. The term "power elite" refers to those who hold powerful positions in high-level institutions, notably political ones, and whose decisions have a significant impact on the general public and society in the United States. According to Mills, neither the common people nor the typical rich people have any influence on society. At the pinnacle of the military, economic, and political systems, according to Mills, a very tiny group of people wields power and articulates their interests.

3.7.2 The Pluralist Theory of Democracy

The Pluralist Theory of Democracy is founded on the idea that democracy is a form of government that involves a plurality of social and political forces. The existence of several racial, ethnic, minority, and other groups in society is reflected in plural elements, which also

reflect numerous interest groups, organisations, and alliances. In this context, the term "democratic process" refers to a system of government in which many groups within the political system and society engage in a negotiation process to address their needs, interests, ambitions, and goals. According to the notion, government functions are decentralised rather than centrally controlled, and all parties within a given democratic society really negotiate with the government to have policies favourable to them implemented.

This reduces the pluralist idea of democracy to a negotiation process between somewhat autonomous groups. The paradigm of "Polyarchy" was developed by renowned political scientist Robert Dahl to enhance the pluralist notion of democracy in his book "A Preface to Democratic Theory." According to this concept, a sizable portion of the adult population is engaged in open competition for political support, which ensures that group interests are competitive and that relative equality is maintained. A two-party election system is supported by pluralists, who cherish civil liberties like the right to free speech. The paradigm promotes the domination or will of each group based on their capacity for negotiation, social power, and influence, with each group seeking to further its own interests.

Additionally, the idea encourages fully informed citizens to examine the operation and effectiveness of their government as well as their active engagement in the political system. Therefore, in contrast to the elitist thesis, pluralists hold that interactions between various social groups determine how the government functions rather than the elites or elected officials running it. As a result, the system guarantees effective government, and in a similar vein, it also assures that the interests of various groups are represented at various levels of government.

In addition, some academics who disagreed with the pluralist theory claimed that it was too simplistic to describe how the government operated and how that group's ideas came to be formed, which gave rise to the development of Neo-Pluralism. According to the neo-pluralist perspective, there are many pressure groups vying for political influence, but they all have a corporate power tilt. The state is not viewed by Neo-Pluralism as an umpire mediating and balancing between the demands of various interest groups, but rather as a largely autonomous actor that forges and protects its own sectoral interests.

3.7.3 The Deliberative theory of Democracy

One of democracy's most important components is deliberation, along with the degree of participation. A system that values discussion, debate, and discourse in order to best serve the needs of the general public is known as a "deliberative democracy." It honours decisions made after discussion and exemplifies a culture where contemplation is essential to making choices. Because voting is the sole kind of

discussion allowed, it differs from standard democratic thought. Deliberative Democracy acknowledges, "The full and equal membership of all in the sovereign body responsible for authorising the exercise of that authority and creating the common reason and will of that body". Both direct and representative democracies get along well with democratic deliberation.

Deliberative democracy is viewed by James Miller as a structure based on deliberation that captures the dialogue among the participants. It represents the viewpoint of the individuals taking part in the deliberative process and changes their own interests and viewpoints in consideration of those of others. Public opinion and the general public's interest are seen as essential elements in a deliberative democracy for advancing the needs of the people. Deliberative democracy places a strong focus on public consensus and is based more on the support of the general public than it is on the support of powerful individuals. The Panchayati Raj system of India, implemented in accordance with the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, is regarded as the best illustration of deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy and participation are stronger at the grassroots level. It's a right-based strategy, and the institutions working on it balance the conflicts of interest between the opposing groups.

All acceptable political decisions must be made by free, equal, and rational agents, according to the renowned justice and public opinion theorists Rawls and Habermas. According to Rawls, reason reduces self-interest and so fosters the development of the public interest. In addition, Habermas viewed that impartial processes and transparent communication may lead to lawful and consentaneous decisions by citizens. In addition, deliberative theorists contend that publicity is essential because decisions in a democracy should be made public, discussed in an open forum, and held up for public review.

Deliberative democracy is criticised, nevertheless, because some people feel that if certain citizens' voices are not included in the system, the deliberative processes will lose some of their quality and credibility. Additionally, pre-existing societal biases, structural disparities, and social complexities will impede the deliberative form of democracy. However, deliberative democracy brings moral considerations into the arena of democratic decision-making and promotes greater citizen involvement, better outcomes, and a more genuinely democratic society.

3.8 CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is a relationship between an individual and a state in which the individual must profess allegiance to the state in exchange for state protection. The government grants citizens certain rights, obligations,

and duties. They are, however, only partially or not at all available to immigrants or non-citizens living in a country. Citizens of a country have full political rights, including the right to vote and hold public office. Similarly, citizens must exhibit their loyalty to the nation and be ready to serve when called upon. Living in a country does not entitle one to citizenship. A person who lives in another country is considered an alien by the host. Individuals who enter a country legitimately and with valid documents are entitled to legal protection and can own property, create enterprises, and acquire an education, but they cannot hold political office.

Citizenship was first established in Greek city-states, with citizen's recognised based on property, education, and other qualities. Ordinary people, especially women, slaves, and the poor, were denied political rights. Similarly, in England, the term "citizen" originally referred to someone who joined the local municipal corporation. In addition, the phrase was used to symbolise a person's submission to the state or king. The concept of modern citizenship did not exist until the 18th century, following the American and French revolutions. Citizens have since been granted various rights and liberties, and they, too, owe loyalty to the state.

3.9 PRINCIPLES OF DETERMINING CITIZENSHIP

Several principles can be used to determine citizenship at birth: Jus Soli refers to citizenship earned via birth within the state's jurisdiction, regardless of parental citizenship. The second principle is Jus Sanguinis, which stipulates that a person is a citizen of the state regardless of where he or she is born if one of his or her parents is a citizen at the time of birth. In the United States and England, for example, the Jus Soli principle has been recognised as a guiding principle. Other countries, on the other hand, follow the Jus Sanguinis as a guiding principle. Dual nationality is frequently the outcome of nationality legislation provisions, and a lack of conventional laws on citizenship acquisition and loss has occasionally resulted in statelessness.

A. Citizenship by Marriage:

By marrying a citizen of another nation, a citizen of one country can become a citizen of another. Marriage is one of the quickest ways to get citizenship in any country. Countries that are primary migration destinations have implemented stringent rules and regulations to detect fraudulent marriages, which occur when a citizen marries a non-citizen for financial benefit rather than to live together.

B. Naturalisation

Naturalization is the process through which a citizen of one country becomes a citizen of another. The naturalisation procedure varies from country to country. Naturalization is the process by which a person obtains citizenship by vowing to obey and uphold the laws of the country and swearing an oath of allegiance. Furthermore, the country that grants citizenship may impose extra requirements such as legal residency, knowledge of the national language, and cultural assimilation. The process of naturalisation of citizens began with the massive influx of refugees generated by the post-World War I refugee crisis. Interstate conflicts around the world resulted in statelessness, forcing people to migrate and seek asylum in neighbouring countries. Despite the fact that the situation eventually stabilised, affected persons were hesitant to return to their own nation. In such circumstances, countries that absorbed such a population enacted mass naturalisation legislation, albeit many did not.

3.10. THEORIES OF CITIZENSHIP

There are several theories of citizenship explaining the rights of citizens. We will discuss the important theories of citizenship. These are the following:--

A. The Liberal Theory of Citizenship

The liberal notion of citizenship places a strong emphasis on civil rights and is rooted in individualism. The theory contends that the interconnected process of state formation is what gave rise to citizenship. The creations of an industrial and commercial society as well as the growth of national consciousness have all contributed to the rise of the notion of citizenship. The concept of civil rights served as the foundation for the concept of citizenship initially, while political and social rights came later. The main proponent of this theory was T. H. Marshall. He examined how the concept of citizenship evolved in Britain in his book "Citizenship and Social Class." He believed that, based on the British experiment, the concept of citizenship evolved in three distinct stages: the first stage involved civil rights, the second stage involved political rights, and the third stage involved social rights in three distinct centuries, namely the 18th, the 19th, and the 20th. Marshall also held the opinion that social rights form the basis for civil and political rights. He argued that by offering citizens the aforementioned rights, societal inequality will be lessened. Marshal was a supporter of the welfare state and thought that by assisting the underprivileged, inequality could be lessened.

B. The Libertarian Theory of Citizenship

Since the state was unable to deliver social rights, the British conservative administration led by Margaret Thatcher prioritised market rights over them, giving rise to the libertarian position on citizenship. Social rights were opposed when neo-liberalism came into being because it posed a threat to the welfare state model. According to the notion, citizenship results from the creation of individual freedom of choice and contract. According to the thesis, individuals are successful entrepreneurs who gain from free market forces. In order to realise their values and desires, people turn to private action and join voluntary organisations, according to the principal proponent of this theory, Rober Nozick. The necessity for citizenship derives from the fact that independence and critical thinking are prerequisites for obtaining the necessities of life.

C. The Communitarian Theory of Citizenship

According to the communitarian idea of citizenship, there is no such thing as an individual outside of the community. Communitarians disagree with the liberal notion because they believe that excessive individualism has compromised each person's obligations to the community. According to the view, citizens actively participate in shaping society through debating issues and influencing decisions. So, in accordance with the principle, a citizen ought to connect with the community, acknowledge the civic virtues of society, and advance the common good. The most well-known communitarian theorists are Michael Walzer, Benjamin Barber, and Hannah Arendt. Therefore, communitarian theorists give group rights precedence over individual rights.

D. Marxist Theory of Citizenship

The theory of citizenship advocated by Marxists holds that rights are the outcome of a struggle between classes. The fundamental components of citizenship are the privileges that one class earned through repressing the rights of its rival class. Even though Anthony Giddens deviates from the core principles of Marxism, he is regarded as the leading proponent of this theory. The term "welfare capitalism" was coined by Giddens, who also asserted that citizenship rights could be upheld within the framework of the liberal system. The concept of citizenship, in his view, has evolved with the growth of state sovereignty and administrative structure in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It became impossible for the contemporary state to rule everything through force alone as state sovereignty grew, which opened up additional avenues for weaker groups to exert influence over their leaders.

E. The Pluralist Theory of Citizenship

Citizenship is a complicated, multifaceted process, according to the pluralist theory. The main proponent of this theory, Devid Held, emphasised that citizenship is a reciprocal relationship between an individual and the community in his book "Political Theory and the Modern State." Many social movements have emerged in the modern world to combat various forms of social discrimination based on factors like religion, sex, race, occupation, etc. The Pluralists demand an examination of these citizenship issues in light of all of these movements.

3.11 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

The subject of citizenship must eventually come up in any debate on democracy. Political theorists contend that a good citizen exhibits trust by acting in accordance with the rules. According to some, the common citizen who has never had proper education lacks the knowledge and understanding of the political system needed to rely on their leaders to solve their problems. Others contend that the concept of an active citizen is rapidly fading, and is being replaced by the concept of an active consumerism. But many who care about advocacy and involvement think the problem is not political incompetence. Instead, the problem is the concentration of power in a small number of people. The government and people's quality of life would therefore benefit from increasing public participation in decision-making that affects them.

Citizenship has evolved to symbolise the group voice of individuals residing within a nation's political and physical borders. Additionally, citizenship promotes the welfare of the population and political accountability. A strong base in civic engagement is necessary for a democratic system that is efficient, responsible, and inclusive. As was previously mentioned, citizens can exercise power and civic responsibility either directly or indirectly in a democratic society. The democratic system defends and institutionalises minority rights in addition to human freedom. Similar to this, democracy ensures that everyone has access to equal protection under the law and that governments are held responsible to the rule of law. Citizens also owe a duty to the political system since a democratic system upholds and defends the rights and liberties of the populace. A democratic government also encourages collaboration and compromise in order to further the goals of its citizens. Mahatma Gandhi viewed that the intolerant behaviour is a type of violence in and of itself that prevents the emergence of a real democratic spirit.

3.12 RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES AND PARTICIPATION

Regardless of the kind of democratic governance, including majority rule, there shouldn't be any conflict between the protection of individual rights and the rights of the minority. Majority control in a democratic setting simply means making choices and governing; it cannot lead to oppression or deprivation of the minority groups or individuals of their rights and freedoms. People or groups may still be classified as minorities due to their racial origin, religious affiliation, geographic location, socioeconomic status, etc. They are entitled to certain fundamental human rights, and neither a majority nor an elected government should be able to restrict those rights. Minorities also have faith in the government to protect their rights and sense of identity. Once effective, these organisations can engage with and assist the country's democratic institutions. One of their key responsibilities is to safeguard the cultural identities, social conventions, individual consciences, and religious practises of minorities in addition to preserving fundamental human rights. As long as individuals view diversity in terms of identity, culture, and values as a challenge that can make them stronger and more enriched, it may be extremely advantageous in a democratic society. There is no obvious answer as to how to reconcile the many perspectives and beliefs of minority groups. Agreements between the two incompatible realities of majority rule and minority rights can only be reached through a process of acceptance, discussion, and willingness to compromise.

Apart from that citizens in any democratic society must use vigilance to defend human rights. Citizens have a responsibility to take part in a variety of civic activities that will keep the government accountable to the people and on guard. A variety of international covenants and human rights treaties have been signed by democratic governments of free nations as a formal declaration of their commitment to upholding human rights. In a same vein, democracies everywhere should strive to uphold women's rights, encourage women to participate in all aspects of society and government, and create spaces for uninhibited expression and association.

In democracies, press freedom is essential and ought to be unconstrained by the state. A free press offers a forum for discussion of all local and global issues, informs the public, and holds authorities responsible. A democracy still holds the government accountable for its deeds, and the people are required to be informed. With the aid of a free press, citizens may hold their government responsible. Because of this, the media must present factual news that is supported by dependable sources. The establishment of the government's accountability to its constituents in democracies depends on civil society. Civil society is essential to the advancement of society because it engages in advocacy, public awareness-raising, education, and behaviour monitoring of the government. The civil society advances the goals of its members and instructs them in how to interact with one another, work together, and

learn new skills. Frequently, civil society represents the interests of those citizens who would be left out of government policies and programmes.

A democratic government exists to serve the people, but the people must also return to uphold the rules and regulations that govern them. One of the many liberties that democracies all over the world grant is the freedom to disagree and criticise the government. It is the responsibility of citizens to participate actively, conduct themselves politely, and even to be patient. Every citizen in a democracy is aware of their own rights and duties. Moreover, several democracies force their citizens to perform national service, such as jury duty or mandatory military or civilian national service. Importantly, all democracies around the world are bound by a similar set of rules, including respect for the law, payment of taxes, loyalty to the chosen government, and acceptance of divergent opinions. A citizen in a democracy must therefore take responsibility for their own well-being and protection from the government. A democracy cannot function without active citizens who are aware that their participation determines whether the government is successful or unsuccessful. Similar to this, government officials treat every citizen equally, and corruption is not accepted. In the interim, citizens can organise themselves and change the government in a peaceful manner. A more extensive educational experience, socialisation, political engagement, participation in public life, and everyday experiences all contribute to the acquisition of citizenship. It requires more than merely voting, performing civic obligations, and utilising the system because it involves constructing and altering the structures and laws that govern it.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is Democracy? Analyse the various theories of Democracy?
2. What is Citizenship? Discuss the various provisions to get citizenship?
3. Analyse the various theories of Citizenship?
4. Is freedom possible for citizens in an authoritarian system? Discuss.

3.13 SUMMING UP

According to the justification provided above, indirect governance has replaced direct government in democratic systems. Direct democracy is no longer possible because of how many country states there are in the current world. As an alternative, nations have created a popular representative democracy system. A successful democracy requires both active and passive participation from the general public in the political process. However, in order to keep its people from considering

protesting the executive branch and the political system, a democratic government must ensure that its people have access to essential and inalienable liberties. It would be simpler for a citizen to obey the political system once they have access to these freedoms and protections provided by a democracy.

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UNIT 4

Participation, Representation and Majoritarianism

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

Participation, representation and majoritarianism are basic tenant of democratic form of government. With the help of participation and representation people involve in the decision making process of the system. Majoritarianism is the functional principle of democracy. In this chapter an attempt has been made to clarify these concepts and analyse its related terms.

1.2 Objective

The basic objectives of this chapter are-

A) To understand the meaning of Participation, different activities of participation and motivating factors behind participation.
B) Explain the meaning of representation, different theories of representation, types or methods related to this.
C) To understand the meaning of majoritarianism.

1.3 Participation: Concept and meaning

Participation means involvement in the political process. It is one of the necessary ingredients of every political system. The democratization process of the every political system makes participation one of the basic criteria of its success. Vibrant democracies are characterized by a continuous expansion of the available forms of participation. Democracy can be best understood in terms of participation of the people. So participation has emerged as central phenomenon in political debate. UNDP in its Human Development Report, 2002 considered political participation as the most important tool to realize the democratic values in society. 'Where few take part in decisions there is little democracy; the more participation there is in decisions the more democracy there is' (Verba and Nie). It is one of the means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled.

Political participation refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society involves in selection of their rulers and formation of public policy. It is the involvement of the individual at various levels in the political system. Through their involvement people shape and affect the political sphere. To be more specific, participation is an effort that people make in order to influence public policy decisions, make authority accountable and responsible towards the citizen. Political participation involves an active interaction between citizens and government. It is a two way process. One party initiate and other party responds. Participation is a means that people can shape the system and the state in turn enabling social economic and legal conditions wherein people can exercise their rights and achieve freedom from fear and want. It is not merely elections or

universal adult franchise that defines the process of participation. It is the backbone of a system through which a system is justified as well as sustained for a long time.

Scholars have defined the concept differently. According to McClosky, 'political participations are those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of ruler's and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy.'

Sidney Verba and Norman Nie define political participation as 'those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and/or the actions they take.'

According to Lam, 'Acts of political participation also include political activities that are targeted at private institutions such as university administration and business, and that they are designed to pose challenges to existing rules norms and practices.'

In a democratic polity citizen have variety of ways of participation in the governance of a country. The real meaning of participation is hidden behind the activities of political participation. These activities are –

A. **Voting at the poll**: Voting is the most prominent form of political participation and in fact for many people, it is the primary means of political participation. Every citizen gets one vote that counts equally. Expanded voters registration means more and more people have been able to participate. Through voting in election people choose their representative or decision makers.

B. **Membership of a pressure group**: Supporting possible pressure group by being a member of them is another way of participation. Pressure groups aim to circulate information which will educate and inform the public and make them inclined to participate. Being a member of pressure group people are able to participate in different political activity taken by that group to pressurize the decision makers in different aspects.

C. **Protest**: A protest is an expression of objection, by words or by actions, to particular events, policies, decisions or situation. It is a process through which citizen express their disapproval to government policy or decision. It may include a strike, hunger strike, picketing, peace march, candle march, human

chain, processions, slogan shouting, sticking posters on walls, refusing or returning an official prize or honour etc.

D. **Involvement with political party**: One can participate in political system by making involve with a political party. People can involve with a political party by taking membership, donating money, time and resources, participating in campaign etc.

Lester Milbrath brings these activities under three categories and put all these activities of participation in a hierarchical order under these three categories. These are discussed below-

Gladiator activities: The activities include all the activities which are parts of routine of political parties. These activities are performed by small number of party activists who are directly involve with party activities like holding party offices, fighting the election as party candidates, raising party funds, attending party meeting, campaign for party etc. Gladiator activities represent active political participation and direct involvement in policy making and ruling or selection of rulers.

Transitional activities: Transitional activities represent those activities which are performed by well wishers and supporters or sympathiser of political parties. They are less active than gladiators regarding involvement or participation in politics. Transitional activities include attending party meeting, coming in contact with party officials, making monetary contribution to the parties etc.

Spectator activities: Spectators perform least important activities for political party. Spectator activities include voting, influencing others to vote, making and joining political discussions, wearing a button or putting a sticker etc.

Milbrath's classification of political activities tends to show that political participants are basically of two types- active and passive. Political participation in every society has a cost that involves time, energy and resources. Not all participants are ready to bear these costs. Hence those who bear more cost they are active participants and those who bear less they are passive participants. On the basis of the bear of the cost Milbrath put Gladiator activities at the top of hierarchical order and spectator activities at the bottom.

1.4 Factors influencing political participation

Political participation depends upon variety of factors. It varies from country to country, from era to era from one type of people to another.

Too many variables are working behind political participation. Some of these are:

1. **Psychological factors or Cognitive traits**: Political participation is influenced by the psychology of the individuals. People's participation or apathy towards political system largely motivated by psychology of the individuals. Citizens who are pessimistic about the capacity to influence political events on the grounds that what they do won't matter anyway shows disinterest towards political participation , on the other hand people who are optimistic about their contribution and think that a single step may change somewhere in the political activity. Sometimes politics may offer the lonely man new opportunities for association with others. Thus men participate in politics to detest isolation and association with others. Thus social scientists admit that psychological issues like; sense of efficacy, sense of civic responsibility, sociability, sense of alienation and nature of the system motivated the citizen to participate or show apathy towards system.

2. **Social factor**: The social environment of a system definitely has an impact on political participation. Social environment includes elements like education, occupation, income, sex, ethnicity, race, religion and habitant. All these factors motivate the citizen to participate in political process. However the impacts of these factors do vary from society to society. Higher income persons or people holding higher occupation usually reveal a greater willingness for participation. Likewise Education also plays a role of a dominant factor in participation. It is said that, the higher is the level of education, the greater are one's sense of civic duty, political competence, interest and responsibility and also self confidence and articulateness. Religion, race and ethnicity also play a prominent role in participation. It is found that the more a society is marked by ethnic and communal rivalry the greater will be the rate of participation.

3. **Political factor**: To what extent an individual receives political stimuli to participate in political process, depends on the political environment or the political setting in which he/she finds him/her. If the geographical area of a country is too large, if the machineries of communication do not properly function, if the government institutions are entangled in highly rigid and complicated rules, citizens are likely to develop somewhat a feeling a remoteness that seriously affects the rate of political

participation. On the other hand if the political atmosphere is open, everyone able to participate, election rules are simple, government are people friendly than participation rate of the people will be automatically high.

Stop to Consider

1. Participation basically means involvement in the political system through different ways.
2. People participate in political system by electing the representatives and influencing the decision making process.
3. There are different ways of people's participation: voting, taking membership of civil society, protesting or campaigning, involvement with political parties etc.
4. Lester Milbrath classifies the activities of political participation in three categories: Gladiator, Transitional and Spectator.
5. Many factors are working behind the political participation. They are categorised as: psychological factor, social factor and political factor.

Check your Progress

Question 1. What is participation?

Question 2. Analyse the factors influencing political participation.

1.5 Representation: meaning

Representation means a person or organization that speaks acts or is present officially for someone else. There is a general understanding of representation, when a group of people or an individual acts on behalf of a group which is too large to directly participation in its deliberation. According to German social theorist, Robert von Mohl, representation is the process through which the influence which the entire citizenry or a part of them have upon government action, is with

their expressed approval, exercised on their behalf by a small number among them, with binding effect upon those represented.'

The origin of the concept of representation in western political theory dates back to the later centuries of Rome, when prince was regarded as the representatives of the roman people. In the medieval period both the king and the pope were considered as the representatives of communities. In this both instances representation does not necessarily mean election or selection of the representative by the people. The concept of representation changed during the time of advent of democracy. Democracy is best understood in terms of people's participation. In the early stages of democracy when it was in pure form of direct democracy or people directly participated in the management of public affairs, the concept of representation was not so popular. But with the expansion of population and territory of state, the system of direct democracy became impractical. Therefore, concept of indirect democracy or representative democracy, where government or state activities are managed or conducted by the elected representatives came into existence. In modern times the term 'democracy' is used as synonym of 'representative democracy'. Thus, representation has emerged as the central point of political debate.

1.6 Theories of Representation

There are different theories regarding the nature of representation. All the theories expressed their views on the representation system from their own perspectives. These theories basically deal with the role of representatives in the policy making and their limitations. These are-

1.6.1 **Reactionary theory of Representation:** Thomas Hobbes and Alexander Hamilton are the chief exponent of reactionary theory of democracy. This theory believes that the representatives have superior knowledge and wisdom and they are best custodian of public interest. So there should not be any limitation of the power of representatives. This gives rise to absolute sovereignty. This theory believes that once people surrender their rights to the sovereign cannot be withdrawn.

Critics believe that this theory is democratic only so long as it accepts the primacy of public interest in policy making.

1.6.2 **Conservative theory of Representation:** Edmund Burks and James Madison are the chief exponents of this theory. This theory is more progressive than reactionary theory. This theory

gives some scope to the people in the government affairs without encouraging popular participation. People can choose their representatives and convey their messages to the representatives based on the good sense. This theory also allows people to replace the representatives if they are not able to satisfy them. However this theory only allows people to choose their representatives from elite group.

1.6.3 **Liberal theory of Representation:** John Locke and Thomas Jefferson is the chief exponent of this theory. This theory conveys the true nature of democracy. The liberal theory based on the wisdom of masses and treats their representatives only as the agents. The representatives also translate the wishes of their constituents into policy. This theory upholds equality of all people who are endowed with equal capacity to rule.

1.6.4 **Radical theory of Representation:** Its chief exponents are Jean- Jacque-Rousseau and the new left. This theory stated direct democracy as the pure form of democracy. They give highest esteem to the wisdom of the people. It holds that wisdom of the people bound to be diluted through the process of representation.

1.7 Types of Representation

Representation system basically denotes the procedure through which people choose their representatives. There are two alternative systems of representation: Territorial representation and Functional representation.

1.7.1 Territorial Representation:

In this system the whole country is divided into some geographical areas of nearly equal population. Each geographical area is known as constituency. This system is based on the assumption that each constituency has a uniform interest. Voter of each constituency elect their representative or representatives. This system is very simple. Most of the countries follow this system of representation. Voters also enabled to know their representatives. This system is also known as geographical representation. Constituencies are redrawn on regular basis when the population gets increase.

1.7.2 Functional Representation:

Functional representation means that representatives are elected by various professional and functional groups like; industrial worker, medical practitioner, lawyers, teachers etc. In this system people

belonging to different groups or professions should be allowed to elect their representatives on functional basis. Champion of this system argues that territorial representation cannot fulfil the interest of different professions as it is made on geographical area. Different professional groups have different problems and interests. So representation should be based on functional basis. In this system electorate groups are created on the basis of specific social and economic interest and each of the professional categories is called upon to elect one or more representatives, irrespective of their place of residence in the country. Thus people can send their representatives on the basis of their specific economic and professional interests and not on territorial basis. The guild socialists of Britain have been strong supporters of occupational representation.

Stop to Consider

1. Representation means a person or organization that speaks acts or is present officially for someone else. There is a general understanding of representation, when a group of people or an individual acts on behalf of a group which is too large to directly participation in its deliberation.

2. There are different theories regarding the nature of representation-

a) **Reactionary theory of representation** believes that the representatives have superior knowledge and wisdom and they are best custodian of public interest. So there should not be any limitation of the power of representatives.

b) **Conservative theory of representation** gives some scope to the people in the government affairs without encouraging popular participation. People can choose their representatives and convey their messages to the representatives based on the good sense.

c) **The liberal theory** is based on the wisdom of masses and treats their representatives only as the agents.

d) **Radical theory of representation** gives highest esteem to the wisdom of the people. It holds that wisdom of the people is bound to be diluted through the process of representation.

1.8 Methods of representation

There are different methods of representation among the countries and political system regarding the issues like-

i)   How a voter indicated his/her choice?
ii)   How the votes of the contestants translated into the allocation of seats?

Broadly there are three methods of representation which may be identified as widely prevalent under democratic system. These are i) Plurality system, ii) Majoritarian system, iii) Proportional Representation system.

1.8.1 Plurality System

This system is most popular representation method among most of the countries of the world. According to this system one who obtained largest number of votes is declared as winner. This system is very simple. In this system a candidate wins by a simple majority. If there are two candidates than one who gets the majority of the votes he is elected but when there are three or more candidates than who gets the largest number of votes he is declared as elected. In this system a person can get elected without getting the majority (more than 50%) of total votes. That is why this system is also known as the first past the post system. The practice of the system is widely followed: the elections held for British House of Commons, American House of Representatives, Lok Sabha in India etc.

Merits of this system:

i)   This system is very simple and totally understandable for the electors.
ii)   This system gives a scope for direct relationship between the member of legislature and the electors. This helps the electors to make their representative responsible to the electors.

Demerits of this system

i) Critics considers this representation method as undemocratic. Because in this system a person can get elected without getting the majority(more than 50%) of total votes. In many cases views of majority are not counted as the votes are scattered among different candidates.

ii) Its opponent argues that this practice is not fair to the minorities in multicultural societies where there candidates might lose election in most of the constituencies in a small margin.

1.8.2 Majoritarian System

Under the majoritarian system, the party or candidate winning more than 50% of vote in a constituency is considered as elected. In this system a contestant must gain absolute majority to get elected. If there are two candidates in the field for one seat than there will be no problem in deciding the winner. But when there are three or more candidates in a single member seat and no candidates win an absolute majority, some methods must be evolved to decide the winner. Generally in this condition two methods are adopted to decide the winner-

i) **Alternative Vote**: In this system a voter gets an opportunity to indicate his preference for different candidates. During the time of counting of vote initially the first preferences are counted. If no candidate gets absolute majority in first preference votes, the candidate who gets the least number of votes in first preference than his candidature is eliminated and second preferences of his/her votes(eliminated persons) are added with the first preferences of votes of other candidates. This system is repeated till some candidates get absolute majority. This system is followed in the election of Indian president, American President and the election of the lower house of Australia.

ii) **Second Ballot System:** In this System, a voter is required to vote for one candidate only. If no candidate able to get absolute majority than there is a procedure for second ballot. In the second ballot, there are only two contestants; the candidate who obtains the largest number of votes and the person who obtains next largest number of votes in the first ballot.

Merits of this system

    i)   It requires the winning candidate to obtain a majority of vote.

    ii)   This method also overcomes the problems like vote splitting: voters can exercise a choice between two similar candidates without the fear that a third, unacceptable candidates may get elected.

Demerits of this System

    i)   The system is very complex and not understandable for the voters. As a result voters may show apathy towards the participation.

    ii)   This system is still subject to the winning bonus phenomenon and can also result in the party winning the highest number of votes still not receiving the largest number of seats. Although this factor is largely dependent upon the geographic spread of party support and on the mix of parties contesting the election.

1.8.3 Proportional Representation

Proportional Representation requires that the distribution of seats should broadly be distribution of popular vote among competing political parties. It seeks to triumph over the disproportionalities that result from majority and plurality system. This system is particularly adopted in multi member constituencies in order to secure a fair representation for the minorities as well as majorities. This is a complex method and practiced by different systems.

Hare system: This system was developed by Thomas Hare in 19th century. Under this system a voter is required to indicate his preference against the name of the candidate. When the ballots is counted a candidate receiving the quota of first preference vote calculated

$$\frac{\text{No of valid votes}}{\text{No of seats to be filled}} + 1$$

is awarded a seat. In the electoral calculation, votes received by a winning candidate in excess of quota are transferred to other candidates according to the second preferences marked by the electors. The candidates who also obtained least number of votes in the first

preferences is eliminated and the next preferences of his voters are added with the first preference votes of the candidates. Any candidate who receives the quota is also awarded a seat. This process is repeated from both sides till the number of candidates securing the electoral quota equals the number of seats. This system is also known as single transferable vote system.

List System: Under this system the elector votes not for a single candidate but for a list of candidates. Each list is generally submitted by different political party. The voter is required to mark one list according to his/her choice. The winners are selected from the lists on proportion to number of votes obtained by the list.

Merits of this system:

i) The proportional representation system enables due representation of all types of groups, such as ethnic groups, women, minorities etc. Proportional representation thus overcomes the main criticism of plurality and majoritarian system.

ii) Proportional Representation system rarely produces an absolute majority for one party, however it can be argued that proportional representation system ensures greater continuity of government and requires greater consensus in policy making.

Demerits of this System:

i) Critics say that Proportional representation system produces a weak coalition government rather than a strong majority government. This may lead to indecision, compromise and even legislative paralysis.

ii) Proportional representation also encourages formation of political party on narrow political ground like regional, language, ethnicity, caste etc. instead of larger national interest. As a result it would create a challenge before the national interest.

1.9 Methods of Minority Representation

Democracy is a government ruled by the majority. However the real essence of democracy lies in the representation of all sections of people in society. The traditional methods of representation left very

less scope to the representation of minorities. Some other devices or methods, therefore worked out for solving this problem. Some of them are-

i) **Concurrent majority**: This device is advocated by C. Cohlon. According to this method any decision should be treated as valid only when due concurrence of all the important sectional interest affected by it has been obtained. This implies that if the government takes decision on the basis of numerical majority and the minorities are affected by this decision should have the power to veto the decisions.

ii) **Limited vote System**: This method is practicable in multi member constituencies. In this system voter has certain number of votes which is less than the number of seats to be filled. These residuary seats are filled up by the minorities.

iii) **Communal representation**: Communal representation means reservation of seats for separate community separately. In this system each community is able to send their representative at least one, in the decision making body.

iv) **Coalition democracy**: It is regarded particularly suitable for the governance of the society which is deeply divided by religious, ideological, linguistic, regional cultural or ethnic ground. It involves four basic principles:
   A) Executive power sharing with all the groups.
   B) Great autonomy to all the segments regarding taking decisions and other developmental issues.
   C) Allocation of political offices and public funds in proportion to the population of each segment.
   D) Exercise of minority veto.

Check your progress

Question 1. What is plurality system of representation?

Question 2 . Point out the differences between plurality system of representation and proportional representation.

1.10 Majoritarianism

Majoritarianism is a belief that the numerically majority community should be able to rule the country in whichever way it wants, by disregarding the wishes and need of minority. It is a traditional political philosophy that emphasises on majority of population sometime categorized by religion, caste, class, gender, ethnicity, language etc. According to this philosophy majority people should be entitled to a certain degree of preferences in society. The classical notion of democracy was based on majoritarian principles. It means that in classical form of democracy everyone is considered as equal. Hence in policy making or its execution the views of majority are counted. Therefore many thinkers especially Jeremy Waldron advocates for majoritarian principle. He has argued that 'Final decisions' about political questions- including individual right and political processes themselves- should be made by majoritarian procedures. Majoritarianism can be supported on a variety of grounds, but the simplest and apparently most morally basic defence is that when 'equal persons' disagree about what the rules or policies should be, the fairest way of settling the disagreement is to give everyone an equal vote and the side that gets the most votes win. Thus majoritarianism instantiates one straightforward understanding of the principle of political equality: equal votes for equal people and the greatest number win. But majoritarianism has a negative connotation also. Many democratic countries in the name of political majority, the numerical majority communities indulge in violence against the minorities. Thus the ideology of majoritarianism establishes a 'tyranny of the majority' in country.

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1.12 Questions

1. What do you mean by Participation? Discuss the activities of political participation.
2. Discuss the categories put forward by Lester Milbrath regarding participation.
3. Discuss the factors influencing political participation.
4. What is the meaning of Representation? Discuss different aspects of representation given by different school of thoughts.
5. What is the plurality system of Representation? Point out its merits and demerits.
6. What is the majoritarian system of Representation? Point out its merits and demerits.
7. What is the proportional system of Representation? Point out its merits and demerits.
8. Discuss different methods of Minority Representation
9. Write a note on Majoritarianism.

UNIT 5

Conditions for sustaining Liberal Democracy

Unit Structure :

1.1 Introduction

The present world is largely an institutional outcome of liberalism, first in the west and increasingly worldwide. Liberalism has strengthened the intellectual, legal, economic and political status of the individual within the society emphasising equality of status for the people. The result, among other things, has been the rise of two institutions which exemplify these principles: market and liberal democracy. Market is the economic institution of liberalism through which its basic economic principles and development models are reflected and liberal democracy is the political platform of liberalism through which liberal values are legalised. The present chapter is made with an intention to discuss the aspects of liberal democracy, especially the condition of its success.

1.2 Objective

The basic objective of this chapter is to make an understanding among the students about different conditions for sustaining liberal democracy.

1.3 Liberal Democracy: a brief introduction

As we have studied elaborately about liberal democracy in the earlier chapter of this module so here we will give only a brief outline about liberal democracy. 'Liberalism' and 'democracy' are two different ideologies. Democracy is a very old concept; liberalism is a new concept in comparison to democracy. Yet both the ideologies are based on many similar principles like equality, freedom, competition, constitutionalism, liberty etc. Both of the concepts support each other and as a result of it a new form of democracy came in the forefront which is known as 'liberal democracy'. Today, liberalism is generally thought to be inseparable from democracy and the term 'democracy' is applied to denote 'liberal democracy' unless otherwise specified. Francis Fukuyama, one of the greatest historians in his book 'The End of History and the last man' (1992) argued that the worldwide spread

of liberal democracies may signal the end point of humanity's socio-cultural evolution and become the final form of government.

Liberal democracy is generally understood to be a system of government in which people give consent to their rulers and rulers, in turn are constitutionally become bound to respect individual rights. Today liberal democracy is distinguished from other forms of political system on the basis of its procedure and institutional arrangements. Peter H. Markle has identified four such procedure and arrangements in his book 'Political Continuity and Change'. The first procedure of liberal democracy as articulated by Markle is 'government by consent'. Rational consent can be obtained by urging for which an atmosphere of free discussion is necessary. There are some institutional mechanisms or arrangements through which decision of discussion are channelized from people to government. The second procedure of liberal democracy is the 'majority rule' which means that the decisions in the legislatures, committees, cabinets and the executives are taken by the majority vote on the principle of one man one vote. There is no discrimination on the ground of religion, caste class, gender or race. Each and everyone has equal political power. Third important principle of liberal democracy is 'proper arrangement for the protection of minority rights'. The minorities may be racial, religious, linguistic and cultural, but there is not to be any persecution or harassment of these minorities. Special provision should be made for the protection of the rights of minorities. The fourth important procedure for liberal democracy is 'constitutional government' which means a 'government by law and not by men'. Each and everyone are ruled by the law. No one is above the law. There must be processes and procedures to carry out the government. Alan ball also identified some characteristics of liberal democracy in his book 'Modern Politics and Government'. These are-

1. **More than one political party**: Liberal democracy seeks reconciliation between diverse interests and ideologies. Election gives a chance to the people to consider various alternatives. According to this test, single party systems do not qualify for liberal democracies. There must be two or more alternatives, so that people can indicate their choices.

2. **Periodic Election**: Since representative government is the only practicable method of establishing democracy in the present day world, periodic election becomes necessary for the purpose. Periodic election requires that the people's representative should be chosen for a limited period and representatives are bound to be responsible for their citizens.

The elections are based on universal suffrage. It means that each citizen should have the right to vote on attaining the prescribed age; nobody should be disqualified on grounds of gender, race, culture, religion or sex.

3. **Civil liberties**: Civil liberties are considered as the backbone of liberal democracy. Protection of civil liberties includes freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of movement, freedom from arbitrary arrest etc. On the one hand these civil liberties enable the citizen to form different groups or association to influence the government decisions on the other hand it ensures independence of the press, mass media.

4. **Political offices are open to all:** According to Alan Ball, one of the most important characteristics of liberal democracy is political equality. Political offices are not confined to any privileged class. Entry and recruitment to position of political offices are relatively open. However, in order to secure due representation for all strata of the population, some seats can be reserved for minorities or weaker sections.

5. **Independence of Judiciary**: Liberal democracy opposes concentration of power in one hand. Therefore, it insists on separation of power among the three organs of the government; executive, legislature and judiciary. The legislature and the executive may be interdependent due to their nature of function. But judiciary should always be kept independent. Only independent judiciary can preserve constitutionalism and protect civil liberties. It will also strengthen the faith of the individual towards the system. This ultimately leads to peace and development.

Stop to consider

1. Liberal democracy is also referred to as western philosophy. It is the combination of liberal political ideology and democratic form of government.

2. Francis Fukuyama argued that liberal democracy has repeatedly proven to be a fundamentally better system. So he considered liberal democracy as final form of government.

3. Liberal democracy has some special characteristics like multiple political party, free and fair periodic election, civil liberties, political equality, independent judiciary etc.

1.4 Conditions for sustaining Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy, like the other form of political systems cannot sustain in vacuum. Each system can sustain only on necessary social, political and economic environment, without which the system fails. Liberal democracy also urges a necessary environment with some basic facilities. These are

1.4.1 Constitutionalism:

One of the basic conditions for sustaining liberal democracy is constitutionalism. Constitutionalism means a system in which government powers shall be exercised in accordance with the known set of procedures as laid down in Constitution. There can be no Constitutionalism when either the whole constitution or its main provisions are frequently changed or changed in a way that these suit the needs of either a particular group of individual, an individual or a party. Constitution helps in reconciliation of different demands from diverse groups. If there is no constitution, then there will be lack of rules and regulations. Justice will be denied to the people and a chaotic situation will prevail in the absence of laws. Constitutionalism also ensures civil rights. Liberal democracy can operates only in a society where everyone respect and honour laws. In a chaos situation liberal democracy cannot survive. Therefore, it is one of the necessary preconditions to establish constitutional order for successful implementation of liberal democracy.

Stop to Consider

Constitutionalism: Constitutionalism means a system in which government powers shall be exercised in accordance with the known set of procedures as laid down in Constitution.

1.4.2 Vibrant civil society:

A vibrant civil society is another condition for sustaining liberal democracy. Civil society comprises organizations that are not associated with government. They are free from direct state control. They are important source of information for both citizen and government. They monitor government actions and policies and hold government accountable. They engage in advocacy and offer alternative policies for government, the private sector and other institutions. They deliver services, especially to the poor and underserved. They defend citizen right and work to change and uphold social norms and behaviour. Civil society plays a mediator role between government and people. On the one hand it helps in articulation of citizen's problems and places those problems in public platform and thus it helps the policy makers in policy formulations. On the other hand civil society also organizes many campaigns and lectures to make people conscious about government decisions. Thus civil society reduces the chances of conflict and civil war and facilitates peace and development in society. Mark Jensen in his book 'Civil society in Liberal Democracy' argued how a vibrant civil society can strengthen the democratic norms and helps in implementation of liberal democracy. According to Jensen an ideal civil society has a double role; it is the social space in which citizens i) pursue their comprehensive conception of the good life within groups (like association, churches and so forth) and in which citizen can foster a liberal democratic culture.

1.4.3 Equality:

Liberal democracy can sustain in a society if there is equality. The formal principle of equality is that equal must be treated equally. If a given rule justifies A is doing X, then it will justify the same thing for any relevantly similar person in similar circumstances. Liberal democracy is based on achieved values not ascribed values. Each and everyone must compete in a free environment to achieve something. Everything is determined by market. Liberal democracy cannot sustain in a society where people gain everything by virtue of a royal and noble family.

1.4.4 Tolerance:

Tolerance is another precondition for sustaining liberal democracy. Tolerance is vital to the functioning of liberal democracy. Tolerance

means allowing or permitting or accepting the ideas, views, object or person which one dislikes or disagrees with. In democracy tolerance means admitting diversity. Diversity comes in many forms: thought and speech, dress and physical appearance, values, ideologies, attitude, lifestyle, language, religion, caste, class, race, ethnicity, culture, gender etc. To sustain liberal democracy in proper way each and everyone should be tolerant to his or her fellow being. Tolerance does not only mean accepting diversity rather it also urges for respecting and appreciating diversity. Respect for diversity means seeing different groups as morally and politically equal even though they may differ fundamentally. Appreciation of diversity means viewing different beliefs, practices or lifestyle as something intrinsically valuable and worthy of esteem.

1.4.5 Democratic tradition:

The existence of democratic ideas in the minds of the people and democratic traditions in the society is another precondition for sustaining of liberal democracy. Democratic traditions make people adhere to democratic institution. The people in England and the United States have an intense urge to participate in the affairs of the government and they refuse to be 'led by the nose'. The prevalence of such ideas and traditions may be attributed to the success of liberal democracy in UK and USA.

1.4.6 Education:

Education is considered as the prerequisite of liberal democracy. From the beginning of the liberal democracy, best statesman and thinkers have seen an essential connection between liberal democracy and liberal education. Thomas Jefferson and Robert Mynard Hutchin stated that a free society cannot long subsist without vibrant institution of liberal learning. A proper education system inculcates the value of unity among diversity, tolerance towards others, meaning of rights and responsibility in true sense. These qualities are very essential for the sustaining liberal democracy. Because of the importance of education, J.S. Mill, an ardent supporter of liberal democracy urged for implementation of universal education before universal suffrage.

1.4.7 Rights and Freedom:

Rights and freedoms are most often quoted criteria for liberal democracy. It is stated that if there is no freedom and liberty there is no democracy. Liberal democracy must ensure some basic rights: right to life and security of person, freedom from slavery, freedom of

movement, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and access to alternative information sources, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of education, freedom of contesting election etc. Since no state admits these rights they are not consider as liberal democracy and depicted as tyrannies. Liberal democracies rest on three distinct sets of rights: property rights, political rights and civil rights.

1.4.8 More than one political party:

Liberal democracy cannot sustain in single party system. Liberal democracy requires open competition for power between different political parties on the basis of established and accepted form of procedure. When there is a free competition between more than one political party for power, the people get an opportunity to consider various alternative policies, programmes and personalities to exercise their choice. Liberal democracy can not sustain in society run by single party system as it does not any scope for voters' choice.

1.4.9 Free and Fair election:

Another pre requisite of liberal democracy is free and fair election. In liberal democracy periodical elections are inevitable. In election, groups of different political views have the opportunity to achieve political power. Each citizen has the right to choose his or her representative. There should be a proper mechanism through which citizen can cast their vote without fear or favour and transform those votes into proper representation.

1.4.10 Independence of Judiciary:

An independent judiciary is essential to liberal democracy. It allows the courts to work independently without being under the influence of the rich and powerful people or other branches of state like- the executive and judiciary. Only a free and impartial judicial system can protect the rights of the individual as well as the constitution. A bias or influenced judiciary put challenges to the main tenets of liberalism like- political equality, liberty, free and fair election etc. According to Justice J Chelameswar, 'for the survival of a liberal democracy, an impartial and independent judiciary is important'.

1.4.11 Eternal Vigilance:

Eternal vigilance of the people is another factor necessary for the successful working of liberal democracy. The citizens must try to

safeguard their rights against governmental encroachment. They must be able to keep an eye on the government so that it does not grow authoritarian. The people who are ignorant and not interested in what is happening in country cannot be protector of liberal democracy. The people must cherish the principle of liberal democracy and should have a determination to keep alive the flame of liberal democracy.

1.4.12 Minority Rights:

Liberal democracy can works properly only when most marginalised sections of the society have the capacity to ask question, seek accountability from the state and participate in the process of government. Though in liberal democracy views of the majorities are always counted yet minorities should not be neglected. There should be special provision for the protection of the rights of the minorities. Otherwise a sense of relative deprivation may arise among the minorities which will lead to separatist or extremist movement ultimately leading to political imbalances.

Stop to consider

Like all other political systems liberal democracy also can sustain on some conditions or environment. These are-1. A system runs by constitutional order, 2. A strong and vibrant civil society, 3. Equality, 4. Tolerance, 5. Democratic tradition and culture, 6 Proper education system, 7. Rights and freedom of the citizen, 8. More than one political party, 9. Free and fair Election, 10. Eternal vigilance, 11. Independence of judiciary, 12. Minority rights

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Check Your Progress

Question 1. What is constitutionalism?

Question 2. How a vibrant civil society helps in sustaining liberal democracy?

Question 3. Who gave the statement 'for the survival of a liberal democracy, an impartial and independent judiciary is important'?

1.5 summing up

Liberal democracy is a form of democracy in which representatives are able to exercise decision making power under constitutional provisions and citizens are enabled with different rights and liberties. Liberal

democracies is characterised by pluralism, individual liberty, independence of judiciary, Periodic election based on universal adult franchise, Political equality etc. There are some conditions for sustaining liberal democratic system. These are; Constitutionalism, a vibrant civil society, tolerance, democratic tradition and culture, rights and liberty of the citizen, more than one political party for competitive election procedure, independent judiciary etc.

1.6 References and suggested Readings

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1.7 Questions:

1. What do you mean by Liberal Democracy? What are its basic Characteristics?
2. Discuss the conditions for sustaining Liberal democracy.