



GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

POLITICAL SCIENCE



HIGHER SECONDARY FIRST YEAR
Volume - I

A publication under Free Textbook Programme of Government of Tamil Nadu

Department of School Education

Untouchability is Inhuman and a Crime

Government Of Tamil Nadu

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HOW TO USE THE BOOK?



Introduction

A brief abstract of the unit.



QR Code

To motivate the students to further explore and enrich the concept



Learning objective

Describes about what students are expected to learn by the end of every unit.



Diagrams

Schematic representation that illustrates the political happenings which will link the theory with practice.



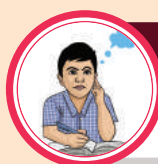
Do you know?

A piece of information which provides a surprise element for the students.



Glossary

Helps the students to become familiar with newly introduced, uncommon and specialised terms.



Knowledge Boxes

Additional inputs to the content are provided.



Evaluation

To check the understanding of the students and helps in arriving at most suitable conclusions.



Activity

To explore further about the subject in order to get better understanding of the subject.



Reference

List of books that can be referred when there needs a better understanding.



Debate

A formal discussion need to be conducted by the students on a particular issue in order to arrive at a synthesis about that issue.



Further readings

Books that will enlarge the knowledge of subject in study.



Case study

A research strategy and an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within to a real life context.



Web links

List of digital resources



Conversation

Exchange of ideas which will give better clarity to the subject.



ICT

Lead to improved students learning and better teaching methods.



Quotable quote

Quotes of eminent political thinkers that helps to bring enlightenment among students.



Key Terms

Helps the students to know the Tamil translation of key terms.

Career Opportunities in Political Science

There are plenty of career opportunities available to the students of political science. The options and opportunities can be detailed in two categories of higher education and employment



POLITICAL SCIENCE

A. Higher Education Opportunities in Political Science

The students can study the following programmes in colleges and universities after the completion of school educations. There are a number of government universities, colleges and aided colleges that provide these programs in Political Science in our state as well as in our country

- Bachelor of Arts (BA)
- Master of Arts (MA)
- Master of Philosophy (MPhil)
- Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).t

A.1) Tamil Nadu Government and Aided Colleges

1. Presidency College, Chennai.
2. Government Arts College, Coimbatore.
3. Thiruvalluvar Government Arts College, Rasipuram, Namakkal District.
4. Loganatha Narayanasamy Government Arts College, Ponneri, Thiruvallur District.
5. Periyar Government Arts College, Cuddalore.
6. Government Arts College, Thiruvarambur, Trichy.
7. Government Arts College, Salem-0
8. Rajeswari Vedachalam Government Government Arts College, Chengalpattu.
9. Madras Christain College, Tambaram, Chennai
10. Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar College, Usilampatti, Madhurai –25
11. Pasumpon Thiru Muthuramalinga Thevar Memorial College, Kamuthi, Ramanathapuram
12. SIET College for Women, Teynampet, Chennai.
13. Anna Adarsh College for Women, Chennai

A.2) State Universities

There are manu universities in our state offering political science degrees.

1. University of Madras, Chennai
2. Annamalai University, Chidamparam
3. Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai
4. Bharathiyar University, Coimbatore (Only Correspondence Course)
5. Alagappa University, Karaikudi (Correspondence course in Public Administration)
6. Tamil Nadu Open University, Chennai
7. Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli (Correspondence Course)

A.3) Central Universities

There are number of central universities across India where students can learn political science.

1. The University of Delhi
2. Pondicherry University
3. University of Hyderabad
4. Gandhigram Rural Institute (Deemed to be University), Dindugal and
5. Indira Gandhi Open University, New Delhi
6. Jawaharlal Nehru University(JNU), New Delhi

A.4) Integrated program

The Department of Social Sciences and Humanities in Indian Institute of Technology, Madras offers the five year integrated MA Program in two streams of Development Studies and English Studies



A.5) Jawaharlal Nehru University(JNU), New Delhi

- National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) of the Human Resources Development Ministry has ranked JNU as the second best university in the country.
- It offers Post Graduation, Master of Philosophy (MPhil), Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Political Science.
- While the School of Social Sciences (SSS) provides these programs in Political Science the School of International Studies (SIS) conducts these programs in International Politics.
- The candidates should write the national entrance examination to get admission in post graduation and Master of Philosophy programs. The scholars can get through NET exam with top ranks and avail the Junior Research Fellowship (JRF) for two years and Senior Research Fellowship (SRF) for three more years.

It is overwhelmingly a residential university as the twenty odd hostels provide accommodation to most of the students. The union government provides funds to the university and therefore the cost of education and hostel accommodation is affordable. *Merit cum Means scholarship is available for students.*

The university has a well equipped library consisting of nine floors situated in a lush green environment of the Aravali Hills. It is a central university, with a truly national character as students hail from almost all the states of our country.

A.6) Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS)

- The institute was founded by Dr.Malcom S Adishesiah and Mrs. Elizebeth Adishesiah in Adayar, Chennai.
- It offers in social research programs sciences including Political Science.
- The thrust areas of Political Science for doctorate programs include Political Institutions, Governance and Decentralisation, Poverty, Inequality and Discrimination, Caste, Gender and Sexuality Studies

A.7) Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS)

- TISS is a multi-campus public funded research university creating human service professionals for the nation.
- It offers several Bachelors, Masters and Doctoral programs in inter disciplinary areas from its Mumbai, Hyderabad, Tujjapur and Guwahati campuses.
- The Political Science students can pursue higher studies in different areas like Development Studies, Law, Rights and Constitutional Governance, Social Work, Public Policy and Governance, Human Resources Management, Gender Studies.
- A IIT-campus Public Funded Research University creating Human Service Professionals for the Nation.

B. Employment Opportunities

The students of Political Science have bright career prospects. They can choose their career in

- Administration
- Politics
- Mass media
- Academics (teaching in schools, teaching and researching in colleges, universities and research institutes)
- Social work
- Police administration
- Judicial service
- Other careers through general competitive exams
- NGO management etc.

B.1) Civil Service Exam of Union Public Service Commission (UPSC)

The Union Public Service Commission conducts numerous competitive exams to recruit officers for union government. The civil services exam is meant to recruit officers for *Indian Administrative Service (IAS), Indian Police Service (IPS), Indian Foreign Service (IFS), and Indian Revenue Service (IRS)* etc.

The IAS officers administer the country by working as *Sub Collectors, Collectors, Joint Secretaries, Secretaries, Chief Secretary and Cabinet Secretary.*

The IPS officers protect law and order by working as *Assistant Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Police, Inspector General of Police, and Director General of Police.*

The *Indian Foreign Service* officers shape and serve the foreign policy interests of India as *Third secretary, Second Secretary, First Secretary, High Commissioner and Ambassador* etc

The civil services exam popularly known as IAS/IPS exam is conducted in three stages of

- Preliminary Test
- Main exam and
- Personal Interview.

Political Science – a scoring topic

In Preliminary test:

The General Studies paper of the preliminary test contains approximately twenty questions on Indian Politics and International Relations.



In Mains Test:

There are seven countable papers in the second stage, Main Exam. The syllabus of the General studies second paper exclusively contains Indian polity and international relations and carries 250 marks. The essay paper normally contains questions from Indian politics and international relations and has 250 marks. The students can choose political science and international relations as their Optional Subject and the two optional subject papers have 250 marks each. Therefore the students with political science optional subject can cover nearly 1000 marks out of the total 1750 marks available in the main test of civil service exam. Even the candidates not choosing political science as optional subject will have to answer around 500 marks (General Studies Second and Essay Paper) in the main exam from political science related topics

In Personality Test:

The final stage of the exam is known as Personality Test or Personal Interview containing 275 marks. As civil servants work in Indian democratic system the interview devotes a greater amount of attention to the topics and issues of political science and international relations.

B.3) TNPSC Exams

The Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission recruits officers and personnel to Tamil Nadu government. It conducts around seventy different exams. The important exams include *Group 1 Services Examination*, *Group 1-A Services Examination*, *Combined Subordinate Services Examination-1 (CSSE-1)* and *Combined Subordinate Services Examination-2 (CSSE-2)* etc. All these exams have a general knowledge paper. Around twenty percent of questions in the question papers will originate from Indian polity and international relations.

The Group One exam is conducted for recruiting officers to the top services in the state like *Deputy Collector*, *Deputy Superintendent of Police*, *District Employment Officer*, *District Fire Officer* and *Assistant Commissioner in Commercial Services*. The Deputy Collectors after eight to ten years of service will be promoted as IAS officers. Similarly the Deputy Superintendent of Police will be promoted as IPS officers after eight to ten years of service.

There are three stages in the Group 1 exam. They are *preliminary test*, *main test* and *personal interview*. Indian constitution, politics, international politics and Indian foreign policy are very important in all three stages of the exam and students of political science can attend these questions confidently. The other recruitment tests of TNPSC also contain a certain percent of questions from Political Science

B.4) Teaching Career in Colleges and Universities

There are three kinds of faculty positions in universities available for the aspirants of an academic career in Tamil nadu and India. They are Professor, Associate Professor and Assistant Professor. There are two levels of faculty positions (Assistant Professor and Associate Professor) in the colleges in our state.

The candidates should get through the *State Eligibility Test (SET)* conducted by the *Tamil Nadu government* to qualify for these posts in our state. The candidates can become eligible to join as *Assistant Professor in any college or university in the country* by getting through the *National Eligibility Test of the University Grants Commission*. The students can write NET and SET exams after completion or in the final semester of the Post Graduation course (M.A in Political Science).

B.5) Teaching Career in Schools

There are two exams for recruiting teachers in the schools of our state. The candidates aspiring to become teachers in primary (class I-V) and upper primary (class VI-VIII) schools should write *Tamil Nadu Teachers Eligibility Test (TNTEt)*. The candidates who want to join as the **Postgraduate Assistants** in Government Higher Secondary schools in Tamil Nadu Higher Secondary Educational Service should write the second exam. The *Teacher Recruitment Board (TRB)* conducts the above mentioned recruitment tests.

B.6) Opportunities in Media

There are plenty of opportunities in mass media for students of Political Science. They can branch into print journalism, television news channels and digital media. The news media preponderantly deals with politics, society, environment, culture and international issues and a good grounding in Political Science and international relations can intellectually empower and enrich a career in media. After graduation in political science the interested students can do a course in media in institutions like

1. Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi
2. Asian College of Journalism in Chennai and become successful in media.

B.7) Police Service

They can enter police department as Sub Inspectors after getting through the *Tamil Nadu Uniformed Services Recruitment Board (TNSURB)* exam for the recruitment of Sub Inspectors or as Constables after cracking police constable recruitment exam of TNUSRB.



B.7) Career in Law

Political Science and Law are closely related disciplines. The students of Political Science after 12th standard can study the *five year integrated law course Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Legislative Law (B.A.LL.B)* or *after graduation can pursue the three year Bachelor of Legislative Laws (LL.B) degree*. The important entrance exams include Common Law Admission Test (CLAT) and All India Law Entrance Test (AILET). There are a large number of colleges and universities offering law courses in our state. *The Government Law Colleges located in places like Coimbatore, Madurai, Tiruchirappalli, Chengalpattu, Tirunelveli, Vellore and Dr.Ambedkar Government Law College, Chennai are affiliated to Dr.Ambedkar Law University, Chennai.*

1. The National Law School of India University, Bangalore
2. National Law School,, Jodhpur
3. NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad
4. National Law University, Bhopal
5. Government Law College, Mumbai
6. Faculty of Law in Delhi University, are among the top institutions in the country.

After completing the law degree the candidates can practice as lawyers or become judges in courts. They can aspire to become the judges in the District Courts, High Courts and Supreme Court. There are constitutionally prescribed qualifications for judges of High Courts and Supreme Courts.

B.8) Educational and Employment opportunities in International Domain.

There are a great number of reputed universities all over the world that provide courses in Political Science and International Relations

In United States

1. The Harvard University
2. Princeton University
3. University of California,
4. University of Berkeley
5. Yale University

In United kingdom

1. the University of Oxford
2. London School of Economics and Political Science
3. University of Cambridge and

In Australia

1. Australian National University
- are among the globally reputed educational institutions in Political Science. The students can pursue international careers in media, academics, research bodies, corporate etc. They can seek a career in the administration of *international organizations like United Nations, World Bank, World Trade Organisation, International Court of Justice, and United Nations Framework Conference on Climate Change.*

Political Science is like the skill set of a swimmer. The person with swimming skills can swim in any water body whether it is a pond or a lake or an ocean. A political science student with apt knowledge, attitude and skills can join any career of general nature.

Websites of Political Science institutions:

National

1. <http://www.jnu.ac.in>
2. <http://www.mids.ac.in>
3. <http://www.tiss.edu>
4. <http://www.unom.ac.in>

International

1. <http://www.columbia.edu>
2. <http://www.yale.edu>
3. <http://anu.edu.au>
4. <http://www.cam.ac.uk>

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E Book



Assessment



Digi Link



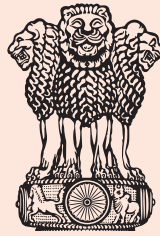
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Lets use the QR code in the text books ! How ?

- Download the QR code scanner from the Google PlayStore/ Apple App Store into your smartphone
- Open the QR code scanner application
- Once the scanner button in the application is clicked, camera opens and then bring it closer to the QR code in the text book.
- Once the camera detects the QR code, a url appears in the screen. Click the url and goto the content page.






**THE
CONSTITUTION OF INDIA**



PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizen :

JUSTICE, social , economic and political ;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity ;

and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation ;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty - six day of November, 1949, do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**



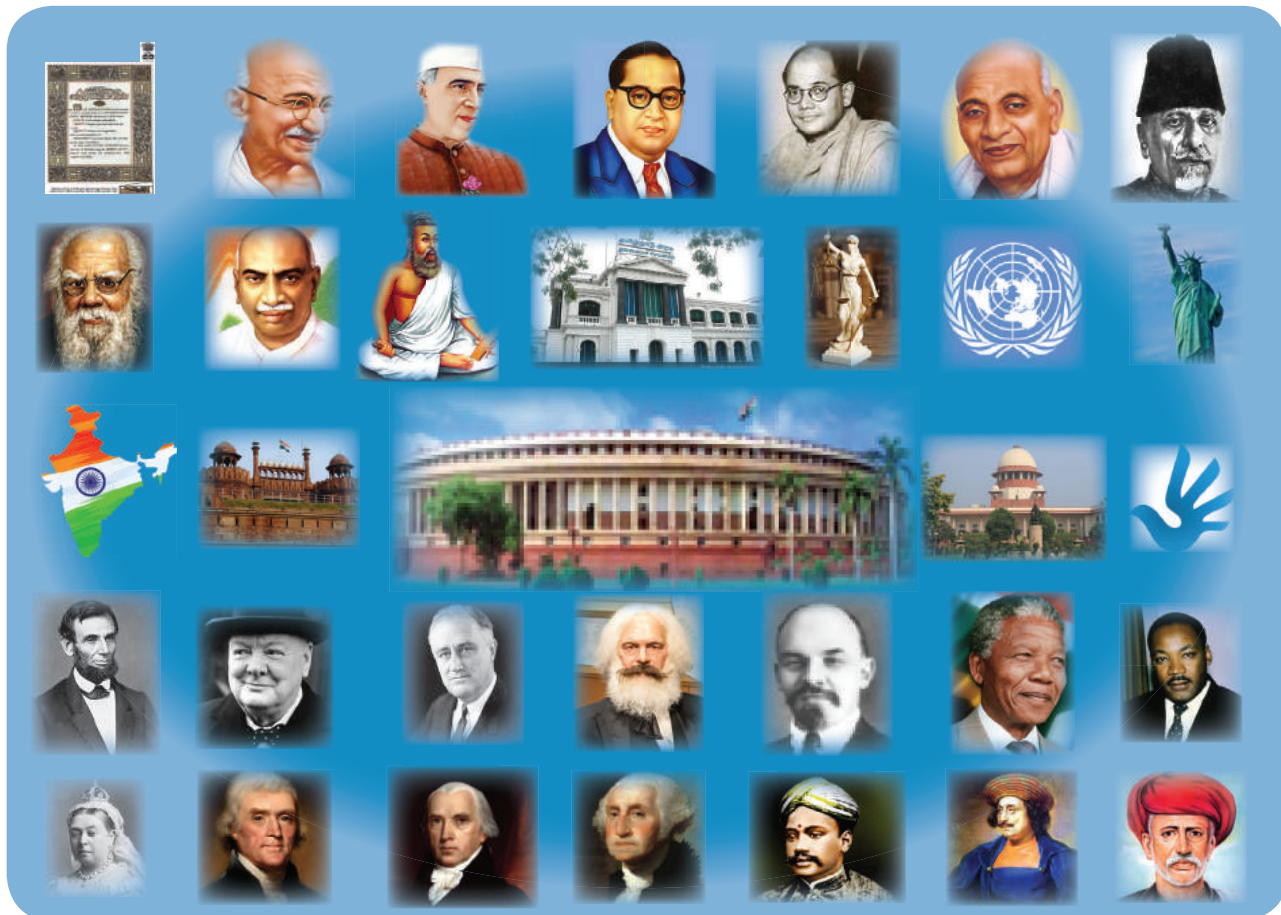
1.1 Meaning, Definition and Origin of Political Science

Politics

What is Politics??!! I hear about it in tea-stalls, restaurants, buses and in all other places that I go to... I have been hearing this word since childhood... and everybody is so serious when they talk about it... so should I get to know what is politics?



The term 'Politics' is closely related to the Greek word 'Polis' meaning 'city-state' (for affairs of the cities-for affairs of the state). The study of politics dates back to 5th century BCE Greece with immense contributions by political philosophers **Plato** (428/427 BCE – 348/347 BCE) and **Aristotle** (384 BCE- 322 BCE). Before the 20th century, the study of politics was integrated with other disciplines such as history and philosophy.



In your note you draw three columns as given in the text book

K-W-L ACTIVITY -1



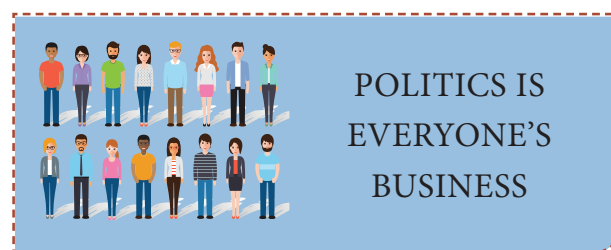
POLITICS		
what I know?	what I want to know?	what I have learnt?

Learning Objectives

- ❖ Provides insights into the meaning of Politics and the manner in which it affects the lives of people.
- ❖ Examines the definitions of Political Science and the changing nature of the discipline.
- ❖ Explains the scope of Political Science.
- ❖ Throws light on the various approaches to the study of Political Science.
- ❖ Discusses the relationship between Political Science and other Social Sciences.

Politics was primarily concerned with the study of ethics. It further focused on the study of political ideas, political institutions and processes within states and the relations between states. But the last two centuries witnessed the study

of politics concentrating on the conflict between liberty and equality. In the 21st century, a central theme has been the constant conflict between liberty and security. Some other major themes that are not central to the study of politics are development, environmental sustainability, gender equality and international peace and co-operation.



All through history, political philosophers have different perspectives on the central theme of politics. The Greek philosopher **Aristotle**, the father of Political Science, considered the study of politics as a systematic inquiry to understand the truth about politics so as to explain the relationship between the State and the individual. He described and classified different political systems. **Aristotle** and **Plato** made immense contributions to the origin and development of the discipline. **Plato** analyzed different political systems and **Aristotle**, closely following the trails of his teacher **Plato**, gave the analysis a historical perspective. They tried to understand the working of different forms of governments.

ACTIVITY



Collect information about Arthashastra and have a discussion in class on it.

ARISTOTLE ON HAPPINESS

Aristotle believed that happiness was the most important thing in life. He taught that one should not waste one's time in the pursuits of pleasure, but should seek happiness instead. According to him, true happiness lay not in material things, but in understanding one's true nature, and regaling one's full potential. In short, happiness depends upon ourselves, and not on the outside world. One of **Aristotle's** most famous quotes is

"...happiness is the meaning and the purpose of life, the whole aim and end of human existence..."

CONVERSATION



Student: Sir, we make a mention of Greek Thinkers like **Plato** and **Aristotle** in our discussion about the study of politics. In the Indian context, who is considered the first political thinker?

Teacher: In the Indian context, **Thiruvalluvar**, the author of Thirukkural, the ancient legal text, is considered as one of the first political thinker.

Student: Sir! It is very interesting to know that an ancient Tamil literature seems to be the first political manual in India.

Teacher: Though **Kautilya**, who was the author of Arthasastra, wrote his book in 300BCE that book concentrated more on the Political Economy, while the Thirukkural of **Thiruvalluvar** concentrated more on Political governance.

Student: Oh is it! Sir! Will you please say something about Kautilya!

Teacher: With Pleasure! **Kautilya**, was the chief Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, who ruled a North Indian State about 300 BCE wrote the book Arthasastra, which literally means Artha=wealth and Sastra=knowledge. In short a first literary source on political economy.

Student: Sir! Then what is the contribution of Thiruvalluvar to political science?

Teacher: Thiruvalluvar has given many concepts in Thirukkural regarding king and kingdom which



can be correlated with the contemporary concepts of political science like state, government etc.

Qualities of King: (Kural no: 382 & 383).

- i) Courage ii) Liberal hand iii) Wisdom & energy
- iv) Knowledge v) Taking strong decisions.

What a kingdom should and should not have? (Kural no: 734).

- i) Complete cultivation i) Excessive starvation
- ii) Virtuous person ii) Irremediable epidemics.
- iii) Merchants with inexhaustible wealth
- iii). Destructive foes.

Components of Kingdom: (Kural no: 381)

- i) People ii) Army iii) Resources iv) Ministry
- v) Friendship vi) Fort

Duties of King:

- i) Identifying resources
- ii) Collecting revenue
- iii) Protecting revenue.
- iv) Distribution of revenue.

Student: Oh! It is very much Interesting to know more from you, about our ancient literary sources on Political Science!



Politics was a matter of discussion in the churches during the medieval period as political power remained with the church under the Holy Roman Empire. The works of philosophers such as **St. Augustine** ('The City of God') amalgamated the principles of political philosophy with those of religion. It must be noted here that for the Greek and medieval philosophers, politics was a knowledge centering on the city-state, which by and large had spiritual bond. It was more of a community than a state.

It was during the Italian Renaissance that **Niccolo Machiavelli** laid the foundations of modern political science through his emphasis on empirical observation and investigation of political structures and political behaviour from a secular perspective. Politics, in the words of **Harold Lasswell**, an American Political Scientist, is 'Who gets What, When and How?' This definition is based on the assumption that all societies exhibit sharp diversities with people pursuing different interests and values and hence there requires a mechanism through which the conflicting interests are reconciled. Also, scarcity of resources is a feature of all modern societies and so politics would mean the mechanism through which goods and resources are distributed. For **Karl Marx**, politics was all about class conflict and political power and to **David Easton** politics meant 'the authoritative allocation of values'.

Political scientists have explained politics through its basic concepts such as power, order and justice. Power is the ability to make and enforce rules and to influence the behaviour of the individuals. Power may or may not be legitimate. One needs to understand the difference between power and authority. Authority is the moral or legal right and is the ability to control. It implies legitimacy, where power is exercised through established institutions and people willingly accept it as proper and just. Power, on the other hand, may or may not be legitimate.

Politics is also concerned about order which denotes the structures, rules, rituals, procedures and practices that make up the political system. As the majority is ruled by the minority, there is always an apprehension of the fairness of the government mechanism. Therefore, the exercise of power should be based on the foundations of justice. Thus, power, order and justice are regarded the basic concepts in politics. Since the late 19th century, the study of politics as an academic discipline is commonly referred to as 'Political Science'.

**Quotable
quote**

The world around is clearly a political world. All mankind has been drawn into some political association through which men engage in operation and conflict.

-D.G. Hitchner

CONVERSATION



STUDENT 1: If authority is all about legitimacy, does it mean that only democracy is the legitimate form of government?

STUDENT 2: No! Not at all! Monarchy or dictatorship could also be considered legitimate as long as people agree with it.

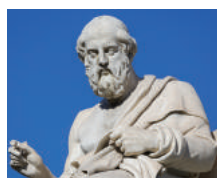
STUDENT 3: Oh yes!! I now understand. Britain still has a queen because people there have approved of constitutional monarchy with elected government.

STUDENT 2: Exactly!!



There is a limited amount of power in society, which can only be held by one person or group at a time.

- **Karl Marx**



Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state is either above humanity or below it.

- **Aristotle in his book Politics**

Power is a relationship in which one group of persons are able to determine the actions of the others in the direction of the former's own end.



- **David Easton**



Power breeds power and this form the central tenet of elitism.

- **Robert Michel**

Political Science

The switch from 'Politics' to 'Political Science' occurred as the discipline began to emerge as an autonomous discipline in the modern period. The term politics referred to the affairs of the city state, which was a small community, in the ancient Greece. But the term nowadays refers to as **Gilchrist** says, 'current problems of the government'. It means that when someone says he is interested in politics it implies that he is involved in several political activities



relating to political issues, legislations, labour issues, party activities and the rest which has far wider canvass. On the other hand, the political studies are distinct and hence they need to be differentiated from current problems. Further, politics in one country differ from the others. What is 'politics' in India may not mean the same in other places. But 'political science' will mean one and the same thing everywhere. Hence it would be better to name the discipline as Political Science than as Politics. The Political Scientists who met at Paris in 1948 also found the term 'Political Science' more acceptable. It is not appropriate to use the two terms as synonyms, though a few still prefer to style the discipline also as politics.

The important developments in Political Science since the time it became a distinct academic discipline occurred in the United States. Until then, Politics was a part of disciplines such as philosophy, law and economics. Political Science as an autonomous discipline dates back to 1880 when **John W. Burgess** established a School of Political Science at the Columbia University. By 1920's most of the leading Universities established an exclusive department for the study of Political Science. The American Political Scientists showed tremendous interest in this direction and took efforts to separate it from history, law and philosophy. The discipline then had very formalistic and institutional approach and this trend continued up to the Second World War.

But later, scholars such as **Woodrow Wilson** and **Frank Goodnow** stressed more on the study of social facts over

the study of static institutions. There was a conscious effort by scientists such as **Arthur Bentley** to develop an objective, value-free analysis of politics and the principle impetus in this regard came during the 1920's from the Chicago University. **Charles E. Merriam** was the leading figure in this movement for empirical observation and measurement in political analysis. **Charles E. Merriam's** 'Political Power' and **Harold Lasswell's** 'Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?' made the aspect of power the central theme of politics. The totalitarian regimes in Europe and Asia in the 1920's and 30's and the onset of the Second World War turned the discipline away from its focus on institutions and procedures. Works during this phase focused more on political parties, pressure groups, elites and the basis of electoral choices. This new focus on political behaviour came to be known as 'behaviouralism'. The term was borrowed from 'behaviourism' in psychology. Later, the 1960's saw the emergence of a new trend known as 'Post-Behaviouralism'. It was a reaction against the orthodoxy and dominance of the behavioural methods in the study of politics. The call for the development of this trend was given by **David Easton**, who ironically, was one of the leading advocates of the behavioural revolution. He claimed that the behavioural method lost touch with reality and hence post-behaviouralism argued that research did not have to be necessarily value free and the emphasis had to be on relevance over precision. Thus, the intellectual revolution resulted in many political scientists attempting to comprehend the sociological, anthropological and psychological aspects

of the study of Political Science. They vehemently criticized the traditional methods and its formal and parochial tools of analysis. They pointed out that the political theorists in the past concentrated on state, government, institutions and their formal structures and did not take into consideration the interactions between them and the subjects and failed to examine the political behaviour of humans. Thus, modern political analysis began to rest upon the following four principles:

- ❖ the search for comprehensive scope
- ❖ the search for realism
- ❖ the search for precision
- ❖ the search for intellectual order

ACTIVITY



Why is **Aristotle** regarded as a great political philosopher? Discuss

Why do we say that both **Plato** and **Aristotle** had a profound influence on Greek social, political and economic life?

Read more about **Charles E. Merriam**, **Woodrow Wilson** and **Arthur Bentley** and find out their important works.

Definition of Political Science

Scholars have defined Political Science in different ways. For **Garner** it begins and ends with State. **Leacock** and **Seeley** see its dealing with government. **Robson** and **Lasswell** regard it as the study of power and influence. Some scholars define it as the study of political aspects of organized human society. But the latter

one instantly enlarges the scope of political science as it tends to include everything. Thus Political Science has been variously defined though for most part of the history the emphasis was placed on state, its institutions, laws and processes. Political behaviour of individuals and groups also became a part of it after the behavioural revolution. The latest addition to this has been the concept of governance.

CONVERSATION



STUDENT 1: What? Did Aristotle say democracy was a bad form of government??

STUDENT 2: Yes! But by democracy Aristotle meant mob rule. He thought polity was a much better and stable form of government.

STUDENT 1: By the way, what is polity?

STUDENT 2: In polity, the supreme power is vested in the hands of a large proportion of population and it was used for common good.

STUDENT 1: Oh! I see!

Political Science is a science which is concerned with the State, endeavors to understand and comprehend the State in its essential nature, various forms, manifestations and development.

- **Bluntschli**



Political Science deals with the origin, development, purpose and all political problems of the State.

- *Garris*

The study of Politics concerns itself with the life of men in relation to organized states.

- *Harold Laski*

Political Science investigates the phenomena of government as Political Economy deals with Wealth, Biology with Life, Algebra with Numbers and Geometry with Space and Magnitude.

- *Seeley*

Political Science is an empirical enquiry in the study of shaping and sharing of power.

- *Harold Laswell*

It is the historical study of the past, analytical study of the present and ethical study of the future.

- *Gettel*

Political Science is the process by which scarce resources- human, economic, spiritual are allocated within a social limit, be it a city, a state, a nation or an organization for the purpose of providing for human needs and desires.

- *David Easton*



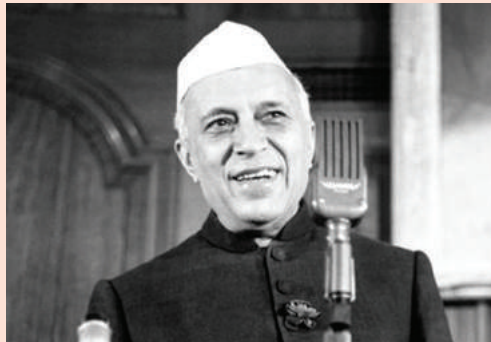
Ohhh!!!

Looks like there is no consensus on the definition of Political Science.



Case Study

“Tryst with Destiny”



The following is the report by The Hindu on 14.8.1947 delivered by the first Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

“Long years ago, we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially”, declared India’s first premier, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, moving the resolution prescribing an Oath for the members in the Constituent Assembly to-night.

“At the stroke of midnight hour,” Pandit Nehru said, “when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. (cheers) The moment come, it comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity”.

“Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon the Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom, we have endured all the pains of labour and our tears are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer, it means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over. And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together to day for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments”.

On the basis of your reading / understanding of the above report answer the following questions briefly:

1. What do you understand by the term “Tryst with destiny” ?
2. List any three challenges highlighted by the Prime Minister Nehru.
3. Discuss why freedom, power, peace and security are considered as core components in our day to day life.

ACTIVITY



Divide the class into groups and hold a discussion on the various definitions of Political Science.

Collect pictures of any five political philosophers and write a short note on any three of them.

1.2 Nature of Political Science

Human being is a social animal. They prefer company to solitude. Humans are never self-sufficient and depend on fellow beings for the satisfaction of their diverse needs. So, they have always lived in social groups. They have been a part of the society with set rules of common behaviour. Such a society had to be properly organized with individuals to enforce rules and regulations and also their observance had to be ensured. The society thus organized is called the State, the rules that govern social conduct are the laws of the State and the individuals who enforce the same and ensure their observance is the government. Thus, Political Science deals with human being in relation to the State and government. It is the study of humans in the process of governing themselves.

Political Science is concerned with the theory and practice of politics. It describes and analyzes political systems and political behaviour. It traces the origin and development of State. It studies the associations and institutions related to the State. Political Science attempts to explain what men and women do in political situations. At the initial stages the discipline was closely aligned with subjects such as history and philosophy. The American Political Science Association founded in 1903 made efforts to separate the study of politics from other social sciences such as history and economics. At the later stages, when scientific approach became the order of the day it was aligned with disciplines such as psychology and anthropology. The behavioural revolution stressed on the need for a scientific and systematic analysis of individual and group behaviour. With the advent of Post-Behaviouralism, relevance to social problems along with political facts became the focus of Political Science.

ACTIVITY



Make a list of the important works of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

1.3. Scope of Political Science

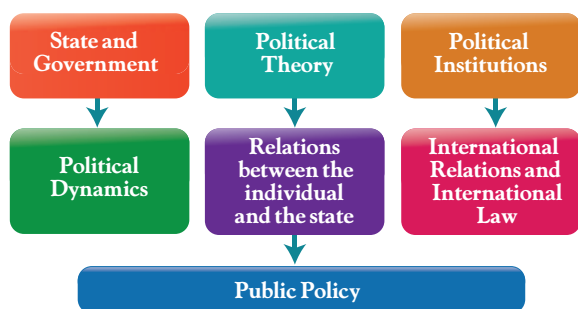
Scope of the discipline implies its jurisdiction or subject-matter. Political Science covers a vast field. Basically it is seen as a study of State. The state is located on a territory with its own people and a government to maintain and promote orderly and happier life. Hence the

scope of the discipline takes a quantum jump. Further the human nature will not remain static. Men Change and the scope of the discipline keep expanding. As the subject matter of political science includes enacting legislations that binds every one and every other activity its areas of inquiry also includes fields like economics, commerce, sociology, law, etc.,

In the year 1948, the International Political Science Association mentioned the following as the Scope of Political Science;

- ❖ Political Theory
- ❖ Political Institutions
- ❖ Political Dynamics
- ❖ International Relations

As the scope of Political Science cannot be limited to the above mentioned sub-disciplines, the following diagram illustrates the broad scope of Political Science.



Political Science primarily studies the problems of the State and Government. State possesses the authority to frame rules for governing its people. The State executes its will through the government. The government is an agency of the State. Some political theorists such as **Bluntschli** have restricted the scope of Political Science to

the study of State alone as they believe the State includes also the government. The government is considered the part and parcel of the State. On the other hand, other writers such as **Karl Deutsch** opines that Political Science deals only with the government. Scholar such as **Harold Laski** argue that Political Science is the study of both state and government. Despite the fundamental differences between the state and government, the scope of one cannot be separated from that of the other. The scope of Political Science includes the study of the past, present and future developments of the State.

Political Theory is an important component of Political Science. It includes political thought and philosophy and further explains the basic concepts of the discipline. Political Science examines the nature, structure and working of political institutions. It undertakes a comparative analysis of different constitutions and governments. The scope of the discipline also includes the study of contemporary forces in government and politics. This includes the study of political parties, interest groups and pressure groups. An empirical study of political dynamics explains the political behaviour of individuals, groups and organizations. Most importantly, Political Science throws light on the relationship between individuals and the state. Consequently, modern political scientists under the behavioural and systems approach have widened the scope of political science to cover many more aspects like political socialization, political culture, political development and informal structures like pressure groups, etc.

Moreover, the study of International Relations which includes diplomacy, international laws and international organizations also come within the

purview of Political Science. It is also a study of Public policy explaining the governmental and non-governmental responses to public issues.

1.4. Is Political Science, a Science or an Art?

There is a great debate on the scientific nature of Political Science. Some scholars consider it a science of the State and the Government. While others are of the opinion that it is one of the most backward of all the arts. Writers like **Auguste Comte** and **Maitland** are of the opinion that social sciences lack scientific character as there is no consensus of opinion among experts on its nature, methods and approaches. It lacks continuity and development and the elements that constitute a basis of precision. There are no universal principles and the scientific methods of observation and experimentation may not be applicable to Political Science. The elements of reliability, verifiability, precision and accuracy found in natural sciences are absent in Political Science. There is no uniformity in the principles of Political Science and it does not strictly observe the relation of cause and effect as the other sciences do. Similarly we do not find that exactness and absoluteness in Political Science as it is found in Physics and Chemistry. Hence several scholars identify it with Arts.

What is Political Science?

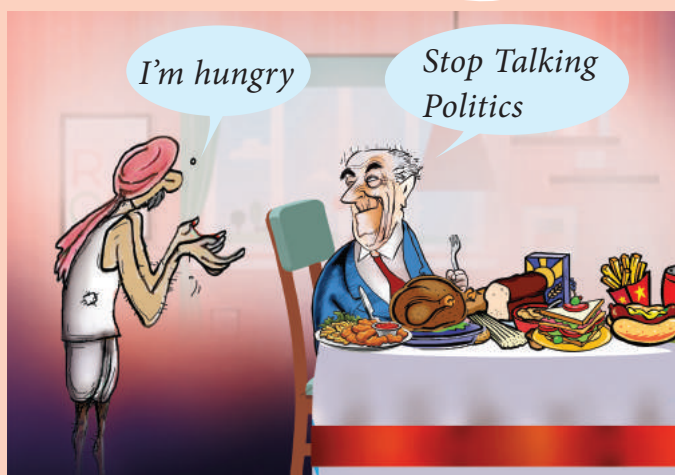
What is political science?

The scientific study of politics and government

What political science is not?

A perfect science that has all the answers

Is political science is a science? If so, how is politics scientific?



The subject of Politics is popularly called as Political Science only after the empirical approaches entering into the subject after the Contributions of American Political Scientists' contributions. Though it is called as "Political Science" it cannot be claimed a status of a pure science like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc. It can be called only as social science, as it is mainly dealing about human behaviour.

On the other hand, some writers argue that Political Science is the science of state and government. **Aristotle** was the first one to call it as a supreme science. Writers such as **Bodin**, **Hobbes**, **Montesquieu** and **Bluntschli** subscribe to this view. **Dr. Garner** defines science as knowledge relating to a particular subject acquired by a systematic study, observation or experience. If science is thus defined, conclusions in Political Science are

also drawn after systematic study, observation or experience. Though Political Science cannot claim of universal laws as in the case of natural sciences, there are conclusions that can be proven. For instance, it cannot be denied that democracy is the most suited form of government in pluralistic societies and that it is best possible one to promote social welfare. This conclusion was derived after a systematic study of the other forms of governments in different parts of the world during the ancient, medieval and modern period. There is no consensus among scholars on the nature, methods and principles of the discipline as it engages in the study of human beings and the institutions manned by them. These institutions adapt themselves to changing needs of human life and hence scholars are also of different views and opinions. Nevertheless, all Political Scientists unanimously agree that Imperialism, Colonialism, inequality, illiteracy and poverty affect the society at large.

Though Political Science does not strictly adhere to the theory of cause and effect, certain political phenomena have their own cause and effect. For instance, poverty and unemployment are causes that can result in the consequence of revolution. Hence, some writers conclude that Political Science is undoubtedly a 'Science'.

Though Political Science cannot be equated with the natural sciences but nevertheless, it is a social science dealing with individuals and their relations with the State and government. One can say that, whether Political Science could be seen as an Art or Science would largely depend on the chosen subject matter for the study and the approaches used to carry out the study.

ACTIVITY



Identify the personality and write a note on any two of his important works.



CONVERSATION

STUDENT 1: Looks like Political Science is a very important subject.

STUDENT 2: Why do you say so?

STUDENT 1: Because it is the analysis of political life that enables us to understand and solve the problems of social life.

STUDENT 3: Not just that, a galaxy of political philosophers like *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Hobbes* has engaged themselves in both social criticism and reconstruction.



Quotable quote

Whoever you are or want to be, you may not be interested in politics, but politics is interested in you. - *Marshall Berman*

ACTIVITY



Several activities – political, economic, social, religious, etc continuously and simultaneously take place in societies. These activities involve individuals, groups, institutions as well as other internal and external actors. All these activities and all those involved in such activities are governed and controlled by the actions of the state through its laws. There is an obligation on the part of the subjects / citizens to abide by the laws. No one can say I am above the law. Violation of law is punishable. The government has the authority to punish those violators as it has the responsibility to maintain peace and order in a society besides ensuring the security of all its subjects / citizens. Hence whether you like it or not you are bound by the laws. Note the following:

The inborn child has been given certain rights

There are restrictions regarding the age of entry in schools, for which you need birth certificate from municipal administration.

You finish your studies...but you need the certificates ...to get a job...

Once in job you start earning... but you have to pay tax...

At some point you get married...

but be careful..... you and your spouse should have crossed the minimum age limit required by law to get married..

Then you buy a house... bound by laws relating to housing loans... subsequently you need to pay property tax to the local administration..

At some point you retire... and the benefits you might get are defined by law....

One day you leave this world... Your wards need death certificate... legal heir certificate.... etc...

Further, the safety and security of your life, property, possessions are ensured by the laws.. The police, military, Judiciary take care of this...

Every activity in life is subject to laws ...

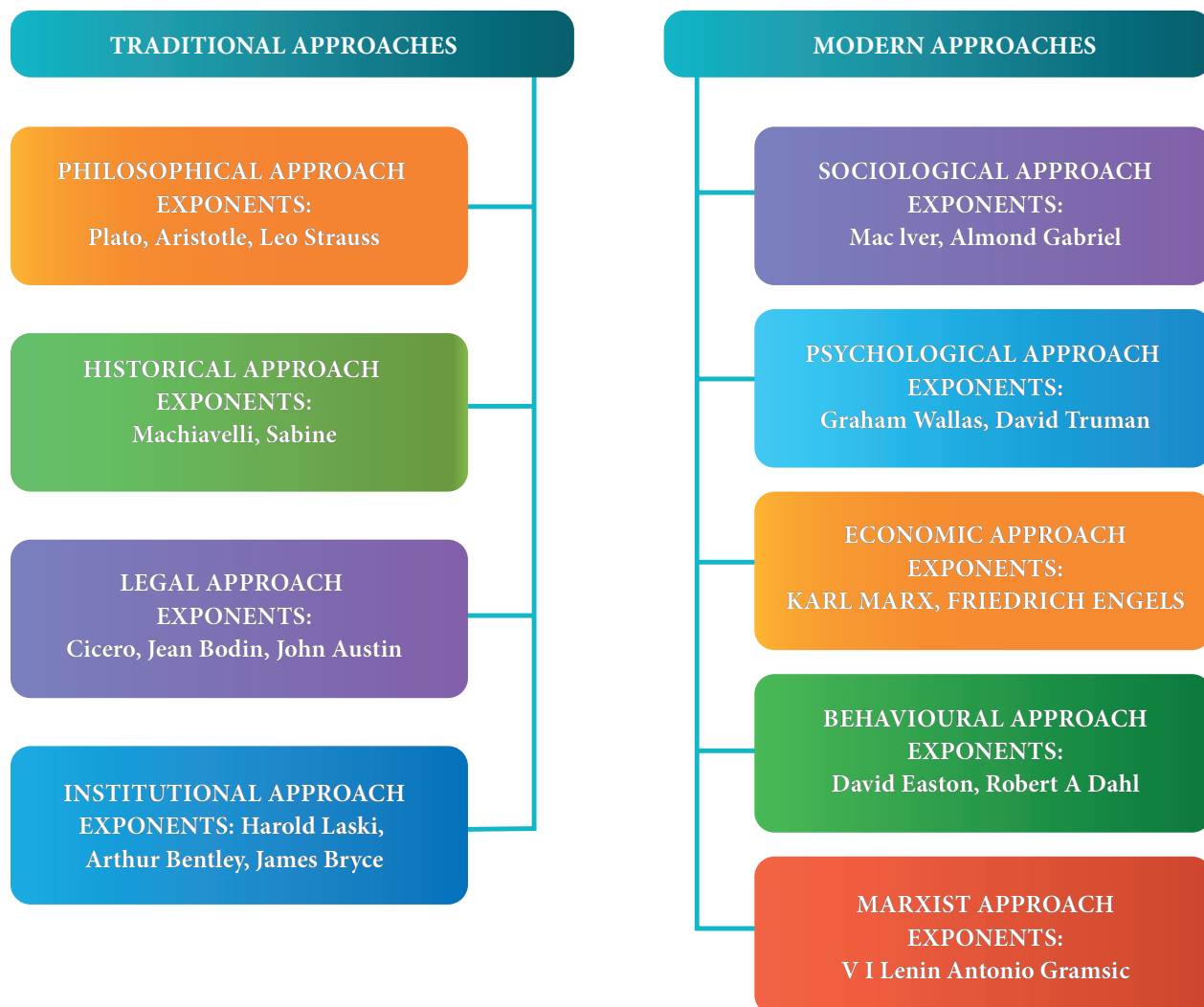
Education, business, societal activities, electoral participation, your rights, liberty, all day-today activities are subject to certain rules and regulations conditioned by law...

Remember, all such laws are defined, framed, enforced by the state, government and other political / administrative agencies. No one can stay out of this... Hence studying political science becomes all the more important.

1.5 Approaches to the Study of Political Science

An approach is the way of looking at a political phenomenon and then explaining it. The approaches and

methods to the study of Political Science are many. There are both traditional and modern or scientific approaches. The traditional approaches are highly speculative and normative and the modern approaches are more empirical and scientific in nature.



I. Traditional Approaches

i. Philosophical Approach

It is the oldest approach to the study of politics. It is also known as speculative, metaphysical or ethical approach. The study of state, government and the political behaviour of man is intricately linked with the quest for achieving certain goals, morals or truths. Here, the discipline moves closer to the world of ethics. The approach is criticized for being highly speculative and abstract.

ii. Historical Approach

This approach throws light on the past and traces the origin and development of the political institutions. It seeks to study the role of individuals and their motives, accomplishments and failures in the past and its implications for the future. In understanding the political issues of today, the help of historical parallels are sought. However, critics argue that historical parallels can be illuminating, but at the same time they can also be misleading as it is loaded with superficial resemblances.

iii. Legal Approach

The study of politics is linked with the study of legal institutions created by the State for the maintenance of the political organization. As the State is engaged in the maintenance of law and order, the study of judicial institutions become the concern of political theorists. This approach looks at the State as an organization primarily concerned with the creation and enforcement of law. However, critics argue that this approach has a narrow perspective. The State has various other functions to perform other than enforcement of law and order. Laws deal with only one aspect of an individual's life and do not enable the complete understanding of his political behaviour.

iv. Institutional Approach

This approach is also known as the structural approach. It lays stress on the formal structures of the political organization such as legislature, executive and judiciary. The informal structures are also studied and a comparative study of the governmental systems are encouraged. However, this approach is criticized for laying too much emphasis on formal and informal structures and ignoring the role of individual in those institutions.

II. Modern Approaches

i. Sociological Approach

This approach emphasizes on the understanding of the social context to explain the political behaviour of the members of the community. The state is considered primarily as a social organism and politics is understood through the

sociological factors. But critics are of the opinion that too much of emphasis on the social context can affect the very autonomy of the discipline.

ii. Psychological Approach

This approach studies and explains political and social institutions through psychological laws. It assumes that the psychological analysis of political leaders reveals significant knowledge about politics. However, this approach ignores the sociological, legal and economic factors in the study of politics.

iii. Economic Approach

As matters pertaining to production and distribution of goods are regulated by the State, the economic matters also become a concern for the political theorists. This approach emphasizes on the role of the State in regulating the economic matters and argues that economic affairs are intimately linked to the political process of the State. The approach is inclined towards linking and understanding the political and economic life of individuals. However, the approach takes into account only the economic factors and ignores other factors such as social and psychological factors.

iv. Behavioural Approach

This approach focuses on political behaviour and studies the attitudes and preferences of humans in the political context. Thus, the study of politics moved its focus from formalism and normativism to the study of political behaviour. However, critics argue that this approach is based on a false conception of scientific methods.



v. Marxist Approach

This approach is basically different from the other modern approaches. It perceives State as an inevitable consequence of class contradictions. It assumes that there is a continuous interaction between the political and economic forces and separating one from the other is not possible. However, this approach gives undue importance to the economic factors and ignores the other important factors.

After careful analysis of the approaches, it is understood that each approach has its own relevance in the study of political phenomenon and also suffer from certain limitations.

III. Relationship with other Social Sciences

i. Political Science and History

The state and its institutions are a product of slow historical growth and Political Science uses historical facts to discover general laws and principles. Political History is the narrative of political events and movements. The relationship between History and Political Science is well explained by Freeman as he says 'History is past Politics and Politics is present History'. *John Seeley* adds to it through his quote, 'History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root'.

ii. Political Science and Economics

Economics was considered a branch of Political Science and in fact, the Greeks

called Political Science by the name of Political Economy. Political Economy attempts to understand how political institutions, political environment and economy influence each other. Historians have explained as to how groups with common economic interests have utilized the political process and environment to effect changes for their own benefit. The study of Political Science and Economics are directed towards the same end providing the best possible life for its people.

iii. Political Science and Ethics

Philosophy is closely associated with ethics. Ethics deals with morality and formulates rules and regulations governing the behaviour of individuals in the society. Ethics is the science of moral order and Political Science is the science of political order. Both Political Science and Ethics aim at the noble and righteous life of humans.

iv. Political Science and Sociology

Political Science and Sociology are intimately related and it is Sociology that provides the basic information regarding the origin and evolution of state and other political institutions. Political Science is also called as Policy Science and policies of the State cannot be formulated without the careful analysis of the social needs of the people. Political Science provides information to Sociology about the organization and functions of the state and how the policies and programmes of the State affect the society at large.

v. Political Science and Psychology

Psychology deals with all the aspects of human behaviour while Political Science deals only with the political behaviour of humans. Psychology throws light on why individuals and groups behave in a certain manner. It aids Political Science in understanding the behaviour of political parties and varied other groups in the state. **Barker** rightly says, 'The application of psychological clue to the riddles of human activity has indeed become the fashion of the day. If our forefathers thought biologically, we think psychologically'.

vi. Political Science and Public Administration

Political Science is closely related to Public Administration and in fact, the term 'public' denotes 'government' though Public Administration also includes the study of non-governmental organizations. Public Administration is the implementation of governmental policies and Political Science deals with the process of policy formulation. There is a similarity in the objective of Political Science and Public Administration as they both aim at optimum use of resources and social welfare.

Thus, we understand that Political Science is the systematic study of governance by the application of empirical and scientific methods of analysis. Though it involves empirical investigations, it does not generally produce precise predictions. Political Science examines the state and its organs and institutions. It also encompasses the study of societal, cultural, economic and psychological factors that

influence the government. It borrows heavily from the other social sciences but its focus on power differentiates it from the other disciplines. Apart from power, Political Science also focuses on comparative politics, international relations, political theory, public law and public policy. Most importantly, the study of Political Science gives us the basic understanding of the political process, the system of government and the way in which it affects the life of every citizen.

ACTIVITY



Write a short note on how politics affects your daily life.

ACTIVITY



Collect pictures on the life and works of your favorite political thinker and explain to the class about his contributions to the discipline.



Glossary

Inquiry the act of inquiring or of seeking information by the method of questioning or interrogation.

Political Systems Various Forms of governments with different types of Constitutions

Arthashastra It is a work on political economy and administrative governance written by Kautilya in 3rd century BCE.

City-State A community oriented small state with the governance of small population centered around a city.



Political Behaviour It may be defined as any action regarding authority in general and government in particular. An obvious example of an act of political behaviour is the act of voting.

Class Conflict Conflict between different classes in a community resulting from different social or economic positions and reflecting opposed interests.

Authority Ability of a person or an institution to use its power and influence with legal sanction. It can also be called as legitimate use of power.

Elitism It is the belief or attitude that individuals who form an elite — a select group of people with a certain ancestry, intrinsic quality, high intellect, wealth, special skills, or experience — are more likely to be constructive to society as a whole, and therefore deserve influence or authority greater than that of others.

Tryst It is an appointment to meet at a certain time and place, especially one made somewhat secretly.

Destiny The things that will happen in the future

Political Dynamics The continuously changing and moving in political institutions from one stage to another stage.

Public Policy The fundamental policy of the Government on which laws rest, especially policy not yet enunciated in specific rules.

Comparative Analysis The item-by-item comparison of two or more comparable alternatives, processes, products, qualifications, sets of data, systems, or the like.

Politics It is the art or science of government or governing, especially the governing of a political entity, such as a nation, and the administration and control of its internal and external affairs.

Political Science It is the branch of knowledge that deals with the state and systems of government and the scientific analysis of political activity.

Behaviouralism It stressed on objective and quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour.

Post-Behaviouralism It is a reaction against the behavioural orthodoxy and the emphasis was on relevance over precision.

Monarchy It is a political system based upon the undivided sovereignty or rule of a single person who achieves his position through heredity.

Aristocracy It is the government by a relatively small privileged class consisting of those felt to be best qualified to rule.

Democracy Democracy refer to a popular government based on the will of the people.

Totalitarianism It refers to the subordination of all aspects of human life to the authority of the state.

Oligarchy It is a government by the few, especially despotic power exercised by a small and privileged group for corrupt or selfish purposes.

Imperialism The policy of extending the rule or authority of an empire or nation over foreign countries, or of acquiring and holding colonies and dependencies.



Colonialism The control or governing influence of a nation over a dependent country, territory, or people.

Metaphysical Traditionally, the word 'Metaphysics' comes to us from Ancient Greece, where it was a combination of two words Meta, meaning over and beyond-and physics. Thus, the combination means over and beyond physics. It can be also called as a Speculative Philosophy.

Normative It is relating to a norm, especially an assumed norm regarded as the standard of correctness in behaviour, speech, writing, etc.

Feedback It refers to a reaction or response to a particular process or activity.



Evaluation

I Choose the Correct answer

1) The term 'Politics' is closely related to the Greek word 'Polis' meaning,

- a) City-state
- b) Police Forces
- c) Politics
- d) Police state

2) Who told the central theme of politics is 'Who gets What, When and How?'

- a) Harold Laski
- b) Harold Laswell
- c) Charles E Merriam
- d) Franck Goodnow

3) According to David Easton Politics is

- a) 'The authoritative allocation of values'
- b) 'The authoritative allocation of resources'
- c) 'The authoritative allocation of authority'
- d) 'The authoritative allocation of power'



4) In the Indian context, who are all considered as the ancient political thinker?

- a) Kautilya and Thiruvalluvar
- b) Valmiki and Varahamihira
- c) Charaka and Susrutha
- d) Viyasara and Aryabatta

5) The Concept 'Legitimacy' is closely related to

- a) Study of Law
- b) State and Government
- c) Legitimate ownership of Property
- d) Power and Authority



6) Who told that ‘Power breeds power and this form the central tenet of elitism’?

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| a) Robert Michel | b) Harold Laski |
| c) David Easton | d) Charles E Merriam |

7) Who can be called as the Father of Political Science?

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| a) Aristotle | b) Socrates |
| c) Plato | d) Machiavelli |

8) Who told that ‘Man is by nature a Political Animal’?

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| a) Plato | b) Jean Bodin |
| c) Aristotle | d) Socrates |

9) Who changed the subject matter of politics from the religious approach to the empirical observation with secular Perspectives?

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| a) Thomas Hobbes | b) Niccole Machiavelli |
| c) John Locke | d) J.J. Rousseau |

10) Who gave the famous quotation, ‘History is past Politics and Politics is present History’?

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| a) Harold Laswell | b) Freeman |
| c) Charles E Merriam | d) John Marshall |

II Answer the following questions very shortly

- 11) Define the origin of the word ‘Politics’.
- 12) What do you understand by the term “Tryst with destiny”?
- 13) Describe the view of Karl Marx about Power.
- 14) Write about the views of Aristotle on Happiness.
- 15) List any three challenges highlighted by the Prime Minister Nehru.
- 16) Write about the Concept of secularism.
- 17) Explain the basic concept of Post-Behaviouralism.

III Answer the following questions shortly

- 18) Explain the Nature of Political Science.
- 19) Define the concept ‘Power’.



- 20) Write the relationship between Aristotle and Plato.
- 21) Explain the philosophical approach of Political science.
- 22) “History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root” - John Seeley: Explain.
- 23) Explain the legal approach to political science.

IV Answer the following questions in detail

- 24) Is Political Science an Art or Science? Substantiate your answer.
- 25) Explain the relationship between Political Science and other social sciences.
- 26) Explain the Traditional Approaches to study political science .
- 27) Explain the basic principles of Post Behaviouralism.
- 28) Differentiate between Political Theory and Political Science.
- 29) Explain the Context by which the subject of politics was released from the clutches of Religion.

Reference books

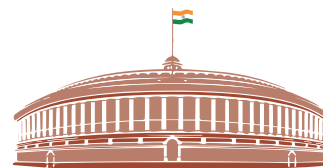


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Further readings



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Dear Students, in the last chapter the discipline Political Science was introduced to you. Did you question what is Political Science dealing with? If Botany is concerned with the study of plants and sociology the study of society then what Political Science is about? What is the main focus of study of Political Science?



Introduction

Political Science is the systematic study of State. We all live in State. The world is viewed as an embodiment of many States. State as an idea or a concept is derived from a historical process of political, cultural, religious and economic contexts of a region. Today when the word 'State' is mentioned and used it usually indicate the modern State. The world today comprises of modern States. Modern State is a public order completely different from the pre-modern notion comprising of a body politics consisting of the rulers and the ruled. Hence a proper understanding of what State is and what not is quite essential to students of political science.

Yes, we all live in 'State'. We start to interact with the State even without a proper awareness of State. The road facilities, health care, electricity, water, and sanitation are a few examples that connect us with the State. State compels us to do certain things and at the same time



Learning Objectives

- ❖ This explanatory chapter about the State will enable you to understand what are the major concerns of the study of political science especially what is State and its functions.
- ❖ Demonstrate the different views of various thinkers about the State.
- ❖ Introduce you the elements of the State.
- ❖ Facilitate you to identify the linkage between Society, State and Government.
- ❖ Familiarize the concepts of Modern State, Welfare State and Soft State.

restrains us from doing certain things. Any failure to obey the State will lead to punishment. Hence one can conclude that law and freedom of State are subjected to certain conditions laid by the State itself. State also ensures that our lives and property are protected. Thus whether we are interested or not, the State is certainly interested in us as its population. Should we not then study the State?

2.1 Meaning and Definition of State

The State is the most universal and most powerful of all social institutions. The State is a natural institution. **Aristotle** said 'Man (Human) is a social animal and by nature s/he is a political being. To him, to live in the State and to be a man were identical. The modern term 'state'



is derived from the word 'status'. It was **Niccolo Machiavelli** (1469 – 1527) who first used the term 'State' in his writings. The state is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life. It continues to remain for the sake of good life. The aims, desires, and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the State. Though the State is a necessary institution, no two writers agree on its definition. This disagreement makes the study of the State more creative and interesting. For instance, we have social Contract theory in political science. The three main thinkers associated with social contract theory are **Thomas Hobbes**, **John Locke** and **Jean Jack Rousseau**. The three thinkers collectively agree that humans need to be controlled by the State. At the same time, they disagree on to what extent the control can be exercised by the State on humans.

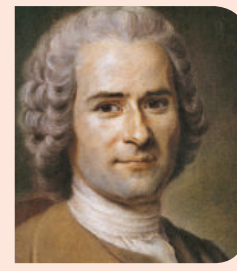
Political Thinkers	Human Nature	State of Nature	Social contract
Hobbes	Man is a wolf unto his fellow man	A state of war	Leviathan
Locke	Man has perfect freedom	Property is not secure	Common wealth
Rousseau	Man is free but immoral	No security or morality	State guided by the general will

ACTIVITY



Find ME....

The social Contract Theory of the State was put forth by the three main proponents collectively called contractualists. The three agreed that humans need to be controlled by the State. But to what extent that control should be has been debated in their unique way. Find out who the three are?



Definition of State

- ❖ To **Woodrow Wilson**, “State is people organized for law within a definite territory.”
- ❖ **Aristotle** defined the State as a “union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self – sufficing life by which it meant a happy and honorable life”.
- ❖ To **Holland**, the State is “a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority or class is made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it.”
- ❖ **Burgess** defines the State as “a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit.”
- ❖ According to **Sidgwick**. “State is a combination or association of persons in the form of government and governed and united together into a politically organised people of a definite territory.”
- ❖ According to **Garner**, “State is a community of people occupying a definite form of territory free of external control and possessing an organised government to which people show habitual obedience.”
- ❖ **Prof. Laski** defines “State as a territorial society divided into government and subjects whose relationships are determined by the exercise of supreme coercive power.”

2.2 Essential Elements of State

Thus, from the above descriptions, you can easily conclude that State should have certain essential components. The state is a set of institutions which has an unquestionable authority over people. It is hence all modern States have their own Constitution that moderates the freedom and privileges of the citizens of the State with the coercive and unquestionable power of the State. Hence Constitution is considered as a limiting agent on the overwhelming authority of the State.

ACTIVITY



- ❖ What would be the condition of people in a state without a Constitution?
- ❖ What is called breakdown of Constitutional machinery?



The **Montevideo** Convention on Rights and Duties of States held in 1933 gave the fundamental understanding of State. A State must have a permanent population, a defined territory and a government that can control the territory and its people and conducts international relations with other States. Consequently,

the recognition of a State by other States becomes crucial for the legitimacy of the State from an external point of view. You would be reading more when you read about Sovereignty.

Let us attempt to understand what the essential elements of State are?

Think of India as a State and try to answer what makes India, our country to qualify for a State? Firstly, India has a well-defined territory. In India we

the people, Indians live. We Indians have our Government. India is a State that has a status in the world and exists independently. India is not bound by the rules of any other State. It can enter into treaties with other States. We have our diplomats in all countries and their offices are called 'Diplomatic Mission'. An Indian Embassy in the USA is generally known as 'India in the USA'. In Puducherry, the Consulate General of France is called France in India.

ACTIVITY

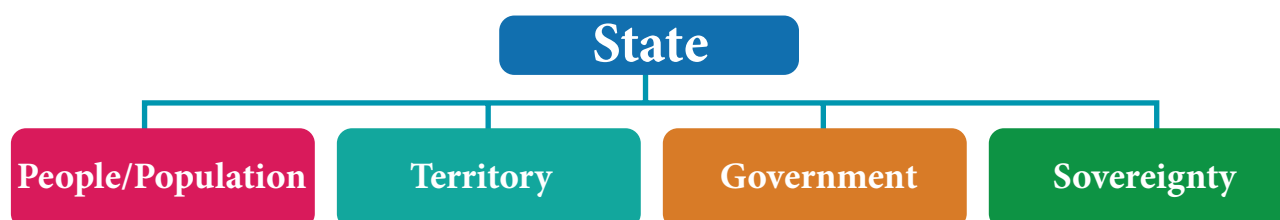


Reason out:

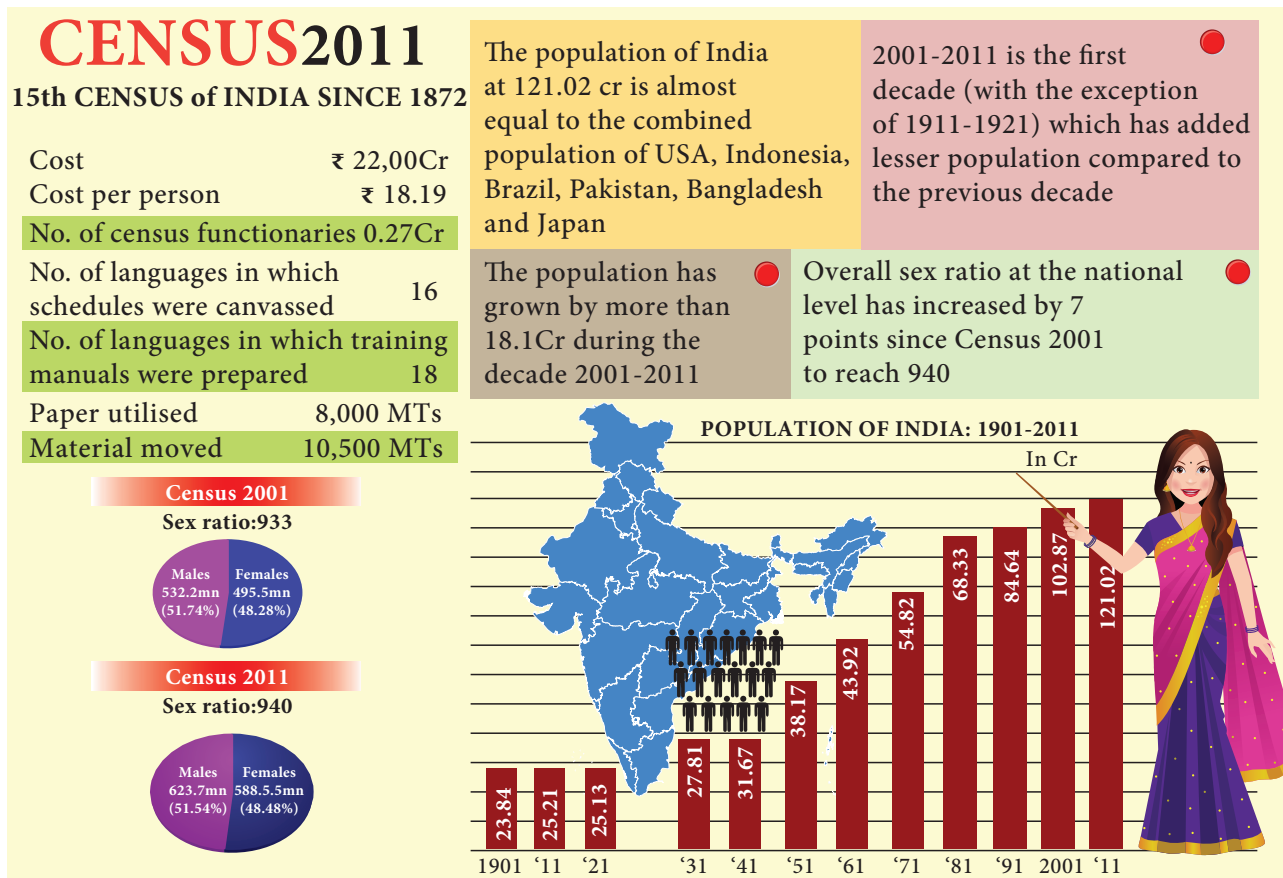
WHY?



- ❖ Have you noticed that there is always agreement in the physical map of the World and not Political Map depicting countries border? Find out the reasons why?
- ❖ What is Statelessness? Have you read about the Tibetan Government in Exile? What is Political Asylum?
- ❖ What will be the situation of humans without State? Would it be peaceful or violent? Examine these questions with the case of Syria (as in the year 2017).



Census 2011: population pegged at 121.02 cr



DO YOU KNOW?

Census 2011

- ❖ The post-independence census in the country has been conducted once in ten years. Under the constitutional provisions by notification under the census Act 1948.
- ❖ In the last census, operations conducted in our country in 2011, the enumerators and supervisors has focused on the house listing and housing Census. The type of information gathered on the household, its head, amenities and assets. It also includes the total number of residents, use of the census house and material used for floor, wall and roof.
- ❖ Other details include the name of the head of the household, gender, community, ownership, number of dwelling rooms, number of married couples. The enumerators would also seek details on the amenities available in the household such as sources of drinking water outlet, latrine, waste water outlet, bathing facility, kitchens and fuel used for cooking.
- ❖ They would record information, on the use of banking services and assets, such as radio, TV, computer, internet connection, telephone, bicycle, motorcycle and car.

With the help of the Box Item answer the following table

Decade	Total Population (in million)	Annual Growth Rate
1901	238.4	--
1911	252.1	0.56
1921	261.3	-0.03
1931	279.0	1.04
1941	318.7	1.33
1951	361.1	1.25
1961	439.1	1.96
1971	548.2	2.20
1981	683.3	2.22
1991	846.4	2.14
2001	1028.7	1.97
2011	1210.7	1.64

- In which decade has the population decreased in comparison to the last decade?
- In which decade is the population growth rate the highest?
- In which decade the population growth rate the lowest?
- Define Census. What is the importance of the study of population?
- Mention any three features of the Census 2011.

Population

It is the people who make the State. The population is essential for the State. What should be the size of the population has been a debate by thinkers from ancient time. According to **Plato**, the ideal number would be 5040. According to **Aristotle**, the number should be neither too large nor too small. It should be large enough to be self-sufficient and small enough to be well governed. **Rousseau** determined 10,000 to be an ideal number for a State. Ancient thinkers view on the number was based on the small city – States like Athens and Sparta. The modern States vary in population. India has a population of 121.02 cr people according to 2011 census of India.



According to Plato, the ideal number of State is 5040. The reason is the number 5040 is divisible by numbers from 1 to 12. In the case of 11 the remainder is 2. During the time of emergency the population can be divided in various columns and instructions could be given.



ACTIVITY



- ❖ What is Census?
- ❖ Why Census is important?

Have you heard about the census process of the Roman Empire? Identify the institutions associated with census in India.

Territory

Can State be without territory? Certainly not. People need territory to live and to organize themselves socially and politically. It may be remembered that the territory of the State includes land, water, and air space. The modern States differ in their sizes. The territory is necessary for citizenship. As in the case of population, no definite size with regard to extent of the area of the State can be fixed. There are small and big States. In the words of Prof. Elliott, "Territorial sovereignty or the superiority of State, overall within its boundaries and complete freedom from external control has been a fundamental principle of the modern State life".

India has an area of 32,87,263 sq. km. approximately India occupies 2.4% of the global area. The opening article of the Indian Constitution speaks about the Territory of India.

ACTIVITY



Not to Scale

- ❖ Should the territory of State be continuous or can be scattered? Examine the French Territories.
- ❖ Find out to the status of Antarctica.
- ❖ What is called maritime boundary line?
- ❖ Which is the smallest State by the size of its territory?

DO
YOU
KNOW?

- ❖ Can there be a Permanent Chief Minister or Permanent Prime Minister in a democracy?
- ❖ Find out the maximum term of office, a person can be elected as President of the United States of America? Why?



ACTIVITY



Look at the newspaper advertisement given by the Government of India. Answer the following questions:

- ❖ What do you understand by the word 'State'?
- ❖ List five ways in which you think that the government affects your daily life.
- ❖ Why do you think the State needs to make rules for everyone in the form of laws?

Government

Government is the working agency of the State. It is the political organization of the State. Indian political scientist **Prof. A. Appadurai** defined government as the agency through which, the will of the State is formulated, expressed and realized. According to **C.F. Strong**, in order to make and enforce laws, the State must have a supreme authority. Government is a fixed structure. Political executives who get elected to offices may change but Government as a system is a permanent body of State. The State existed before the people come to power and it will exist after these men and women in power leaves the control of the State.

Sovereignty

The fourth essential element of the State is sovereignty. The word 'sovereignty' means supreme and final legal authority above. No legal power can exist beyond sovereignty. The concept of "sovereignty" was developed in conjunction with the rise of the modern State. The term Sovereignty is derived from the Latin word "superanus" which means "supreme". In a traditional understanding, the characteristics of sovereignty are absoluteness, permanence, universality, indivisibility, exclusiveness, and inalienability.

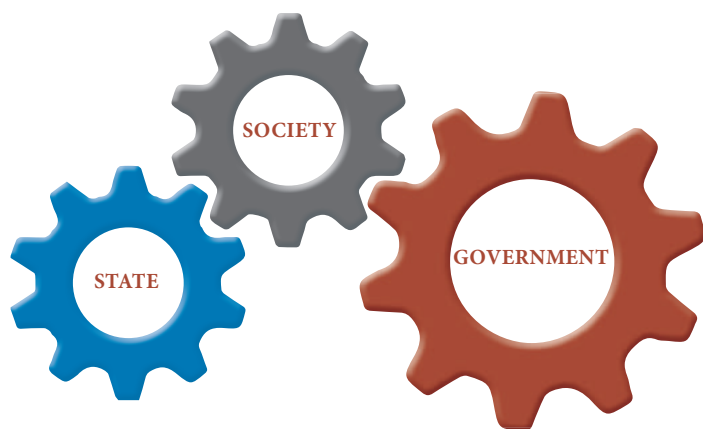
There is a restriction of movement of individuals from one State to another State in the name of territorial sovereignty. But sitting in one country you can communicate to a person to another country using the internet. How do you see this to do with the sovereignty of the States? Examine why social networking websites like Facebook, twitter and YouTube are banned in some countries.

The father of the modern theory of sovereignty was **Jean Bodin** (1530 – 1597) a French political thinker. According to **Harold J. Laski**, "It is by possession of sovereignty that the State is distinguished from all other forms of human association".

Human Association would mean anything from family, society and even voluntary organization similar kinds through which humans identify themselves together.

2.3 Society, state and Government

Let us examine what Society, State and Government mean and how are they interrelated.



Society, State and Government – How are they interrelated?

Each one of us live simultaneously in family, society, and State. What does this mean? How society and State are interrelated? What is government to do with the State and the society?

Historically when humans evolved from hunters and gatherers to a settled community, they started to produce goods. Group of families constituted a community and a group of communities constituted what we call as a society. Individuals for their emotional need that is often reciprocal lived in the family.

Families came together under the umbrella of the community for a greater objective of security. The communities so formed made a higher level of organization called society solely to live in an organized

manner where each ones' need is met out by the collective output of the whole. Thus when an individual is labouring for earning his food there arose an inevitable situation that labour results in productivity. The produced goods thus required a market supplemented by the invention of another institution called trade. When goods are produced and marketed, it is clear that the situation could turn in favour of a few who are mighty. When society is governed by the rule of might, then ultimately that would cause the society to disintegrate and fall apart.

When society degenerates, it has a consequent effect on the communities and ultimately upon its constituent families and each and every individual would lead to suffering. Thus, it was, for this reason, humans came together, guided by reason felt the need of the State.

State came into existence out of an imminent need that in the absence of a centralized and a coercive authority human cannot be saved from each other. This control in modern States is done legally through a set of rules and regulations. In a democracy, these rules and regulations are framed by the legislature, enforced by the executive and the judiciary adjudicates the made laws and the implemented laws on the basis of their legality and judiciousness. The function of law making, implementing and interpreting is the function of government. You will read more about this as separation of powers.

ACTIVITY



Identify how state plays role from education to employment. Also find out the subsidies given by the state to agriculture sector, regulation made by the state for the functioning of the industrial sector and facilitation role played by the state in service sector.

These are the initiation taken by Tamil Nadu to promote Agriculture, Industries and services.

Agriculture

subsidy for inputs like seeds, power to make agriculture profitable for farmers

Industries

- ❖ Single window clearance mechanism
- ❖ Facilitating land acquisition
- ❖ 24x7 power supply

Services

- ❖ Global investment meet held in Tamil Nadu in 2016
- ❖ Tax Sops introduced in Tamil Nadu Budget

Major Differences between State and society



The society consists of a large number of individuals, families, groups, and institutions. The early political thinkers considered both State and society as one. The state is a part of society but is not a form of society.

STATE	SOCIETY
State came into existence after the origin of the society.	Society is prior to the State.
The scope of the State is limited.	The scope of society is much wider
The state has fixed territory.	Society has no fixed territory.
The state is a political organization.	Society is a social organization.
The State has the power to enforce laws.	Society has no power to enforce laws.

The membership of the State and society are the same. But they differ as regards to their purpose. The State exists for one great but single, purpose; society exists for a number of purposes; some great and some small. From the point of view of the organization, the State is a single organization – legal, whereas society comprises within itself many organizations. The State exercises its control over humans by coercion and exact obedience. On the other hand, the society employs a method of voluntary action. The purposes for which society exists makes the persuasive methods necessary. The multiplicity of the organization of society gives ample opportunity to the members to relinquish one association and join another in the event they are subject to any coercion. Thus you must understand a State without a centralized authority of coercive force and a society without the method of persuasion will fall apart.

State and Government

Government is often used with the ‘State’ as a synonym. But both the government and the State are two different entities. There are differences between the State and the government. They are explained in the table given below.

STATE	GOVERNMENT
The state consists of population, territory, government and sovereignty.	Government is part of the State.
The state possesses original powers.	Powers of the government are derived from the State.
The state is permanent and continues forever.	Government is temporary. Governments can be replaced with peoples will
State is abstract and invisible	Government is concrete and is visible.

Modern State

Before examining the functions of Modern State, you must understand what is Modernity? What is called as a Modern State?

ACTIVITY



- ❖ List the contribution of modernity to science and technology. Occidentalism is the term associated with modernity. Have you come across the works of Avishai Margalit on Occidentalism?
- ❖ Why Mahatma Gandhi criticized modernity in his work “Hind Swaraj”?

DEBATE



- ❖ Is M. K. Gandhi against Modernity?
- ❖ Do you agree with M. K. Gandhi's view? Conduct a critical debate in the classroom.

Modernity in historical term means the period of questioning the tradition or rejecting the age-old set of beliefs, practices and socio-cultural norms. Modernity laid the foundations of the prioritization of individualism, freedom, equality, fostering of scientific temper in every walk of life and thus modernity led humans from agrarianism towards industrialization, urbanization, and secularization. This intellectual shift drastically influenced the understanding of the society, State and government. For instance, the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to reform the Indian society are directly linked with the influence of western modernity on Indian thinkers.

In Political science, modernity impacted on the concepts of State, liberty, equality, justice and so on. For instance, the meaning of patriots, revolution, rights, privileges, sovereignty was understood differently given their historical context. Similarly, the term State was understood differently during the time of the Greek City State. State means completely different when it is referred to a modern State as a form of political organization evolved in modern western Europe dating to medieval ages. The rational foundation of modern State is often argued to be the treaty of Westphalia signed in the year 1648.

The idea of modern State was exported throughout the world during the nineteenth century by the process of European Colonization. The South Asian States that became independent from colonial control after second world war can be brought under the umbrella of post-colonial States and can be compared with the post-colonial States of the other parts of the world to assess their relative merits and drawbacks for improving their governance systems.

ACTIVITY

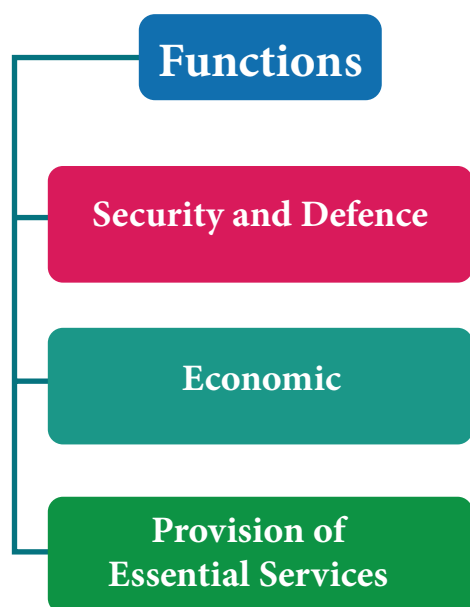


- ❖ What are the reasons for the treaty of Westphalia?
- ❖ Find out what is the 'Peace of Westphalia'?

2.4 Functions of Modern State

The modern State is a developed State. The State should strive to keep its people secure and safe. The State should ensure that its borders are sealed and protected. The market needs to be integrated into the society by a well-knit macroeconomic structure. 'Citizen first' should be the motto of all the activities of the State. The sole principle of governance of modern State is whether the action of the State leads to the promotion of the welfare of its people. Accordingly, the State engages itself as a provider of essential services.

It is largely accepted that the modern State focuses on three main functions.



Security and Defense

The States of today's world consider the meaning of security from multiple standpoints. Terms like Human Security have emerged to put citizens first. Inspired by the philosopher Immanuel Kant's idea of perpetual peace, the States of the world came together as 'league of nations' and

later as the 'United Nations Organisation' and have been debating the terms security and defence in terms of promoting peace.

Economic functions

The modern state is supposed to intervene in the economic functions of the political system. The State needs to support the people, make them realize their potential for their betterment. Try understanding what Martha Nussbaum explains about 'capabilities' and what Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen's ideas on 'capability approach'. Protecting consumers, weaker sections, investing in areas where there is no profit are those included in the economic functions of the modern state.

Provision of Essential Services

From 'cradle to grave' modern state is supposed to care for its citizens. The fundamental needs such as food, clean drinking water, providing education, healthcare, and social security for the population are the responsibilities of the modern state. You can find the number of schemes and projects of Government of India and the various state governments to be in this direction. The noon meal scheme and the nutrition's meal schemes in all Government schools initiated by the Government of Tamil Nadu and adopted in different parts of the country is one such example.

The modern State strived for the welfare of its people and hence another concept came into existence called 'Welfare State'.

2.5 Concept of Welfare State

Have you ever noticed that the Directive principles of the State policy of the Indian Constitution have been placarding the western European idea of the Welfare State? Have you ever thought why the propelling mechanisms of socio-economic development have been kept in Part IV of the Constitution as an advisory to the State whereas the guarantee of political and civil rights has been made as a non-negotiable guarantee as Fundamental Right? What is the reason? Why could economic rights figure as the part of Fundamental right in the constitution?

It is a reality that the abundance of resources with a minimal population has been the main reason for the successful functioning of welfare State model. The Scandinavian countries are excellent examples of welfare State. Though the Constitution of India strives for a welfare State the non-abundance of resources

and a huge population has been the impediment in realizing the goals of the Welfare State.

The concept of welfare State has its origin in Western Europe after the Second World War. The main idea of welfare State is that the government of welfare State plays a vital role in human development. The role of the welfare State extends to the protection and promotion of the well being of its citizens. The economic and social well being of the citizens is based on (1) The principle of equality of opportunity (2) Equitable distribution of wealth (3) Public responsibility for those who cannot afford themselves the minimal provisions for leading a good life.

India before independence was a Colonial State under British rule. Indians were subjects of the English crown. Once India attained Independence, we had our Constitution that has been deeply inspired by the western model of welfare State.

ACTIVITY



- ❖ Examine the relevance of MGNREGA, Right to Education Act, The National Food Security Act. Are these rights, legal rights or fundamental right?
- ❖ Find out the total budget outlay for implementing these Acts in the last five years.
- ❖ Discuss about the contributions of J.S. Mill and H.J.Laski towards the concept of welfare state.

2.6 Concept of Soft State

Nobel Laureate Karl Gunnar Myrdal identified what he called as societal indiscipline in the Asian States when compared to the western countries. He identified this societal indiscipline as the characteristics of soft State. Social indiscipline, corruption, and weak law enforcement are the main characteristics of a soft State.

ACTIVITY



- ❖ In western countries, the gender of the unborn baby (fetus) is disclosed as part of the standard procedure and it is usual that the expecting mother knows the gender of the unborn baby.
- ❖ Why in India the Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT) Act, 1994 prohibits the communication of gender of the foetus to the pregnant woman or to her relatives by words, signs or any other method?

The post-colonial developing States are generally categorized as soft States where their institutions of governance are not fully developed. Our inability to adhere to standards and to enforce law and maintain discipline makes our country as a soft State. A soft State cannot advance further in refining its democratic values.

ACTIVITY



Find the difference between soft state and soft power, now relate these concepts with independent India.

As a student identify the list of social indiscipline and the ways of correcting them from your view.

2.7 Concept of Over Developed State

Almost all the States of South Asia are modern democracies. Yet, what makes them lag behind the western countries in development? When the institutions of governance such as the Parliament, the bureaucracy, and the planning machinery are imported and customized during colonial times, why is it that development is a slow process in these countries? Hamza Alawi, explains the case of the governability crisis of Pakistan and Bangladesh using the concept of Over Developed State

ACTIVITY



Try watching the Tamil movie “Thanneer Thanneer” Discuss the theme of the movie.

Tamil Movie “Thanneer Thanneer”

A small village in Tamil Nadu faces water scarcity. The



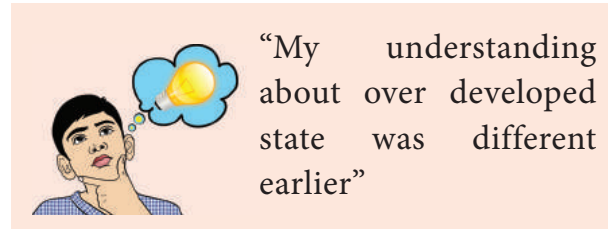
The film highlights the plight of the villagers and the sufferings they endure at the hands of bureaucrats when they try to resolve their problem.

Overdeveloped State is an explanation offered to the ineffectiveness of the functioning of post-colonial States that operate with the similar structure of bureaucratic governance before and after



their independence. Despite political liberation, the transformative approach did not percolate down the administrative structure of the States after they emerged free from the colonial yoke. The colonial powers of western Europe maintained double standards in designing the polity of the colonized States. When their respective States recognized political life, liberty and economic freedom of its citizens and in total the State was like a pet for its people, on the contrast the States were over centralized with unquestionable power in the colonized States. Such an arrangement was congenial to the colonizers to have unfretted siphoning of wealth from their colonies. This massive exploitation was effectively engineered by the bureaucracy that continued the colonial legacy even after independence with no or little change in the attitude of the political class that replaced the colonial masters.

When the State gets increasingly modernized when the society and its economy are lagging behind without modernization the State and the society grossly mismatched each other. This creates a divide between the people and the State's apparatus. What is good for people are not decided by them in a representative democracy but by an influential few. In the case of Pakistan and Bangladesh, Hamza Alawai coins the word 'military bureaucracy oligarchy' that is similar to the license raj of India and over-centralization as a continuation of colonial legacy that has been constantly addressed by the government of India.



2.8 Concept of post-colonial State

Do you know why police personnel in western countries are not feared as they are in the countries that were colonized by the same western countries? Can you find out the reason why Government servants in our country are looked up with utmost respect as a superior when they are looked with equal footage in the western countries? At the same time can you identify the benefits of colonization? Can you list them?

Post-colonial State is the name of new nation States that have emerged out of the process of decolonization after the Second World War. Post-colonial State is used synonymously with developmental State. The post-colonial State has the features of colonial State as far as the political institutions are concerned but there is only a shift in the objective of these institutions.

In general, post-colonial States exhibit a high degree of poverty, political instability and the crisis of governance. The mismatch between the society with its traditional power structure overlapping with modern States has largely resulted in such a situation.

It is obvious that the Colonial powers that ventured into newer worlds destroyed the main parts of native traditions and cultures and further constantly replaced

them with their own ones. This cultural import led to conflicts as and when they became independent as they suddenly faced the challenge of developing a new national identity and self-confidence. This is one of the aspects why the sharp divide of the ruler and ruled remained in post-colonial States whereby the State actors tend to behave with an upper hand.

Glossary



State: A nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government.

Government: The group of people who officially control a country

Social Contract Theory: The theory that advocates that persons' moral and/or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live.

Constitution: A body of fundamental principles or established precedents according to which a state or other organization is acknowledged to be governed

Security: The state of being free from danger or threat

Society: A large group of people who live together in an organized way, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. All the people in a country, or in several similar countries, can be referred to as a society

Individualism: A social theory favoring freedom of action for individuals over collective or state control.

Scandinavia: Scandinavia is a group of countries in northern Europe. It always includes Denmark, Norway and Sweden

Bureaucracy: A system for controlling or managing a country, company, or organization that is operated by a large number of officials employed to follow rules carefully

Western Countries: Countries in the west part of the world, especially North America and countries in the west of Europe



Evaluation

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Name the Political Thinker who first used the word State

- a) Niccolo Machiavelli b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Locke

2. Who authored the book 'Leviathan'?

- a) Hobbes b) Locke c) Rousseau d) Morgenthau

3. Which is the main component of State that determine citizenship status

- a) Territory b) Government c) Sovereignty d) Population





4. Which of the following is regarded as the Limiting authority of the State's Authority
a) Constitution b) Religion c) Judgement d) People
5. "Territorial sovereignty or the superiority of State, overall within its boundaries and complete freedom from external control has been a fundamental principle of the modern State life" is stated by
a) Elliot b) Bodin c) Austin d) Machiavelli
6. Who of the following is regarded as the father of Modern Theory of Sovereignty?
a) Jean Bodin b) Hugo Gotius c) Austin d) Machiavelli
7. Which of the following is not the states function of Modern State
a) Security and Defence b) Economic Functions
c) Provision of Essential Services d) Religions duties
8. Which flagship programme of Government of Tamil Nadu followed by all other states in India
a) The Noon Meal Scheme b) Rain Harvesting
c) Gold for marriage d) Bicycle for school children
9. The idea of Welfare State in the Indian Constituion is contained in
a) Part IV b) part III c) Part I d) Part II

II. Answer the following questions very shortly

10. What is the objective of Political Science as a discipline?
11. Mention a feature of modern state.
12. Name the thinkers associated with Contractual Theory.
13. What are the essential elements of State?
14. Mention the characteristics of sovereignty.
15. What are the functions of Legislature, Executive and Judiciary in a modern democracy?
16. What are post-colonial states?
17. What are the factors responsible for the emergence of 'Soft State'.

III. Answer the following questions shortly

17. Compare and contrast the ideas of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.
18. What are the factors that contribute to make a State?



19. Distinguish State from Society.
20. What are the differences between State and Government?
21. Write a short note on Modernity.
22. What are the functions of 'Modern State'?
23. Differentiate colonial from postcolonial state.

IV. Answer the following questions in detail

24. Discuss how Society, Market and State are interrelated.
25. Examine the impact on Modernity on the systematic study of State
26. Describe the functions of Modern State.
27. Discuss the idea of Welfare State.
28. Demonstrate the factors responsible Overdeveloped State.

Internet Sources



Videos recommended for further understanding (Source: You Tube categorized under 'creative commons')

1. The origins of the welfare state - Milton Friedman
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4QZ71-h_pWs
2. State, Nation, Political System https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_vIjr1mxas

Websites recommended for further understanding

1. <https://plato.stanford.edu> for all the terms in this chapter

• Reference books



1. **Introduction to Political Science**, R. G Gettel, Ginn and Company, New York.
2. **Political Theory: An Introduction**, Rajesh Bhargava & Ashok Acharya, Pearson, New Delhi .
3. **Political Science: An Introduction**, Michael G. Roskin et al, Pearson, New Delhi.



3.1 SOVEREIGNTY

Introduction

3.1.1 Let us discuss about Sovereignty

Do you think you are powerful? How do you know you are powerful? But, you can say your country is powerful. Do you know how? It is because we are a sovereign nation.

Sovereignty, the term has been derived from the Latin word 'superanus' which means supreme or paramount. Roman jurist and the civilians during the middle ages employed the term 'summa potestas' and 'Plenitude potestas' to designate the supreme power of the state. In political science the use of the term 'sovereignty' dates back to the publication of **Bodin's** 'The Republic' in 1576.

The stability of a nation depends on the supremacy of the sovereignty the nation enjoys. Sovereignty as a concept represents the legal supremacy of the state. Constitution lays down rules and laws of the state and the constitution of the state is just the representation of the sovereignty. The word sovereign in the preamble of the constitution of India means that the state has the power to legislate on any subjects in conformity with constitutional limitations.



Learning Objectives

- ❖ The meaning and characteristics of Sovereignty
- ❖ The aspects and kinds of Sovereignty
- ❖ Meaning and dawn of Pluralism

3.1.2. We shall now study the characteristics of Sovereignty. What are they?

What is sovereignty?

"Sovereignty is the absolute and perpetual power of the state. that is, the greatest power to command."

- Jean Bodin

1. Permanence

The chief characteristic of sovereignty is permanence. Sovereignty lasts as long as the state lasts. The death of the king or the overthrow of the government does not affect sovereignty. Hence, the people of England say 'King is dead, Long live the king'.

2. Exclusiveness

Exclusiveness here implies that there cannot be two sovereigns in one independent state and if it exists the unity of the state will be destroyed.

3. All comprehensiveness

Every individual and every association of the individual is subject to the sovereignty of the state. However rich or powerful association or group may be, it cannot resist or disobey the sovereign authority.

4. Inalienability

Sovereignty is the life and soul of the state and it cannot be alienated without destroying the state itself.

5. Unity and Everlasting

The spirit of sovereignty lies in its unity. Sovereignty is not bound by time and lasts until the state lasts.

6. Indivisibility

Indivisibility is the life line of sovereignty.

7. Absoluteness

Sovereignty is unconditional and unlimited. Sovereignty is beyond obedience and it is entitled to do whatever it likes.

8. Originality

Sovereignty wields power by virtue of its own right and not by anybody's mercy.

3.1.3 What are the two aspects of Sovereignty?

Internal sovereignty: An assembly of people in every independent state has the final legal authority to command and enforce obedience. This sovereignty exercises its absolute authority over all individuals or associations of the individuals in the state.

External sovereignty: In simple terms external sovereignty means National Freedom. Every state enjoys absolute liberty to determine its foreign policy and join any power block it likes. External sovereignty implies that every state is independent of other states.

DO YOU KNOW?

Sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life or personality to another without self destruction

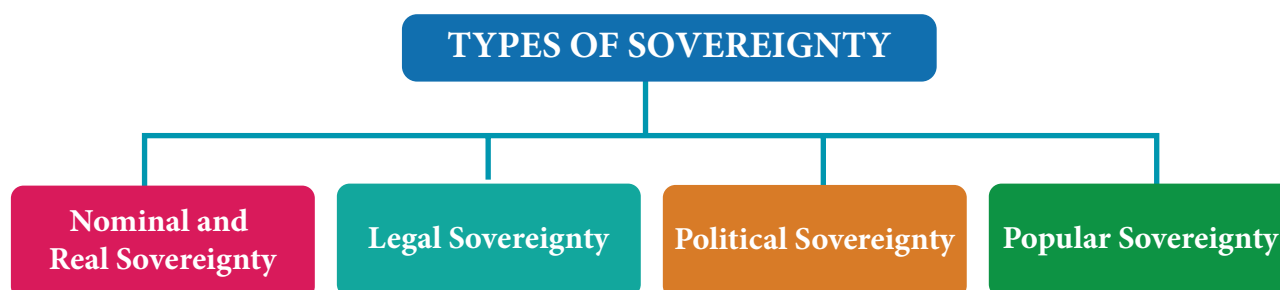
- Lieber

Quotable quote

Sovereignty of the people therefore can mean nothing more the power of the majority of the electorate, in a system of approximate universal suffrage prevails, acting through legally established channels to express their will and make it prevail.

-Dr. Garner

3.1.4 Types of Sovereignty



Have you read about the different types of Sovereignty? Let us together learn about them.

Nominal and Real Sovereignty	Legal Sovereignty	Political Sovereignty	Popular Sovereignty
a. Ancient times many states had monarchs. Kings exercised real sovereignty and were considered Real Sovereigns	a. The authority of the state has the legal power to issue final commands	a. Political Sovereign in the representative democracy is understood as the whole mass of the people, i.e. electorate or the public opinion.	a. Popular sovereignty designates public as supreme
b. The French revolution transformed the situation.	b. The power which has the legal authority to issue and enforce these law is legal sovereignty	b. Political sovereignty rests in that class of people under whose influence the mass of the people are with.	b. During ancient period popular sovereignty was used as a weapon to challenge the absolutism of the monarchs.
c. The Council of Ministers were considered the Real Sovereign while the King enjoyed only nominal power.	c. The legal sovereign is always definite and determinate and the authority of sovereign is absolute and supreme.		

“De-facto and De-jure sovereignty”

De-facto sovereignty

De-facto sovereign is one who has no legal claim to sovereignty but possesses it in fact and exercises necessary force to make and enforce its laws.

De-jure sovereignty

De-jure sovereign is one who has a legal claim to sovereignty but does not possess it in fact.

Here is an interesting piece of information!

Napoleon became the de facto sovereign after he had overthrown the directory. Franco became the de facto sovereign after he had dislodged the legal sovereign in Spain after Mussolini's black shirt march on October 28, 1922. Mussolini became the prime minister in the legal manner. He ruled the parliament and ruled the country through parliament. Parliament remained the legal sovereign but he was the actual or de facto sovereign. Hitler also did the same in Germany. He controlled the legal sovereign and became the de facto sovereign.

For three decades, Stalin remained the actual sovereign in USSR. Military coup in Pakistan by Ayub reflects de facto sovereign. In 1977 when Zia-Ul-Haq overthrew Bhutto, first he became de facto and later de jure sovereign. At times it happens that the de facto and de jure sovereignty ultimately coincide. Communist Government in Soviet Union became the de facto Government of the successful Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. But in course of time, it became the de jure government also.

3.1.5 What is Pluralism?

Pluralism is a powerful protest against the monistic theory of sovereignty, which endows the state with supreme and unlimited power. The pluralistic theory originated in the writings of

Otto V. Gierke. The pluralist challenges the claims of the state to supremacy on the ground that the society consists of many associations and the state is one among them. Hence, the state cannot be endowed with sovereign power of the community. There exist many social, political, cultural and economic institutions in society and many of these institutions are prior to the state. For example, Family and church are prior to the state.

Exponents of pluralist theory

- ❖ Harold J. Laski
- ❖ J.N. Figgis
- ❖ Ernest Barker
- ❖ G.H. Cole
- ❖ Maciver

Pluralist Theory

The nature of the state is such it attempts to resolve the disputes or conflicts that arise between these various groups in a way that is in everyone's best interests.



The dawn of pluralist theory

In democracy, the authority of the ruler is confined, the cabinet becomes more powerful but the state remains sovereign and supreme. With the advent of the welfare state there came a rapid increase in the functions of the state and there remained no sphere of life with which the state did not interfere, the sovereign and the supreme state also faced revolt and reaction. This reaction against the sovereign and supreme state resulted into the dawn of pluralism.

John Austin's theory of sovereignty

Other names of the theory

- ❖ Absolute theory of sovereignty
- ❖ Monistic theory of sovereignty
- ❖ Non-pluralistic theory
- ❖ Single theory



Is Pluralism important?

- ❖ Pluralism upholds the importance of associations and claim more autonomy for it.
- ❖ For democracy to flourish the sovereign state must not be subject to any legal authority.
- ❖ Division of sovereignty leads to the destruction of sovereignty and in the absence of sovereignty, anarchy will prevail in society.

What are the criticisms for Pluralism?

- ❖ It is the Sovereign state that brings about unity and regulates all the associations existing in society.
- ❖ Laws are framed by the state unlike the belief of pluralist.
- ❖ State is needed for protecting people from the excess of associations.

Indian Constitution and Sovereignty

The preamble to Indian constitution of India declares India to be a 'sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic'. However it had not elaborated or explained the meaning of sovereignty. The meaning of sovereignty can be understood by various pronouncement of Supreme Court for example in *Gopalan Vs State of Madras*(1950) and *union of India Vs Madan Gopal*(1954), the Court maintained that 'We, the people of India... adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution' written as preamble, declares ultimate sovereignty of the people of India and the constitution rests on their authority. And in the *synthetics Vs state of UP* (1990) the Supreme Court declared that the word sovereign meant that the state had power to legislate on any subject in conformity with constitutional limitations.

Similarly in *Indira Gandhi Vs Raj Narain* (1975) case Supreme Court added, 'India as a Sovereign democratic republic' as one of the fundamental elements of the basic structure of the constitution. It is understood that Indian constitution enshrines 'sovereignty' as an important aspect of constitution and the preamble makes the people sovereign. In simple term it is said that sovereignty lies in the constitution and people are the ultimate source of the constitution.

ACTIVITY



Can you tell the reason responsible for the development of pluralism.

The gem of pluralism is to be found in the works of the **German Jurist, Von Gierke** (1844 -1921) - **R. N. Gilchrist**

Exercise

Types	What does that mean?	Where is it located?	Where does it come from?
Nominal sovereignty			
Real sovereignty			
Popular sovereignty			
De-facto sovereignty			
De-jure sovereignty			
Political sovereignty			

3.2 EQUALITY

Introduction

Understanding equality

The idea that human beings are equal is enigmatic. A nation that seeks equality creates laws to bring change in its society. A law for equality is inadequate and opposed where pluralistic pattern of society has become the order of the day whether it's a developed or under developed nation. Liberty and rights lead to a third principle in political theory, which is of equality. Equality determines how rights are to be distributed amongst the individuals as citizens and groups, both whether equally or unequally. If unequally then what are the grounds for unequal treatment?. On what ground the state or the public authority relate with citizens, individuals and groups unequally. When we talk of equality, we imply different meanings at different times. In liberal perspective, legal and political



equality may be emphasized more than economic equality. On the other hand, in a socialist and Marxian framework emphasis is more on economic equality. A feminist would argue that gender equality is vital while in a caste divided society like India, it could be argued that social equality is more essential, if other dimensions are to be meaningful.



Learning Objectives

- ❖ Establishing egalitarian society may look utopian but neglecting it may lead to chaos and anarchy will make welfare states meaningless.
- ❖ Students from various background is given an opportunity to understand the concept of equality and inequality in a balanced manner.
- ❖ The relevance of struggle made by women, minorities, dalits and linguistic groups for equality is explored.
- ❖ Participation of an individual as a citizen of a nation in streamlining the thought of doing justice to equality as a common national goal is pertinent.

3.2.1 Meaning of Equality

Equality, which means state of being equal, is derived from aequus/aequalis, meaning fair. It signifies 'having the same rights, privileges, treatments, status, and opportunities'. Equality is treated as something that relates to distributive principle because of which rights, treatments, and opportunities are distributed amongst the beneficiaries in a fair manner. Fairness does not mean all to be treated equally in all circumstances. In fact it very well means unequal treatment for those who are unequal. Essentially it relates to the principle of justice because it requires fair distributive principle .

Discuss the visuals



However those who are equal should not be treated as unequal and the unequal as equal.

3.2.2 Importance of Equality

Why equality is important?

The most powerful moral and political ideal that has inspired and guided human society for several centuries is equality. Every all faith and religion invariably proclaim that all human beings are creation of God. The concept of equality as a political ideal invokes the idea that all human beings have an equal worth regardless of their color, gender, race, or nationality. It urges among human beings equal consideration and respect because of the common humanity. The belief in this notion of humanity led us to the declaration of universal human rights.

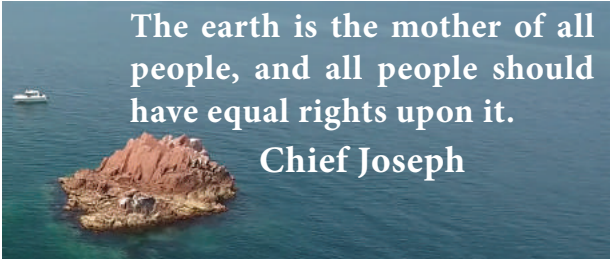
What is distributive justice?

Distributive justice requires a principle of equality in which unequal distribution is effected to ensure the principle of equality. The state for example should not tax a poor and a rich equally or it should not have the same policy of entry criteria for public employment for a normal and a physically challenged person.

Equality became the slogan in the struggle against states and social institutions which uphold inequalities of rank, wealth, status or privilege, among people during the modern period. In the eighteenth century, the French revolutionaries used the slogan 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' to revolt against the landed feudal aristocracy and the monarchy. The demand for equality was also raised during anti-colonial struggle

in Asia and Africa during the twentieth century. It continues to be raised by struggling group such as women or dalits who feel marginalized in our society.

Equality now has become a widely accepted ideal which is embodied in the constitutions and laws in the world. However the most visible and disturbing factor around us in the world and as well in our society is inequality. We can see in country slums existing side by side with luxury housing, schools which may lack even drinking water facilities or toilets, waste of food as well as starvation. There are visible difference between what law promises and what we see around us.



The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it.

Chief Joseph

India through its constitution attempts to fill the gap between equal and unequal with the principle of equality as enshrined in the constitution.

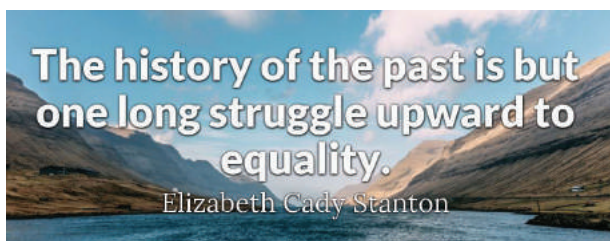
3.2.3 Dimensions of Equality

What is Equality?

We live amidst distinctions between human beings on the ground of race and color, knowing well it is unacceptable. In fact such distinctions violate our intuitive understanding of equality which tells us that all human beings are entitled to similar respect and consideration because of their common humanity. No society treats all its members in exactly the same way under all circumstances. There can be no identity of treatment so long as men are different

in wants, capacities, and needs. Injustice arises much from treating unequal's equally as from treating equals unequally. And most importantly apart from the natural inequalities, there are inequalities created by the society- inequality based upon birth, wealth, knowledge and religion.

The movement of history is not towards greater equality because as fast as we eliminate one inequality, we create another one: the difference being that the one we discard is unjustifiable while the one we create seems reasonable. Hence the social political, educational equalities are always in need of reinforcement and reinterpretation by every new generation. Like liberty, equality can also be understood in its negative and positive aspects. Negative equality was associated with the end of such privileges and positively it meant the availability of opportunity.

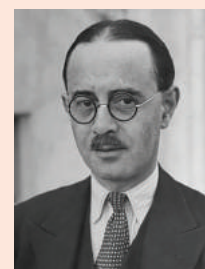


According to Laski equality means:

- ❖ Absence of privileges. It means that will of one is equal to the will of any other. It means equality of rights
- ❖ Adequate opportunities are laid open to all. Opportunities should be given to all to realize the implications of his personality.
- ❖ All must have access to social benefits and no one should be restricted on any ground. The inequalities by birth or because of parentage and hereditary causes are unreasonable

- ❖ Absence of economic and social exploitation

A state divided into a small number of rich and large number of poor will always develop a government manipulated by the rich to protect the amenities represented by their property.



- *Harold laski*

According to Barker, the concept of equality means

- ❖ Fundamental equalities of all
- ❖ Equality of opportunity
- ❖ Equality of conditions where there is an attempt to make the conditions of life equal
- ❖ Equality of outcome of results



Case Study

MUKILAN TOO HAS A DREAM ...

Mukilan works in a Brickkiln in Silaiman, near Madurai. The following is an extract of the interview:

Correspondent: What is your day life?

Mukilan:

I wake up at 6.00 a.m. and go to the Brickkiln to help my parents. from 11.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. I am at Bridge Course entry (run by a non-government organization) Then after lunch at about



3.00 p.m. I again to help my parents at the Brickkiln and by 6.30 p.m. I return to my nut. I have been enrolled in the school nearby, so now days I go to school by 10.00 a.m. come back by 3.00 p.m. It is difficult for me to attend school regularly, as our family income is very low and sometimes I have to sell peas and nuts.

Correspondent:

Tell us about your family. What do your parents do?

Mukilan:

My mother is a homemaker/ my father works in a Brickkiln. I feel sad that I cannot spend time with my two elder brothers, since they stay in Kolkata. They are day laborers. My brothers, Raja Pandi(19 years) and Muniasamy(16 years) left school. When they were in Std's IV and VI respectively. Both had worked in Brickkilns before me. I have two sisters also. Tamil Selvi(10 years), who is studying in Std III at the Government School. My other sister, Yazhini, is now 22 years and is married. She studied up to Std V.

Correspondent:

When you grow up, What would you like to be?

Mukilan:

I always wanted to be a doctor or to work in a pharmaceutical company, since that helps people.

Correspondent: Do you have dreams?

Mukilan:

My dream to be live in a good house and to travel in a car.

Courtesy:

The Hindu young world 1.12.2009 /
Page No.11/Name has been changed.

ACTIVITY



Students can discuss the following Question with his/her friend:

- ❖ Tell us about your family. What do your parents do?
- ❖ When you grow up, what would you like to be?
- ❖ Do you have dreams?
- ❖ In what way your life is different from Mukilan? Explain.
- ❖ Teachers can randomly select three or four pair to share their comments in the classroom.

Equality of opportunities

The concept of equality implies that all people as human being are entitled to the same rights and opportunities to develop the skills and talents, to pursue their goals and ambitions. However, it is not the lack of equality of status or wealth or privilege that is significant but the inequality in peoples access to such basic goods, as education, health care, safe housing that make for an unequal and unjust society.

Natural inequality and social inequality

Natural inequalities are those that emerge between people as a result of their different capabilities and talents. These kinds of inequalities are different

from socially produced inequalities which emerge as a consequence of inequalities of opportunity or the exploitation of some groups in a society by others. Natural inequalities are considered to be the result of the different characteristics and abilities with which people are born with. Social inequalities on the other hand are those created by society. Unequal treatment in society based on race, color, gender and caste are of social inequalities. Women were denied equal rights for centuries similarly, Blacks were treated as slaves until the institution of slavery was questioned. Even people born with disability with modern technological innovations are able to contribute like any other normal person. Stephen Hawking's contribution despite his disability is remarkable. Political philosophers have contributed various theories, philosophies and ideologies for further understanding and innovation to place society on an equal platform.



Read the cartoon and identify the context of what type of inequalities are represented in this cartoon?

Let us know the dimensions of equality

TYPES OF EQUALITY



What are the different types of equality?

Civil Equality

- ❖ No discrimination (religion, belief, etc)

Political Equality

- ❖ Access to authority
- ❖ Voting

Social Equality

- ❖ Opportunity
- ❖ Privileges

Natural Equality

- ❖ Natural rights

Economic Equality

- ❖ Wealth

in inability to work, which leads to poverty, hunger and so on.

Poverty is an issue that can threaten the stability of the country. For example, the Jasmine Revolution takes the authoritarian rulers in Tunisia by surprise and triggers anti-government protests across the Arab world. The 29-day-long struggle ended Ben Ali's 23- year rule. The self-immolation by Mohammad Bouazizi, an unemployed man who was harassed by the police in the Tunisian town of Sidi Bouzid on December 17, 2010 was the spark the ignited the Arab street. It first started the "Jasmine "Revolution (Jasmine is Tunisia's national flower). The residents of the sleepy town, who were already angry about routine police brutality and the lack of economic opportunities, took to the streets spontaneously with "a rock in one hand and a cellphone" in the other...

A great wave of anger, frustration, defiance and democratic demand is sweeping across the Arab world. The upsurge in Arab world is not simply about democracy versus dictatorship. It is also a revolt against a manifestly unjust economic order.

Courtesy : Frontline, Feb.26, 2011.



Case Study

Economic Inequality and Arab Uprising

Issues like illness, hunger and thirst are often both cause and consequences. The cause of poverty are often related: one problem causes other. For example lack of safe clean water causes bad sanitation, which causes disease and disease can result

(i) Social Equality

Social equality means no one should be discriminated in the distribution of rights, privileges and opportunities based on birth, caste, religion, race, colour, gender or social status. Each one should be given equal opportunity to develop his personality. Social equality implies few important aspects. They are: removal of discrimination based on social status, absence of special privileges to few and finally ensuring equal opportunity in terms of acquiring education. History reveals that certain forms of social inequality world over were rejected and the demand for social equality are being raised. Slavery in South Africa, west Asia and America, untouchability in India, Racial discrimination in USA against Blacks, Policy of Hitler against Jews and gender related inequalities and discrimination are few examples of social inequalities with countries world over are trying to redress with the policy of government. Civil rights movement in United States of America for Blacks by Martin Luther king Jr and Dr.B.R.Ambedkar's effort for the social equality for the lower caste in India are few examples that set movement for social equality in motion.

Martin Luther king Jr. was an unquestioned leader of nonviolent civil Rights movement in USA.

Civil right movement was a struggle for social justice happened during the 1950s and 1960s for blacks to gain equal rights under the law in the United states. Similarly Dr.B.R.Ambedkars liberation movement for millions of dalits was a historic movement in India. A seed for the movement for social equality

The American declaration announced that 'all men are created equal', French declaration of Rights of Man and citizens declared that 'men are born and always continue free and equal in their rights. The United Nations organization on 10th December, 1948, declared the charter of human rights which laid stress on social equality. However according to the report of Amnesty International, these rights have been violated frequently by a number of countries in the past and still efforts are being made to address the issues of social inequality world over.

(ii) Civil Equality

The word 'civil' is derived from the Latin word civilis or civis, which means citizen. Civil equality means equality in which each citizen is provided with equal civil rights and liberties. Civil equality consists of similar civil liberties and civil



"All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others."
Animal Farm

rights by all the citizens. Civil laws should treat all the individuals equally.

DEBATE



How is the 'Rule of law' related to civil equality?



There should not be any discrimination of superior and inferior, the rich and the poor, caste and creed, colour and race, clans and tribes, groups and classes. In England, Rule of law is in force and in the eyes of the rule of law all are equal. Equal treatment is given to all by the rule of law. It is from the British constitution India had adopted the rule of law.

(iii) Political Equality

Political Equality means equal right of all citizens, without any distinction, allowed to participate in the affairs of the state. Political right of all citizen is ensured through universal adult franchise. The other factors that ensure the political rights of citizens are:

- ❖ Right to vote
- ❖ Right to contest in election
- ❖ Right to hold public office
- ❖ Right to petition the government and criticize public policy

Political equality guarantees the enjoyment of similar political rights to all citizens. Universal adult franchise is a means to this end. Political equality is actually the test on the experiments of democracy. It is also believed that political equality in itself is not adequate to disperse political power, it also needs socio-economic equality to achieve political equality.

**Quotable
quote**

“Economic Equality is the attempt to expunge all differences in wealth, allotting to every man and woman an equal share in worldly goods”.

—Lord Bryce

(iv) Economic Equality

Economic equality is justifiable only when all people have reasonable opportunities to develop themselves fully. Economic equality is meaningful only when there is an adequate scope for employment, reasonable wages, adequate leisure and equal share in the management of economic concern. Professor Laski explains economic equality, “Political equality is, therefore, never real unless it is accompanied with virtual economic liberty; political power otherwise is bound to be the hand-maid of economic power”.

Economic equality here means the provision of equal opportunities to all so that they may be able to make their economy progress. Ideologically this is possible in Socialism and not in Capitalism.

(v) Equality of opportunity and education

Equality of opportunity and education means, all the citizens should be given equal and similar opportunities by the state. All the citizens should have similar chances to receive education and equal opportunities be given to develop their personality. Social inequalities such as race, caste, religion, language, rich, poor and gender based discrimination should be eradicated. In India, constitution provides provisions for equal opportunities and equal education.

**Quotable
quote**

“What good is freedom to a starving man? He cannot eat freedom or drink it”.

— Thomas Hobbes

3.2.4 Relation between Liberty and Equality

There is no value of liberty in the absence of equality. They are understood from different perspectives by political thinkers such as **Lord Acton**, **De Tocqueville** and **Harold J. Laski**. **Lord Acton** and **Alexis De Tocqueville** were the ardent advocates of liberty. They were of the opinion that where there is liberty, there is no equality and vice versa. “*The passion for equality made vain the hope for liberty.*”- **Lord Acton** Professor **H.J. Laski** believed that liberty and equality should go together. If an individual is given unrestrained liberty to do whatever he likes, he may cause harm to others. Unrestrained liberty will bring only chaos in the society. In the nineteenth century, the Individualists wrongly interpreted the term Liberty. They did not attach any importance to economic equality and laid stresses on Laissez Faire to be adopted by the government said **Laski**.

Professor **H.J. Laski** in his remark said that ‘Where there are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, we always find a relation of master and servant’.

Laissez faire is an economic system in which transaction between private parties are free from government intervention such as regulation, privileges, tariffs and subsidies.

Adam Smith was the ardent supporter of the view that the Individualists maintained that there should be a free competition between the capitalists and labor leaders. They

did not want the government to involve in the economic matters. Formula of Demand and Supply was adopted. It was expected that the economic difficulties will be removed by this formula, but resulted in dangerous consequences in Europe.

The capitalists exploited the opportunity to the core and as a result of it, the gap between rich poor got wider. The labor class was worst affected and the reaction against individualism resulted in the dawn of Socialism. Socialism rose to condemn and refute the principles of Individualism. The transition made clear that Liberty is meaningless in the absence of economic equality.

Individualism is a political and social philosophy that emphasizes the moral worth of the individual.

Socialism is a political and economic theory the advocates the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned or regulated by the community as a whole.

Economic equality is essential for the existence of political freedom. Otherwise it will be a **capitalist democracy** in which the laborers will have right to vote but they will not get their purpose served. Hence liberty is possible only in **socialistic democracy** where liberty and equality go together. There is only one solution to liberty. It lies in equality. Thus liberty and equality are complimentary to each other said Pollard.



Problems with Equality

- ❖ Variety of meanings: equal treatment, equal outcomes, equal opportunities (and lots of shades of meaning within these broad categories)
- ❖ Conflicts between each type: equal treatment prevents equal outcomes; equal outcomes violates equal treatment.
- ❖ Equal opportunities conceptually flawed by problem of regression: is education and training an outcome or an opportunity? Is an entry level job an outcome or an opportunity?
- ❖ Equal treatment reinforces difference in opportunities and lacks a theory of what should count as a relevant difference and irrelevant differences eg obesity.
- ❖ Equal outcomes are not in fact generally desired as a goal: fairness rather than egalitarianism is the model of social justice being sought. Equality is an aspect of fairness, but also inequality is desired on the ground of fairness to reward 'merit' and to accommodate to choose a way of life.

How Equality can be promoted

The difference as we understood between liberals and socialist lead us to the desirable way of achieving the goal of equality. The wide debate on the means of promoting equality may lead us to few methods. They are,

- ❖ Establishing formal equality
- ❖ Equality through Differential Treatment
- ❖ Affirmative action

Perspectives of various Ideologies on Equality by Andrew Heywood

Liberals believe that people are 'born' equal in the sense that they are of equal moral worth. This implies formal equality, notably Legal and political equality of opportunity, but social equality is likely to be purchased at the expense of freedom and through the penalizing of talent. Nevertheless, whereas classical liberals emphasize the need for strict meritocracy and economic incentives, modern liberals have argued that genuine equal opportunities require relative social equality.

Conservatives have traditionally viewed society as natural hierarchical and have thus dismissed equality as an abstract and unachievable goal. Nevertheless, the new right evinces a strong industrialist belief in equality of opportunity while emphasizing the economic benefits of material inequality.

Socialist regards equality as a fundamental value and in particular, endorse social equality. Despite shifts within social democracy towards a liberal belief of opportunity, social equality, whether in its relative (social democratic) or absolute (communist) sense, has been seen as essential to ensuring social cohesion and fraternity, establishing justice or equity and enlarging freedom in a positive sense.

Anarchists place a particular stress upon political equality, understood as an equality and absolute right to personal autonomy, implying that all forms of political inequality amount to oppression.

Anarcho-communists believe in absolute social equality achieved through the collective ownership of productive wealth.

Fascists believe that humankind is marked by racial inequality, both between leaders and followers and between the various nations or race of the world. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the nation or race implies that all members are equal, at least in terms of their core identity.

Feminists take equality to mean sexual equality, in the sense of equal rights and equal opportunities (liberal feminism) or equal social, economic power (social feminism?) irrespective of gender. However, some radical feminists argued that the demand for equality may simply lead to women being 'male-identified'.

Ecologist advance the notion of bio centric equality, which emphasizes that all life forms have an equal right to 'live and blossom'. Conventional notions of equality are therefore seen as anthropocentric, in that they exclude the interest of all organisms and entities other than humankind.

Heywood, Andrew. (2004) Political Ideologies: An Introduction, 4th ed. New York: Macmillan.

Ways of establishing formal Equality

Social, economic and political inequalities all over the world have been protected by customs and legal systems that prohibited some sections of society from enjoying certain kinds of opportunities and rewards. Poor were denied of right to vote. Women were not

allowed to be a carrier oriented women in some part of the world. The caste system in india prevented people from the lower castes from doing anything except manual labour. In some countries only some families can occupy important positions. Equality cannot be achieved unless these privileges are stalled.

For ages these systems have the sanction of law, hence for achieving equality government intervention is needed by means of law. Our constitution as a fundamental or supreme law of the land does it. The constitution of India prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Our constitution also abolishes untouchability. Most of the modern states and democratic governments have incorporated in their constitution the principle of equality.

3.2.5 Equality in Indian Constitution

The concept of Equality in Indian constitution

The Indian constitution under article 14 provides for equality before law or the equal protection of laws to all persons. This is a statement of formal equality and gives meaning to what preamble seeks to ensure in terms of 'equality of status and of opportunity'. This also means that laws of the land will apply to all equally and there should not be discrimination on grounds of birth, caste, color, gender, language, race, religion, etc. in fact article 15 of the constitution substantiates article 14 further by prohibiting any such discrimination.

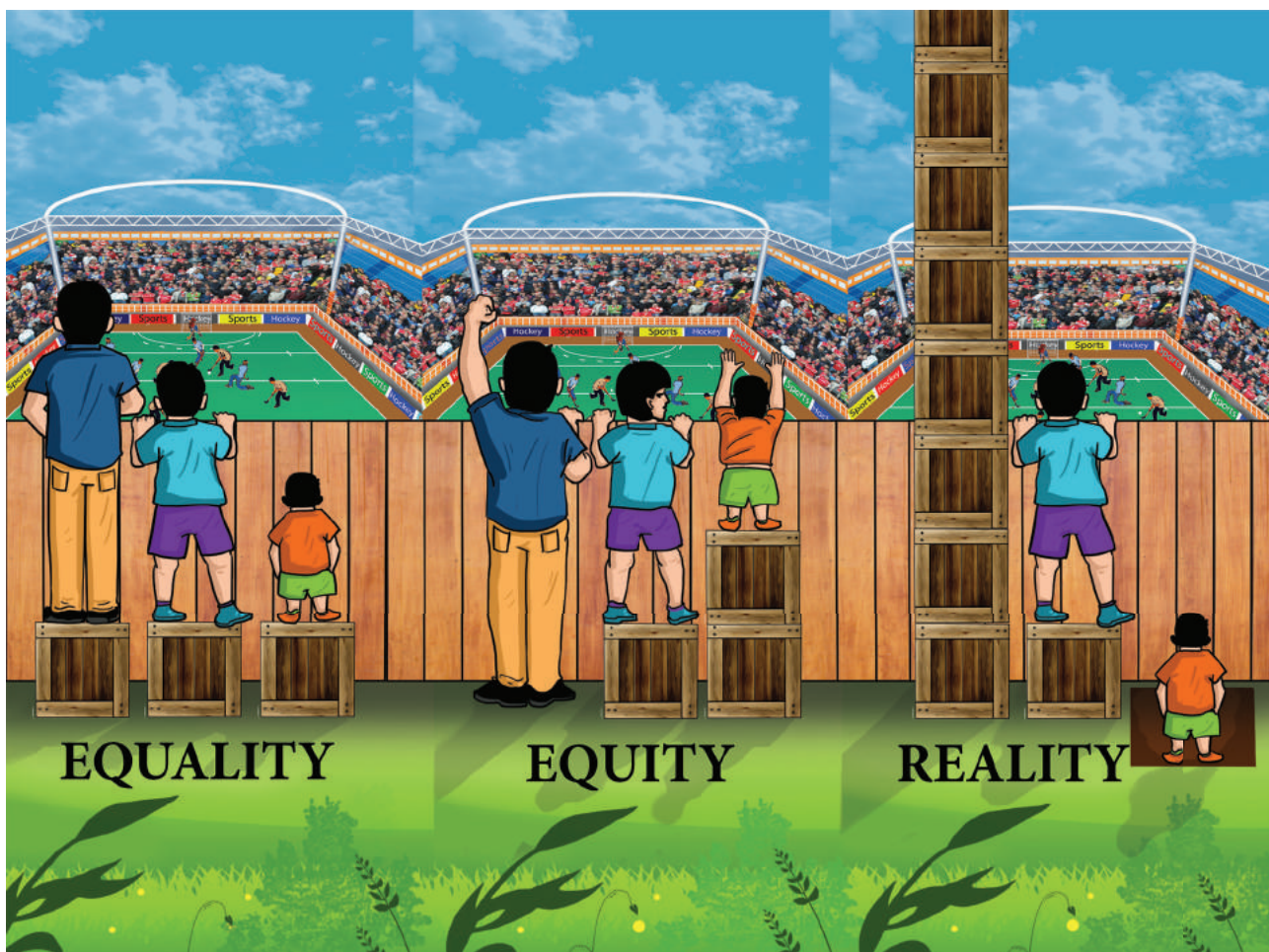
Equality before law and equal protection of law have been further strengthened in the Indian constitution under article 21. It ensures that 'No Person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. This means that a reasonable fair and just procedure should be followed for depriving a person of his personal liberty and life. It admits no arbitrariness, discriminatory procedure or unequal treatment for different individuals'.

Right to Equality (Article 14-18)

- ❖ Equality before law (Article 14)
- ❖ Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion (Article 15)
- ❖ Equality of opportunity in matters of public employments(Article 16)
- ❖ Abolition of Untouchability (Article 17)
- ❖ Abolition of titles (Article 18)

How Equality can be achieved through differential treatment?

It is necessary sometime to treat people differently in order to ensure that they can enjoy equal rights. Certain differences may have to be taken into account for this



need. Some special consideration for the disabled and protection for women employees especially in the corporate and IT industries when they travel amidst work in the night are provided. These acts should not be treated as an infringement of equality but an enhancement of equality. Similarly some of the policies are needed to overcome the hindrances of equality by the government. For example, India follows the principle of reservation and other countries follow affirmative action.

3.2.6 Affirmative action

Perception of Affirmative action

Affirmative action implies that it is not sufficient to establish formal equality by law. In order to eliminate deep rooted inequalities, some positive measures are necessary and such positive measures could minimize and eliminate slowly the entrenched forms of social inequalities. Most of the policies of affirmative action are thus designed to correct the cumulative effect of past inequalities. In our country we have adopted a policy of quotas or reserved seats in education and jobs to provide equality of opportunity to deprived groups, and this has been the subject of considerable debate and

disagreement. The policy has been defended on the grounds that certain groups have been victims of social prejudice and discrimination in the form of exclusion and segregation. Therefore in the interest of creating an egalitarian and just society they need to be given special protection and help. However these measures of affirmative actions are time bound and temporary. It is expected that these special consideration will enable these communities to overcome existing disadvantages with others on equal terms.

The critics of positive discrimination contend that the provision of reservation and quota arbitrarily denies the rights of other sections right to equal treatment. They think that reservations are of reverse discrimination where the principle of equality remained questioned. Equality is meant for treating all equals instead it creates a distinction among individuals on the basis of caste and racial prejudices. Hence this theorist wants to do away with social distinctions that divide society. Whatever the debate may be the fact is health and education for rural and slum children are glaringly deprived while comparing with the children in elite schools.

Affirmative Action Definition

A policy or program providing advantage for people of a minority group who are seen to have traditionally been discriminated against, with the aim of creating a more egalitarian society through preferential access to education, employment, health care, social welfare, etc

These students face hurdles in gaining access to special coaching and fees for professional courses may also be high. Hence they cannot compete on equal terms with the more privileged sections. We all know that such social and economic inequalities of this kind remain

as hinder to equal opportunities. Theorists of today acknowledge this but what they contest is not the goal of equal opportunity but the policies that the state should pursue to achieve the goal of equality.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION VS. REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

Affirmative Action

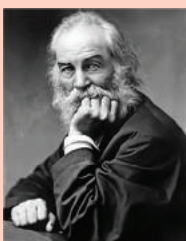
- ❖ Rationale is to enable qualified targeted groups to catch up the effects of past discrimination in the workplace.



Reverse Discrimination

- ❖ Giving preferential treatment to targeted groups, usually by excluding better-qualified candidates who are not part of the preferred group

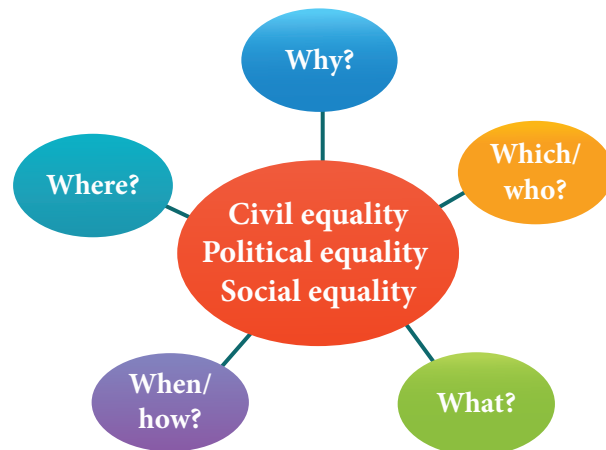
Except under unusual circumstances, reverse discrimination is not legal under EEO law.



Of Equality - As if it harm'd me, giving others the same chances and rights as myself - As if it were not indispensable to my own rights that others possess the same

- Walt Whitman

Exercise for students





3.3 LIBERTY

Introduction to Liberty

You have liberty to enjoy the freedom sanctioned as per law. The business of law is to safeguard the liberty of an individual. In the safety of an individual lies the status of one's freedom. The law and liberty are twins and are connected to each other to sanction equal treatment equally for all. Here we all know that, it is the objective of the state to safeguard the liberty of its citizens.

Do you know something that the law of the state propels a reasonable restriction on every individual? That doesn't mean the privileges of citizens are compromised. The main objective of the state is to protect, What is due for him as his right. And in the process care for the equality of an individual becomes an agenda of state.

Shall we take a journey into the world of liberty, we intend to enjoy

In a classroom setting, the liberty of a student varies. In the view of some student, some teachers are strict and some are liberal, in terms of liberty and freedom he/she enjoys in the classroom. Teachers have a privilege to sanction reasonable restriction against student's undue advantage in a classroom. The sanction of reasonable restriction by teacher is actually for the smooth conduct of a student and as well for the effective learning in the classes. Understanding the concept of liberty begins in the classroom by the conduct and attitude of student towards his teacher and his



Learning Objectives

- ❖ The importance of liberty is introduced by briefing the meaning and various views of exponents of liberty.
- ❖ While learning the classification of liberty students, are actually introduced to different forms of freedom and they way state views liberty.
- ❖ The concept of liberty is so important that it helps every citizen realize the value of freedom in a society where state is empowered with constitutional authority.
- ❖ Students are given a direction here that some form of restrictions such as law are also a form of liberty.
- ❖ The safe guards of liberty especially democracy and independents of judiciary are few key factors that inculcates the value of liberty.

classmates. Raising questions to clarify doubts to his class teacher is his/her right, but the sanction of it becomes liberty. Liberty is just the sanction of law and the restrictions imposed are also a kind of liberty. Conducive learning environment of classroom, conditions the student to understand the meaning and the purpose of liberty.

Shall we trace the origin of Liberty?

Liberty remained an essential element for both man and state for progress. History records very well the cruelty of absolute monarchy that ignored the claims of liberty in ancient and medieval ages of England. People could no longer tolerate and rose in revolt against the absolute monarchy. The struggle continued until Emperor John had to bow down and ensure freedom for his subjects. Attempt of emperors after Tudor and Stuart, and the continued absolute monarchy resulted in civil war. King Charles was beheaded and even during the period of Cromwell people could not attain freedom.

French Republics refer to a succession of republics after the proclamation of the French revolution in 1792. There have been Five republics in the history of France: French first Republic (1792-1804), French Second (1848-1852), Third Republic (1870-1940), Fourth Republic (1946-1958), Fifth Republic was formed on October 5, 1958. The Fifth Republic emerged replacing a weak and factional parliamentary government with a stronger centralized democracy.

This resulted in the famous “Glorious revolution” in England in the year 1688, containing the absolute monarchy for some period and later led to the outbreak of French revolution in 1789.

However it had not given a desired liberty. The successors of Napoleon behaved like monarchs. The fall of Napoleon III, resulted in establishing the Third Republic. After the fall of Third Republic in 1940 and Fourth Republic in 1958, Fifth republic was established. Struggle against countries that colonized got liberated after a long struggle for independence. Italy in nineteenth century and India in twentieth century made untold sacrifices for attaining national liberty.



Historical Context

- ❖ Response to the rationalism of the Enlightenment
- ❖ Response to the French Revolution (1789)
- ❖ The revolutionaries in France fought for “liberty, equality, and fraternity”
- ❖ Ideas of the French Revolution influenced writers in England — they were inspired by the fight for democracy and the common man
- ❖ Response to industrialism
- ❖ Longing for nature and simplicity

Meaning Of Liberty

The term 'liberty' has been derived from the Latin word 'Liber' which means free from all shackles. The Latin word 'Liber' denotes the absence of all restraints. It means one can do whatever one likes, regardless of all conditions. Liberty does not permit a person to do whatever one likes. The basic fact of liberty is that law is the condition of liberty. According to Professor Barker "Liberty is possible only in an ordered state, a state where the legal and political aspects of sovereignty coincide or nearly coincide. Laski believes that 'Historical experience has evolved for us rules of convenience which promote right living and to compel obedience to them is a justifiable limitation of freedom.'"

Quotable quote

Liberty is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves.

-Harold.J.Laski

Exponents views on Liberty

- ❖ "Liberty is the positive power of doing and enjoying those things which are worthy of enjoyment and work"-Gettel
- ❖ "Liberty is the freedom of the individual to express without external hindrances to personality"-Professor G.D.H. Cole.
- ❖ "Liberty does not means the absence of restraint but it lies in development of liberty"- Mahatma Gandhi
- ❖ "Without right then cannot be liberty, because without rights, men are the subjects of law unrelated to the needs of personality".-Harold. J. Laski

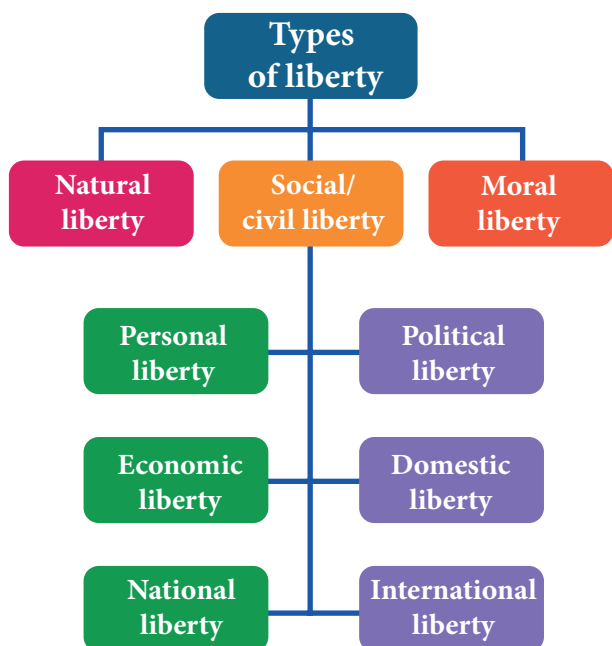
LIBERTY VERSUS FREEDOM: A DIFFERENTIAL APPROACH

- ❖ Liberty is usually defined as the Freedom from arbitrary or undue external restraint.
- ❖ Negative liberty is the absence of obstacles, barriers or constraints whereas Positive liberty is the possibility of acting or the fact of acting.
- ❖ By applying the legal maxim, **Ejusdem Generis**, the general word '**freedom**' under article 19 derives its color and texture from the particular words used with it whereas under article 21, there are no such particular words used. The only particular word used is 'personal' before liberty. Thus, anything that could be covered under 'personal liberty' would form the subject-matter of Article 21.

Two Phases Of Liberty

Positive liberty: Positive liberty mean freedom to do something that the individual should have rights and opportunities to develop his personality.

Negative Liberty: For *J.S. Mill* liberty means Negative liberty He submitted that there should not be any restraint imposed upon man and his actions. He also asserted that there should not be any hindrance in the path of man.



i. Natural Liberty

The concept of Natural liberty indicates unrestrained freedom to do what ever one likes.

Natural liberty means absence of all restraint –an unrestrained freedom to do whatever one likes.

“Everyone has a vague notion of liberty of some kind and a desire for it, but among ten people using the word, perhaps no two will be able to say exactly what they mean, or if they do so say it, win agree with each other in their definitions. This general unscientific use of the word we may call Natural Liberty.”

- *Professor R.N. Gilchrist.*

Arguments On Liberty

JohnLocke: In the state of Nature people enjoyed the rights to life, liberty and property.

Critic: It is absolutely incorrect because it is only the state that guarantee the enjoyment of these rights . In the state of nature people possessed not rights, but the power of animal.

Rousseau: “Man was born free, but every where he is in chains”

Critic: *Rousseau* does not appear sound because there is no scope for the growth of human personality. According to social contractualist, liberty looks like a license than a liberty. If he is allowed to do whatever he likes, there will be only chaos in the society.



ii. Civil Liberty

The concept of civil liberty reflects “Rule of law” civil liberty indicates the liberty man enjoyed in the society it prevails in the state. It denotes the enjoyment of our rights within the limits of law. The protection of civil liberty is guaranteed by the laws of the state.

Quotable quote

“Definite laws, sure enforcement and equality before law marked the advance of civil liberty of man to man” - *Gettel*

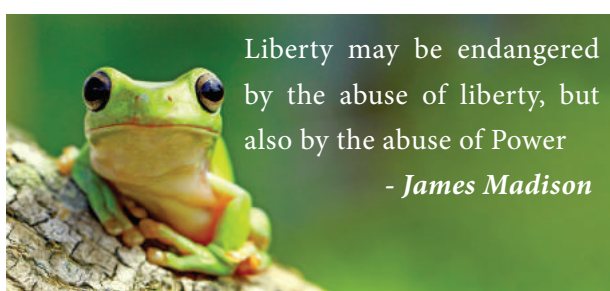
iii. Political Liberty

The concept of political liberty means liberty of citizen to participate

in the political life and the affairs of the state. **Leacock** calls political liberty as constitutional liberty and **Gilchrist** consider political liberty as a concept synonymous with democracy. Political liberty includes minimum rights. These rights are the right to vote, the right to contest elections, the right to hold public views and criticize the government and right to petitions.

iv. Personal Liberty

The concept of personal liberty means the availability of those conditions in which the individual can act as he pleases without being under any type of arbitrary and illegitimate restraint. It also means that every individual has the right not to permit any other individual to interfere in the affairs of his personal life. Every individual should have the liberty to dress, food, standard of living, marriage and education of children etc. The state should not interfere in the personal matters of the individual such liberty is essential for the free development of human society.



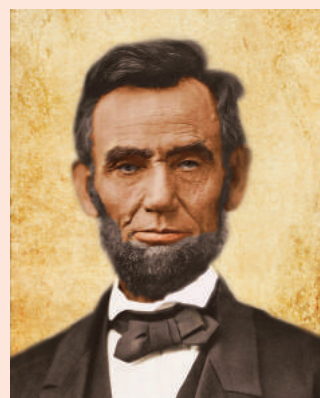
Liberty may be endangered
by the abuse of liberty, but
also by the abuse of Power
- James Madison

v. Economic Liberty

The concept of economic liberty means the liberty to earn one's daily bread. Beyond the distinction of caste, colour, creed and gender every individual should have liberty to earn his daily bread by fair means.

"By economic liberty I means security and the opportunity to find reasonable significance in the earning of one's daily bread I must be free from the constant fear of unemployment and insufficiency which perhaps more than other inadequacies, sap the whole strength of personality. I must be safeguards against the wants of tomorrow"

- Harold J. Laski



The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing.... The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures.

- Abraham Lincoln

Liberty unfurled

Liberty is an important condition in a state that gives an opportunity for human beings to develop their personality.

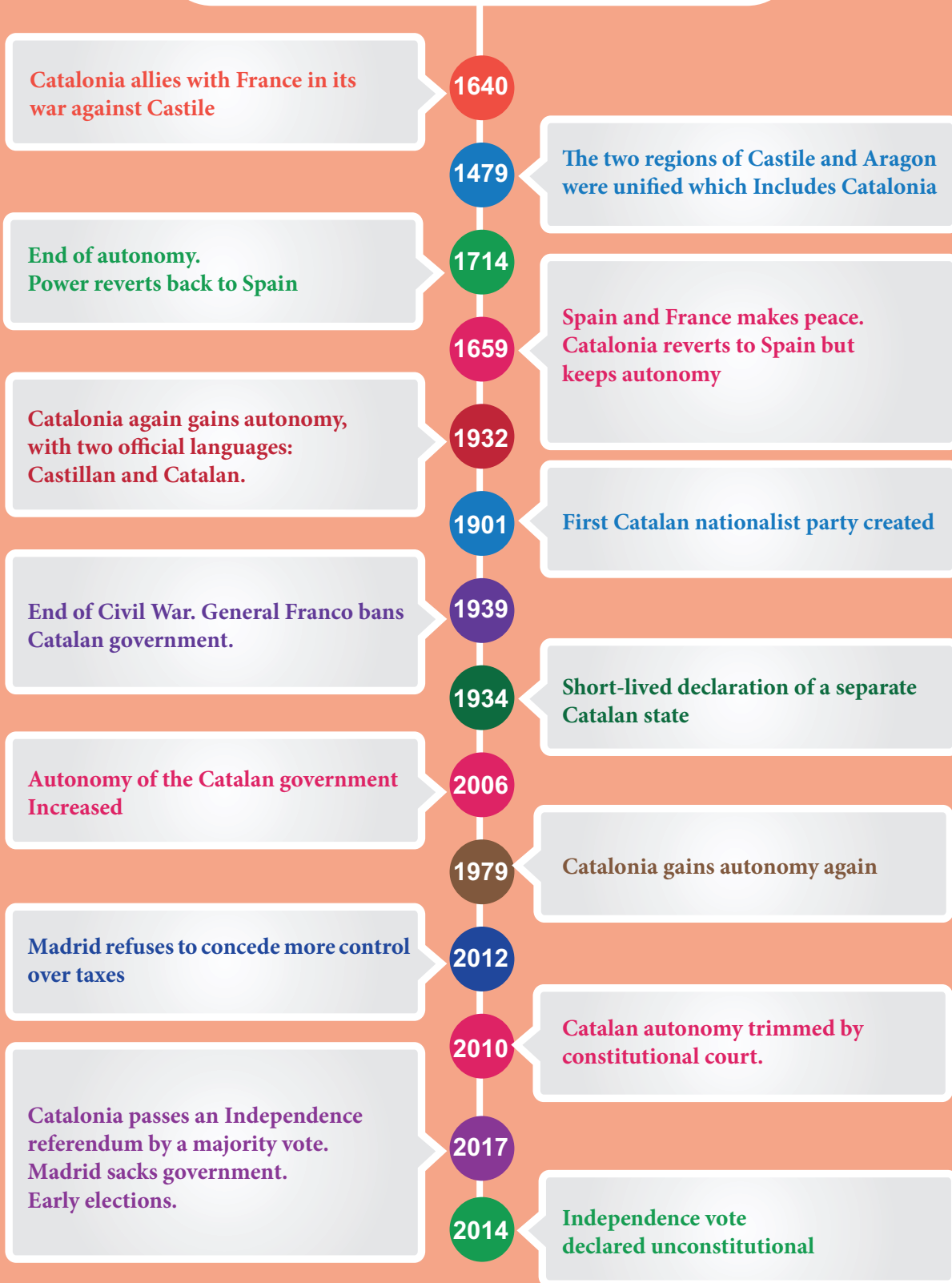
ACTIVITY



Timeline Activity

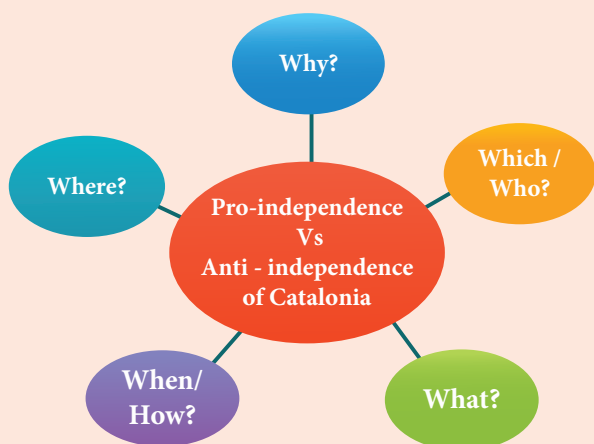
HISTORY OF CATALAN REVOLT

Spain plunged into a constitutional crisis over Catalonia's Independence referendum, a demand that dates back to the 15th century



Source: AFP

Discuss about the “ Timeline” on History of Catalan revolt in the class



- ❖ Where is Catalonia?
- ❖ What is the history of the secession movement?
- ❖ Who are the political players?
- ❖ How would a secession affect the Spanish economy?

vi. Fiscal Liberty

According to this principle; there should be no taxation without representation. It was the slogan given by middle classes who claimed that they should be allowed to decide as to how and on whom their money was to be spent. Both civil and fiscal liberty were related to property and the rights of their owners. It was felt by the middle classes that without fiscal and civil liberty they would not be able to exist and be exploited by arbitrary rulers.

vii. Domestic Liberty

It covers equal right for women and children. They need to be protected against maltreatment, cruelty and exploitation. They were also have the right to education.

viii. National Liberty:

“Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.”



-Benjamin Franklin

It means the liberty of the nation or the country. National liberties exist where the nation or the community is independence and sovereign. National liberty can otherwise also called as National sovereignty. Every nation wishes to stay independent and without this independence the progress of the nation or the state is not possible. Liberation remains an ultimate slogan for all those nations enslaved by imperialistic forces. Nations colonized by imperialist force struggled against foreign empire until freedom is restored.

The struggle of Italy against Austria, England against **Hitler** and **Napoleon** struggle of African counties against imperialist forces and Indians struggle against England are few example where struggle was made ultimately for restoring the liberty of the Nation. When India was attacked by China in 1962, and by Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 the Government of India made all efforts to safeguard the freedom of nation.

‘Liberty does not descend upon a person. People must raise themselves to liberty. Liberty is a blessing that must be earned in order to be enjoyed’ engraved on the building of central secretariat New Delhi .

ix. International Liberty

This concept implies peace and international cooperation and the formation of world federation of states. Liberals were opposed to the use of force as an instrument of national policy. capitalism needed peace and international cooperation for the free flow of goods from one country to another and they needed all political and other barriers to be removed that stood in the way of the development of world resources.

Symbolic Meaning

The statue of liberty has a universal reminder of freedom, it embodies 'hope' for American citizens.



Perspective of various ideologies on Freedom by Andrew Heywood

Liberals give priority to freedom as the supreme individualist values. While classical liberals support negative freedom, understood as the absence of constraints or freedom of choice, modern liberals advocate positive freedom in the sense of personal development and human flourishing.

Conservatives have traditionally endorsed a weak view of freedom as the willing recognition duties and responsibilities, negative freedom posing a threat to the fabric of society. The new right however, endorses negative freedom in the economic sphere, freedom of choice in the market place.

Socialists have generally understood freedom in positive terms to refer to self-fulfillment achieved through either free creative labour or cooperative social interaction. Social democrats have drawn close to modern liberalism in treating freedom as the realization of individual potential.

Anarchists regard freedom as an absolute value believing it to be irreconcilable with any form of political authority. Freedom is understood to mean the achievement of personal autonomy, not merely being 'left alone' but being rationally self-willed and self-directed.

Fascist rejected any form of liberty as nonsense. 'True' freedom, in contrast, means unquestioning submission to the will of the leader and absorption of the individual to the national community.

Ecologists particularly deep ecologist, treat freedom as achievement of oneness, self-realization through the absorption of the personal ego into the ecosphere or universe. In contrast with the political freedom, this is sometimes seen as inner freedom, freedom as self-actualization.

Religious fundamentalist see freedom as essentially an inner or spiritual quality. Freedom means conformity to reveal the will of god, spiritual fulfillment being associated with submission to religious authority.

Heywood, Andrew. (2004) *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 4th ed. New York: Macmillan

How are liberty, sovereignty and law are related to each other?

Anarchy doesn't mean chaos or disorder, it means freedom from an oppressive centralised authority with a monopoly on force.

Liberty does not mean the complete absence of laws. Liberty exist only in a state in order. The state makes law and the sovereign state operates through these laws. There exist a close relationship between liberty, sovereignty and law. The anarchist and syndicalists wanted to abolish the states. They are of the opinion that if state is more powerful then individual liberty will also be curtailed.

Individualist views

They regarded the control of the state as harmful to the individual and therefore supported the confinement of the authority of the state. Though this doctrine resulted in dangerous consequences in England. It is now universally accepted that laws are the protectors of liberty. Liberty ceases to exist in the absence of law.

Quotable quote

"Where there is no law there is no freedom"

– John Locke

Idealist view

Liberty ceases to exist in the absence of laws. Obedience to law is obedience to real will according to Idealist.

Quotable quote

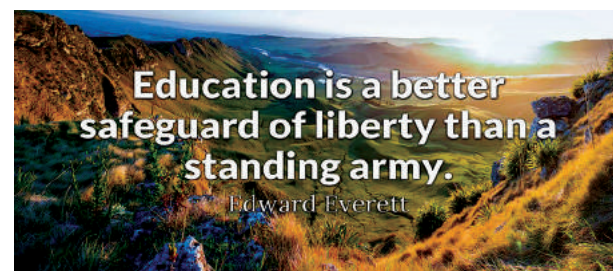
"State is a March of God upon earth and it is the highest expression and organ of social morality"

– Hegel

How does law protect liberty?

- i. Provides congenial atmosphere for the smooth running of civilized life in society. Law punish criminal and defends the rights of the individuals.
- ii. Law guarantee the enjoyment of individual rights and duties and protect them. The state punishes the individual who causes harm to others and hinders path of others .
- iii. Constitution is custodian of liberty and it confines the authority of the state and protects the fundamental right of the people.

How liberty is safeguarded?



i. Democracy

Liberty is safer in democracy than in any other form of government. Democratic government is the government of the people where as in other forms of government like monarchy and dictatorship all power are centralized in the hand of one person or a group of person. Opposite parties are given due respects in democracy and criticism of government is accepted and tolerated in democracy.

ii. Constitutions

Authority of the state dwells in the constitution of the respective nation.

Let us read the Preamble of our Constitution very carefully and understand the meaning of each of its key words.

The Preamble of Constitution reads like a poem on democracy. It contains the philosophy on which the entire Constitution has been built. It provides a standard to examine and evaluate any law and action of government, to find out whether it is good or bad. It is the soul of the Indian Constitution.

SOVEREIGN

People have supreme right to make decisions on internal as well as external matters. No external power can dictate the government of India.

REPUBLIC

The head of the state is an elected person and not a hereditary position.

JUSTICE

Citizens cannot be discriminated on the grounds of caste, religion and gender. Social inequalities have to be reduced. Government should work for the welfare of all, especially of the disadvantaged groups.

LIBERTY

There are no unreasonable restrictions on the citizens in what they think, how they wish to express their thoughts and the way they wish to follow up their thoughts in action.

SOCIALIST

Wealth is generated socially and should be shared equally by society. Government should regulate the ownership of land and industry to reduce socio-economic inequalities.

SECULAR

Citizens have complete freedom to follow any religion. But there is no official religion. Government treats all religious beliefs and practices with equal respect.

DEMOCRATIC

A form of government where people enjoy equal political rights, elect their rulers and hold them accountable. The government is run according to some basic rules.

EQUALITY

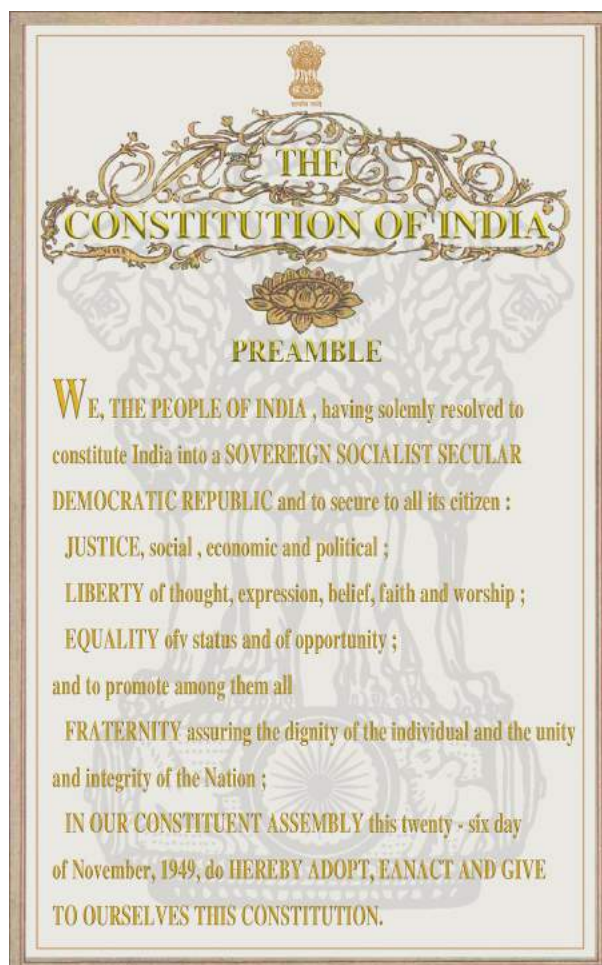
All are equal before the law. The traditional social inequalities have to be ended. The government should ensure equal opportunity for all.

FRATERNITY

All of us should behave as if we are members of the same family. No one should treat a fellow citizen as inferior.

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

The constitution has been drawn up and enacted by the people through their representatives, and not handed down to them by a king or any outside powers.



iii. Fundamental rights

Fundamental rights confine the authority of the state. Fundamental rights assure us that the state cannot interfere in the matters of personal life.

The Fundamental Rights

- i) Right to Equality (Article 14-18)
- ii) Right to Freedom (Article 19-22)
- iii) Right against exploitation (Article 23-24)
- iv) Right to freedom of Religion (Article 25-28)
- v) Cultural and Educational Rights (Article 29-30)
- vi) Rights to Constitutional Remedies (Article 32-35)

iv. Decentralization of powers

Decentralization of power is required for the safeguard of liberty. Power should be divided into central, provincial and local government and such decentralization leads to efficient administration.

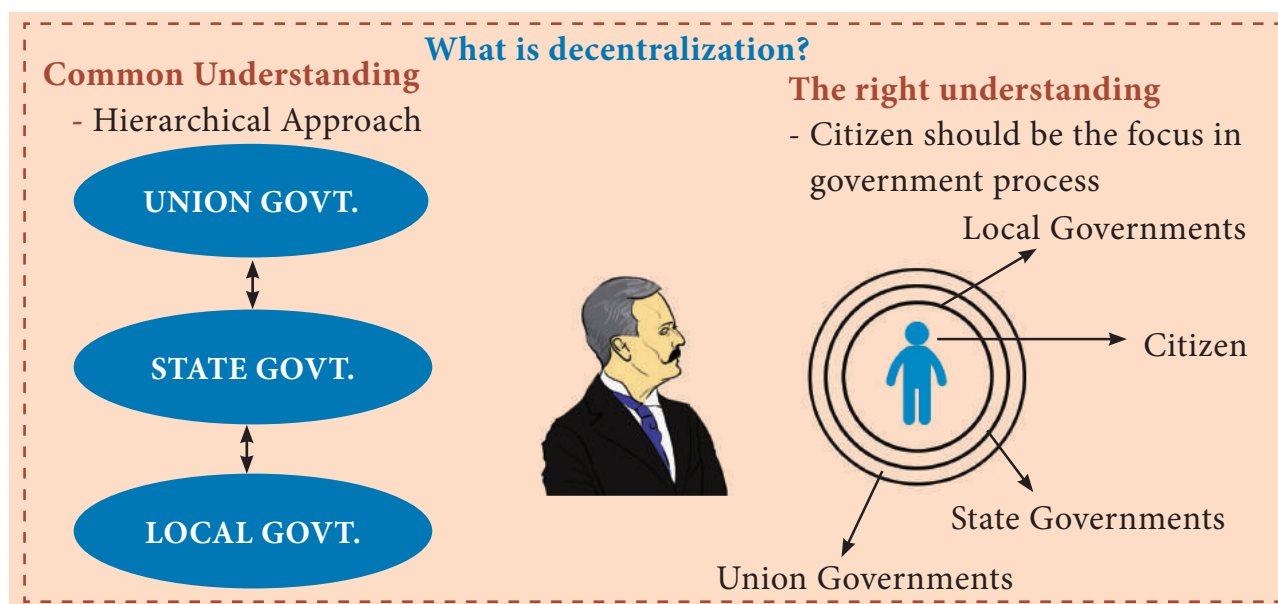
v. Independent judiciary

Safeguard of Liberty depends upon the independence of judiciary. It should be free from the control of the executive. In the communist countries or in the countries which have dictatorship, fundamental rights are given to the people but judiciary is not free from the influence of the executive. In such countries, the safeguard and security of fundamental rights, liberty and constitution is not possible.

INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY

The constitution of India makes provisions for the independence of judiciary because only independent judiciary can safeguard the rights and liberties of the people, can protect the supremacy of the constitution

- i. An impartial method has been adopted for the appointment of the judges
- ii. High qualifications have been fixed for the judges
- iii. The judges of the Supreme Court stay in office till 65 years of age and of High courts till 62 years of age



vi. Economic security

Economic security is a condition to liberty. *“Where there are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, we always find a relation of master and servant”.* - **Laski**

Poverty is not an accident. Like slavery and apartheid, it is man-made and can be removed by the actions of human beings.

- **Nelson Mandela**



vii. Rule of law

Rule of law is established in England, USA and India Rule of law mean that there should not be any distinction of caste and creed colour and race . In the eyes of law all are equal and all are liable to be punished if they commit crime.

The rule of law was further popularised in the 19th century by British jurist **A. V. Dicey**. The concept, if not the phrase, was familiar to ancient philosophers such as Aristotle, who wrote “Law should govern”.

viii. Political education and eternal vigilance

Permanent safeguard of liberty is possible. Educated are acutely aware of their rights and duties. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and in its absence one can act according to his will whenever the government crosses the barrier of its authority and interference in the personal life of the people, may rise in revolt against the government.

“It is the proud spirit of the citizens, less than the letter of the law, that is the most real safeguard”

- **Harold . J. Laski**

ACTIVITY



Students may be engaged in discussing the merits and demerits as given below:

1. Independent judiciary 2. Decentralization of power 3. Rule of law 4. Democracy

Merits (Independent Judiciary)	Demerits (Independent Judiciary)
Merits (Decentralization of Power)	Demerits (Decentralization of Power)
Merits (Rule of Law)	Demerits (Rule of Law)
Merits (Democracy)	Demerits (Democracy)

Sovereignty: The supreme power which cannot be distorted and divided. The per-Independent India was ruled over by British empire and India didn't possess sovereignty a country is ruled over by other nation, sovereignty resides with the ruling one and not the ruled. In the globalized era sovereignty is under threat, since the global exchange is unavoidable.

Preamble: Like preface of any book preamble is a gist or glimpses of any constitution in the world. If you want to understand about the basic structure of a political system, preamble is an apt one to read. Our Indian constitution's preamble states, India is democratic, republic and sovereign...

Universal Suffrage: Voting rights to all the people invariable of gender, caste, color, religion, property and other divisive factors. India introduced adult suffrage immediately after the freedom. The superpowers like USA, UK have not implemented the suffrage to all the people after their freedom.

Statutes: A written law passed by the legislative body of a country. It is also added in the parliamentary laws after having had appropriate discussion.

Justice: Justice was the main concept discussed by many Greek philosophers. Justice is the main phenomenon which has to be maintained regardless of all kinds of discriminations.

Fiscal: Monetary oriented. Government of all types always used to concentrate in fiscal policy.

State of Nature: The stage of antiquity in which there was no organized form of government and society.

Anarchy: A complete chaos or the stage of confusion. Particularly in the modern era Iraq and Afghanistan haven't possessed concrete government structure since they are under American occupation.

City-state: Small states in which people are considered as powerful in decision-making. It exists in Greece 2300 years back.

Vasudaivakudumbagam: One world one family. It is a global idea which interlinks the entire nation-states into one family in which there will not be any distinctions.

Inalienable: That one which cannot be separated.

Ordinances: Special orders issued by the president on adhoc occasions.

De-jure: On accordance with law.

De-facto: Factually, one who rules really and concretely.



Evaluation



I Choose the correct answer



1. Who is known to be the father of sovereignty?

- a) Bodin b) Austin c) Plato d) Aristotle

2. Monistic theory of sovereignty propounded by

- a) Austin b) Hegel c) Merriam d) Willoughby

3. In democracy sovereignty resides with

- a) State b) Government c) People d) Media

4. Who said "I am the state"?

- a) James II b) Napoleon I c) Louis XIV d) Bismarck

5. Double citizenship exists in

- a) USA b) China c) Japan d) Australia

6. "Sovereignty resides with General Will" said by

- a) Rousseau b) T.H.Green c) Austin d) Bodin

7. "On Liberty" book written by

- a) J.S.Mill b) Locke c) Rousseau d) Bodin

8. The main objective of rule of law is to ensure:

- a) Freedom of Press b) Liberty of citizens
c) Independence of Judiciary d) All the above

9. Fundamental rights of India drawn from?

- a) USA b) France c) Britain d) Russia

10. "Religion is opium" stated by

- a) Marx b) Galileo c) Russell d) Bagat Singh

11. "Das Capital" book written by?

- a) Marx b) Kropotkin c) Owen d) Netaji



II Answer the following questions very shortly

12. Define sovereignty.
13. What are the types of Sovereignty?
14. Write a note on discrimination.

III Answer the following questions shortly

15. Discuss about any two features of sovereignty.
16. Write a note on Negative liberty.
17. What is anarchism?
18. Discuss about caste discrimination.
19. What are Human Rights?

IV Answer the following questions in detail

20. Examine the features of the concept of sovereignty.
21. Explain the factors of violation of liberty.
22. Discuss the demerits of religious discrimination.
23. Explain about equality in the Indian constitution.

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2. Rajeev Bhargava & Ashok Acharya (Ed), Political theory: An Introduction , Thomson press, New Delhi, 2016.

Further readings



1. Heywood, Andrew: Political Ideologies: An Introduction, London, Macmillan, New York 2003.
2. Bakshi, P. Constitution of India, New Delhi, 1990.
3. Basu, Durga. Das: Introduction to the constitution of India, New Delhi, 1997.
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4.1 LAW

4.1.1 Introduction

Law is the prescription of rules and regulations sanctioned by the sovereignty for the state. Law as, Bodin said, is the command of the sovereign. Similarly Aristotle has rightly pointed out that if there is no law even man will behave like a beast. In order to preserve society and protect the progressive nation, law has become an integral part of the system world over. The enormous power of law could not be a complete solution to maintain an order in the society due to the limitations it is framed with. Law is a tyrant for criminal and a guardian for its citizen.

There is always an intense debate that happens on, why the law is lenient in some part of the world and so powerful in another part of the world. The question of leniency and powerful the law is, ascertained by its functions especially the punishment it involves. For example, law in a democratic country is much different and concerned than the law in a totalitarian state. And more, how the law unfurls freedom for its citizens matters a lot while executing and exercising it. Ignorance of law is not an excuse anywhere in the world. Hence it is pertinent to introduce the concept of law to the young minds to understand it as the basic rules and regulations as sanctioned by our constitution.



Learning Objectives

- ❖ Understanding the essence of law brings students closer to the thoughts of Justice.
- ❖ Classification of law helps students to know the different kinds of law and its application and its implication to our society
- ❖ Sources of law gives students a broad understanding on the origin of law
- ❖ The interconnection between State, Law and Morality are highlighted for enabling students to understand how well they are connected to society through the law of the State.



Introduction

❖ What is Law?

- A body of rule which is enforceable by the State.

❖ Law in relation to justice

- the aim is to attain justice in society.
- Justice? It is an abstract idea of right and wrong, fairness and equality.
- therefore, the doing of what is right or just in a particular of circumstances.

- ❖ According to *krabbe* “Law is the expression of the judgments of value which we human beings make by virtue of our disposition and nature”

- ❖ “Law is that portion of the established thought and habit which has gained distinct and formal recognition in the shape of uniform rules backed by the authority and power of the government.” Said *Woodrow Wilson*

- ❖ “A law is of general rule of external human action enforced by a sovereign political authority.” Said *Holland*

4.1.2 Meaning Of Law

The term ‘Law’ was derived from an old Teutonic root ‘lag’ “which means something which lies fixed or evenly. Without law life may witness utter chaos and confusion and in fact it is law that regulates life. The word law is used to denote ‘uniform’. There are two kinds of laws. They are: physical and human law. Physical law regulates nature where as human law regulates human life. The term law in political science is used to mean body of rules to guide human action. The function of state is done through government and the government in turn interprets the will of the state through law.

Views On Law

- ❖ “Law is the command of the sovereign” according to *John Austin*
- ❖ “Law is the collection of rules which the state recognizes and applies in the administration of Justice” said *Salmond*

What is the purpose of Law?

According to *MacIver* “A law does not become a law until and unless it is backed by the state. The purpose of law is to establish sure foundations in the certitude of which men can rebuild the many mansions of society.” The term ‘Law’ is considered as a body of rules to govern human action and as well to regulate human life by the discipline Political Science. ‘It is not the issuing of law that makes the state, it is the force of the state that makes law’ believe *Hocking*.

What are the purposes of Law?

- ❖ Protect basic human rights
- ❖ Promote fairness
- ❖ Help resolve conflicts
- ❖ Promote justice
- ❖ Promote order and stability
- ❖ Promote desirable social and economic behaviour
- ❖ Represent the will of the majority (on some issues)
- ❖ Protecting the rights of minorities

4.1.3 Are you aware of the classification of Laws?

i. Private laws

The relationship of citizens and the regulation of relations among one another are determined by private laws.

**Quotable
quote**

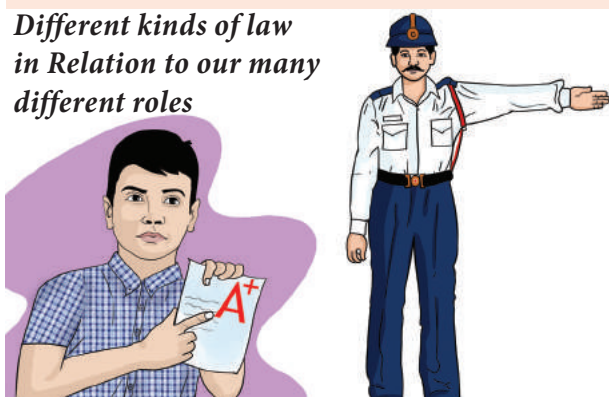
In private laws the parties concerned are private individuals above and between whom stands the state as an impartial arbiter.

- *Holland*

ii. Public laws

The laws that determine the relation of citizens to the state are public laws. Public law perceives state as an arbiter as well as one of the parties interested in it.

*Different kinds of law
in Relation to our many
different roles*



iii. Constitutional laws

The common law differs from statutory law because it is mainly based on precedent. Statutory law is a more formal body of the legal system that consists of written legislation. This legislation will mainly be based on rules and regulations either mandating or prohibiting certain behaviors of the general public. Common law, on the other hand, will allow judges to decide cases based on the rulings of prior cases with similar circumstances.

Constitutional laws are the basic laws according to which the government in a state conducts itself. The laws that define interpret and regulate the functions of the government are known as constitutional laws. For example, the election of President, the powers and functions of the Supreme court and method of the appointment of the governor are constitutional affairs. The laws which are not related to the forms and functions of the government and to the fundamental rights but are related to the social and economic affairs of all citizens are known as ordinary laws. For example, the abolition of child marriage and prohibition etc come under ordinary laws.

iv. Statute Laws

Statute laws are the laws which are framed by the Legislative Assembly or by the Parliament. Democratic Government being popular in most of the countries, the laws of those government are framed mostly by the Parliaments in those countries.

v. Ordinances

Ordinances are generally issued by the executive branch of the government as per the law of the state. Ordinances are temporary by nature and are issued by the President in the absence of parliament, especially to face the emergency.

vi. Common Laws

Common laws are those laws which rest on customs but are enforced by the courts like statute law. Common laws are popular in England.

vii. Administrative Laws

The office and responsibilities of government servants are interpreted and governed by Administrative law. It is the Administrative law that enable the public officers to separate law and procedure from private individuals. These laws also make an attempt to interpret the privileges of government officials. Administrative laws are not popular in England, U.S.A. and India. They are popular in France and a few countries of Europe. For example, When any dispute arises between a citizen and government servant the administrative court resolves the issue with administrative laws.



viii. International Laws

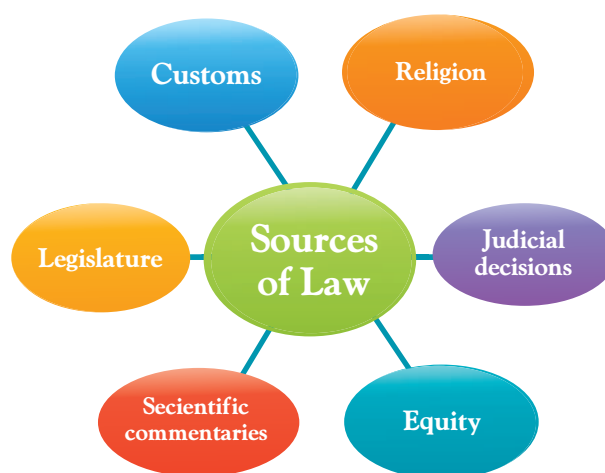
The rule that determine the conduct of the civilized states in their relation with other states in international arena is otherwise called International law. There are no such framed laws that govern international relations but backed by public opinion and the rule of UNO as an international body matters for any nation to enjoy its sovereign status. There are

also laws such as Sea law, where there are International borders and as well Air law that demands aircraft of other nation to fly with permission of respective nations.

4.1.4 Do you want to know the sources of Law?

i. Customs

Customs play an important role in the framing of the laws. Most of the laws that came from customs are recognized by state later. Since ancient period we can notice that the dispute among tribals were resolved by the head of the Tribes using their customs and traditions. Customs became laws when tribes extended into the formation of state. State cannot actually ignore the customs of the country. The common law of England for example sprang mainly from customs.



For example Bull-Taming sport culture of Tamils of India resulted into the creation of Jallikattu Law in 2017. (Read the box for more information about Jallikattu Law of 2017)

ACTIVITY



Read the text and write six questions, one for each of the Question word: What, where, when, which, how and why.

ALANGANALLUR – THE BULL – TAMING SPORT



The picture is a bull taming sports of Tamil culture, popularly called as 'jallikattu' at Alanganallur in Madurai district. Alanganallur is synonymous with the bull- taming sport, usually conducted in the month of January, along with Pongal festival in Tamil Nadu. Every society in our country is having its own right to life, liberty and continuing their culture and tradition but in this case of jallikattu there is a tussle between cultural rights and animal rights.

As per the constitution of India Art 29(1) is a fundamental right guaranteed under part III which protects the educational and cultural rights.

The 2014 judgement of the supreme court asserts that animals as sentient beings have the fundamental right to life under Art 21 of the constitution.

These contradictions have made several interpretations in formalizing this sport.

5W'S AND 1H ACTIVITY



ii. Religion

The religion practiced by Primitive communities played a decisive role in evolving the laws of the state later. Religion was a basis of law for most of the nation. The origin of Hindu law can be traced in the code of Manu. The origin of Mohammedian law can be traced in Shariat law. Divine law is a law revealed through man from God. God is the ultimate source of divine law. For Christians Ten Commandments were the first law given by the Lord Almighty to his people and was considered as the basis of law.

“Indeed the early law of Rome was little more than a body of technical religious rules, a system of means for obtaining religious rights through the proper carrying out of certain religious formulas”. - *Woodrow Wilson*

iii. Judicial decisions

Gettell maintains that the ‘state arose not as the creator of law but as the interpreter and enforcer of custom’. The function of the Judiciary is to interpret and declare the law. While discharging its function the judiciary creates new laws. The laws later gets recognized by the state. Judicial decisions thus became an another source of law. Some time the verdict of High Court and Supreme Court are treated as laws.

iv. Equity

When laws are ambiguous and do not fit in, the principles of equity are

applied and cases are decided according to commonsense and fairness.

“Equity is a body of rules existing by the side of the original civil law, founded on distinct principles and claiming incidentally to supersede the civil law in virtue of a superior sanctity inherent in those principles.” - *Sir Henry Maine*

Equity

- ❖ The name given “Equity” is the set of legal principles in countries following the English common law tradition, which supplement strict rules of law where their application would operate harshly, so as to achieve what is sometimes referred to as “natural justice”
- ❖ It also means “fairness”
- ❖ Equity has been described as “a gloss (meaning a supplement) on the common law, filling in the gaps and making the English legal system more complete
- ❖ In English Law, equity means that body of rules originally enforced only by the court of chancery.

v. Scientific commentaries

Another source of law are scientific commentaries. when the commentary appears it is understood only as an argument, later on its authority is recognized as more authoritative than the Judicial decision.

"The opinion of learned writers on law have often been accepted as correct law: in England , for instance the opinions of Coke and Blackstone in America of story and kent , in India of Vijnaneswara and Apararka" - *A. Appadurai*

vi. Legislature

Most of the laws in the modern times are framed by legislature and it is one of the most important source of law. Indian constitution is a classical example where the best provisions of other constitutions are borrowed and made it available for the best of our nation

"The state is founded on the minds of its citizens, who are moral agents.. a bad people means a bad state and a bad laws." - *Gilchrist*

Sources Of The Indian Constitution

- i) **Government of India Act 1935:** The federal scheme. Office of the Governor. Role of federal judiciary. Emergency provisions
- ii) **UK Constitution:** Law making procedures, Parliamentary Government, Rule of Law, Single citizenship and Bicameral Legislature.
- iii) **US Constitution*:** Fundamental Rights, Independent judiciary, Judicial Review, Impeachment of the President, Procedure for the removal of the judges of the Supreme Court, High Courts and Role of Vice President.

4.1.5 How law is related to state and morality?

Law and morality are complimentary to each other. Ethics reveals its citizens the code of conduct. Similarly the laws framed by state also aim to achieve the same goal. The sole aim of the state lies in the promotion of the welfare of the people. As there is a close affinity between law and morality, there also exist a good relationship between law and state.

"The best state is that which is nearest in virtue to the individual. If any part of the body politic -suffers, the whole body suffers". -*Plato*

A bad state will have bad citizens and a good state will have good citizens. So it is the sole function of the state to keep a good standard of morality. Government of India is trying its best to eliminate the evil of untouchability. It has framed laws against untouchability. Though there is

Quotable quote

Morality is concerned with the moral duties whereas the laws of the state are concerned with the legal duties

law against social ills it is understood that it is rather a sin to adopt the policy of discrimination on the grounds of caste and creed, colour and race, clans and tribes, groups and classes. The government is taking measures to prohibit the drinking of wine and also prohibits child marriages. Generally democracy does not have any such law as opposed to morality. **Wilson** maintains that the aim of the law of a state is to develop morality in the state. Hence

the sovereign law-making authority pays due attention to the code of the intimacy between law and morality.

“We regard the state as the condition or morality. The state and law continually affect both public opinion and actions; in its turn law reflects public opinion and thus acts as the index or moral progress”
- *MacIver*

Distinction between Law and Morality:

- ❖ Laws are enforced by the state, if not obeyed to the commands of law, he is likely to be punished by the state.
- ❖ The severe punishment one can be awarded to a person for not observing the scruples of morality is the social boycott.
- ❖ Morality is concerned with both internal and external affairs of man whereas law is concerned only with the external affairs of man. Hence, law punishes only those persons who violate laws by their external actions.
- ❖ Law punishes a person only when he commits a theft or dacoity or murder or any other physical crime.
- ❖ Law cannot punish a person for telling a lie or for abusing some one.
- ❖ Telling lies, condemning someone and being ungrateful and many other actions of man are sins but they are not crimes. Machiavelli maintained that even the immoral practices are legal, if they are applied for the benefit of the state.

Public Opinion: Opinion held by people for the common welfare

What is Moral law?

A law framed with a purpose of eliminating evils such as drinking of wine, gambling, theft, dacoity and murder are moral laws. The laws which are based on morality remain permanent

4.1.6 How Law and Public opinion are related to each other?

The power of democracy lies in the participation of people in the democratic exercise of electing their representatives. People are not directly involved in the framing of laws, yet they could elect their representatives to legislature. People elect their representatives to execute the will of the electorate. The elected body are just expected to represent the will of the public. Here we can understand the close affinity of law and public opinion.

The Modern state appeals to morality, to religion, and to natural law as the ideological foundation of its existence. At the same time it is prepared to infringe any or all of these in the interest of self-preservation.



J.M. Coetzee

In democracy laws are framed only based on the support of public opinion. People carry out peaceful demonstrations to express their opinion or resentment.

Common welfare of the people and social progress are the primary considerations of public opinion.

Quotable quote

“To turn all moral obligations, legal obligations would be to destroy morality. There is thus a legal conscience as well as a moral conscience, and they do not always coincide”.

- *MacIver*



Quotable quote

Law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress.

Martin Luther King, Jr



DISCUSSION



1. State few reasons why law is considered as the sole protector of the society
2. Suggest a law which is suitable for the progress of the society

3. How justifiable is our present law and what kind of change is essential in your opinion
4. Does law really restricts our freedom
5. State the effect of public opinion in democracy
6. How Law and Morality are related to each other
7. How do you differentiate Law and Morality?

4.2 CITIZENSHIP

4.2.1 Introduction

In political theory, citizenship refers not only to a legal status as a member of a country but also a normative ideal which means the ruled are full and equal participants in the political process. Democracy and citizenship go hand in hand. Democracy focuses on political parties, electoral systems, rule of law, etc., while citizenship focuses on the attributes of individual citizens. Citizens have certain rights that differ from one country to another. Today, we are following a modern state and citizenship connotes a status which is defined as a set of rights and duties of the people.

Are you a natural citizen? or a naturalised citizen of your country? What are the differences between the two? Natural citizens are the citizens by virtue of their birth but naturalised citizens are the ones who acquire citizenship.

Aristotle defined citizenship with reference to the birth place, family lineage and culture. **Stoics** viewed citizenship as a cosmopolitan ideal. **Confucius** emphasized it as the restoration of commonwealth, where everyone worked for harmony and

welfare. In India too, there persisted the concept of “Vasudeva Kutumbakam”.

4.2.2 Citizenship and the City-state:

Citizenship was an important theme in the ancient Greek and Roman Republics but they disappeared from the feudal systems. This was later revived as a desirable aspect of civic humanism during the Renaissance. Citizenship was considered only as participation of duties during the ancient Athens.

Citizenship was considered as a pivotal importance to Aristotle as he perceives ideal state is possible only in a law-based state where citizens are law abiding. He states that an individual is a political animal who finds fulfilment only within the polis and hence desiring for political posts is natural. He says that citizenship is a criterion wherein the rule must be applicable to all irrespective of whether they are residents, aliens or even slaves from other countries. A citizen is one who enjoys the right to share in the deliberative and judicial offices and is able to exercise his political rights effectively under the constitutional system.

4.2.3 Marshall's Analysis

Marshall, a liberal-social democrat links citizenship to social class in the context of capitalism. According to **Marshall**, citizenship has three essential divisions: civil, political and social. Every individual requires a right for freedom and that is what is in as civil component. This is also an important ingredient of rule of law. As a citizen we have the right to participate in political decision-making process. This

is reflected in the political division. No citizen can be deprived of the prevailing

Aristotle

- defines citizenship as “he who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state.”

Greeks enjoyed the privilege of being governed by democracy; their government was made up of commoners, and they were allowed freedom of speech to a large extent through public speaking rights.

Standard of living and they have all the rights to enjoy the fruits of this. Hence, **Marshall** stresses upon the social services.

4.2.4 Citizenship and Education

In this, we shall study about the influence of education towards citizenship, according to various philosophers.

Aristotle considers three qualities to be necessary for a man universally. They are:

- ❖ Loyalty to the constitution
- ❖ High degree of capacity to one's duties and
- ❖ Quality of goodness and justice.

A democratic nation upholds political and economic equality for which identification between a good man and good citizen are always necessary.

Plato considers education is a cure to corruption and political instability. Hence, he speaks for effective and responsible form of education. **Aristotle**, **Hume** and **Rousseau**, point out that the citizens will need knowledge of the attitudes and the expectations of their

fellow citizens. *J.S. Mill* and *Tocqueville* on the other hand stress upon the need of political knowledge and in order to participate and conduct the affairs of the local government, voluntary association or jury service, education is very much necessary.

4.2.5 Citizenship in India

India is a secular, democratic and nation state. Why do you think Independence Movement began? The main reason was to bind together people of different religions, regions and cultures. Though there were differences with the Muslim League during the Partition of the Country, yet this strengthened the Indian National Leaders to maintain the secular and inclusive character of the Indian Nation state.





The Maintenance and welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act was passed in 2007 by to provide maintenance and support to elderly parents and senior citizens.

What the Act states ...

- ❖ The Act established the Maintenance Tribunal to provide speedy and effective relief to elderly person.
- ❖ Maintenance, according to the Act, pertains to “provision for food, clothing, residence and medical attendance and treatment”.
- ❖ The only condition for claiming maintenance under this Act is that the persons must be unable to maintain themselves from their own earnings and property.
- ❖ The Act mandates that the maximum maintenance paid will be ₹ 10,000/- per month. The maintenance amount is determined by the needs of the claimant and the aim is provide maintenance for the person to lead a normal life.
- ❖ Parents or senior citizens can avail the services of the State government appointed maintenance officer to represent their interests during proceedings before the Maintenance Tribunal. Lawyers are not allowed to present cases before the Tribunal according to the Act.
- ❖ Any person who is responsible for the protection and care of a senior citizen and intentionally abandons the senior citizen completely is liable to pay a fine of ₹ 5000/- or be imprisoned for three months or both.

Discuss

As son/daughter what is your role and responsibilities towards your Parents? Discuss in the class.

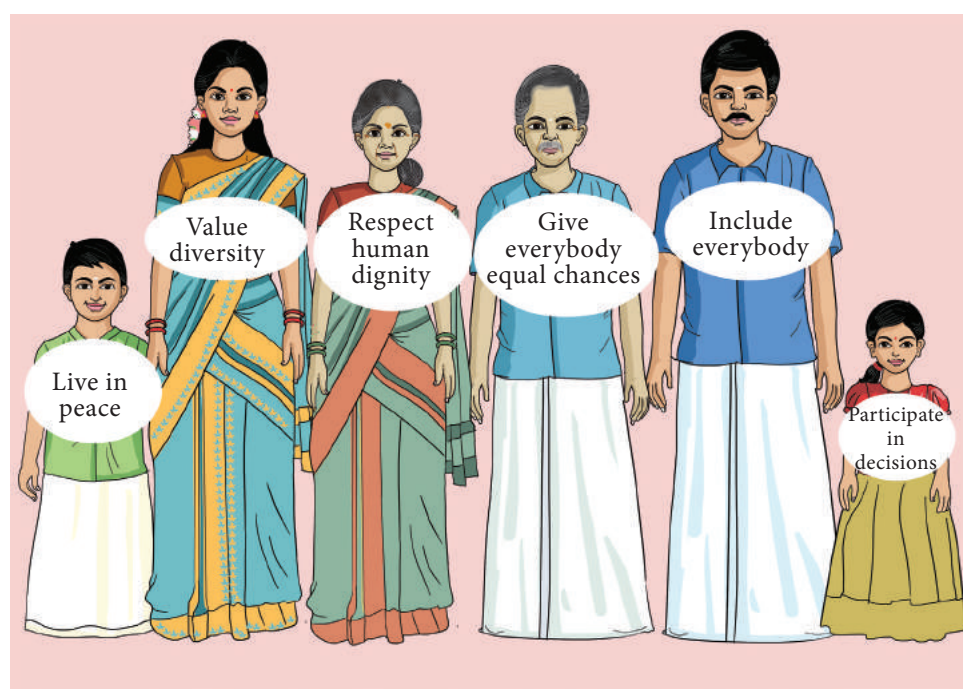
Actually embodied in the Constitution. The leaders were determined and joined to build the same. The Indian Constitution attempted to provide full citizenship to all irrespective of whichever groups they belonged to. Women, people from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, remote communities from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, who had not enjoyed equal rights previously, were given the full citizenship rights.. In India,

Prepare a chart on your idea on the qualities of a good citizen and share it with your teacher and friends.

The provisions about citizenship are found in Part II and in the subsequent laws passed by the Parliament. Citizenship can be acquired by birth, descent, registration, naturalisation or inclusion of territory. There is also a provision in the Constitution that the state should not discriminate against citizens on the grounds of race, caste, sex, place of birth, etc. The rights of religious and linguistic minorities are also protected.

4.2.6 Global citizenship and National citizenship

National citizenship assumes that our state can provide us with protection and rights we need to live. However, states today are to tackle a lot of problems and hence individual rights are guaranteed to protect the safety of the people. Global citizenship on the other hand, deals with the importance of citizenship across the national boundaries. Here, one may need the cooperative action by the people and the governments of many states.



Therefore, citizenship for all can resolve many socio-economic inequalities. Moreover, global citizenship reminds us that we live in a world where the states are interconnected with each other and strengthening the links is most important.

ACTIVITY



Discuss about the citizenship act, 1955 and its latest amendment in your class room.

Find the difference between Non - Resident Indian(NRI), Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) and Person of Indian Origin (PIO).



4.3 RIGHTS AND DUTIES

4.3.1 Introduction

The language of rights has formed part of our moral, legal and political vocabulary for many centuries. Rights are so common in our world that we might suppose that they are woven into a fabric of human rights. The significance of rights in the modern era is not limited to their entrenchment in the constitutions and their announcement in international declarations. If all human beings possess rights merely in virtue of being human, then all humans possess rights merely in virtue of being human, then all humans possess a certain equality of moral standing which cuts across differences of class, caste or race or religion.



Learning Objectives

- ❖ The meaning of rights and its features.
- ❖ Differences between rights and responsibilities.
- ❖ Different types of rights.
- ❖ Directive Principles of State Policy.
- ❖ Political Obligations of the citizens.
- ❖ Citizenship
- ❖ Theoretical aspects of Property.

Respecting Choices

In a democracy, all of the adult citizens can vote in elections. By voting, the people make choices about how their government works.

In an election, the majority wins and the minority loses. However the majority cannot forget the minority. The two groups must still live together. Being in the minority means you accept the choice of the majority. Being in the majority means you respect the minority. People who are in the minority must cooperate with the majority. They can try again to get what they want in the next election. For now, they must go along with what more than 50% of the voters want.

Respecting each other will help us to live together better. People are free to tell everyone what they think, but they should also respect the opinions of others. Each election gives all sides the chance to say and vote for what they want.

Do you know about rights?

Rights are important conditions of social life without which no person can generally realise his best self. It is

only when people get and enjoy rights that they can develop their personalities and contribute their best service to the society.

They are the common claims of the people which every culture's society recognizes as essential claims for their development and which are therefore enforced by the state.

"Rights are powers necessary for the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being..."
T.H. Green

Isaiah Berlin defines rights in terms of positive liberties and negative freedoms. A positive right is an entitlement to: A right to free expression, for instance, entitles one to voice opinions publicly. A negative right is a freedom from; Freedom of person is a right to be free of bodily interference.

Features

- ❖ Rights are the important rational and moral claims of the people for the societal development.
- ❖ They are available to all the people irrespective of caste, creed, race or gender bias.
- ❖ Rights and duties are interrelated to each other. "No duties, no rights." "If I have rights it is my duty to respect the rights of others in the society".
- ❖ Rights are justiciable.
- ❖ Rights are protected and enforced by the laws of the state. It is the duty of the state to protect the rights of the people.

Let us differentiate Rights and Responsibilities

Rights and responsibilities are inseparable. When someone is borne with a lot of responsibilities, they are automatically bestowed upon with enough rights. Rights actually enable an individual to perform their responsibilities in the different roles we play on a day to day basis.

What are your responsibilities?

- ❖ To safeguard the unity and integrity of India.
- ❖ To protect the public property.
- ❖ To conserve and protect the natural resources of the country like wildlife, lakes, forests and rivers.
- ❖ To maintain the spirit of brotherhood and create harmony among all irrespective of caste, creed, colour and economic status.
- ❖ To preserve the rich Indian culture and heritage.
- ❖ To maintain the spirit of brotherhood and create harmony.
- ❖ To respect the National Anthem and National Flag.

Are you aware of the different types of Rights?

i. Natural Rights

a. These rights are parts of human nature and reason. Political theory explains that an individual has certain basic rights and the government cannot deny these rights. In classical political philosophy, "natural right" denotes to the objective rightness



<p>Children have the right...</p> <p>to be protected from conflict, cruelty, exploitation and neglect...</p> 	<p>and the responsibility...</p> <p>not to bully or harm each other</p> 
<p>Children have the right...</p> <p>to be clean environment, at home, at school or wherever they are...</p> 	<p>and the responsibility...</p> <p>to do what they can to look after their environment</p> 
<p>Children have the right...</p> <p>to be educated...</p> 	<p>and the responsibility...</p> <p>to learn as much as they can and help others to learn</p> 
<p>Children have the right...</p> <p>to freedom of thought and religion...</p> 	<p>and the responsibility...</p> <p>to be clean environment, at home, at school or wherever they are...</p> 

of the right things, whether the virtue of a soul the correctness of an action, or the excellence of a regime.

ii. Moral Rights

a. Moral rights include rules of good

conduct, courtesy and moral behaviour. Moral Rights include rules of good conduct, courtesy and of moral behaviour and stand for moral perfection of the people.

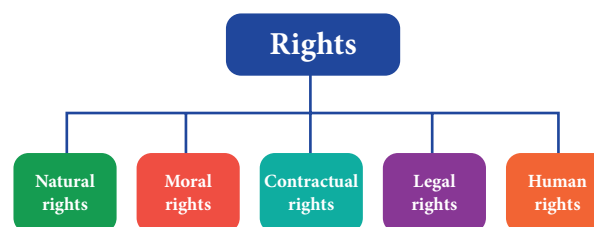
iii. Legal Rights

Legal rights are equally available to all the citizens and they follow without any discrimination. Legal rights are those which are accepted and enforced by the state. Legal rights are of three types:

- ❖ **Civil Rights:** These are the rights which provide opportunity to each person to lead a civilized social life and that which are protected by the state. Right to life, liberty and equality are civil rights.
- ❖ **Political Rights:** These are the rights by virtue of which the people get a share in the political process. These rights include the right to vote, right to get elected, right to hold public office, etc.
- ❖ **Economic Rights:** These are the rights which provide the economic security to the people. The people are empowered





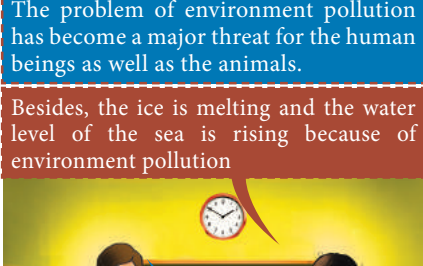

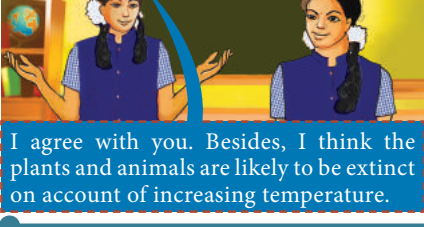

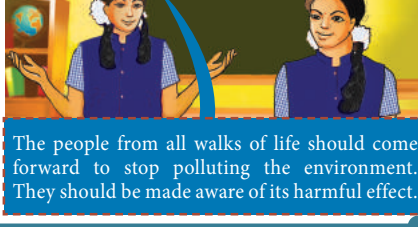
to make proper use of their civil and political rights. Right to work, right to adequate security, right to social security.

Legal rights are what the law says there are, insofar as the law is enforced. They gain importance through legislation or decree by a legally authorized authority.



iv. Contractual Rights

These rights originate from the practice of promise – keeping. They apply to particular individuals to whom contractual promises have been made. The

<p>Hello Hema, How are you? Why do you look so worried?</p> 	<p>Oh, Yes! Our environment is in a great danger. It is being polluted severely.</p> 	<p>The impact of environmental pollution is serious. It gives rise to ecological imbalance and brings about natural disasters.</p> 
<p>You are right. I am somewhat worried about environment pollution.</p> 	<p>The problem of environment pollution has become a major threat for the human beings as well as the animals.</p> 	<p>Exactly! But what are you thinking about its impact?</p> 
<p>Absolutely! Besides, the increase of world temperature is the result of environment pollution. What is your idea about it?</p> 	<p>Besides, the ice is melting and the water level of the sea is rising because of environment pollution.</p> 	<p>Yes, of course. Besides, due to environmental pollution we are suffering from various kinds of diseases.</p> 
<p>I agree with you. Besides, I think the plants and animals are likely to be extinct on account of increasing temperature.</p>	<p>Yes, of course. Besides, due to environmental pollution we are suffering from various kinds of diseases.</p>	<p>The people from all walks of life should come forward to stop polluting the environment. They should be made aware of its harmful effect.</p>

numerous examples of contractual rights include rights to purchase a product or service, right to sell a product or service.

v. Human Rights

Human Rights are the rights of highest order. They are morally important and are possessed in virtue of the universal moral status of human beings. They are protected and supported by international and national laws and treaties.

Have you heard of Bill of Rights and Fundamental Rights?

The Bill of Rights, in the United States, was adopted as a single unit on December 15, 1791, and they constitute a collection of mutually reinforcing guarantees of individual rights and limitations on federal and state governments.

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15, 1791, and they constitute a collection of mutually reinforcing guarantees of individual rights and limitations on federal and state governments.



James Madison proposed the Bill of Rights. Bill of Rights was influenced by George Mason's 1776 Virginia Declaration of Rights & 1689 English Bill of Rights.

- *James Madison*

The Bill of Rights derives from the Magna Carta (1215), the English Bill of Rights (1689), the colonial struggle against king and Parliament. The United States Bill of Rights plays a central role in American law and government, and remains a fundamental symbol of the freedoms and culture of the nation.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The First Ten Amendments to the U.S. Constitution





Case Study

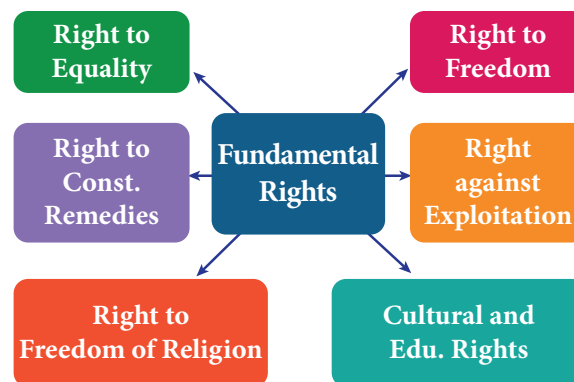
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND CYBER CHALLENGE

I. Mention the Fundamental Rights which is violated/supported in each of the following case:

No.	Cases	Support/Violation of Rights
1.	A women is prohibited from a visiting art gallery on the ground of her sex.	
2.	The Minorities can establish and administer educational institutions of their choice	
3.	Shreya Singhal, a 21-year-old girl from Delhi, filed a public interest petition in the Supreme Court challenging the Section of 66A of the IT Act.	
4.	Cartoonist Aseem Trivedi, who was charged with sedition by the Maharashtra government for his caricatures on the Internet.	
5.	A girl from north-eastern India is not allowed to settle in Chennai.	
6.	The increasing curbs on social media through controversial legal provisions pose a grave challenge to civil society.	
7.	Pakistani activist Malala Yousafzai who was shot in the head by the Taliban last October 2012 for advocating girl's education.	

Fundamental Rights



India won independence from the British Imperial-colonial rule in 1947. India emerged as democratic, secular country that had high emphasis on Rights.

On August 29, 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up a drafting committee under the chairmanship of **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**. The total number of amendments that were

made were approximately 7635, out of which nearly 2473 were actually moved.


The 12th session of the Assembly held on January 24, 1950 elected Rajendra Prasad as the first President of the Indian Union. The legal and political luminaries of the Assembly affixed their signatures on the official copies of the Indian Constitution.

Part-III of the Indian Constitution contains Fundamental Rights that is the critical foundation of the Democratic ethos of the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution in its text and scope is the most detailed and the most elaborate in the world. Every minute aspect of the fundamental rights are enumerated in the Constitution which is also one of the important aspects for it to be voluminous. The various facets of the Fundamental Rights are elaborated below:

Right to Equality

DO YOU KNOW?

It took the Constituent Assembly 2 years 11 months and 20 days to frame the Constitution.

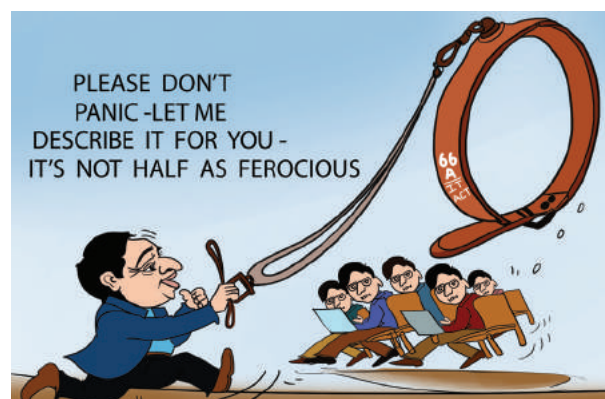


Right to Equality guarantees equality before law to all the people irrespective of their caste, creed, gender and race, etc. It also emphasis on the prevention of discrimination to visit any public places. This permits anyone to visit temples, restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment. It also guarantees equality of opportunity to employment to citizens in Union or states. Right to equality forbids any form of untouchability and considers this as a serious offence.

ACTIVITY



What do you infer from this given cartoon? (The Hindu/5.12.2012)



Section 66 A of the Information Technology Act deals with _____

Right to Freedom

Equality and freedom or liberties are the two kinds of rights necessary for democracy. This article assures freedom of speech and expression, freedom to assemble peacefully and without arms, freedom to form associations and to move freely throughout India. Do you know that this Article also provides you the freedom to practise any profession of your choice? Yes, you can. You can set up a clinic, a pharmacy or even a supermarket.

Quotable quote

“Duties and rights are inseparable, for the privilege of the later one has to perform the former”. - **Mahatma Gandhi**

ACTIVITY



Democracy and Women Empowerment

Agree and Disagree

Arrange the statements given below in these two sections, according to what you think is appropriate for the section. (I Agree and I Disagree)

1. When women and girls are educated, they accelerate development in their families and communities.
2. Women always depend on male companies like father, husband, brother and son.
3. Providing education for women and girls our economies grow. Health improves. Nation rise.
4. Women are exclusively for managing the house and cooking purpose only.
5. Girls and women are good at dance, painting and cooking.
6. Education is the pathway to saving lives, building peace and empowering girls and women.
7. Malala Yousufzai, 17-year-old Pakistani muslim girl supports girls' education.

I agree _____

I disagree _____

Right to Life and Personal Liberty

No citizen can be denied of his personal liberty. This means no person can be detained without informing the grounds of his arrest. An arrested person has also the liberty to consult and be defended by a lawyer of his choice. Besides this, he is not to be kept under custody beyond 24 hours and must be produced before the Magistrate.

Preventive Detention

Preventive Detention is considered as a check on the actions of the miscreants which is actually the dire need of the hour. If the State feels that a person can be a threat to law and order as well as to peace and security of the nation, it can arrest or detain that person.

Here is a story to tell you the importance of freedom. Read and enjoy!!!

Once there lived a beautiful princess. She was very fond of birds, every morning a little bird used to come to her palace and sing for her. The princess was very happy to see the lovely bird and listen to its music. The bird visited the palace daily and the princess waited eagerly for its visit every day. She was almost in love with the bird and would keep company with her all the day. One day the princess put the bird in a golden cage and served it the best type of food and the bird felt sad. It neither sang or ate anything. In spite of the best food, the bird began to grow weaker day by day and did not sing. One day the princess asked the bird the reason and the bird said, "I want to be set free". The kind princess set the bird free and the bird flew happily to its freedom. The next day morning the bird was back again with its usual song.

This story tells us that even birds do not want to live in captivity, however well they are fed. Even your pet dog or cat does not like to remain in the clutches of the chain. Man is born free. He loves to lead a free and independent life.

This is the reason why our freedom fighters fought bravely and suffered for the sake of freedom. They preferred death rather than being a slave. This is the importance they gave to freedom and liberty.

Source: <http://www.publishyourarticles.net/eng/articles2/a-short-story-on-freedom/2447/>

Right against Exploitation

There are millions and millions in our country who are exploited and used. They are the underprivileged and the deprived, in the society. In the today's scenario, human trafficking has become a serious exploitation of human beings. Human trafficking is buying and selling of human beings and treating them as slaves. Apart from human trafficking, child labour is another problem being faced where children are put into forced labour without payment.



**EVERY CHILD
IS INNOCENT
SAVE THEM
FROM THE
FEAR.**

That is a
responsibility of
you too.

**STOP CHILD
ABUSE**





This is the reason why the Constitution has provided with the Right against exploitation, wherein trafficking in human beings and beggary are forms of forced labour. It also prohibits the children below the age of 14 years from employment in any factory or mine or any kind of hazardous labour.

Right to Freedom of Religion

In India, all the people have the right to choose their own religion and faith. None can stop them from practising their religion as well as propagating it. These rights include the social as well as the personal aspects of the religion which are enjoyed by every citizen in the country.

Right to freedom of religion guarantees to all persons freedom of conscience and authorises them to profess, practice and propagate any religion subject to the prescribed limitations of public order, morality and health. Article 26 allows establishing and maintaining institutions related to religious affairs and charitable purposes also. You can own a movable or an immovable property and administer the property in accordance with law.

Cultural and Educational Rights

There are certain non-political rights of religious, cultural and linguistic minorities, groups or sections of people. Constitution guarantees these rights for them.

ACTIVITY



1. Find out how many languages, scripts and dialects are there in India?
2. What are the official languages of India?

No citizen is denied the admission to the State or the State aided educational institutions owing to caste, creed, gender, etc. The citizens have their right to get educated in any schools or colleges of their choice. If in case the institutions are found to practise discrimination, the government will not extend aid to such institutions. Moreover, the State should not dictate the pattern of education to these institutions too and must allow them to decide in order to preserve our culture.

Right to Constitutional Remedies

Constitutional Remedies provides the rights to the citizens to move the Supreme Court or the High Court to protect their rights. Article 32 provides the remedies to the citizens at the Supreme Court while Article 226 by the High Court. The courts can issue writs or orders in the nature of Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Certiorari, Quo Warranto and Prohibition or Injunction.

Therefore, fundamental rights are critical and instrumental in protecting the rights and liberties of the individuals in the country. By doing so, they establish the democratic way of living through these cardinal principles of equality and justice.

Fundamental Rights therefore constitute the cornerstone of our national liberty, which are cherished and attained after trials and tribulations.

Be aware of the new rights !!!

Right to Information

Do you have any queries to the Government? You can very well ask them about how they work and who are



the members who aid in their working. Wondering how? Yes, Right to Information Act of 2005 provides you this with this mandate of posing queries to the working of the Government. This is to empower the citizens and initiate transparency and accountability. An informed citizen is kept more vigil on the instruments governing the functions of the government thereby making them accountable.

Right to Privacy

People of India will surely not surrender the most precious aspects of human persona, like, life, liberty and freedom. The citizen will surely not surrender all these rights to the emergency of the state. Right to privacy is moreover an integral part of human dignity. "The right to privacy is protected as an intrinsic part of the right to life and personal liberty under Article 21 and as a part of the freedoms guaranteed by Part III of the Constitution"

Rights of Transgenders

Who are transgenders? Have you seen them? Yes, transgender people are individuals of any age or sex and their appearance and characteristics are different from how men and women are supposed to be. They exist in every culture, race and class, ages back. Today they are addressed as the third gender. The Supreme Court has in fact directed the Union and the State Governments to grant legal recognition of their gender identity. Moreover, the fundamental rights must be available. They are also entitled with the provision of public health and sanitation and socio-economic rights.

Directive Principles of State Policy

Part-IV of the Indian Constitution is Directive Principles of State Policy. It constitutes the most comprehensive political, economic and social programme for the welfare state. They have set up the blueprint for a humanitarian socialistic perspective. The Directive Principles are a set of rules enforced upon the State to direct policies towards securing adequate means of livelihood for men and women equally. It also enforces equal pay for equal work for both men and women. These principles ensure a decent standard of living and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

The incorporation of Gandhian Principles under the Directive Principles of State Policy directs in promoting cottage industries on an individual or cooperative basis in the rural areas. These principles also endeavour in controlling the consumption of intoxicants

Liberal Democratic Principles of the Directive Principles helps in securing a uniform civil code throughout the country. It also seeks to provide free and compulsory education to all children between the age group of 6 and 14 years. It also ensures that no child is subjected to any physical punishment or mental harassment.

ACTIVITY



1. When was the Indian Constitution adopted by the Government of India?
2. When was the Indian Constitution enforced by the Government of India?
3. Which Article contains Right to Freedom of Speech?



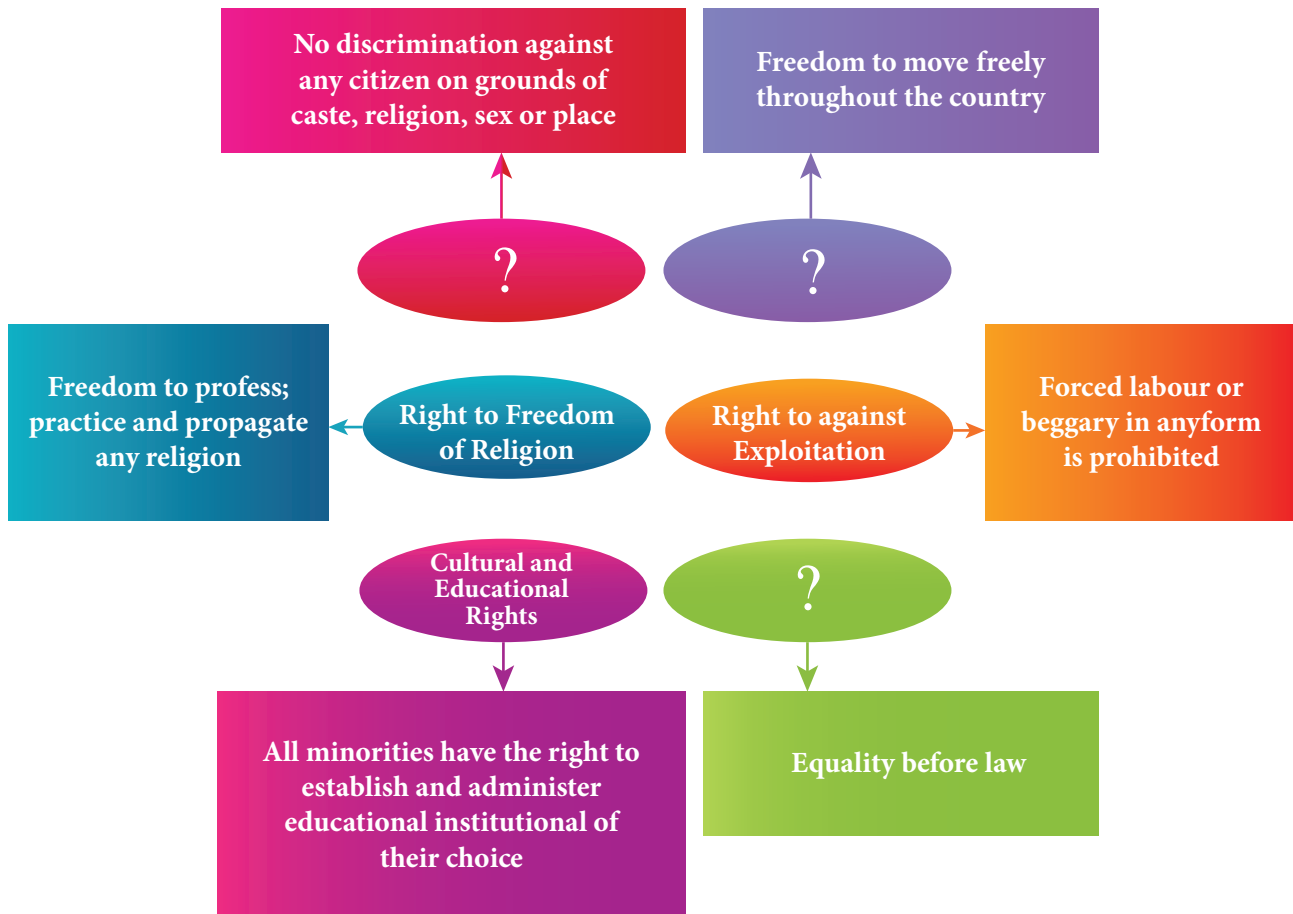
Fundamental Rights

Articles 14–18	: Right to Equality
Articles 19–22	: Right to Freedom
Articles 23–24	: Right against Exploitation
Articles 25–28	: Right to Freedom of Religion
Articles 29–30	: Cultural and Educational Rights
Article 32	: Right to Constitutional Remedies

ACTIVITY



For each question mark, give an example that shows the linkage.



4.4 Political Obligation

Do you feel or expect that the Government must be transparent and accountable to the citizens of the nation? If yes, then how are you reciprocating back to the Government? This is what

Political Obligation is. It is related to moral affair. Every individual has to perform certain duties such as payment of taxes, participate in voting, perform judicial and military functions, but for what? It is in order to maintain the political institutions of the country.



Political obligation binds a person to the performance of duties as mentioned in the Constitution. An individual has to follow the rules and regulations in the society for his own welfare and the society's welfare. When the State is responsible towards the citizen, the citizen must also reciprocate to the Government. The proper functioning of the State depends upon the proper functioning of the systems of the government.

The word 'political' actually deals with policy and the government's administration. The framework of the political system is framed and then the limitations of the power are identified.

T.H. Green states political obligation as, "it is intended to include the obligation of the subject towards the sovereign, the obligation of the citizen toward the state, and the obligation of the individual to each other as enforces by the political superior."

4.4.1 Political Obligation and Political Authority

When the state has a political authority, it has the right to compel the non-compliers. For example if anything within the State's authority to levy the taxes, then the State has all the rights to compel the non-compliers to pay the taxes. However, even if the State does not enforce its authority, still it is the moral duty of the citizens to comply with the laws.

Hence, every human being is subject to political obligation owing to the omnipresence of the modern nation state. Political obligation otherwise involves three major aspects:

The identifiable authority to which political obligation is rendered: If a person has an obligation to do or refrain from doing, he has to be directed by a person who has the authority or the power to direct or instruct. However, a person's political obligation has a certain link to the citizenship of the state. A foreigner will not have political rights but will have legal obligation and protection.

To what extent political obligation can be rendered: The State can enforce laws and expect minimum obligation. This means that the people cannot be selective about the laws but have to obey the laws. Examples to quote can be voting, military duty, etc. These are the basic duties of the citizens which have to be compulsorily implied without being selective.

The basis of Political Obligation: Political obligations have gained momentum only after the sixteenth century. Earlier, the people considered Political obligation as the will of God. But, modern political theory differs in its explanation. This theory says that no person is forced to do a work but they voluntarily assume their own duties as their valid obligations.



Do you know why the people assume in such a way? The reasons are self-interest and realisation of the state's basic duties. The State is providing the people with physical safety and security. People are aware that securing justice or maximizing happiness cannot happen without the political authority. When these are provided by the state, naturally the people are responsible for political obligations.

Features of Political Obligation

- ❖ There prevails a source of political spirit and social service
- ❖ Honesty and integrity are the essential aspects when it comes to the performance of public duty.
- ❖ There must prevail political legitimacy and effectiveness
- ❖ The citizens also have the responsibility of guarding their guardians

Let us think over the kinds of Political Obligations

Political Obligations are of four kinds. What are they?



i) Moral Obligation: Are you hospitable to the guests who come to your house? Do you help the poor? Will you not take care of your parents in their old age? These are your moral obligations. They do not legally bind the community and the individuals and if you do not behave

within the moral obligations, you can also not be punished. However, this is your ethics and moral principle innate in you.

ii) Legal Obligation: Our nation is a welfare state where the Government focuses on providing us with the infrastructural facilities. Roads, health centres, hospitals, education, etc are few of the examples of concern.

iii) Positive Obligation: There are certain rules made by the state which cannot be disobeyed and hence they are considered as the positive obligation. Can you think of some examples related to positive obligations? Yes, paying tax and serving the defence are some of the examples under positive obligation.

iv) Negative Obligation: This is the direct opposite of positive obligation. Here, an individual is not permissible to do what the government prevents him from doing so.

Which are your obligations to the state?

- ❖ Playing with your friends.
- ❖ Cast votes during the election time.
- ❖ Teaching your sister.
- ❖ Payment of taxes to the state.
- ❖ To join the Public Service.
- ❖ To serve the army during emergency time.

Now, think of some examples under negative obligation. Have you seen some people get drunk and behave in a very disorderly manner? Some drink and drive, some of them cause a lot of problems to

the family after being drunk. In the same way, commission of crime is also a negative obligation. Hope, you understood what negative obligations are?

The Constitution and important obligations

The Constitution is considered as a rule book of the state and it expects the citizens to adhere to the rules. If the Constitution has to work successfully, then people's cooperation is also a must. "Law is a means to an end and never an end to itself". There is a concept called the steam roller legislature. In case a law does not serve good then it has to be changed. There are situations where some laws are framed by the Government which are harmful and yet they get a support, which is called the Steam roller legislature. It is the duty of the citizen to resist such laws too. Hence, the concept of political obligation not only informs people to obey the rules and regulations of the authority of power but also informs to resist if the laws are found not to be good for the society.

Theories of Political Obligation

All of us have some theories, values in life. We practise whatever is right and do not follow misleading principles. In the same way, theories are applicable for political obligations too. There are different types of theories of political obligation:

i. The Divine theory

In the olden days, people thought that the God created the state and the king was his representative. But this theory could be popular only during the ancient and middle ages but not during the modern era.

ii. The Consent Theory

This theory proposes that the authority of the state is based on the people's consent. **Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau** justified this theory on the grounds that the authority of power was dependent on the people's consent. But, later it could not be accepted because it treated state as an artificial organisation.

iii. The Prescriptive Theory



This theory states that the respect to the political authority is based on the principle of customary rights. It is a fact that political institutions are continuous from the past, this idea has been supported by **Edmund Burke**. But over a period of time, it lost its effect due to its overemphasis on the respect for the well-established practices.

iv. The Idealistic Theory



This theory regards man and the state as two entities. "Man" is regarded as a political and rational creature while "state" is considered as a self-sufficing community. This idealistic theory propounds that



when the individual receives his rights from the state, he can have no rights that can conflict with the state. However, this theory proved to be quite abstract and which could not be understood by man.

v. The Marxian Theory

The Marxian theory is actually different from the other theories. It has been classified into three stages:

Pre- revolutionary stage- This stage explains political non-obligation

Revolutionary Stage- It is an eventual change from political non-obligation stage to a stage of total political obligation.

Post- revolutionary stage-This stage is a complete transition from total political obligation to social development.

The Marxian theory of politics explains the state as an instrument of power in the hands of the proletariat. Towards the success of the revolution to consolidate the socialist order, it may lead to what is called as 'withering away' of the state. However, this theory was also considered to be illogical since it made man subservient to the state.

Why should we obey the state? Is it necessary?

Though the theories mention about the political obligation, yet some seem to be abstract while some are illogical too. But, have you ever thought why should we obey the state? Is it because you fear or you have a sense of patriotism? Shall we see, what are the reasons that make an individual to obey the state?

i. Fear of Punishment: Do you fear being punished by your teacher with

an imposition if you go to school with an incomplete homework? Does your father obey the traffic signals properly fearing being penalised? Yes, fear is always there if we do not perform our tasks properly. In the same way, individuals perform their functions fearing punishments. In other ways, it is actually the coercive authority of the state that compels a man to conform to the system of regulations.

ii. Patriotism: Why do we stand up for our National Anthem? It is because of patriotism. We love our nation. Hence, to keep our surroundings as well as to keep the streets and roads garbage free is also our duty. So, the members of the state are conscious about the state they live as without that they cannot live as civilized human beings. The members develop a binding towards the state.

iii. Fear of disorder and anarchy: Do you like your house to be run in a disorganised manner? Imagine you have breakfast in the afternoon everyday and the clothes are strewn here and there. Would you like if your place is unclean? We don't. It is a general principle that human beings always wish for peace and order. They not only obey the laws but also look upon the ones who do not obey.

iv. Habits and traditions: We are all brought about to follow good habits like being courteous, honest, discipline and obedient. This is what our traditional values instilled. Hence, in a nation, even the citizens wish to establish good traditions, and obedience to the state, that which becomes a habit.

Therefore, let us understand that political obligations are necessary for the citizen to maintain a good system nationwide. Every individual hence has to abide by the laws for a good reciprocation from the state as well.

DEBATE



Critical Debate on Property inequality

In most parts of our country, a son has a right by birth to a share in the undivided family property equal to the father's while a daughter can claim no such right. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 granted daughters equal inheritance rights with sons in their father's share of the undivided family property.

Critical Debate: Teacher can form two groups. Each group consists of three members and one moderator. Team A will support the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 and Team B will oppose the Act.

4.5 Property

Property is considered as a natural right which is necessary for human dignity, freedom and dignity of life. Property refers to the legal relations between the persons with respect to specific things which may be material or abstract. Abstract can be the copyrights of a book or a film, etc. Property does not only refer to the private property. Private property is one of the various forms of the property. The notion of private property relies upon the following features:

- i. Do you own a house? If so, it is called as your private property where you are the owner and no one can access your property or claim.

- ii. As an owner you can use your property but altering or destroying the same requires the necessary authorised permission.
- iii. The third feature is, if in case you wish to transfer, some forms of transfer may be forbidden or penalized by taxation, like gift tax or capital transfer tax.

Other forms of property include the public property, common property or the state property. Property rights grant the owner an exclusive power to decide what will happen to a particular thing or resource. Public properties include transport, railways, etc.

4.5.1 Locke and the Utilitarian Justification

According to **Locke**, the Government's main function is to guarantee every citizen the protection of their individual rights and secure conditions to enjoy their properties peacefully. Humans need property which is also the necessary means of life. Humans do not plan their lives from moment to moment but rather plan with future material security.

Security is an important aspect which can provide peace and happiness in the minds of the people. Hence, the utilitarian's state that the system of property rights is necessary if the individuals is to achieve a sense of happiness. If at all the governments want to promote the happiness of it people, productivity must be encouraged by protecting individual's property rights. No government should take away the property from the people who are expected to possess and enjoy.

4.5.2 Twentieth Century Developments

Most of the developed and developing nations practised social welfare policies after World War II. The main components of these policies entailed taxation on property, transfer of basic industries, and basic public amenities like health and education to state control.

Feminist Perspectives

With the advent of women empowerment in the 20th century, women too claim equal status. Feminist scholars state that an important condition for the subjugation of women has been owing to denial of access of women to resources to income, such as land. This is owing to the prevailing patterns of male ownership and control of such resources. Owing to this, status of women has been one of the dependence on men. This dependent status has actually led to their rights to own and claim property.

The Indian Constitution does not recognize property right as a fundamental right. In the year 1977, the 44th amendment eliminated the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property as a fundamental right. However, Article 300 (A) was inserted in another part of the Constitution. This was to affirm that no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law. Hence, this has become a statutory right now.

Hence, in a civilized society, the scope for coercion and forcible acquisitions needs to be minimal. Unless circumstances are compelling, no forcible acquiring of property must be initiated. The state should neither act as brokers nor as

agents of big businesses but should be in according stronger property rights to the farmers too.

Glossary



Justiciable: Subject to trial in a court of law

Liberty: The state of being free within society from oppressive restrictions imposed by authority one's behaviour or political views.

Democracy: The practice or principles of social equality.

Obligation: Duty or commitment

Patriotism: Vigorous support for one's country

Anarchy: A state of disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority

Secular: Not connected with religious or spiritual matters.

Acquisition: Buying or obtaining of assets

Utilitarian: Designed to be useful or practical rather than being attractive

Renaissance: The revival of art and literature



Evaluation

I Choose the correct answer



1. Which right is the one that entitles an individual to voice their opinions publicly?
 - a. Right to liberty
 - b. Right to education
 - c. Right to free expression
 - d. Right to religion
2. The right to life, liberty and equality are called as
 - a. Political Rights
 - b. Civil Rights
 - c. Legal Rights
 - d. Natural Rights
3. The rights that are protected and supported by international and national laws and treaties are
 - a. Fundamental Rights
 - b. The Bill of Rights
 - c. Natural Rights
 - d. Human Rights
4. The drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly was under the chairmanship of
 - a. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
 - b. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
 - c. Sardar Vallabhai Patel
 - d. Rajendra Prasad
5. Equality and freedom of liberty are the two kinds of rights necessary for
 - a. Communism
 - b. Democracy
 - c. Monarchy
 - d. Communalism
6. The detention of a person to protect the law and security of the nation is called as
 - a. Habeas Corpus
 - b. Mandamus
 - c. Preventive Detention
 - d. Prohibition
7. Which Article provides the Constitutional Remedies to the citizens at Supreme Court?
 - a. Article 21
 - b. Article 32
 - c. Article 15
 - d. Article 18
8. A uniform civil code can be obtained through
 - a. Fundamental Duties
 - b. Fundamental Rights
 - c. Directive Principles
 - d. Human Rights

II Answer the following questions very shortly

9. What is natural Law?
10. What is natural citizen ship?
11. What are the fundamental rights that are available to us?
12. What are the constitutional remedies available for the citizens of India?

III Answer the following questions shortly

13. Explain the divine theory of political obligation.
14. What does citizenship mean in the political theory?
15. What are the different ways where citizenship can be acquired in India?
16. Explain Locke's definition on Utilitarian justification.

IV Answer the following questions in detail

17. Explain the difference between the Bill of Rights and the Fundamental Rights.
18. Explore various outcomes of citizenship in India?
19. What are the different principles under the Directive Principles of State Policy?
20. What do you mean by political obligation and what are the features of political obligation?
21. Explain the different kinds of theories in political obligation.

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2. Biswaranjan Mohanty, "Dynamics of Political Theory- The Current Analysis" Atlantic Publishers and Distributors (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2010.
3. Sushila Ramaswamy, " Political Theory – Ideas and Concepts", Macmillan India Ltd., Chennai, 2009.



ICT Corner

BASIC CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

PART-II

Through this activity you will learn about citizenship.



CITIZENSHIP

Procedure:

- Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the citizenship activity page.
- Step - 2** An activity window will open, click the 'Explore' button at the bottom right to start the activity.
- Step - 3** Use the navigation key to know the features of Citizenship.
- Step - 4** Explore back and forth by clicking the navigation key at the bottom.

Step 1



Step 2



Step 3



Step 4



CITIZENSHIP URL:

<http://mocomi.com/what-is-citizenship/>

*Pictures are indicative



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ICT Corner

BASIC CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE PART-II

Through this activity you will
learn about the Fundamental
Duties

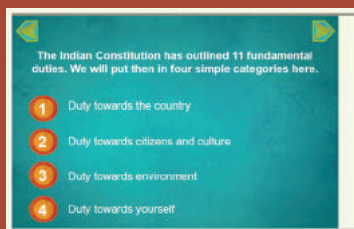


FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES OF INDIAN CITIZEN

Procedure:

- Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the Fundamental Duties activity page.
- Step - 2** An activity window will open, click the navigation key on the top right corner of the activity window.
- Step - 3** After a small introduction story, an explanation of fundamental duties will start.
- Step - 4** Explore the different aspects of the fundamental duties by clicking the forward navigation button.

Step 1



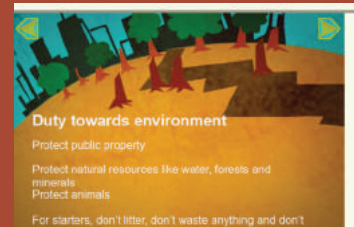
Step 2



Step 3



Step 4



FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES URL:

<http://mocomi.com/indian-fundamental-duties/>

*Pictures are indicative



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5.1 Definition and types of Democracy

The term 'Democracy' is derived from the Greek word as demo means people and cracy is referred as rule. The concept of democracy in its Greek term comes from "demos and "kratos" meaning "people" and "rule". Thus the term democracy is Rule by People.

Democracy is one of the most important and well-debated topics in the world since the beginning of the Twentieth Century and it has increased importance in the Twenty-first century. Democracy has been defined in different terms and usage by many philosophers, rulers and scholars from time to time according to the changes taking place in socio-political and economic institutions that were there. Democracy encompasses the powerful concepts of Rights, Freedom defined in Liberty, Equality and Fraternity all religions.

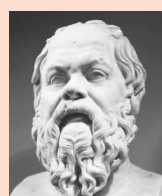
The concept and practice of Democracy in the Modern period evolved in Britain, although it's ancient concept and practice was in Ancient Greece.



Democracy is based on the type of the social system of the country or nation. The social system determines the type and working of democracy. Democracy is important for creating Liberty and Equality that are adopted to bring equality in the unequal society based on political and institutional mechanisms. Democracy has become the most popular form of government and universally regarded as a meaningful political concept in the world in the present period.



Democracy defined by Philosophers:



"Democracy would, it seems, a delightful form of government, anarchic and mostly, assigning a kind of equality indiscriminately to equals and unequals

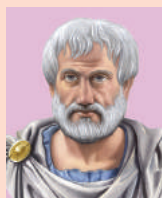
alike."

- *Socrates*



"Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the state, and therefore, in a democracy only will the freedom of nature design to dwell."

- *Plato*



"The foundation of democratic constitution is liberty. People constantly make this statement implying that only in this constitution is there any share in liberty at all".

- *Aristotle*



The spread of Democracy in began in the world in different countries from the beginning of the Twentieth-century.

As a concept and a system of government, Democracy is an instrument of expression of free speech.

Characteristics of Democracy

- a) Democracy is a set of principles and practices that protect human freedom.
- b) Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule, along with individual and minority rights.
- c) Democracies as a system guard against all-powerful central governments and it decentralizes government to regional and local levels. The right of the people to demand the Government they elected and the duty of the Government to be accessible and responsive to their needs and demands is the main function.
- d) One of the primary functions of Democracies is to protect such basic Human Rights i) Equality before Law, ii) Equal Protection before Law iii) Freedom of Speech, iv) Freedom of Religion; vii) Right to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.
- e) Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to all citizens.
- f) Democracy subjects governments to the Rule of Law and it ensures that all citizens receive equal protection under the law and that their rights are protected by the Legal-constitutional system.

g) Democracies are diverse political systems, reflecting each nation's unique political, social, and cultural life.

h) Democracy ensures the citizens to participate in the political system and it protects their rights and freedoms.

i) Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and consensus.

j) In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit."

k) Democracy is a system of government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all citizens, directly or through their freely elected representatives.

Democracy underlines the Principle of Rule by the people. It ensures a form of government in which all the citizens of a nation determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state together either in a Direct Democracy or by Representative Democracy. Democracy ensures that all citizens have an equal opportunity to express their opinion. Democracy is generally defined as "government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them."

Types of Democracy

Democracy by its function has different scope and importance.

- i) Political Democracy
- ii) Social Democracy
- iii) Industrial Democracy
- iv) Economic Democracy
- v) Totalitarian Democracy
- vi) Radical Democracy
- vii) Plebiscitary Democracy

i. Political Democracy

Political democracy features the popular participation of citizens in government by which citizens elect their representatives to the Legislature of the state. The elected representatives are accountable to the citizens who elected them. As a political system of government, Democracy works either as a function by the direct involvement of the citizens in making laws and the elected legislators would introduce it in the Legislature. This is known as the process of Popular Initiative. Similarly, when the legislators elected by the people frame legislation, it is approved by a popular vote that is based on popular acceptance of the laws. This is known as Popular Referendum.

The second type of Democracy is the Representative system of Democracy in which the elected representatives of the people (representative democracy) are elected for a term of office who determine public policy on behalf of the people. Political Democracy by Representative system of democracy is the dominant form of Democracy all over the world, whereas the Direct Democracy

is practiced in the Federal Republic of Switzerland.

ii. Social Democracy

Social Democracy is a combination of social, economic and political ideas that supports economic and social policies. It promotes social equality and social justice giving strength to economy and representative and participatory democracy. Social Democracy is based on the principle of Social equality in all aspects of gender, status, beliefs, values and customs. *Alexis De' Tocqueville* the eminent French thinker praised the American political system as one of the true democracies as it did not believe and encourage feudalism.

Social Democracy believes strongly in Equality of opportunity and equality in freedom as the basis of human rights and life in a Democracy. Social Democracy enabled the individual through hard work and effort to succeed and excel.

Social Democracy believed in the progress of equality as progress of liberty and the progress of liberty as the greatest progress of Democracy in a state.

iii. Industrial Democracy

Industrial democracy is defined as the means to promote democratic principles in industry and labour by the provision and protection of Labour Rights and Responsibilities in the workplace.

Industrial democracy encourages the participation of labour in decision making along with the management. Industrial democracy promotes dignity



and decency of labour and paves way for better efficiency, harmony and unity of purposes of the management and labour.

Industrial democracy enables the workers participate actively in the process of building both community and individual interests for the collective good of the society and state.

Industrial democracy empowers workers as partners in the industry calling for their joint efforts to build community interests and welfare

Industrial democracy paves for the development and growth of the country through better productivity and greater harmony

iv. Economic Democracy

Economic democracy is defined as the process of creating democratic conditions of economic productivity, minimising the rich-poor gap and socio-economic differences, promoting affordable economic development and the ideal of creating greater equality among various classes.

Economic democracy believes in “workplace democracy” and “employee ownership” that is intended to promote equality and democratic redistribution of wealth.

Economic democracy believes in the ability of the social system to integrate and society and economy for the betterment of human economic freedom and dignity. Economic democracy believes in social welfare and development as priority.

Economic democracy is based on the importance of economic rights and social equality.

v. Totalitarian Democracy

Totalitarian Democracy is known as populist democracy or mass democracy in which Citizens after electing the representatives have no voice in decision-making, but the elected representatives decide for the entire country. Totalitarian Democracy elevates the ruler, party and the elected legislators over the voting citizens and captures power through democratic means but runs as dictatorship. The political ideology of the ruler, party and the legislators becomes dominant over people interests. Totalitarian democracy in the name of people’s rights would use internal terror against certain sections of people and also speech restrictions to keep the population under its complete control.

Totalitarian democracy would have complete control of the economy of the state and would use it to control the population.

vi. Radical Democracy

Radical Democracy was proposed by M.N.Roy a leading Indian political thinker who believed in “real rule” of the people for the term of office to which the legislators are elected. Radical democracy supports the idea of direct accountability of the legislators and executive to the people during the term of office. Radical Democracy believed in the humanism of the people who are the real masters of political authority and power and not the elected legislators.

Radical Democracy believed in the “power of the people” in local communities known as local republics who would join in the creation of the state and government. The local republics would finally exercise authority in the national and state levels.

Radical democracy brings into Democracy the real sense of people’s participation, accountability of the elected and the power of the people to change the government.

vii. Plebiscitary Democracy

Plebiscitary Democracy is defined as the process of a direct voting by the people of a candidate, or party or a public issue or the adoption of a new constitution of a state or to determine the association of the province with the state known as national self-determination. The voters have the choice to accept or reject the choice.

Plebiscitary democracy gives the citizens the right and power to collect a sizeable number of signatures on a petition to draft a law or a public policy programme and put the proposal or draft law to vote by the citizen population

Plebiscitary democracy can by a collection of signatures could result in the recall of the elected representative because of failure to represent the real interests of the people.

ACTIVITY – TRUE OR FALSE

Which of the following statements is true about today’s world?

- a) Monarchy as a form of government has vanished. **Ans :** _____

- b) The relationship between different countries has become more democratic than ever before.

Ans : _____

- c) In more and more countries, rulers are being elected by the people.

Ans: _____

- d) There are no more military dictators in the world.

Ans : _____

- e) Which is the good form of government Democracy or Polity?

- f) Democracy is a failure in a country of people who are ignorant.

- g) Democracy fails when the rights of the people are taken away.

Scholars view of Democracy



Democracy is a ‘living reality’ in every sphere of social, economic and political activity.

- *George Douglas Howard Cole*



Democracy is defined as,

1. A government by the people; especially: rule of the majority:

2. A government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections.

- *Thomas Jefferson*

5.2 Theories of Democracy

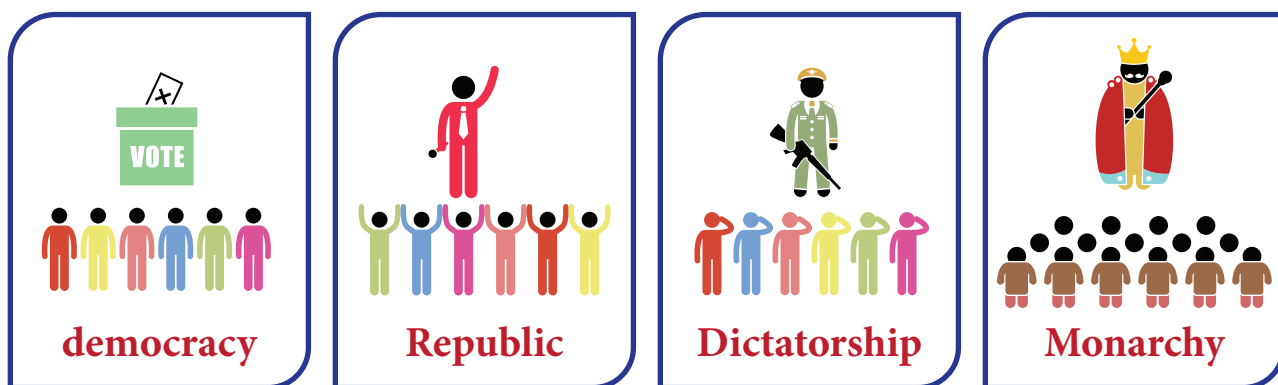
A theory is defined as an explanation of a concept in its historical account and different stages of its development. A theory could be tested in different countries and different cultures to examine its importance and application. A theory is based on several facts that are logically connected and examined. Democracy is a theory that has various applications in different historical periods, different civilizations and cultures.

The Ancient theory of Democracy emerged in Ancient Greece that saw the rise of several city-states (polis) which believed and applied the procedure of Direct election, Debating of public policies and Decision by the people. Greek Civilization, Culture and Language spread widely throughout Europe in the ancient historical period. And it also saw

the spread of democracy as a “form” and “system” of government initially in Europe and later into North and South America.

As the Greek polis increased in size the nation of democracy by elected representatives gained importance and relevance. Representative democracy later emerged as the dominant form and system of government in the European Middle Ages, the Age of Enlightenment. The mass popular demand for Democracy was made in the American (1775-1783) and French Revolutions (1789-1799).

Democracy has now emerged as a “universal” form of government widely accepted by several countries with various people groups, cultures and languages. It has developed in each country according to their local customs, values and ideas thus strengthening the process of democracy.



There are various Theories of Democracy defined in terms of scope and impact:

5.2.1 Classical Democracy: Emerged as a direct form of democracy in Ancient Greece. Athens was the first city to introduce such a democracy. Direct democracy in Athens emerged in between

800-500 BCE (Before Common Era). In Athenian direct democracy, the citizens of the city-state are all as members of the assembly, who participated directly in the decision making and the process of legislation. Given the limited population they were able to gather in the city square and were able to deliberate. All citizens



were free to express their different opinions, debate, and vote in a system directly and this was called as Classical Democracy.

As population increased, the idea of representation in government was proposed. It resulted in the elected representatives participating in the governing process. Gradually it created institutions like the Assembly of the Demos, the Council, and the People's Court as the three important pillars of democracy. Classical democracy for its success should have two preconditions:

- a) The community must be small enough for citizens to be proficient in attending debates and voting on issues;
- b) the economy of the state should be sufficient for enabling the citizens to engage in politics.

The principles of classical democracy are mentioned below:

- a) The chief political ideals were equality among all people, liberty and respect for law and justice.
- b) Equality before law and equal treatment of law enabled justice to prevail in almost all the spheres of society. Political life was free and open.

The main subject of classical democracy was the participation of all peoples in the processes of state. Classical democracy was to bring equality among citizens in respect of rights and privileges.

Protective Democracy:

As Classical Democracy grew it began to take shape into protective democracy in Athens which was by the

emphasis on different aspects of classical democracy. In this viewpoint, democracy has been regarded as a means at the disposal of individuals which they can use to safeguard their rights and liberties. Protective democracy as a Rights-based democracy emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries placing it as an instrument of protecting human rights and liberties. The English thinker **John Locke** (1631-1704) was regarded as the great advocate of protective democracy. **Locke** argued that the citizen's freedom and right to vote was based on the existence of natural rights characterized by Life, Liberty and Property.

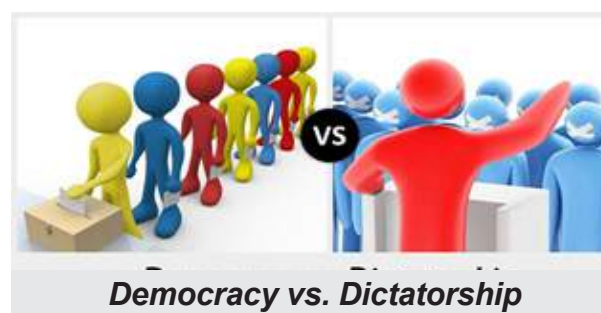
Protective Democracy was proposed by English thinkers **Jeremy Bentham** (1748-1832) **James Mill** 1773-1836) and **John Stuart Mill** (1806-1873) of the Utilitarian School of Democracy and Rights. Utilitarianism was powerfully advocated in favour of protective democracy. The theme of utilitarianism was to safeguard rights, liberty and opportunity as they were the basic principles of democracy. Safeguarding the rights was the safeguard of democracy.

Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and **John Stuart Mill** emphasized that democracy alone could safeguard all individual rights and interests through the mandate of the people who could be protected and advanced. **John Locke, James Madison, Jeremy Bentham** and **James Mills**-supported the Rights based protective democracy as an aspect of liberal democracy. The following are the basic features of protective democracy:

- ❖ Protective democracy believes in popular sovereignty.
- ❖ Both the popular sovereignty and representative form of government are legitimate.
- ❖ It is the primary duty of the state to protect the rights and liberties of citizens.
- ❖ The authority is accountable to the People and in order to establish it elections are held on regular basis.
- ❖ Separation of the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the most important means of protecting the rights, liberties and the distribution of privileges.
- ❖ The introduction of rights-based protective democracy brought in the idea of constitutionalism that governed the ruler and the ruled by the principles laid down in constitution. The Constitution is the sole source of power for all and is the guarantor of rights and liberties. Legal provisions in the constitutions were introduced to protect, individual rights, rights of associations and groups against any violation of rights or encroachment on liberty on behalf of citizens. This brought in a competition among the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary in all spheres for the strengthening of protective democracy. It resulted in a clear distinction between state and civil society.

5.2.2 Marxist Theory of Democracy

The Marxist theory views the democracy in the social context of class analysis during the era of industrial revolution. Society was divided into two classes viz: capitalists or owners of the property are called as 'bourgeois' and the working class is called as 'proletariat'. The Marxist theory of Democracy held the political position to always challenge the dominance of capitalists and against the exploitations of working class. The Marxist theory of democracy did not support electoral rights, but strongly supported economic rights and the creation of 'socialist democracy'.



The Marxist theory of Democracy favoured the collapse of capitalism and calls for the revolutionary transformation of the society. It believes that political power is possible only through the ideals of 'socialism'; and is based on the equal distribution of economic power against the unequal wealth and ownership of production. The Marxists democrats and socialists believe in the removal of class differences and privileges are the necessary step to freedom, equal status and democracy.

Views of leaders on Democracy



Democracy is the road to socialism.

-Karl Marx.



Democracy is the form of the government for the people, of the people, by the people.

-Abraham Lincoln.



My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. This can never happen except through non-violence.

- Mahatma Gandhi

The socialists believed that with universal education people can govern themselves. The Marxist theory criticises the falseness of the liberal democracies are thus seen as 'capitalist' or 'bourgeois' democracies which are manipulated and controlled by the entrenched power of ruling class. The Marxist theory emphasises the importance of economic factor as the key factor for the class divisions and ownership and the control of the means of production. However the Marxists democrats in Europe support the strong role of electoral democracy to establish a peaceful, legal and democratic road to socialism.

Democratic Marxists view (a) State as an agency of anti-people crimes and

considered the abolition of standing army and instituting a citizen's militia, (b) Implement the election of all officials subjecting them to recall, (c) Totally remove the political attribute of police, (d) Eliminate the monarchy.

5.2.3 Elitist Theory of Democracy

The role of the elites in a democracy is an unavoidable force. Elites of Leaders rule, control key resources and enforce major decision for centuries. In an industrial, agrarian society the ownership of property and control over production were the important factors. Elites from the agrarian and industrial sectors emerge as feudal landlords and owners of industry. They later take a political role to govern the state.



Three important theorists **Vilfredo Pareto** (1848-1923), **Gaetano Mosca** (1857-1941) and **Robert Michels** (1876-1936) are the leading thinkers of elitist democracy. Pareto classified the elites into governing and non-governing elite from the masses. The governing elite are the power elites who are the ruling classes. They derive power from the variety of sources such as education, social status, bureaucratic position, political connections, and wealth.



Pareto described the Elite qualities in two psychological types (a) Foxes – who rule the masses by cunningness and manipulate their consent, (b) Lions – who achieve power through domination, coercion and violence. Elitism developed as a critique of egalitarian idea such as democracy and socialism.

Robert Michels had an alternative view about the democracy that even though the organization tend to be democratic but the small group of dominant figures who can organize and make decision rather than having deliberation with rank and file of the organization and called it as ‘iron law of oligarchy’.

Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950) proposed the concept of democratic elitism. **Schumpeter** defined that democracy was a good political method to arrive at political, legislative and administrative decisions by placing in certain individuals in power to decide on all matters of the masses as a representative means and the result of successful pursuit of people’s vote. Democracy paves way for competitive pursuit means among the elites to achieve their legitimacy and power.

The Elitist theory partly accepts the Marxian view of democracy that large corporations dominate in production and distribution of goods, however it does not agree with Marxian class analysis. The democratic Elitism theory engages with the groups and individuals to meet their ends and facilitates with their disagreements so as to meet the ends of the both.

5.2.4 Pluralist Theory of Democracy

Pluralism is an inclusive concept. It addresses the interests and rights and the representation of the minorities thus forming the core content of liberal democracy. It affirms the separation of power from state and civil society and also economy from the political power. It offers the scope of institutions for the democratic process in the case of Legislature known as Bicameralism and a form of governance namely Federalism to govern the state through various set of representation. Pluralism paves way for participatory democracy that enables diverse group participation, to protect their rights. In this scheme, political power is distributed and shared to many groups in the society representing diverse interests.

Pluralism leads to defend their particular interests through government by creating ‘competitive equilibrium’ that intends to benefit large sections of the society for the long run.

Pluralism suggests that democracy in the system necessitates the conduct of regular elections that encourages political competition among parties, groups and individuals. The thinkers of Utilitarian school were the great advocates of pluralist democracy **James Madison**, **John Stuart Mill** and **Tocqueville** predicted that elections expresses the preferences of divergent competitive groups rather than the wishes of many in the majority group. This also provides the bargaining power to the minority groups to assert their rights and share in power.

Pluralist democracy is also termed as Polyarchy, which is a rule by series of minorities within the political framework.

Robert Dahl pointed out that the very essence of democracy is realized by Polyarchy that accommodates the presence of divergent groups, association, organizations in large number to enjoy relative autonomy in governmental power and jurisdiction. The preconditions for a functioning of polyarchy are consensus on the rule of procedure, range of policy options and legitimate scope of political activity.



Later there was a revision in **Robert Dahl's** Theory, he forwarded the theory of “Deformed Polyarchy” to better describe the working of American democracy.

Activities:



- Find what is “Deformed Polyarchy” and discuss about its relevance to Indian Democracy.



- You can witness the people from various religions, community and class participating in the public debate and voting.

5.2.5 Deliberative Theory of Democracy

Democracy is Deliberative in its scope. It emphasizes on the form of democracy that emphasizes the need for deliberation, discourse and debate that defines the public interest. Deliberation and participation are two critical aspects of democracy. Deliberative democracy and participation are usually strong in the grassroots level. India's Panchayati Raj institutions are usually strong in this process. Grass roots democracy features Panchayati Raj Institutions and civil societies that strengthen the functioning of the government. James Miller defines that deliberative democracy is built on the system of deliberation that features that decisions are reflective of the discussion among the participants. It features the willingness of the people to listen to the views and consider the interests of the others modifying their own opinions accordingly. Public interest and public opinion are the key components of the deliberative democracy. It emphasizes on the consensus built upon the acceptance from the masses rather than the influential individuals.



Deliberative democracy is usually based on a rights-based approach of the current model of the development discourse. It provides for resolution of the scope for conflicts of interest with



the democratic institutional mechanism balancing the benefits of the competing groups.

Deliberative democracy is different from other forms of democracy by maintaining a person is rational enough to set aside particular interest and opinion to aspire for fairness and common interests of the collective and deliberation was based on equality, equity, and public goods. It values the decisions arrived after open discussion that heard all the points of view the most. Deliberative democracy is 'discursive' in scope. It is a type of democracy in which deliberation is central to decision making. Deliberative democracy differs from

traditional democratic theory in authentic deliberation, not merely confined to voting. It is the primary source of legitimacy for the law making processes.

Deliberative democracy is harmonious with both representative democracy and direct democracy. Rawls and Habermas famous theorists of justice and public opinion have observed that political choice, to be legitimate, must be the outcome of deliberation about ends among free, equal, and rational agents. Deliberative democracy recognises "the full and equal membership of all in the sovereign body responsible for authorizing the exercise of that power, and establishes the common reason and will of that body".

ACTIVITY



- a) Why it is important to separate the religion from the State in democratic societies?
- b) Why it is important that government schools do not promote any one religion?
- c) Give two evidences which suggest that India is a secular state.
- d) Discuss any three key factors that threatens the growth of secular state in India.
- e) You have read that most elected members whether in the Panchayat or Corporation, State Assembly or the Parliament are elected for a period of 5 years. Why do we have a system where the representatives are elected for a period of 5 years?
- f) List the three forms of protest that you see in newspaper and paste it in the Chart. Display in your classroom.
- g) **ROUND ROBIN** – Generate ideas on short comings of democracy and speak in order moving from one student to the next.

Democracy is the most popular form of government emerging the modern times. Still the shortcomings cannot be ruled out. Justify the statement by assessing any five short comings of democracy.



Case Study

TALE OF TWO CARTOONS



Courtesy : The Hindu- 31.12.2007
Cartoon by Surendra

APRIL REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY IN NEPAL

On April, 2006 the leaders of Nepal's vibrant pro-democracy civil society movement "Seven Party Alliance" (SPA) called for a million-strong demonstration to be staged at seven different points along the ring road encircling the capital Kathmandu. The millions of citizens who made up the people's movement demanded a end to autocratic rule of monarchy and restoration of total democracy in the Himalayan Kingdom. An unprecedented development forced the King Gyanendra to step down and paved the way for democracy.



Case Study

HISTORIC TRANSITION IN BHUTAN



Courtesy : The Hindu - 3.11.2008
Cartoon by Keshav

The fourth King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck travelled to all the 20 districts of the tiny Kingdom. The purpose of the travel is to explain the importance of historic transition to the people of Bhutan. Transition from the hereditary monarchy to the Parliamentary Democracy. In 2006, the King has abdicated the throne, 34 years after ascending it. His son Crown Prince Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck becomes the fifth monarch and head of State of the Himalayan Kingdom. Now Bhutan is a parliamentary democracy and King Jigeme a constitutional monarch

Discuss the salient features of April Revolution of Nepal and Voluntary transition of power in Bhutan. Discuss the key terms such as Hereditary Monarchy, Parliamentary Democracy, Monarchy, Autocracy and Democracy.



INTERPRETATION OF CARTOONS

Our Neighbours



Read the cartoon and identify the context.

Clue: Bhutan King's Voluntary Transition, Nepal Revolution, Pakistan - Assassination of Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan, Myanmar Military rule

Modern and Contemporary Democracy:

Modern and contemporary democracies emerged in the late eighteen centuries in Western Europe as a result of industrial revolution, rise of labour and the social changes that emerged. Modern and contemporary democracies feature:

- ❖ Written constitution the basic requirements and it must be kept up in everyday life by politicians and authorities:
- ❖ Importance of Constitutionally guaranteed basic Human Rights and

fundamental rights to every individual of all the social groups' especially religious minorities and other underprivileged.

- ❖ The Separation of Powers between the institutions of the state:
- ❖ Government (Executive Power), Parliament (Legislative Power) and Courts of Law (Judicative Power)
- ❖ Freedom of opinion, speech, press and mass media
- ❖ Religious liberty

- ❖ General and equal right to vote (one person, one vote) – *Universal Adult Suffrage*

The “majority rule” is characterized as only important features of democracy, however the process should have free and fair competitive elections. Additionally, the importance of Rights is very important viz: freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are indispensable in the representative democracy and the masses are informed through political campaign and the manifestoes of the political parties enable to vote in their personal interests.

Democracies have been practiced by different models of political system ranging from one party rule to multi-party system. In several countries, democracy is based on the legal principle of equal rights to vote. People in Asian and European countries use the term “democracy” as the basic expression meaning for liberal democracy, which has the salient features of political pluralism; equality before the law; civil liberties; human rights; and elements of civil society outside the government. Freedom of speech is the fundamental requirement of modern democracy.

All democratically elected Governments are held responsible by free speech, every decision must have a reason, accountable. The free flow of information allows both people and governments to make the best informed decisions. Democracy has been described or defined broadly as



- a) Political System of Competition for Power
- b) Right to participation in public life
- c) The Rule of Law

TYPES OF MODERN DEMOCRACY:

Representative Democracy:



A representative democracy is the system of government in which all qualified citizens vote to elect their representatives based on the constituencies divided by the population or eligible voters.

People elect their representatives to power to run the government through political parties according to their views on ideology, principle, policies and

programme for their socio-political and economic development. The parties are allowed to have choose the candidates on their own to attract the masses and winning chances.

During the election they announce to the people about their programmes and policies are known as the 'party manifesto'. A transforming country like India, every national and regional party used to release their election manifesto to have a direction and trajectory of their future plan of action so as to win the confidence of the masses.

The individuals are allowed to contest elections as independent candidates too, if they do not wish to belong any political party. The role of political parties is vital in a representative democratic system. The members of political parties keep the people informed about important issues by holding public meetings, for either supporting or opposing the policies of the government. Thus, the political parties mobilize the people in knowing their needs and in turn mould the public opinion. The representatives are constitutionally recognized and entitled to execute their duties and responsibilities in the people's interest, with authority.

Representative Democracy is closely associated with Liberal Democracy which describes the political system which originated in the USA and Western Europe and has subsequently been adopted in numerous Third World countries and may gradually be well established in the former USSR and its former states in Eastern Europe. Liberal Democratic regimes may

be classified as either Presidential or Parliamentary systems and there are also important variations within these broad categories. Representative democracies are based upon numerous interconnected principles:

- ❖ The existence of regular, free, fair elections based upon universal suffrage and secret ballots under the supervision of Election Commission as an independent body.
- ❖ The existence of competing political parties offering electoral choice.
- ❖ The existence of electoral laws supervised by an independent judiciary.
- ❖ Freedom of speech and association.
- ❖ Freedom to stand as an election candidate.

ACTIVITY



- a) The sessions could be watched in the television where the MLAs and MPs of our constituencies raising issues related to their particular constituencies.
- b) This can be practiced for electing the Leader of the Class through a secret ballot system according to the wish of students.
- c) Student parliament can be organized to take part in discussion with parliamentary procedures.



Case Study

MORE THAN A SYMBOLIC CELEBRATION

We must step up our common efforts to make the U.N. Declaration of the Right of Indigenous Peoples something more than a mere pledge of intent.

The estimated 370 million indigenous peoples need and deserve more than just symbolic celebrations on August 9, when they commemorate everywhere the International Day devoted to the reaffirmation of the value and resilience of indigenous life and cultures. After centuries of repression, they need comprehensive tools to defend their human rights, their way of life, and their aspirations.

The UN Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples

A Challenge for Canadians,
an opportunity for churches



One such tool is the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples. It established their right to self-determination and to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully in public life. Crucially, this document underscored indigenous peoples' right to preserve or freely dispose of and trade, their traditional lands and resources.

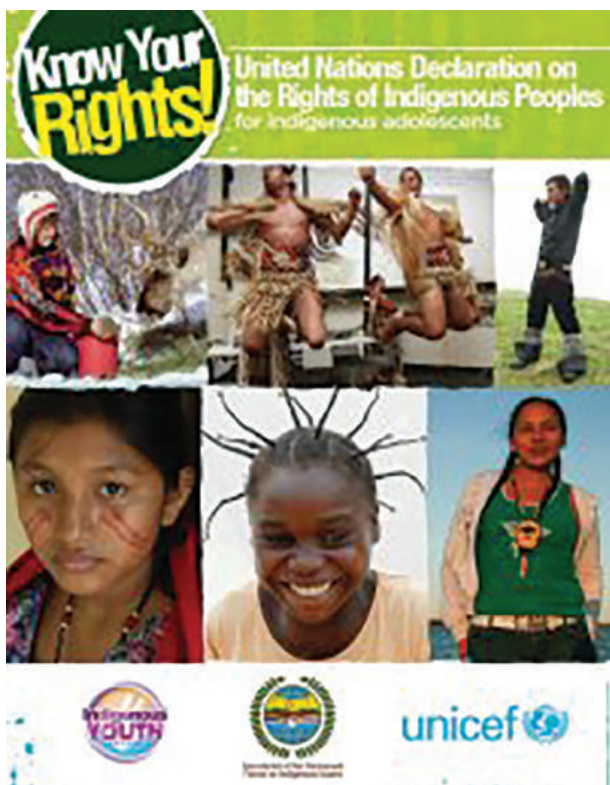
Following negotiations that spanned more than two decades, the Declaration

was adopted in September 2007 by the General Assembly with the support of 143 Member States. This support keeps expanding. Significantly, Colombia and Australia – two of the countries that originally did not approve the text have now endorsed the Declaration. These developments are encouraging, but we must continue to strive for universal acceptance of this crucial document.



Such acceptance is key to counter the daily hardship and discrimination that indigenous people endure. It is estimated that at least one in every ten indigenous peoples in the world is facing extreme poverty. These peoples are more likely to receive inadequate health services and poor education – if any at all. Economic development plans often bypass them or do not take into sufficient consideration their particular needs and traditions. Other decision making processes are often equally contemptuous of, or indifferent to, their contribution and customs. As a result, law and policies designed by majorities with the regard to indigenous concerns frequently lead to land disputes and conflicts over natural resources that threaten the way of life and the very survival of indigenous peoples.

We must step up our common efforts to make the Declaration something more than a mere pledge of intent. We must translate its letter and spirit into concrete change – change that can be felt in indigenous peoples daily lives.



In line with the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and other human rights instruments, States, indigenous peoples, the United Nations system and others concerned must join efforts and reach solutions based on true dialogue, mutual understanding tolerance and respect for human rights.

Courtesy: Navanethen Pillay, U.N. Information Centre, New Delhi

With reference to the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples answer the following questions:

a) Give three reason for the importance of Indigenous Rights today.

- b) Write in your own words that the Indigenous rights are inalienable, interdependent and indivisible?
- c) Name any four human rights included in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which have been incorporated in the Constitution of India

Participatory Democracy:

Participatory democracy is been promoted to achieve equity reversing the concept of equality. In the recent days participatory democracy is a process that enables and ensures the wider participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. Democracy tends to support more involved forms of citizen participation than traditional representative democracy. A civil society based concept, participatory democracy attempts to create opportunities for all members of a group to make expressive contributions to decision-making, and to increase the range of access to such opportunities. Social relations is base for its “political” operation in that it revolves around a structure of authority increasing and extending the scope of participation and political equality involves democratizing society.

The aim of participatory democracy is to make people interested to take part in the political, legal and economic processes of the state and also to make people more responsible for the decisions made. The important feature of a participatory democracy is that people will have the opportunity to directly participate in the functions and access to the decision-

making institutions of state and there shall be no provision for delegating power to another body or organ. It is designed to revitalize the democratic participation in the era of economic growth, to redress the inequality among the people. The most

important characteristic is the importance of political equality in democratic system a long side basic or fundamental rights, liberties that needs emphasis and to be highlighted.

ACTIVITY



Try to take part in the meetings of Grama Sabha held on Independence Day and Republic day of India where the people of the particular village come together to discuss about their demands and getting involved in the decision making process.

5.3 Measuring and evaluating democracy

Democracy has found to be a right, system, approach, mechanism and the profound channel of expression of consent and dissent. Measuring and evaluating democracy complement each other. As it was strongly expressed by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the Drafting Committee Chairman of the Constitution of India, 'In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will



have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure,

continue to deny the principle of one man one value.' Democracy can be measured and evaluated in terms of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative analysis will help to understand the dynamics of social change and the quantitative analysis will help to prove the net result of the change to accentuate the democratic process.

The qualitative analysis of democracy can be measured through the political participation in terms of protest, demonstration, campaign, opinion making, freedom of expression and other constitutionally guaranteed rights. The social reflections are adding values to the social changes in terms of social upward mobility occurring within the caste system, religious, gender and cultural perspectives. Democracy has direct relationship with changing economic pattern of development through policies to minimize the inequality. The quantitative part of the democracy is to evaluate through human development index, per capita income and so on. The democracy can be measured and evaluated by the following criteria.

- a) **Sovereignty:** The degree to which a polity is able to govern itself in its domestic affairs and foreign policies and free from interference of other nations.
- b) **Authority:** The degree to which central governmental authority is pre-eminent throughout the territory claimed as part of the polity.
- c) **Elected government:** The extent to which executive functions are carried

forward by officials elected through election through secret ballot.

- d) **Universal Adult suffrage:** The extent to which all the adults have been given the right to exercise vote in elections.
- e) **Turnout:** The percentage of people's participation in voting during elections.
- f) **Regular elections:** The extent to which elections are held in regular interval (every 5 years) and on schedule, according to the constitution of India.
- g) **Free and Fair elections:** The extent to which parties and candidates can gain access to the ballot, and have their votes counted and allocated fairly. Also, the extent to which citizens are able to register to vote without fear and favour.
- h) **Access to media and campaign:** The extent to which all parties/candidates are granted equal access to the media and to campaign, proportional to their support in the electorate.
- i) **Ensuring rule of law:** The extent to which the executive follows the law, as defined by the constitution and as interpreted by the judiciary.
- j) **Legislative power:** The extent to which the legislature controls the executive with parliamentary systems
- k) **Role of Opposition parties:** The extent to which the opposition parties function in a parliamentary democracy to control the excess of ruling party when it moves out of the constitutional framework.



l) Independent Judiciary: The extent to which the highest judicial bodies are independent of the executive and other outside influences.

m) Judicial review: The extent to which the highest judicial bodies are able to review acts of legislation and other governmental actions in the light of constitutional provisions, and the extent to which such decisions are respected by other bodies.

n) Party strength: The extent to which parties are institutionalized and decentralized its power, functions and inclusiveness.

o) Party ideology: The extent to which parties have well-defined, consistent, and coherent ideologies.

p) Party system: The number of parties gaining seats in the legislature.

q) Freedom of Press: The extent to which major media outlets are independent, free to air their diverse political expert views, and able to reach the citizen.

r) Civil society independence: The extent to which civil society is independent of the state and able to voice opinions critical of political leaders.

s) Civil liberty: The extent to which citizens enjoy all the fundamental and human rights enshrined in the constitution.

t) Property rights: The extent to which property rights are protected.

u) Religious freedom: The extent to which freedom of religion is guaranteed to maintain religious harmony and secular content of government policies and programs.

v) Equal access to resources: The extent to which resources are redistributed to achieve economic equilibrium through income, education, and health which would make greater impact of participating in politics.

w) Equal access to natural and common property: The extent to natural and common resources to ensure their livelihood, environment and social emancipation.

x) Gender equality: The extent to which women achieve equal representation with indiscriminate dignity in the legislature, social institutions and other high positions within government.

y) Political equality to achieve socio-economic status for underprivileged: The extent to which underprivileged ethnic groups defined as caste, tribe, race, religious minority, or other ascriptive characteristics are granted constitutional rights and remedies to come up to positions of power within the government, as well as the extent to which such groups actually gain representation in the legislature and other high positions within government according to their political participation and social position.

ACTIVITY



This could be witnessed in any forum whichever is meant for public cause would raise its voice for justice and equality. For an example, when a development activity or industry is established in a place where it may cause some health and environmental hazards to the public. Then they are allowed to represent, protest, argue, and have a dialogue with all the concerned officials for their betterment. Refer new paper or magazines and collect news items related to protest, dharna, rally or procession and paste it in the chart. Display the chart in your classroom.

5.4 Achievements of Indian Democracy

The founding fathers of India and its Constitution had built strong democratic foundations in the Indian State and the Constitution thus making India a great country. The democratic constitutional foundations have strengthened the Constitution in every aspect of socio-political and economic changes. The Preamble of the Constitution laid down clear road map with Fundamental Rights and Duties, Directive Principles; Parliamentary System and Amendment Procedures; Judicial Review and Basic Structure doctrine.

Political front

- ❖ During the first general election in the 1951 India had 54 political parties and now it has grown up to 464 in the 2014 general election as an evident of deepening of the democratic process.
- ❖ In the first General election 1951, 173 million citizens were given right to vote; of these, 44.87 percent exercised their franchise. In the 16th general election in 2014, the size of the electorate had increased to 814 million the voting percentage had gone up to 66.4 and of these, 67.9 percent were men and 65.6 percent women. The number of contestants was increased to 8,251.
- ❖ Since 2004, votes are recorded through (EVMs) electronic voting machines. These are manufactured in India and their accuracy is ensured and secrecy has been fully tested.
- ❖ Our electoral system known as FPTP or First-Past-The-Post system, is a single-member district, simple-plurality system in which voters cast a single ballot to choose a single representative to the lower house of parliament or the State legislative assembly, the candidate with largest number of votes, even if only a plurality, getting elected to represent the constituency.
- ❖ Since 1989, the citizens were given a chance to elect their representatives at the age of 18, this is another feather in the crown of democracy.
- ❖ India is the world's the largest democracy proved success in accommodation of group and regional demands in a complex, quasi-federal, polity.
- ❖ The 73rd and 74th amendment of the constitution has given the reservation for SC/STs, women in the Local self-governing bodies like panchayats,

municipalities and corporations as members, councillors and mayors.

- ❖ India's democratic set up has been vibrant and able to keep the military out of political power. It also shows prudence on the part of military generals and defence personnel earning respect from the executive.

Social Front: The democratic process has brought about a shift of political power from the middle and higher castes and classes of urban society to backward classes who are now the politically most influential ones in the country. They have won reservations for themselves in legislatures and government services as were accorded to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes after independence through Constitutional provisions.

India's institutions like the free press and an independent judiciary have ensured that India remains a society based on rule of law.

The life expectancy at birth has almost doubled from 36 years in 1951 to 66 years in 2011 due to the availability of better health facilities and the health programmes consistently implemented for the well-being of the people to get away from the epidemics, endemics, communicable and non-communicable diseases.

Similarly, diseases like smallpox and polio have been eradicated. In education, the number of universities and colleges has gone up from a minuscule 27 universities and 578 colleges in 1950-51 to an estimated 712 universities and 36,671 colleges in

2014. Similarly, literacy rates have almost quadrupled from 18.3

percent of the population in 1951 to 73 percent in 2011.



Democracy is good. I say this because other systems are worse. So we are forced to accept democracy. It has good points and also bad.

But merely saying that democracy will solve all problems is utterly wrong. Problems are solved by intelligence and hard work.

Jawaharlal Nehru



Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It

means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity of the principles of life.

B.R. Ambedkar

Economic Front:

These include strategic affairs and security, politico-legal democratic governance as well as society and economy.

- ❖ India has been able to emerge as a regional power in Asia and super power in south Asia backed by its economic, military and nuclear capabilities.

❖ It meant centralized planning till 2017 and a very big public sector for industries catering employment and science and technology education for the youth in the country, but soon there were inefficiencies and labour issues it resulted in a move towards a more open liberalized and market driven model of the economy starting in the 1991 reforms called as Structural Adjustment Programme. Post this, the economy has seen greater private and foreign participation found the base for the emergence of professional new middle class. The technological innovations applied in transforming the service sector particularly Education, Health and transportation along with rural and urban infrastructure lead to digital India and reforms in banking

sectors has brought a great social transformation in reality.

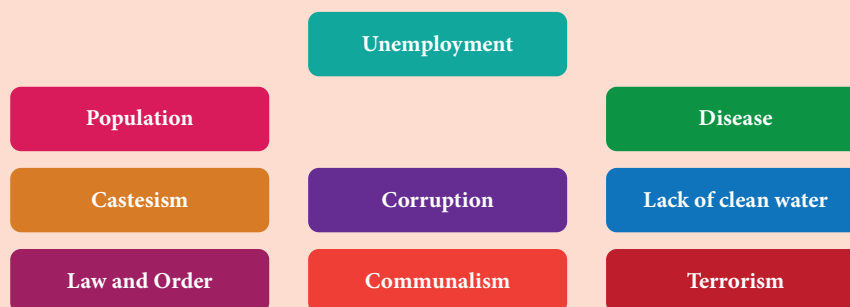
- ❖ India's Gross National Income (GNI) at constant prices has increased more than 35 times from ₹ 2.92 lakh crore in 1950-51 to ₹ 105.28 lakh crore 2014-15. Similarly, the per capital income at current prices has risen from a poultry ₹ 274 In 1950-51 to a decent ₹ 88,533 in 2014-15.
- ❖ Food grain production grew from 50.8 million tonnes in 1950-51 to an estimated 264.77 million tonnes in 2014-15 that indicates more than a five-fold increase and the fact that India is food secure for the time being. It was made possible with rapid advances in agricultural technology.

ACTIVITY



Look at this diamond nine grid which ranks some of the social, political and economical issues that our country is currently facing. The most important one from Maruthanayagam's (your friend) perspective is unemployment, which is at the top of equal importance underneath are corruption-free India, Casteism-free India. The issue you thinks is the least important is at the bottom (Communalism- free-India).

Prioritising social, political and economical issues



Reflection : Do you agree with the priorities listed by your friend?

Consider which of these you think will be the most important for you over the next 10 years of your life. How might you change the grid? (the order of priority, change of issues).

5.5 Challenges to Indian Democracy

The challenges that are faced by Indian democracy ranges from individual to society as a whole the problems of Illiteracy which resulted in poor implementation of universalization of education, Poverty, corruption, Casteism, Communalism, religious fundamentalism, Sustainable development, gender discrimination, violence against women, political violence, regional disparity in development, inadequate Judicial and administrative reforms, civil society participation, civil-military relationship, criminalization of politics and growing economic offences. The challenges now and for the future include ensuring greater transparency, accountability and independence in the broad framework of checks and balances on which India's democratic framework rests.



▲ Even after 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, there were villages in which panchayat elections were not conducted for many years.

ACTIVITY

- Find the villages.
- Identify the reasons.
- Know about the present status in those villages.

Glossary:

Anarchy is a state without rule; anarchy is often referred pejoratively to suggest instability or even chaos.

Aristocracy is a form of government that is ruled by or placed in the hands of some privileged class.

Authority is the right to exercise the power and influence of a particular position that comes from having been placed in that position according to regular, known and widely accepted procedure.

Capitalism is an ideology and also an economic system involving private ownership over the means of production, distribution of goods and the overall structure of business is based on profit motive.

Casteism: The social system constructed by hierarchical structure with graded inequality which determines the social status of the individual playing a vital role in every sphere of Indian citizen.

Civil society is the realm of autonomous groups and associations; a private sphere independent from public authority

Civil-Military relationship: It is the discipline that has emerged to study and understand



the relationship between the civil society as a whole and the military and its organizations to protect it.

Communalism as a political ideology that has come to be associated with conflicts, tensions and resulting it in violence between different religious, ethnic and caste groups.

Corruption is generally known as favouring one through illegal means. But on the other hand it is a failure to carry out 'proper' responsibilities as a result of the pursuit of private gain.

Deliberative democracy: A form of democracy that emphasises the need for discourse and debate to help define the public interest.

Dictatorship: A rule by single individual; the arbitrary and unchecked exercise of power.

Justice is the morally justifiable apportionment of rewards or punishments, each person being given what he or she is 'due'.

Elite means that a minority in whose hands power, wealth or prestige is concentrated.

Gender discrimination: A practice of discrimination between females and males based on their different social roles and positions.

Grass-root democracy is participating in the process and practice of local self-governance to design their political process and decision-making for fulfilling the needs of the people from lower strata of the socio-economic category.

Judiciary: The branch of government that is empowered to decide legal disputes and adjudicate on the meaning of the law.

Monarchy an institution in which the post of head of state is filled through inheritance or by dynastic succession; monarchy may be absolute or constitutional

Panchayati Raj is the institution functions at the grass root level with constitutional safe guards making the people to participating in the process and practice of local self-governance to design their political process and decision-making for fulfilling the needs.

Political violence is one of the behaviours against the conflicts resulting in violence perpetrated by the persons from political organizations to achieve their political goals. And also there is a perception that a group of people who have never believe that the state would not respond to their demands resort in to violence to achieve the political mileage.

Polyarchy means the rule by the many. A series of minorities, some self-interested and other disinterested within the boundaries stipulated by consensus with not being able to dominate but all having space for the manoeuvre and bargaining.

Religious fundamentalism: A movement or a style of thought that holds certain principles to be essential and unchallengeable truth.



Republic: The principle that political authority stems ultimately from the consent of the people; the rejection of monarchical and dynastic principles.

Right: The concept of right is the acceptance of ideas of personal autonomy, individuality, liberty and human equality and any denial and discrimination has to have sufficient reasons.

Freedom is 1) The ability to think or act as one wishes; freedom implies either non-interference or personal self-development. 2) Liberty from the arbitrary power of the tyrants along with the right of citizens to manage their common affairs by participating in government.

Liberty refers to authoritative permission to act in some particular way.

Equality: The principle of uniform apportionment, rather than 'sameness'; equality may be applied to rights, opportunities or outcomes.

Fraternity means as brotherhood, bonds of sympathy and comradeship between and amongst human beings

Sovereignty: Absolute and ultimate power; sovereignty can imply either supreme legal authority or unchallengeable political power.

Socialism: The concept of Socialism is an ideology and it is applied in terms of achieving equality in the economic system in which property is held in common and not individually, and relationships between the state and society are governed by a political hierarchy.

Secularism: The concept of secularism is that the state should not patronize any religion and also treat all the equally.

The state is defined as a political entity that possesses people, territory, a government and sovereignty.

Evaluation



I Choose and write the correct Answer

1. The term democracy means

- a) Rule by People
- b) Power of People
- c) Revolution
- d) Polyarchy





2. Democracy is a _____

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| a) Form of Government | c) Political System |
| b) Rule by Law | d) Power of People |

3. Democracy underlines the Principle of

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| a) Rule by the people | c) Election |
| b) Rule of Constitution | d) Governing principle |

4. Social Democracy believes strongly in

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| a) Equality of opportunity and freedom | c) Socialism |
| b) Human rights | d) Liberty |

5. Direct Democracy is practiced in the

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) Federal Republic of Switzerland | c) United States of America |
| b) Russia | d) China |

6. Economic democracy is based on the importance of

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| a) economic rights and social equality | c) Workplace democracy |
| b) Labour Rights | d) Employment Guarantee |

7. The leading Indian political thinker who Proposed Radical Democracy was

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| a) M.N.Roy | c) Gandhi |
| b) Nehru | d) Ambedkar |

8. Radical Democracy is believed to be the

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| a) Power of the people | c) Rule of Law |
| b) Local Community Rule | d) Participatory Democracy |

9. Protective democracy is based on

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| a) Equality | c) Rights |
| b) Liberty | d) Social security |

10. The Marxist theory views the democracy in the social context of

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| a) Community | c) Class analysis |
| b) Social Group | d) Capitalist Class |



11. Which was the theory of Democracy favoured the collapse of capitalism and calls for the revolutionary transformation of the society?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a) Classical Theory | c) The Marxist theory |
| b) Egalitarian Theory | d) The Elitist Theory |

12. Pluralism leads to defend their particular interests through government by creating

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a) Social Equilibrium | c) Economic Equilibrium |
| b) competitive equilibrium | d) Political Equality |

13. One of the salient features of Indian Democracy is

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) Citizen's Participation | c) Secret Ballot |
| b) Parliamentary Democracy | d) Universal Adult suffrage |

II Answer the following questions very shortly

14. Define: Any one of the popular definitions of Democracy.
15. Explain: Pareto's classification of the elites.
16. What are the essentials of radical democracy?
17. How do you explain the class analysis of Marx.
18. What does the term 'polyarchy' mean?
19. Mention few principles of Representative democracy.
20. What are the factors to have qualitative democracy?

III Answer the following questions shortly

21. Write a short note on M.N.Roy's local republics in Radical democracy.
22. Describe the qualities of Elites in Pareto's theory of elites.
23. Discuss the relevance of deliberative democracy.
24. Define: Robert Dahl's view on Polyarchy.
25. What are the merits of participatory democracy?
26. Write about the view of B.R.Ambedkar on democracy.

IV Answer the following questions in detail

27. Explain the elitist theory of democracy.
28. Write an essay on achievements of Indian democracy in the political front.
29. Write an essay on achievements of Indian democracy in the economic front.



• Reference books



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Through this activity you will know which countries have democratic Government.



Step - 1 Use the URL or QR code to open the DEMOCRACY MAP page.

Step - 2 Click on the Forward button placed on the bottom of the activity window to initiate the activity.

Step - 3 A legend with colour codes are given at the bottom. With this legend, the countries which have the democratic form of Government will be identified.



https://www.nobelprize.org/educational/peace/democracy_map/production/index.html





6.1 Introduction

The Government is the main agency of the state. It comprises several members belonging to political and administrative wings. It serves as the instrument for delegation and execution of the state policies for the welfare of the people. It formulates, expresses and realises the will of the state. It exercises certain legislative, executive and judicial powers based on the constitution and the laws. There are three organs in government, namely – Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. These organs carry out the activities of the state. Governments are classified under Unitary, Federal, Parliamentary and Presidential forms.

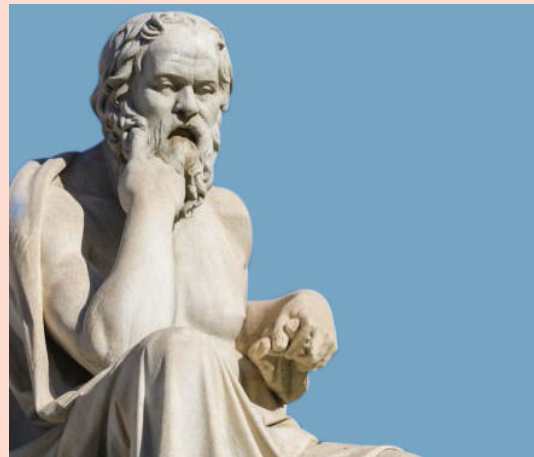


Learning Objectives

Students will be able to

- ❖ define Government
- ❖ understand the purpose of Government
- ❖ describe different types of Government
- ❖ understand the relationship between individual and Government; critically analyze the performance of the Government

Think about the following statements



- a. What comes to your mind when you hear the term Government?
- b. In what way you, your family or the citizen are connected with government?
- c. Can you identify the role of government in your day to day life?
- d. Do you think the government is inevitable or can citizen survive without the government?
- e. Can you differentiate the role of elected representatives and appointed Bureaucrats in the functioning of government?
- f. Identify some government departments and segregate into central government, state government and local government.
- g. Try to describe your own definition of Government

Quotable quote

No man undertakes a trade he has not learned, even the meanest: At everyone thinks himself sufficiently qualified for the hardest of all trades, that of government.

-Socrates

Approaches to the study of Government




Studying governments from different approaches help us to understand government from its evolution to its performance in the contemporary times. The approaches to study the Government are...

1. Comparative-Historical Approach

This approach studied the western political institutions from ancient to modern times, this approach is descriptive in nature, Aristotle, Montesque and Locke adopted this approach to study and analyse governments in those days.

For instance before writing his monumental work politics Aristotle studied 158 constitutions. Montesque studied the working of the British constitution and came to the conclusion that the stability of British constitution was due to the adherence to the principle of separation of powers.

CHECKS AND BALANCES (PRESIDENTIAL FORM)

Executive Branch (President carries out laws) 	Checks on the Legislative Branch Can propose laws Can veto laws Can call special sessions of Congress Makes appointments Negotiates foreign treaties	Checks on the Judicial Branch Appoints federal judges Can grant pardons to federal offenders
Legislative Branch (Congress makes laws) 	Checks on the Executive Branch Can override President's veto Confirms executive appointments Ratifies treaties Can declare war Appropriate money Can impeach and remove President	Checks on the Judicial Branch Creates lower federal courts Can impeach and remove judges Can propose amendments to overrule judicial decisions Approves appointments of federal judges
Judicial Branch (Supreme Court interprets laws) 	Checks on the Executive Branch Can declare executive actions unconstitutional	Checks on the Legislative Branch Can declare acts of unconstitutional

2. Legal-Institutional Approach

Scholars like **Bentham**, **Austin** and **Dicey** adopted this approach,

This approach focuses on formal legal structure of political institutions.

They helped to develop certain theories which explain the relationship and interconnection between government and Law. **Bentham** is the distinguished

legal reformer in England Likewise **Austin** provided a legal base to sovereignty which is indivisible, inalienable and absolute. **A.V.Dicey** judged the government on the basis of law and its applicability to different branches of government.

3. Political Economy Approach

This approach deals with economic aspects of the government which gives

economic interpretation of politics also deals with role of market, mode of production and delivering goods to the society. This approach is classified into liberal political economy and the Marxist political economy approach.

4. Political Sociology Approach

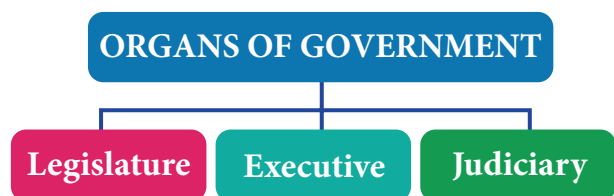
This approach derived its ideas from sociology and anthropology also known as systems approach. Political sociology asserts that government or political system is a sub system of a larger social system. This approach examines the interaction between the larger and the sub systems.

Early *Montesque* proposed a three-fold division of Government namely Republican, Monarchical and Despotic government

Republican Government: “People possess the sovereign Power”.

Monarchical Government: “Rule by one single person and governed by fixed and established laws”.

Despotic government: “Rule by one single person but there is no fixed rule for governance, everything conducted by his will. According to *Montesque* the survival of the government depends on “persistence in given society of that particular spirit which is characteristic of the form”.



6.2 Meaning, Definition and Nature of Government

Government refers to the executive functions of the state. It denotes a body having authority to make and enforce laws applicable to the civil, corporate, religious, academic or other groups.

The term Government is derived from an old French word “governor”, derived from Latin word “gubernare” which means to direct, rule, guide, govern.

Which is the oldest form of government?



Monarchy is the oldest form of government in the United Kingdom. In a monarchy, a king or queen is the Head of State. The British monarchy is known as a constitutional monarchy. This means that, while The Sovereign is Head of State, the ability to make and pass legislation resides with an elected Parliament.

Aristotle's Classification of Governments

Aristotle identified a combination of two criteria to classify the constitution that he analysed.



ACTIVITY



“Every activity of individuals from ‘Womb to tomb’ is regulated and controlled by the State agencies.”

Criteria One:

Number of People having Power – One, Few, Many; Thus he distinguished between Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity

Criteria Two:

To whose interest the Government works for – Working in General Interest, Working in Personal Interest. The respective perverted forms of the three types are Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy

No of People having Power	Working in General Interest	Working in Personal Interest
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy or Mobocracy

DEBATE

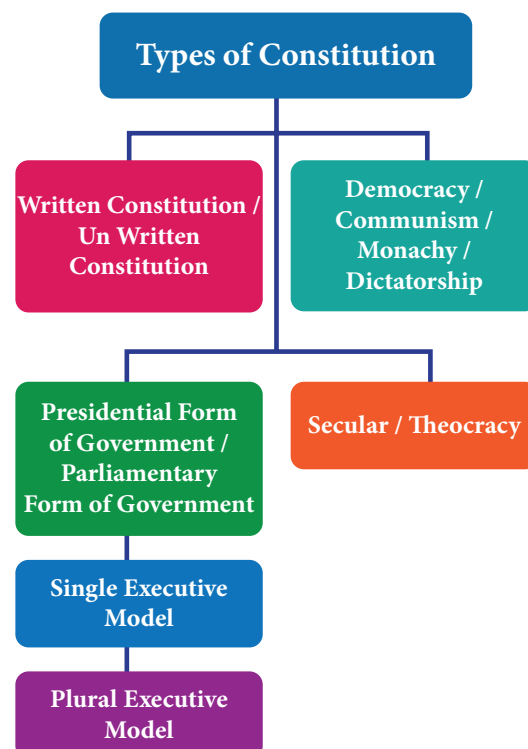


Organise a debate on - Compare Aristotle's Classification of Government with contemporary Indian system of Government by discussing the following points namely

1. Whether our government is working on general interest or Personal interest
2. Do our Indian Democracy really represent General will or Personal will of a Few?

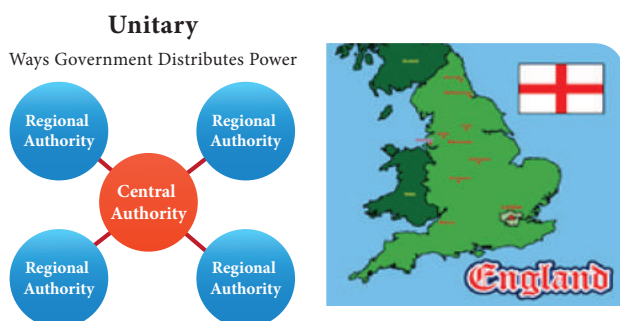
Can you list out some activities which are rendered by the government... womb to tomb

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.



6.3 Unitary Form of Government

A unitary system of government, or unitary state, is a sovereign state governed as a single entity. The central government is supreme, and the administrative divisions exercise only powers that the central government has delegated to them.



England, France, Japan, Sri Lanka are examples of Unitary Form of governments.

In a Unitary form of government all authority and power vested in a single centre whereas in a federal form of government authority and power distributed between centre and the constituent units. Even in a Unitary form of Government there might be a lot of decentralization of authority but we cannot claim it as a federal system.

Definition:

Some leading political thinkers defined unitary form of government as follows:

A.V.DICEY: "Habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority is by one central power"

GARNER: "Where the whole power of government is conferred by the constitution upon a single central organ"

C.F.STRONG: "Two important qualities of the Unitary Government".

They are:-

1. The supremacy of the central government;
2. The absence of the subsidiary sovereign bodies.

The distinction between subsidiary law-making bodies and subsidiary sovereign bodies is the distinction between the local authorities in a unitary state and constituent units in a federal state.

K.C.Wheare : A constitution, Unitary and highly centralised on paper, may be almost federal in practice;

A federal constitution may be, in practice, Unitary, as indeed are the so-called federal constitutions of Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina".

Merits Of Unitary Form Of Government

- a. Suitable for small countries.
- b. There is no conflict of authority and responsibility.
- c. A unitary government will make prompt decisions and take speedy action.
- d. A unitary government is less expensive.
- e. Amendments to the constitution are easy.
- f. There is unity, uniformity of law, policy and administration.

De-Merits of Unitary Form Government

- a. It is not suitable for big countries.
- b. The central government will have to tackle so many complex problems that lead to administrative delay.
- c. The central government will not concentrate on local problems, local interest and initiative.
- d. The concentration of powers may pave way for the despotism of the central government.



Unitary Features Of Indian Constitution

i. Strong Centre

The division of powers is in favour of the Centre and highly inequitable from the federal angle. Firstly, the Union List contains more subjects than the State List. Secondly, the more important subjects have been included in the Union List. Thirdly, the Centre has overriding authority over the Concurrent List. Finally, the residuary powers have also been left with the Centre, while in the US, they are vested in the states. Thus, the Constitution has made the Centre very strong.

ii. Central Government's control over state territory

Unlike in other federations, the states in India have no right to territorial integrity. The Parliament can by unilateral action change the area, boundaries or name of any state.

iii. Single Constitution

Usually, in a federation, the states have the right to frame their own Constitution separate from that of the Centre. In India, on the contrary, no such power is given to the states. The Constitution of India embodies not only the Constitution of the Centre but also those of the states. Both the Centre and the states must operate within this single-frame. The only exception in this regard is the case of Jammu and Kashmir which has its own (state) Constitution.

iv. Flexibility of the Constitution

The bulk of the Constitution can be amended by the unilateral action of the

Parliament, either by simple majority or by special majority. Further, the power to initiate an amendment to the Constitution lies only with the Centre. In India states don't have the right to propose amendment unlike in U.S.A

v. Unequal representation of states

In a federation states are given with equal representation with regard to upper house, but in India states are not given with equal representation with regard to Rajya Sabha.

vi. Emergency Provisions

During an emergency, the Central government becomes all powerful and the states go into the total control of the Centre. It converts the federal structure into a unitary one without a formal amendment of the Constitution. This kind of transformation is not found in any other federation.

vii. Single Citizenship

India adopted the system of single citizenship. There is only Indian Citizenship and no separate state citizenship. All citizens irrespective of the state in which they are born or reside enjoy the same rights all over the country. The other federal states like US, Switzerland and Australia have dual citizenship, that is, national citizenship as well as state citizenship.

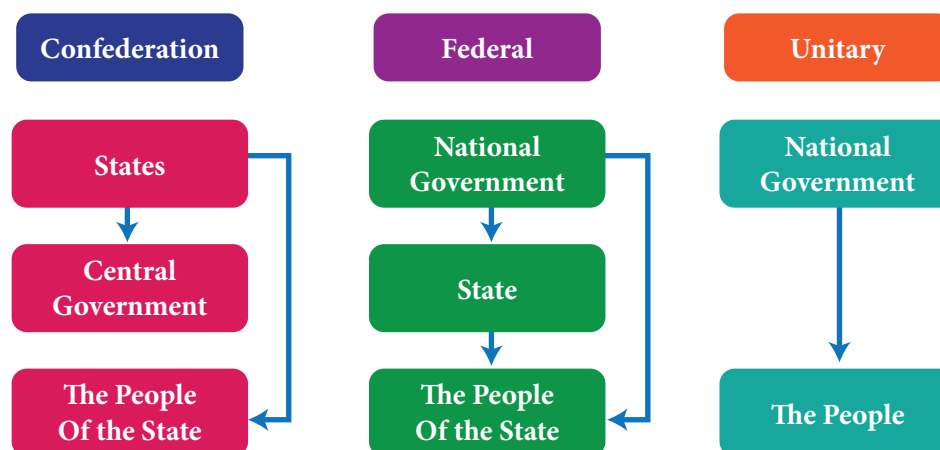
viii. Single Integrated Judiciary

It means that all the courts of India are in a hierarchical order from the lower courts to the Supreme Court of India. Courts in India have Original and Appellate Jurisdiction.

ix. All India Services

It has the features of All India Services or Central Services, and the State Civil Services. The Central and All India services promotes uniform administrative system and process throughout India.

6.4 Federal Form of Government



The classification of governments into unitary and federal is based on the nature of relations between the national government and the regional governments. A federal government is one in which powers are divided between the national government and the regional governments by the Constitution itself and both operate in their respective jurisdictions independently. US, Switzerland, Australia, Canada, Russia, Brazil, Argentina have the federal form of government. In a federal model, the national government is known as the Federal government or the Central government or the Union government and the regional government is known as the state government or the provincial government.

Federal Features Of Indian Constitution

a. Dual Government

The Indian Constitution establishes

x. Appointment of Governor

The governor of a state is not elected but appointed by the president and holds office at the pleasure of the president. He is the head of the executive in the state. He has powers like Legislature, Executive, Judicial and emergency powers.

a dual polity consisting the Union at the Centre and the states at the periphery. Each is endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution.

b. Written Constitution

The articles of the Constitution are written and cannot be easily changed without due parliamentary approval.

c. Division of Powers

The Constitution divided the powers between the Centre and the states in terms of the Union List, State List and Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule.

d. Supremacy of the Constitution

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The laws are enacted by the Centre and the states must conform to its provisions.

e. Rigid Constitution

Amendment of the Constitution is by a procedure of 2/3rd majority in each of the house and laws cannot be easily changed by any ruling party.

f. Independent Judiciary

The Judiciary is separated from the Executive and Legislature. The Judiciary given its national and state level jurisdictions, exercises Original, Appellate and Judicial Review functions. It functions independently of the Executive and Legislature.

g. Bicameralism

It provides for a two-house legislature that has an Upper chamber and Lower chamber. With the Lower house having powers of enacting financial legislation.

Merits Of Federal Form Government

- Reconciliation of local autonomy with national unity.
- Division power between centre and states leads to administrative efficiency.
- It gives rise to big states.
- Distribution powers checks the despotism of central government.
- More suitable for bigger countries.
- It is good for economic and cultural progress.
- De-Merits Of Federal Form Government.
- Federal government is weaker when compared to the unitary government.
- Federal government is more expensive.
- Provincial tendencies are very common.

k. lack of uniformity in Administration.

l. Threat to national unity.

m. Distribution powers between centre and states lead to conflict.

n. Double Citizenship.

o. Rigid constitution cannot be amended easily for the changing needs.

p. The state governments sometimes place hindrances in the foreign policy.

Difference between Unitary form and Federal form of Government

S. No	Unitary Form of Government	Federal Form of Government
1.	Only one Level of Government or Subunits	Two Levels of Government
2.	Mostly Single Citizenship	Dual Citizenship
3.	Sub Units cannot operate Independently	Federal Units are answerable to Central Government
4.	No Division of Power	Division of Power
5.	Centralisation of Power	Decentralisation of Power

S.No	Country	Name of Parliament
1.	Israel	Knesset
2.	Germany	Bundestag
3.	Japan	Diet
4.	Norway	Storting
5.	Nepal	Rashtriya Panchayat
6.	Pakistan	National Assembly
7.	Russia	Duma
8.	U.S.A	Congress
9.	South Africa	Parliament
10.	Switzerland	Federal Assembly



Summary

S.No	Category	Types	Countries
1.	Forms of government	Presidential form of government	U.S.A
		Parliamentary form of government	U.K
		Direct democracy	Switzerland
		Indirect democracy	India
		Monarchy	Absolute Monarchy - Bahrain
			Constitutional Monarchy -Japan
			Commonwealth Realms - Australia
		Authoritarian	Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy
2.	Role of religion	Secularism	India
		Theocracy	Pakistan, Iran, Vatican City, Nepal
3.	Distribution of power:territorial	Unicameral	China
		Bi-cameral	U.K, U.S.A
4.	Types of executive	Single Executive Model	U.S.A
		Plural Executive Model	France
5.	Types of judiciary	Independent	All Democratic Countries
		Committed	Erstwhile U.S.S.R
6.	Nature of Constitution	Rigid &Written	U.S.A
		Flexible &Un-Written	U.K
7.	Nature of state (In terms of Objectives, Ideology, Policies)	Capitalism	
		Communism	Cuba, China, North Korea
		Socialism	

ACTIVITY



Discuss where you can situate Indian Form of Government



Three pillars picture

Based on the photo discuss the following questions in the class:

- Can you identify the institutions given in the Photo?
- Why are institutions essential in democratic governments?
- What is the significance of the Parliament in a democratic country?
- How can you say that the Judiciary in India is one of the most powerful in the world?
- What 'values' are associated with Parliament in a democratic country?

6.5 Parliamentary form of government

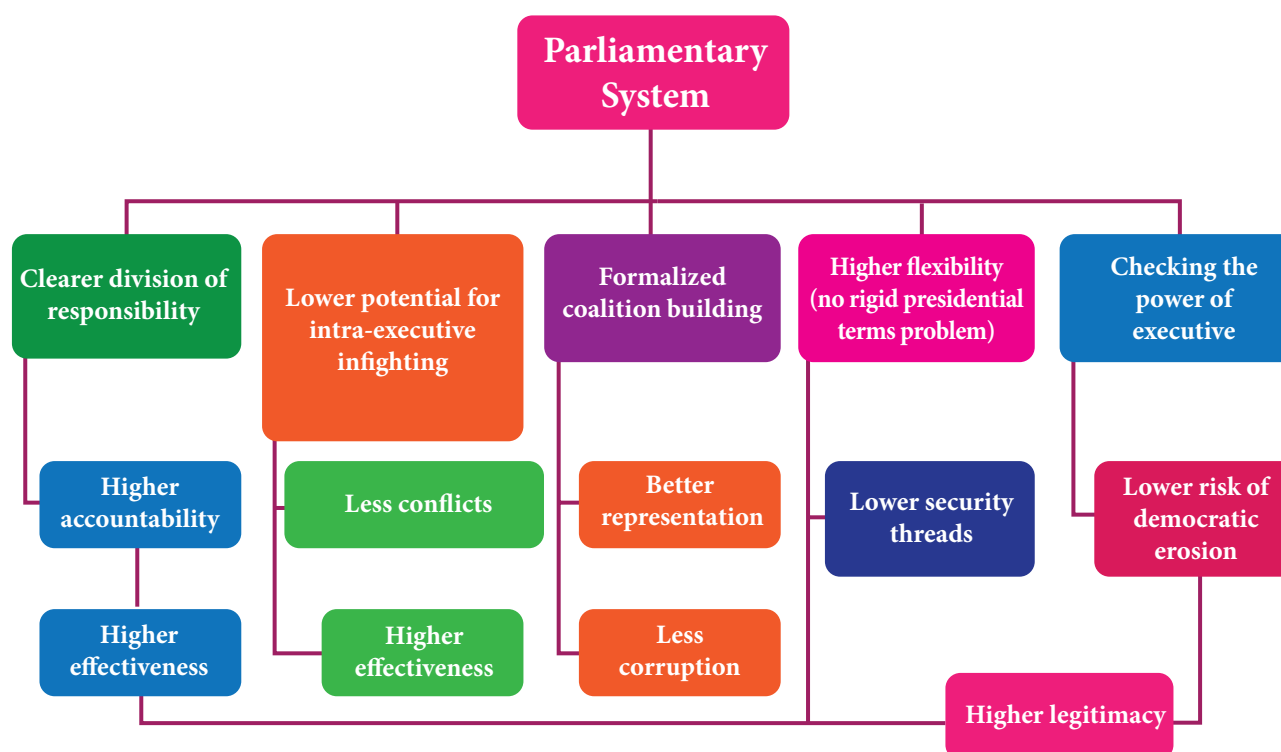
Modern democratic governments are classified into parliamentary and presidential on the basis of nature of relations between the executive and the legislative organs of the government.



The parliamentary system of government is the one in which the executive is responsible to the legislature for its policies and acts. The presidential system

of government, on the other hand, is one in which the executive is not responsible to the legislature for its policies and acts, and is constitutionally independent of the legislature in respect of its term of office.

The parliamentary government is also known as cabinet government irresponsible government or Westminster model of government and is prevalent in Britain, Japan, Canada, India among others.



Ivor Jennings called the parliamentary system as ‘cabinet system’ because the cabinet is the nucleus of power in a parliamentary system. The parliamentary government is also known as ‘responsible government’ as the cabinet (the real executive) is accountable to the Parliament and stays in office so long as it enjoys the latter’s confidence.

It is described as ‘Westminster model of government’ after the location of the British Parliament, where the parliamentary system originated. In the past, the British constitutional and political experts described the Prime Minister as ‘primus inter pares’ (first among equals) in relation to the cabinet. In the recent period, the Prime Minister’s power, influence and position

have increased significantly vis-a-vis the cabinet. He has come to play a ‘dominant’ role in the British politico-administrative system.

Features of parliamentary form of government

Nominal and Real Executives: The President is the nominal executive (de jure executive or titular executive) while the Prime Minister is the real executive (de facto executive). Thus, the President is head of the State, while the Prime Minister is head of the government.

Majority Party Rule: The political party which secures majority seats in the Lok Sabha forms the government. The



leader of that party is appointed as the Prime Minister by the President; other ministers are appointed by the President on the advice of the prime minister. However, when no single party gets the majority, a coalition of parties may be invited by the President to form the government.

Collective Responsibility: This is the bedrock principle of parliamentary government. The ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament.

Double Membership: The ministers are members of both the legislature and the executive.

Leadership of the Prime Minister: The Prime Minister plays the leadership role in this system of government. He is the leader of council of ministers, leader of the Parliament and leader of the party in power. In these capacities, he plays a significant and highly crucial role in the functioning of the government.

Merits of the parliamentary form of government

Harmony between Legislature and Executive: The greatest advantage of the parliamentary system is that it ensures harmonious relationship and cooperation between the legislative and executive organs of the government. The executive is a part of the legislature and both are inter dependent at work. As a result, there is less scope for disputes and conflicts between the two organs.

Responsible Government: In the parliamentary system establishes a responsible government. The ministers are responsible to the Parliament for all

their acts of omission and commission. The Parliament exercises control over the ministers through various devices like question hour, discussions, adjournment motion, no confidence motion, etc.

Prevents Despotism: under this system, the executive authority is vested in a group of individuals (council of ministers) and not in a single person. This dispersal of authority checks the dictatorial tendencies of the executive. Moreover, the executive is responsible to the Parliament and can be removed by a no-confidence motion.

Wide Representation: In a parliamentary system, it is possible to provide representation to all sections and regions in the government. The prime minister while selecting his minister scan take this factor into consideration.

Demerits of the parliamentary form of government

Unstable Government: The parliamentary system does not provide a stable government. There is no guarantee that a government can survive its tenure. The ministers depend on the majority legislators for their continuity and survival in office. A no-confidence motion or political defection or evils of multiparty coalition can make the government unstable.

No Continuity of Policies: The parliamentary system is not conducive for the formulation and implementation of long-term policies. This is due to the uncertainty of the tenure of the government. A change in the ruling party is usually followed by changes in the policies of the government.

Dictatorship of the Cabinet: When the ruling party enjoys absolute majority in the Parliament, the cabinet becomes autocratic and exercises nearly unlimited powers.

Harold J Laski says that the parliamentary system gives the executive an opportunity for tyranny.

Ramsay Muir, the former British Prime Minister, also complained of the 'dictatorship of the cabinet'.

Against Separation of Powers: In the parliamentary system, the legislature and the executive are together and inseparable. The cabinet acts as the leader of legislature as well as the executive. Hence, the whole system of government goes against the letter and spirit of the theory of separation of powers.

 **Case Study**

 **THE HINDU**
INDIA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER SINCE 1978

MARCH 24, 2017 00:15 IST

Do we need a presidential system?



The surrender to the authority of one individual, as in the presidential system, is dangerous for democracy

Raju Ramachandran, senior advocate at the Supreme Court of India

This debate is academic. A switchover to the presidential system is not possible under our present constitutional scheme because of the 'basic structure' doctrine propounded by the Supreme Court in 1973 which has been accepted by the political class without reservation, except for an abortive attempt during the Emergency by Indira Gandhi's government to have it overturned. The Constituent Assembly had made an informed choice after considering both the British model and the American model and after Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had drawn up a balance sheet of their merits and demerits. To alter the informed choice made by the Constituent Assembly would violate the 'basic structure' of the Constitution. I must clarify that I have been a critic of the 'basic structure' doctrine.

Abuse of power worries

A presidential system centralises power in one individual unlike the parliamentary system, where the Prime Minister is the first among equals. The surrender to the authority of one individual, as in the presidential system, is dangerous for democracy. The over-centralisation of power in one individual is something we have to guard against. Those who argue in favour of a presidential system often state that the safeguards and checks are in place: that a powerful President can be stalled by a powerful legislature. But if the legislature is dominated by the same party to which the President belongs, a charismatic President or a "strong President" may prevent any move from the legislature. On the other



hand, if the legislature is dominated by a party opposed to the President's party and decides to checkmate him, it could lead to a stalemate in governance because both the President and the legislature would have democratic legitimacy.

A diverse country like India cannot function without consensus-building. This "winner takes it all" approach, which is a necessary consequence of the presidential system, is likely to lead to a situation where the views of an individual can ride roughshod over the interests of different segments.

What about the States?

The other argument, that it is easier to bring talent to governance in a presidential system, is specious. You can get 'outside' talent in a parliamentary system too. Right from C.D. Deshmukh, T.A. Pai, Manmohan Singh, M.G.K. Menon and Raja Ramanna talent has been coming into the parliamentary system with the added safeguard of democratic accountability, because the 'outsiders' have to get elected after assuming office. On the other hand, bringing 'outside' talent in a presidential system without people being democratically elected would deter people from giving independent advice to the chief executive because they owe their appointment to him/her.

Those who speak in favour of a presidential system have only the Centre in mind. They have not thought of the logical consequence, which is that we will have to move simultaneously to a "gubernatorial" form in the States. A switch at the Centre will also require a change in the States. Are we ready for that?

Changing to a presidential system is the best way of ensuring a democracy that works

Our parliamentary system is a perversity only the British could have devised: to vote for a legislature in order to form the executive. It has created a unique breed of legislator, largely unqualified to legislate, who has sought election only in order to wield executive power. There is no genuine separation of powers: the legislature cannot truly hold the executive accountable since the government wields the majority in the House. The parliamentary system does not permit the existence of a legislature distinct from the executive, applying its collective mind freely to the nation's laws.

For 25 years till 2014, our system has also produced coalition governments which have been obliged to focus more on politics than on policy or performance. It has forced governments to concentrate less on governing than on staying in office, and obliged them to cater to the lowest common denominator of their coalitions, since withdrawal of support can bring governments down. The parliamentary system has distorted the voting preferences of an electorate that knows which individuals it wants but not necessarily which parties or policies.

Failures in the system

India's many challenges require political arrangements that permit decisive action, whereas ours increasingly promote drift and indecision. We must have a system of government whose leaders can focus on governance rather than on staying in power.



A system of directly elected chief executives at all levels – panchayat chiefs, town mayors, Chief Ministers (or Governors) and a national President – elected for a fixed term of office, invulnerable to the whims of the legislature, and with clearly defined authority in their respective domains – would permit India to deal more efficiently with its critical economic and social challenges.

Cabinet posts would not be limited to those who are electable rather than those who are able. At the end of a fixed period of time — say the same five years we currently accord to our Lok Sabha — the public would be able to judge the individual on performance in improving the lives of Indians, rather than on political skill at keeping a government in office.

The fear that an elected President could become a Caesar is ill-founded since the President's power would be balanced by directly elected chief executives in the States. In any case, the Emergency demonstrated that even a parliamentary system can be distorted to permit autocratic rule. Dictatorship is not the result of a particular type of governmental system.

Direct accountability

Indeed, the President would have to work with Parliament to get his budget through or to pass specific Bills. India's fragmented polity, with dozens of political parties in the fray, makes a U.S.-style two-party gridlock in Parliament impossible. An Indian presidency, instead of facing a monolithic opposition, would have the opportunity to build issue-based coalitions

on different issues, mobilising different temporary alliances of different smaller parties from one policy to the next – the opposite of the dictatorial steamroller some fear a presidential system could produce.

Any politician with aspirations to rule India as President will have to win the support of people beyond his or her home turf; he or she will have to reach out to different groups, interests, and minorities. And since the directly elected President will not have coalition partners to blame for his or her inaction, a presidential term will have to be justified in terms of results, and accountability will be direct and personal.

Democracy, as I have long argued, is vital for India's survival: we are right to be proud of it. But few Indians are proud of the kind of politics our democracy has inflicted upon us. With the needs and challenges of one-sixth of humanity before our leaders, we must have a democracy that delivers progress to our people. Changing to a presidential system is the best way of ensuring a democracy that works. It is time for a change.

Upendra Baxi, legal scholar and the former vice-chancellor of Delhi University

I think the debate has a life cycle of its own. It has been brought up and discussed whenever there has been a super-majority government. From Jawaharlal Nehru to Indira Gandhi to the present, the presidential system has been debated extensively around two aspects: is it desirable, and second, is it feasible?

To tackle the second aspect first, unless the Supreme Court changes its



mind, any such amendment would violate the 'basic structure' of the Constitution as was decided with, and since, the Kesavnanda Bharti case. There is no way to get around this unless the Supreme Court now takes a wholly different view.

Different models

On the desirability aspect, which presidential system are we talking about when we pit the American presidential system against the Westminster model? In the American system, the President appoints his officers; they have limited tenure and their offices are confirmed by the Senate (Upper House). Then, we have the Latin American model, where some Constitutions give Presidents a term often amounting to a life tenure like in Cuba. There are plenty of models to choose from and there are arguments against each. So, which system is being argued for when the votaries of change seek a shift to the presidential system?

Our Rajya Sabha cannot be compared to the U.S. Senate where each state has its own Constitution and has the power to change it. The relationship between the states and the federal government is extraordinary; as is the status of their courts and the manner of appointment of judges. I do not think people have thought about it. Merely stating that a change to the presidential system is needed does not mean much. The Indian debate currently is not focussed on the kind of presidential system envisaged. What is the term we are seeking for the President? Should he/she be re-elected? If so, for how many terms? Then, who decides the change?

Parliament? All this requires a massive amendment to the 'basic structure' of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has spelt its view on the 'basic structure' of the Constitution.

Giving an opinion is one thing. A judgment is a more carefully considered conclusion. Those who support the presidential system should do their homework when they argue against the parliamentary system. There is also the matter of separation of powers. In the U.S., the President, who is also the Supreme Commander, has the power to veto the Congress. Does India need this? The manner of removing the U.S. President through impeachment is a very complex process. There is also the possibility of aggregating more powers to the President.

One could argue that the parliamentary system too runs a similar risk. I do not think it has been thought over. It is not on the table yet.

Reform the process

On the other hand, there are ideas going around about reforming the electoral processes to make democracy more robust. From limiting expenditure of political parties and deciding the ceiling on the expenditure, to holding simultaneous elections, declaring the results for a combination of booths instead of constituencies — I think it is advisable to debate this and ensure that the gaping loopholes in the electoral processes are speedily plugged.



The present parliamentary system has been tried and tested for nearly 70 years. Rather than change the system, why not reform thoroughly and cleanse the electoral processes?

Why the framers of the Indian Constitution adopted for the Parliamentary Form of Government?

1. Familiarity with the System
2. Preference to More Responsibility
3. Need to Avoid Legislative—Executive Conflicts
4. Nature of Indian Society, India is one of the most heterogeneous States and most complex plural societies in the world. Hence, the Constitution-makers adopted the parliamentary system as it offers greater scope for giving representation to various section, interests and regions in the government. This promotes a national spirit among the people and builds audited India.

6.6 Presidential Form of Government

The Presidential Form Of Government is also known as non-responsible or non-parliamentary or fixed executive system of government basically built on the principle of separation of power, and is prevalent in USA, Brazil, Russia, Sri Lanka among others.

Features of Presidential Form of Government

The American President is both the head of the State and the head of government. As the head of State, he occupies a ceremonial position. As the head of government, he leads the executive organ of government.

The President is elected by an electoral college for a fixed tenure of four years. He cannot be removed by the Congress except by impeachment for a grave unconstitutional act.

The President governs with the help of a cabinet or a smaller body called 'Kitchen Cabinet'. It is only an advisory body and consists of non-elected departmental secretaries. They are selected and appointed by him, are responsible only to him, and can be removed by him any time.

The President and his secretaries are not responsible to the Congress for their acts. They neither possess membership in the Congress nor attend its sessions.

The President cannot dissolve the House of Representatives—the lower house of the Congress.

The doctrine of separation of powers is the basis of the American presidential system. The legislative, executive and judicial powers of the government are separated and vested in the three independent organs of the government.



Difference between Parliamentary Form of Government and Presidential Form of Government

S. No	Presidential Form of Government	Parliamentary Form of Government
1.	President is directly elected by the People	Prime Minister is the leader of majority Party
2.	President is Supreme	Central Legislature is supreme
3.	Separation of Powers	Absence of Separation Powers Centralization
4.	Independent branches	Independent branches with Overlapping functions
5.	President - head of the State	President - head of the State
6.	President - head of the Government	Prime Minister - head of the Government
7.	Separation of Powers	Centralization
8.	Independent branches	Independent branches with Overlapping functions
9.	Individual Leadership	Collective leadership
10.	President is not accountable to Congress	Collective and Individual Responsibility

DEBATE ON STATE VS MARKET



“World Bank - World Development Report 1997 : The State In A Changing World”.

The report is devoted to the role and effectiveness of the state: what it should do, how it should do it, and how it can improve in a rapidly changing world. Governments with both centrally-planned and mixed economies are shrinking their market role because of failed state interventions.

This report takes an opposite stance: that state's role in the institutional environment underlying the economy, that is, its ability to enforce a rule of law to underpin transactions, is vital to making government contribute more effectively to development. It argues against reducing government to a minimalist state, explaining that development requires an effective state that plays a facilitator role in encouraging and complementing the activities of private businesses and individuals.

The report presents a state reform framework strategy: First, focus the state's activities to match its capabilities; and second, look for ways to improve the state's capability by re-invigorating public institutions.

According to this report, five fundamental tasks are core of every government's mission, without which sustainable, shared and poverty reducing development is impossible.

They are...

1. Establishing a foundation of law
2. Maintaining macroeconomic stability
3. Investing in basic social services and infrastructure
4. Protecting the vulnerable
5. Protecting the environment

6.7 The Concept of Governance from Government to Governance

Good governance is an indeterminate term used in the international development literature to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources. Governance is “the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented”.



“Government” and “governance” are synonyms, both denoting the exercise of authority in an organization, institution or state. Government and governance became distinguished along the following dimensions:

- What activities are encompassed in the act of governing?
- What actors are involved in governance?
- What processes have made this redefinition necessary?
- What criteria are used to evaluate good governance?
- What capacities should be developed to achieve it?

Governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs...Governance

embraces all of the methods – good and bad – that societies use to distribute power and manage public sources and problems (UNDP, 1997):

Governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's social and economic resources for development (ADB, 2000)

The movement from government to governance is not merely a task of creating new institutions but also that of refurbishing old ones. The state has to be strengthened to play a new role. It is also for the civil society to accept that democracy is not going to polls every five years but being vigilant and monitoring institutional performance and holding them accountable throughout these years.

Partnership with civil society

In the shift of government to governance the role of civil society has been very significant. There have been two kinds of strands in this role,

- Social Movements
- Non-Governmental Organizations

Social Movements which works for the cause of poor and marginalized do influence the governments to be responsive to their needs through changes in institutions, laws and procedures.

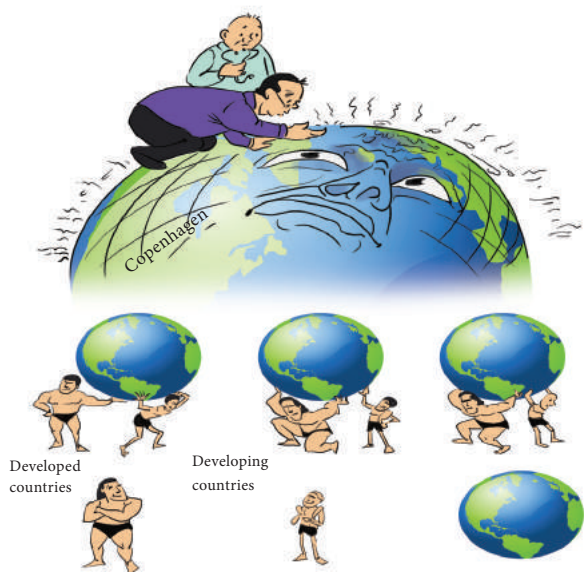
NGO's have taken up diverse roles that also involve implementation of government programmes.

Social movements and NGO's occupied new spaces in the political process and delivering public services.

ACTIVITY



Cartoons cape Thinking about a global perspective



Copenhagen and Climate summit /
09.12.2009 / P.8 and 18.12.2009/ P.10

197 Nations agree to phase out AC greenhouse gases.

Legally – binding deal to tackle global warming, reduce use of gas 1,000 times worse than CO₂

3 GROUPS OF NATIONS

Developed countries including the US must slash their use of HFCs' by 10 percent by 2019 from 2011-2013 levels, and then by 85 percent by 2036.

A second group of developing countries, including China and Africa nations, are committed to launching the transition in 2024. A reduction of 10 percent compared with 2020-2022 levels should achieved by 2029, to be extended to 80 percent by 2045.

A third group of developing countries, which include India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Gulf nations, must begin the process in 2028 and reduce emissions by 10 per cent by 2032 from 2024-2026 levels, and them by 85 percent by 2047

KIGALI (RWANDA)

In a major step toward curbing global warming, envoys from nearly 200 nations reached and agreement on Saturday to phase out potent greenhouse gases used in refrigerators and air conditioners. Under the amendment to the 1987 Montreal Protocol on protecting the ozone layer, rich countries are to take action sooner than developing nations.

The agreement was greeted by applause from exhausted envoys who had worked through the night in the Rwandan capital Kigali to put the final touches on the deal to phase our production and consumption of hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs)

But some representatives voiced regret that countries such as India, Pakistan, and Gulf nations would begin the transition later than others. "It may not be entirely what the islands wanted, but it is a good agreement," said a representative of the tiny pacific nation of the Marshall Islands. The elimination of HFCs could reduce global warming by 0.5 degrees by 2100, according to a 2015 study.

However, swapping HFCs for alternatives such as ammonia, water or gases called hydrofluorolefins could prove costly for develop countries with sweltering summer temperatures, such as India. "There are issues of cost, there are issues of technology, there are issues of

finances,” said Ajay Narayan Jha of India’s environment and climate change ministry before deal was announced. “We would like to emphasize that any agreement will have to be flexible from one side and not from the other,” he had said.

HFCs’ predecessors, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), were discontinued under the Montreal Protocol when scientists realized they were destroying the ozone layer. But it emerged that HFCs, while safe for the now healing ozone, are thousands of times worse for trapping heat than carbon dioxide, the main greenhouse gas.

The new Indian express: 16.10.2016

Thinking about a global perspective

A global perspective asks you to think beyond yourself, your family, your school, your community, your village, your district, your state or country where you are living. Issues that are in the news are after global in nature for ex., environmental issue.

Often, a global issue or problem demands a global solution. It would not be possible to solve the global problem of climate change with a local solution, even though local courses of action might be taken to help towards a global solution. For the problem of climate change, for ex., a local course of action might be creating awareness through street play or exhibition or human chain or a poster campaign aimed at encouraging people think globally and act locally.

DEBATE



Teacher can divide the class into three groups.

Group 1	Arguments in favour of Developed countries with valid reasons.
Group 2	Arguments in favour of Developing countries with valid reasons.
Group 3	Arguments in favour of Under Developed countries with valid reasons.

Characteristics of good governance

i. Participation

All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.

ii. Rule of Law

Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

iii. Transparency

Transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.

iv. Responsiveness

Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.

v. Consensus orientation

Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.



vi. Equity

All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

vii. Effectiveness and efficiency

Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

viii. Accountability

Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.

ix. Strategic Vision

Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development,

along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.

Source: UNDP (1997) Governance for Sustainable Human Development. United Nations Development Programme.

6.8 How to evaluate the performance of a government?

It is difficult to evaluate the performance of a government with uni-factor analysis; the actual assessment can be done only after considering various aspects of governance, namely Socio, Cultural, Political, Economic, and Environmental factors. To evaluate the performance of a government the following factors can be considered.

Socio Cultural factors

- ❖ Gender Parity Index
- ❖ Religious Freedom
- ❖ Equality Based on caste
- ❖ Protection of religious and Linguistic Minority Rights
- ❖ Gender Budgeting

Political factors

- ❖ Effective functioning of Democracy
- ❖ Free and fair elections
- ❖ Corruption free Politics and Administration
- ❖ Transparency in Administration
- ❖ Independent Press

❖ Independent Judiciary

❖ Human Rights

Economic factors

❖ Human Development Index (HDI)

❖ Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

❖ Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)

❖ Growth Vs Development

❖ Equal Distribution of Wealth

Environmental factors

❖ Sustainable Development Goals

❖ National Action Plan for Climate change(NAPC)

❖ Green Budget

❖ Disaster management

Gross National Happiness (GNH):

Gross National Happiness is a developing philosophy as well as an “index” which is used to measure the collective happiness in any specific nation. The Concept was first mentioned in the constitution of Bhutan, which was enacted on 18 July 2008.

The term “gross national happiness” was coined by the fourth king of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, in the 1970s. The GNH’s central tenants are: “Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development; environmental conservation; preservation and promotion of culture; and good governance”.

GNH is distinguishable by for example valuing collective happiness as the goal of governance, and by emphasizing harmony with nature and traditional values.

Activity



Discuss the Recently Published Reports of the Following

- ❖ HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX,
- ❖ TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL,
- ❖ ECONOMIC SURVEY OF INDIA,
- ❖ Budget - Green Budget, Gender Budgeting,
- ❖ GENDER PARITY INDEX
- ❖ Annual Reports of following institutions
 - ❖ NHRC – National Commission for Human Rights
 - ❖ NCSC - National Commission for Schedule Castes
 - ❖ NCST - National Commission for Schedule Tribes
 - ❖ NCW – National Commission for Woman
 - ❖ NCPCR - National Commission for Protection of Child Rights

Glossary



Aristocracy

Rule by an upper class.

Bicameral Legislature

A legislature that comprises two parts or chambers. The USA Congress is a bicameral legislature; its two chambers are the House of Representatives and the Senate. Compare with unicameral legislature.



Capitalism

An economic system in which the means of production and distribution are mainly in private ownership for private gain at the expense of the non-owners. Mechanisms include free markets and freedom of contract.

Checks and Balances

A principle of a system of government whereby each branch of the government can check the actions of the others. As originally conceived, this was true of the government of the USA.

Concurrent Powers

Powers held jointly by the national and state governments.

Confederal System

A league of independent states, each having essentially sovereign powers. The central government created by such a league has only limited powers over the states.

Confederation

A voluntary association of states; usually limits central authority to foreign affairs and is less permanent than a federation. A political system where states or regional governments retain ultimate authority, except for powers expressly delegated to a central government.

Constitution

The fundamental law of a nation. Defines the power of the government; specifies offices and their authority.

Consent of the People

Governments and laws are legitimate implicitly from the consent of those governed.

Democratic Republic

A republic in which the representatives elected by the people make and enforce laws and policies.

Devolution.

Transfer of powers from the national or central government to state or local government. This happened in the United Kingdom in the late twentieth century.

Direct Democracy

A system of government where political decisions are made by the people directly, rather than by their elected representatives.

Dominant Culture

Values, customs, and language of the group(s) that control politics and government in a society.

Federal System

A system of government where power is divided between a central government and regional, or subdivisional, governments. Each of those levels has a domain where its policies are dominant. And each has political or constitutional guarantee of authority.

Federalism

A political system in which authority is shared between a central government and a state or regional government.



Federation

An association of states; usually more permanent than a confederation. A political system where states or regional governments retain ultimate authority, except for powers expressly delegated to a central government.

Legislature

That part of government primarily responsible for making laws.

Legitimacy

Acceptance by the citizens of the right and power of a government or ruler to exercise authority.

Liberal Democracy

Democratic government that provides for the protection of individual human rights, in order to prevent a majority from oppressing a minority.

Liberalism

Advocacy of positive government action to improve the welfare of individuals, support for civil rights, and tolerance for political and social change.

Limited Government

A government whose powers are limited, particularly by institutional checks.

Parliamentary System

Representative democracy where political power is vested in an elected legislature. Used in most European countries.

Presidential System

Representative democracy where political power is vested in separately elected and appointed branches of national government. This system is used in the USA.

Representative Democracy

A form of government in which representatives are elected by the people to make and enforce laws and policies. Political decisions are made by the officials elected by the people. [Some such democracies retain a monarchy in a ceremonial role.]

Republic

A form of government in which sovereignty rests with the people (or a portion of the people), as opposed to a king or monarch or dictator. This form of Representative Democracy was created by the framers of the US constitution.

Separation of Powers

The division of governmental functions and powers among different branches of government, so that the various self-interests of each group would moderate those of the others.

Theocracy. [From Greek *theos* = god and *krateein* = to rule.]

Rule by a god, which in practice means rule by a priesthood. No separation of church and state. Compare with aristocracy.

Totalitarian

A regime of command by the government and obedience by the citizens. The regime controls all aspects of political and social life (as in George Orwell's 1984). In contrast with an authoritarian state, all social and economic institutions are under government control.



Unicameral Legislature

A legislature that comprises a single part or chamber. In the USA (early 21st century) only the state of Nebraska has a unicameral legislature. Compare with bicameral legislature.

Unitary System

A centralized governmental system

where local or regional governments exercise only the powers that the central government gives them.

Universal Suffrage. [From Latin suffragium = voting tablet, vote.] The right and privilege of all adults to vote for their representatives.



Evaluation



I Choose the correct answer

1. “Parliamentary form of Government” is also known as

- (a) Cabinet Government
- (b) Responsible Government
- (c) Westminster forms of government
- (d) All of the above

2. Which of the following characteristics is not related to the federal government?

- (a) Written Constitution
- (b) Flexible Constitution
- (c) Supremacy of the Constitution
- (d) Independent Judiciary

3. The Federal System in India is based on the model of which country?

- (a) Canada
- (b) UK
- (c) America
- (d) Japan

4. Which three indicators are used in the Human Development Index (HDI)?

I. Standard of living II. Education

III. Life expectancy IV. Condition of environment

- (a) Only I, II & IV
- (b) Only I, II, & III
- (c) Only I & II
- (d) All of the above

5. Which of the following are the features on the basis of which the parliamentary system of government in India operates?

- a. Nominal and real executives
- b. Executive responsible to lower house
- c. Prime Minister is the real executive
- d. All of the above

6. Due to which of following reasons the founding fathers preferred the British parliamentary system?

- 1) Familiarity with system.
- 2) More responsibility.
- 3) Separation of power.
- 4) Heterogeneous Indian Society.

- a. Only 1, 2, 4
- b. Only 1, 2, 3
- c. Only 2, 3, 4
- d. All of the above



7. Which federal institution oversees the implementation of Constitutional provisions and procedures?

- A) Legislature B) Executive C) Judiciary D) Cabinet

8. In U.S.A. The form of government is:

- A) Parliamentary B) Presidential
C) Absolute monarchy D) Limited monarchy

9. Which major country does not have a single, written constitution?

- A. Russia B. Iran C. Germany D. United Kingdom

II Answer the following questions very shortly

5. Define Government.

6. Write about the merits of Unitary form of government.

III Answer the following questions shortly

7. List out the Unitary features of Indian constitution.

8. List out the demerits of Federal form of government

9. Why the framers of the Indian constitution adopted for Parliamentary form of government?

Internet resource



1. <http://www.worldbank.org/>
2. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/5980>
3. <http://www.grossnationalhappiness.com/articles/>

Reference books



1. Vijayaragavan, Political Thought, New Delhi, Sterling Publications
2. D.D.Basu, Introduction to the Constitution of Indian, New Delhi, Lexisnexis
3. R.C.Agarwal, Political Theory, New Delhi, S.Chand
4. IGNOU Political Science B.A and M.A
5. The Oxford Hand Book of The Indian Constitution



ICT Corner

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Through this activity you will learn about the different forms of Government.



TYPES OF GOVERNMENT

Procedure:

- Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the Types of Government page.
- Step - 2** A grid of slides explaining different forms of government are placed.
- Step - 3** Click on the explanation slide to know the form of Government.
- Step - 4** Click the play button on the top of the activity window to run a quiz and recall.

Step 1



Step 2



Step 3



Step 4



Types of Government URL:

<http://www.brainrush.com/lesson/play/types-of-government>

*Pictures are indicative



B119_9_SOCIAL_TM

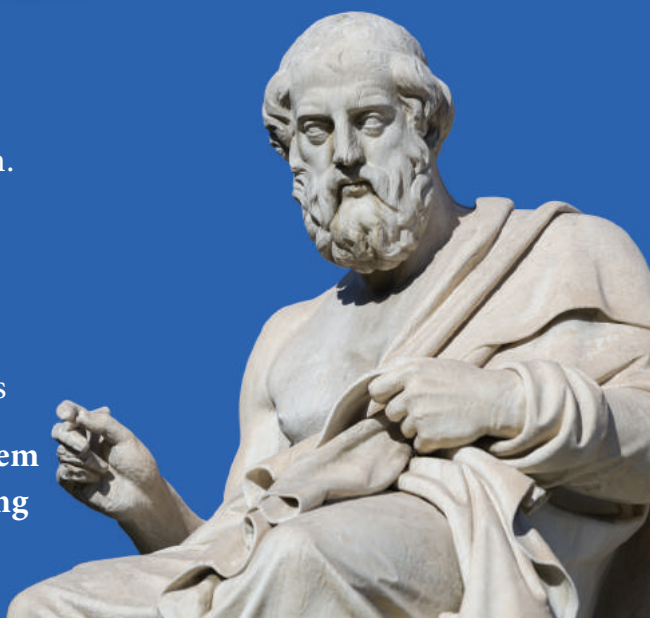


7.1 Plato

(428/427 – 348/347 BCE)

**Plato**

- ❖ **Socrates's Student**
- ❖ **Founded the Academy-**
First institution for higher education.
- ❖ **First Western philosopher**
whole writings have survived
- ❖ **Most of what we know about**
Socrates comes from **Plato's** writings
- ❖ **Agreed with Pythagoras that Mathem**
atics were essential in understanding
the world.

**Learning Objectives**

- ❖ To understand the Political thought of **Plato**.
- ❖ To apply in the present context.
- ❖ To gain knowledge about **Plato's** ideas on state, government, Justice, Education, Communism.

Topic

Life and Times - **Plato's** Works - **Plato's** Thought : Ideal State - Idea of Justice - Concept of Education - Views on Democracy - Classification of

Constitutions - Bringing up of Children - **Plato's** Dialectical Method-Assessment - Activities - Questions

Life and Times

This introductory chapter – Provides insights into the meaning of Politics and the manner in which it affects the lives of people.

Plato was born in 427/428 BCE. He belonged to an aristocratic family in Athens a Greek City State. **Plato's** real name was '**Aristocles**'. Some historical sources say his wrestling coach Ariston of Argos dubbed him 'Platon' meaning

‘Broad’ on account of his large build. He was a disciple of **Socrates** who was one of the foremost philosophers of Greece. During his time there was great chaos in the political life of Athens which was a Greek City State. This resulted in the Athenian government condemning **Socrates** to death because of his teachings. This greatly affected **Plato’s** views on politics especially in Athens.

In about 387 BCE **Plato** founded his ‘Academy’. The name ‘Academy’ comes from the name of a famous Athenian hero called ‘Akademos’. Here **Plato** taught Political Philosophy which contained politics, ethics, mathematics and sociology.

Plato’s Works

The three most important works of **Plato** are ‘The Republic’ (386 BCE), ‘The Statesman’ (360 BCE) and ‘The Laws’ (347 BCE). Apart from these works, he has written a number of other smaller books.

Plato: Teacher, what is Virtue?

Socrates: **Plato**, it is knowledge.

Plato was greatly influenced by his teacher, **Socrates**.

Plato’s Thought

The important ideas of **Plato** are found in his three major works and can be summarised as follows:

Ideal State

In Political Science, the most important concept around which the subject is built is ‘The State’. According

to him in an Ideal State (i.e., the most suitable State for a human being to live in according to **Plato**) should be made up of three classes namely Ruling Class, Military Class and Economic Class. He gives details of how this is possible in his subsequent ideas of Justice and Education.

Idea of Justice

He believed that justice resided both in one single human being as well as the State. He said every human being is endowed with three qualities though in different proportions. He said these qualities are Reason, which resides in a person’s head, Spirit which resides in a person’s heart and Appetite which resides in a person’s stomach. He said these are the three parts of the human soul. Firstly, he said true justice is that, these three parts should do their rightful business in order to make a human being whole. Secondly, these three parts existing in every individual, should be faithfully reflected in the State which is a collective of human beings as a whole through the formation of the three classes namely, Ruling Class, Military Class and Economic Class by which his Ideal State is formed.

HUMAN BEING

Reason

Spirit

Appetite



THE STATE

Ruling Class

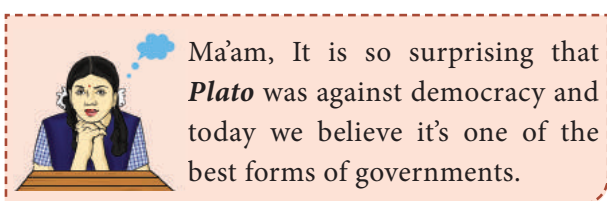
Military Class

Auxillary Class

Concept of Education

Plato designs an education system based on various stages suited to the age of

the students from childhood to adulthood. He also devises methods of eliminations as higher stages of education is reached by human beings depending on the proportion of the three parts of their souls namely reason, spirit and appetite. Persons who are found suited to fulfil economic duties of the State are separated from the ones suited for Ruling and Military services. In the second process of elimination the persons suited for ruling are given special training to become what **Plato** calls 'Philosopher Kings' to rule his 'Ideal State'.



Every philosopher is the child of his/her own time. The execution of **Socrates**, the wisest man in Greece, filled **Plato** with contempt for democracy and believed that it had to be replaced by the rule of the wisest.



Views on Democracy

In his work 'The Republic' **Plato** had practically condemned Democracy. He had developed the idea that all were not fit to rule and that only the philosophers who had been specially trained for the purpose should rule. He said this because it was Athenian Democracy which condemned his teacher **Socrates** to death.

Classification of Constitutions

Plato's idea of a constitution is much different from the modern understanding

of this term. By constitution he meant a particular way of life the people of a society have designed for their wellbeing. This included social customs, traditions, practices and also politics and government to oversee all these. **Plato** discussed about constitutions as they existed in many parts of the world during his time and as they ought to be. He classified constitutions as Aristocracy, Timocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. He also said that there is a tendency of Aristocracy to degenerate into Timocracy, Timocracy into Oligarchy, Oligarchy into Democracy and Democracy into Tyranny.

Bringing up of Children

According to **Plato**, children were national possession and as such it was obligatory on the part of the State to bring them up according to their attitudes.

Plato's ideas as Theory

Plato used this method in his book 'The Republic'. He writes this book as if he is asking questions as a student and **Socrates** is answering as his teacher. 'Dialectics' is a question and answer type of method where the student has a vague idea about something and throws questions to the teacher about it and the teacher's answers are again questioned. By this the teacher facilitates the student to formulate and reformulate his idea in order to arrive at the best possible understanding of the idea.

Plato's dialectical Method

Plato used this method in his book 'The Republic'. He writes this book as if

he is asking questions as a student and **Socrates** is answering as his teacher. Unlike 'Didactics' i.e. a teacher authoritatively teaches a subject because the teacher knows it and the students don't, 'Dialectics' is a question and answer type of method where the student has a vague idea about something and throws questions to the teacher about it and the teacher's answers are again questioned. By this the teacher facilitates the student to formulate and reformulate his idea in order to arrive at the best possible understanding of the idea.

Assessment

Plato, though by no means the first philosopher, undoubtedly is one of the earliest to leave us a significant body of work. He spent most of his time asking and providing answers to questions that have always troubled people. Even centuries after his death, if we think of politics and the problems of living together, the issues that confront us again and again very often involve the sorts of questions that **Plato's Republic** can help us think about in a more focused and sophisticated way. Hence, **Plato** is considered the most influential political philosopher of all times.

ACTIVITY



1. Find out in what way "The Laws" is different from the other works of **Plato**?
2. Collect information about the university established by **Plato**.
3. Initiate a debate in class by comparing modern democracy to democracy during **Plato's** time.
4. Apart from politics, find out to which other fields of knowledge **Plato** contributed?

7.2 Aristotle

(384 – 322 BCE)



Learning Objectives

- ★ To understand the Political thought of **Aristotle**.
- ★ This will help to compare thinkers on similar concept
- ★ To gain knowledge about **Aristotle** ideas on Ideal State, Citizenship, normal and perverted forms of constitution and Monarchy, forms of government and democracy

Topic

Life And Times - **Aristotle's** Works - State As a Natural Institution - Functions of The State - Theory of Citizenship - Classification of States–Views on Slavery - Views on Family - Views on Property - Aristotelean Liesure - Views on Revolution - Assessment – Activities - Questions

Life and Times

William Ebenstien says" In the history of political philosophy no one has surpassed **Aristotle** in encyclopaedic interest and accomplishment".

Aristotle was **Plato's** student at his

'Academy'. After **Plato's** death, **Aristotle** found his own school called 'The Lyceum' in 335 BCE. It is here that Alexander studied under **Aristotle**. The teaching and research program included every branch of knowledge. **Aristotle** was born in Stagira in 384 BCE. Unlike **Plato**, **Aristotle** came from an upper middle class family. His father Nicomachus was the personal physician to king Amyntas of Macedon.

'**Aristotle**' whose name means 'the best purpose' stood true to his name when he proposed the 'Best Practicable State' as opposed to **Plato's** 'Ideal State'. According to **Aristotle**, "the State exists for an end and this end is the supreme good of man in both moral and intellectual life".

Aristotle's Works

He wrote many books on subjects ranging from Greek literature to Zoology. But his most famous work is called 'Politics' from which modern Political Science has grown. Thus he is called as the 'father of Political Science'. Though the exact date of its publication is not known, it is a voluminous work consisting of 8 books and having more than 1000 pages.

Unlike **Plato's** agreement with his teacher **Socrates**, **Aristotle** did not agree on many things his teacher **Plato** had to say.

Quotable quote The whole is more than the Sum of its parts
- **Aristotle**

Aristotle's Thought

Almost all his political ideas are known through his book 'Politics'.

State as a Natural Institution

According to him authority of the State is moral and the State is natural. Since the family could not satisfy the ever increasing needs of the people, they had to come out of their limited circle and thought of creating the State. The families combined together to make the State and made it a perfect association. **Aristotle** believes that the State is an individual writ large because the individual can think of perfection only in a State.

Functions of the State

According to **Aristotle** the foremost function of the State is to promote good life and create essential conditions for mental, moral and physical development of the people. The State should also function in such a way that good habits of individuals are converted into good actions and promote good, happy and honourable life.

Aristotle : What do you want?

Man : Good Life.

Aristotle : Then be part of the State.

Manv : How?

Aristotle : By becoming a CITIZEN.

Theory of Citizenship

Aristotle did not believe that mere residence or enjoyment of legal rights or birth should confer the right of citizenship on a person. He said, "It is the function which entitles a person to become citizen". A person should participate in the popular assembly which was vested with the authority of exercising sovereign

powers. A citizen should be able to partake in decision making process of the government.

Classification of States

He classifies States on quantitative as well as qualitative basis:

Quantity	Quality	
Type	Good Form	Perverted Form
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
A Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

According to *Aristotle*, if sovereignty resides in one person it is Monarchy. It degenerates into Tyranny. Thus the people wrest the State from the tyrant and give it to a few rulers and thus Aristocracy comes into being. Then it perverts into Oligarchy, people again revolt and transfer power to many rulers by which the State becomes a Polity. When this degenerates, it becomes a Democracy because these rulers no longer have sight of the common good for which the State came into being. This again gives rise to Monarchy.

Views on Slavery

According to *Aristotle*, the slave is the first of the animate property of a Master, i.e., the slave is first among all living property of the household of which the master is the head. He says those who are not virtuous are slaves. The slave is an instrument of action and not that of production because as soon as he starts performing productive functions, he loses his character as a slave and becomes virtuous.

Views on Family

Aristotle believes that the family is a natural institution and in fact it existed prior to the State. It is natural as individuals become members from their very birth. It is the starting point of moral life and the nucleus of the State.

ACTIVITY



Is it true that *Aristotle* tutored Alexander the Great?

Yes, he did, at the request of Philip II of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great.



Views on Property

Aristotle supported the possession of private property which is essential for good and normal life. However, he prescribed limits to private property. He also objected to the abolition of private property.

Aristotle on Leisure

The reason *Aristotle* says the citizens of a State must have property as well as slaves is because the citizens must have leisure, so that the citizen may spend useful time in thinking and deliberating on furthering the good life of all through the State.

Views on Revolution

Aristotle is of the opinion that revolutions occur firstly due to constitutional changes. This change could be large or small. For e.g.: change

from Monarchy to Tyranny could set off a revolution by the people. Secondly he says revolutions could occur due to loss of purpose of the State though there may not be any change in the State's constitution.

Aristotle's Six Forms of Government

Thus, **Aristotle** is still considered one of the greatest thinkers in politics, psychology and ethics. His intellectual range was vast covering most of the sciences and many of the arts. His works have laid the foundation of centuries of philosophy. Even after the intellectual revolution of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, Aristotelian concepts remain embedded in world philosophy. Therefore, he is undoubtedly one of the most influential philosophers of all time.

ACTIVITY



1. Divide the class into **Plato's** group and **Aristotle's** group and debate in support of each philosopher's theories.
2. List out the various other works of **Aristotle**.
3. Find out the name of the school of philosophy established by **Aristotle**.
4. Compare modern citizenship with **Aristotle's** ideas of citizenship.

ACTIVITY



DO YOU AGREE?

Tyranny, oligarchy and democracy form of governments the rulers seek their own personal profit. Do you agree? Discuss.

7.3 St. Thomas Aquinas

(1224/1225-1274)



Learning Objectives

1. To study about the Political thought of **St. Thomas Aquinas**
2. This will help to understand **Aquinas's** concept of law
3. To gain knowledge about **Acquinas's** ideas on Origin of State, Functions of the State, Classification of Government, Classification of Laws, Relations between Church and the State.

Topics

Life And Times – Aquinas' Works – **Aquinas'** Thought: Summa Contra Gentiles – Summa Theologica – on Kingship – Assessment – Activities – Questions

Life And Times

In Western Europe the thirteenth Century was regarded as the golden age of western medieval philosophy. Catholicism emerged as the universal religion in Western Europe. Eventually **Aristotle's** Politics, re-emerged during the thirteenth century. Sharp differences arose between **Aristotle's** secular views and Augustine's



religious ideas on sin, the Fall, and political society which were accepted by the church and as a binding doctrine. However, some philosophers faced the challenge of how to accommodate their theological views and a set of secular political assumptions, which finally resulted in the reconciliation of two different ways of understanding the world. They finally succeeded by terming politics and political theorizing as a trivial pursuit vis-à-vis people's higher calling of getting right with God. **St. Thomas** Aquinas was the greatest among these Christian theologians who architected this major philosophical triumph.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1224 or 1225-1274) was born in the family castle of Roccasecca, north of Naples. His father was Landulf of Aquino, who headed a minor branch of an important land owning family and his mother was Theodora Rossi belonging to Neapolitan Carracciolo family.



Aquinas' Works

In the nineteenth century, Pope Luis XIII declared that the philosophical system which Aquinas founded to be official Catholic theology, which made reading his works not only important for Catholics but also for those who sought a more than surface understanding of that

branch of Christianity. Aquinas works included commentaries that stem from his theological design. Some of his important works include, (i) Summa Contra Gentiles (1264), (iii) Summa Theologica (1274) and (iv) On Kingship.

Aquinas' Thought

Summa Contra Gentiles

It has often been said that Aquinas wrote the Summa Contra Gentiles (SCG) as a manual or text book designed to be used by the Dominican missionaries working in Spain where Islam was then a force to be reckoned with by Christians. The SCG is evidently an apologetic work, since it defends a series of Christian beliefs that were under criticisms or that could come under potential criticisms.

Summa Theologica

In his Summa Theologica, Aquinas establishes the existence of four levels of law which had an underlying unity which is reason. What differentiates one form of law from the other is the level of reason involved. The highest and most comprehensive among them is eternal law which is reason that is operative in the universe as a whole. It is the natural and the ethical order which God had established. The next is divine law which is a special category of eternal law which is the revealed word of God in the Scripture.

The next level of law, Aquinas identifies as the natural law. The idea of natural law goes back to the stoics and refers to moral law that is discovered by reason alone. It assumes that man has the capacity to reason and arrive at certain



ethical conclusion that would be binding on them whether it is specified in the law or not. For example, we do not need to have a criminal code to understand that murder is wrong and behave accordingly. The uniqueness of Aquinas' theory of natural law is that it establishes a link between the natural and the supernatural – between nature and spirit. This is so because, says Aquinas, that right and wrong are determined by God's eternal law and hence natural law is nothing else than the rational creature's participation in the eternal law. Human's moral reasoning is in short the extension of the spiritual principle that transcends nature. Finally, human law is the application of human reason to the precepts of natural law in specific earthly conditions.

On Kingship

The political theory of Aquinas closely parallels *Aristotle's*. His writings 'On Kingship' can be considered as the most methodical political work. Aquinas largely follows the pattern of arguments that were adopted by *Aristotle* in his 'Politics'. He argues that the State is natural because it is natural for man... to be a social and political animal, and to live in a group. Consequently he emphasizes that political activity is necessary and good. Aquinas further like *Aristotle*, roots people's political nature in their capacity to reason and to speak. Subsequently he emphasizes that it is through reasoned action in the political sphere that humans achieve virtue and there for happiness and fulfilment. Like *Aristotle*, he believes that the state is a moral community where the moral good of its members are considered

as its objective. Thus, he argues that the state should be based on justice and the best should rule for the good of the public which should be under the constraints of law. Such an argument leads us directly to the problem of classifying constitutions and yet again Aquinas follows the principles of *Aristotle* by using both qualitative and quantitative methods. He classifies constitution by the number of those who rule and the quality of their rule.

Quotable quote

Law is nothing other than a certain ordinance of reason for the common good, promulgated by the person who has the care of the community.

- *Thomas Aquinas*

Assessment

St. Thomas Aquinas who is regarded as one of the great figures of medieval thought founded a tradition which came to be known as Thomism. The basis of his political theory can be found in his commentary on *Aristotle's* Politics in de regimine principum (on the Rule of Sovereigns) while he was at the papal court in Italy (1259-68). Following *Aristotle* he held that the state is a natural and not a conventional institution and it is a perfect society (communities perfecta). He argued that it is natural and not conventional because human beings were social animals. They needed to form a society to survive, prosper and for their cultural development. Gregarious animals do this by instinct but humans on the other hand do it by reason.

All power according to Aquinas comes from God since it involves the power of life and death which in the Church's doctrine is a prerogative of God. It is at this juncture that Aquinas deviates from **Aristotle** but returns when he turns to the question of the sovereign which is natural. It is natural in that without a governing body capable of making decisions that would be binding, it would result in anarchy and people would destroy each other. The sovereign or government in the view of Aquinas is the representative of those governed.

The state therefore, is not in any way dependent on the church. Aquinas argued that each had a separate role and an end.

However, in Aquinas' view the Church is not subordinate to the state, whereas the state on the other hand must take into consideration of the Church since its end is higher than that of the state and is the ultimate end of the citizen. Aquinas likens the relationship of the church to the state to that of the soul and the body. Each has a separate role to play but ultimately the soul's purpose is loftier.

ACTIVITY



1. Find out the other Christian political thinkers and discuss about them.
2. Explore more about the University of Naples.

7.4 Niccolo Machiavelli

(1469-1527)



Learning Objectives

1. To understand the Political thought of **Niccolo Machiavelli**
2. This will help to compare thinkers on similar concept.
3. To know about **Niccolo Machiavelli** Politics and Religion, State, Advice to the Prince.

Topic

Life and Times - Works-Political Ideas: **Machiavelli's** Views on Human Nature - Separation Between Politics and Morality - **Machiavelli's** Methods - **Machiavelli's** Statecraft - Assessment - Activities - Questions

Life and Times

Machiavelli was born in Florence, the centre of Italian culture where influence of Italian culture where influence of the European Renaissance was the strongest among all areas as the third child of attorney Bernardo di **Niccolo Machiavelli** and his wife Bartolomea di Stefano Nelli. His writings reveal that he received an excellent humanist education that was informed by the Renaissance values. He entered the service of the Republican Government in 1494, the year of expulsion of the Medici. From 1498 to 1512 he was



Secretary to the Chancellery an important post which was concerned with diplomatic, military and administrative affairs. In 1512, consequent upon the restoration of the Medici, **Machiavelli** lost his office and underwent a brief imprisonment after which he embarked on a literary career. **Machiavelli** wrote his famous monograph *The Prince* in 1513 which is addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici. Simultaneously he started writing another important work- the *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* (in short, the *Discourses on Livy*) which was completed in 1517. However, both of these works were published posthumously in 1531. **Machiavelli** also produced some minor literary works but his reputation as a political thinker rests on these two books.

Machiavelli on Human Nature

Machiavelli's theory of Government is determined by his conception of the study of human nature. Like **Hobbes**, he is very pessimistic about human nature and believes that men by nature are purely selfish and they, in their lives, are always motivated by selfish desires. At one place in 'The Prince' he says, "Men are ungrateful, fickle, deceitful, cowardly and avaricious." He suggests that a monarch should aim to be feared by the people than be loved. For **Machiavelli**, love implies a bond of obligation which men, being essentially selfish, break on every occasion where their own interest demands it, while fear, for the same reason, holds them indefinitely. He feels that men judge things by appearances and so the ruler should take advantage of this fact and act. For him men are weak and ignorant and

are essentially vicious and become good only by necessity. He cautions the ruler never to trust his councillors but to use his own judgement.

Machiavelli holds the view that men have endless desires and one of the most important desire is the love for private property. He makes materialistic individualism as the explanation of love of independence and self-government. In the *Discourses* also he gives a pessimistic view of human nature. He maintains materialistic gain as the fundamental consideration of humans. He says that this motive of the people make them desire for republic and dislike monarchy. Under Republican government there are more chances for people to get material gain. This is not possible in a monarchy because the Prince takes all the gains and profits himself. An independent nation is preferred because a free nation enables the multiplication of wealth for the masses.

Separation between Politics and Morality

In Greek political thought, ethics was viewed as the foundation of politics. But **Machiavelli** made a striking departure from this classical ideal. He believed that politics is governed by its own independent standards; hence it cannot be bound by the conventional ethical standards. He insisted on separation between politics and ethics. According to him the ruler should be honest, righteous and true to his word, but in reality nobody can have all these qualities and these qualities will not enable a ruler to rule over vicious people. So the Prince should focus on the preservation of the State without being



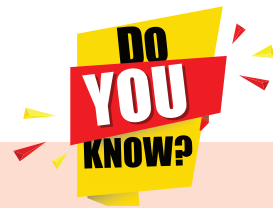
bound by moral obligations. **Machiavelli** does not contend that 'ends justify the means' but he claims that a ruler's success will be judged by popular verdict, and that he will be excused for using dubious means if he is successful in the end. If political expediency requires the Prince to set aside traditional morality, he should go ahead in the interest of successful politics.

Quotable
uote

"Let a Prince set about the task of conquering and maintaining his State: his methods will always be judged honourable and he will be universally praised."

Niccolo Machiavelli on separation of politics from religion

Machiavelli breaks away from the tradition maintained by **Plato**, **Aristotle**, St. Thomas Aquinas and others who believed in the ethical purpose of the State. He separates politics from both religion and morality and gives an autonomous status to politics. According to Machiavelli, it is not a practical policy for the prince to follow the principles of religion and ethics in his statecraft.



Machiavelli (The Prince)

Machiavelli's Method

According to **Machiavelli**, the right method to study political Science was historical. He says that human desires and passions remain the same always and when

the incidents of life are comparable, humanity will tend to find the same remedies and repeat the same conduct. He therefore regarded that the study of the past was very useful to understand the present and would also make it easy to make predictions for the future. He placed the study of politics on historical and realistic foundation and relied on empirical method particularly in the study of political behaviour. He has been described as a pioneer of behaviouralism. He followed this method almost in all contexts both in the Prince and Discourses. He conceived of politics as an instrument of acquisition, preservation and expansion of power which could be accomplished by harnessing the faculties of the people as they exist in the real world.

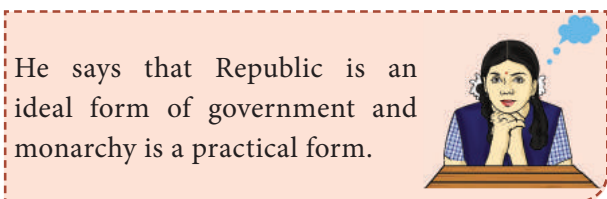
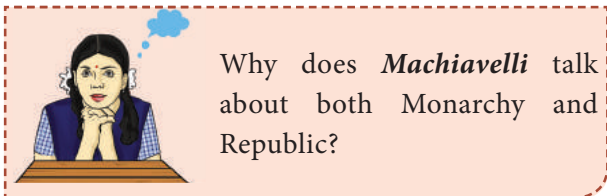
Machiavelli's method has been called inductive or scientific on the ground that he drew conclusions from practical or historical experiences of human nature that does not change under different political regimes. His originality lies in focussing on man's behavioural patterns instead of certain morals for the analysis of politics. However critics have pointed out that **Machiavelli's** method was only superficially scientific and historical. He did not follow inductive method of proceeding from the 'particular to general'. Nor is his method deductive, which is the method of proceeding from the 'general to the particular'. According to them **Machiavelli** never touches upon the central



problems of political philosophy, such as the justification of the existence of the State, grounds and limits of political obligation etc., He never looks beyond the necessities of practical politics although his vision was broad.

“Single ruler is necessary to found and reform states; republican governments are better at sustaining them once established”.

Machiavelli (Discourses on Livy)



George H. Sabine has rightly observed that there is no inconsistency between **Machiavelli's** two leading books *The Prince* and *The Discourses on Livy*. Both deal with the same subject—The causes of the rise and decline of States and the means of making them permanent. *The Prince* deals with monarchies or absolute governments and the *Discourses* mainly with the expansion of the Roman republic.

Machiavelli's Statecraft

Machiavelli's enunciation of statecraft is his most notable as well as controversial contribution. It is notable because it provides unique guidelines, it is controversial because it allows the ruler to use certain immoral practices for successful governance. While **Machiavelli** advised the ruler to set aside moral bindings in order to achieve his end, he did not think that conventional morality was totally irrelevant to politics. He enunciates a double standard of morals, one for the

ruler and another for his servants and citizens. The ruler's moral implies his undivided commitment to strengthen the state and enhancing his power in order to maintain law and order within the state and to ensure effective defence from foreign invaders. His performance will be judged by his success in fulfilling his responsibility. But his servants and citizens are not allowed to depart from the conventional morality, otherwise the purpose of the state itself will be defeated.

Machiavelli wants the Prince to act so carefully that he is held in high esteem among the people. The Prince must be conscious of the prevalence of 'universal egoism'. Government is found to provide the people with security from internal offenders as well as external enemies. A wise ruler will frame his policy with a view to creating an atmosphere of security of life, property and honour of the people. He advises the Prince to provide for security of women in the state. People will be loyal to their ruler when they are sure that their life, property and women are safe in the state.

Assessment

Machiavelli did not intend to undermine the foundations of morality in society. As a sincere patriot, he was particularly anxious to build a strong nation-state in Italy which was then

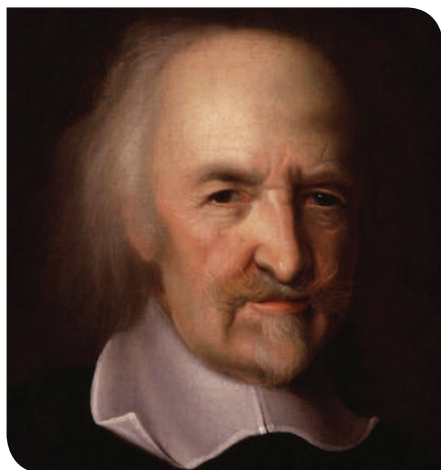
fragmented into five parts: Florence, Venice, Naples, Milan and the territory of the Roman Catholic Church. He wanted his country to win a respectable place among other nation-states of Europe. He was also worried about the then prevailing moral corruption among Italians. Though he preferred a republic, he advocated monarchy for the then existing condition of Italy.

ACTIVITY



1. Examine why **Machiavelli** is considered as the first modern thinker.
2. Study the features of monarchical and republican forms of governments.

7.5 Thomas Hobbes (1588 - 1679)



Learning Objectives

1. To understand the Political thought of **Thomas Hobbes**
2. To know about **Thomas Hobbes** views on state of Nature, The social Contract, Laws, Rights Liberty, Sovereignty and Social Contract Theory.

Topic: Life And Times – Central Ideas: Human Nature – State of Nature – Social Contract – Sovereignty – Assessment – Activities – Questions

Life and Times

Thomas Hobbes the sixteenth century English Philosopher who lived during the scientific revolution was the first to attempt a modern theory of society. He based his views on moral relativism with a highly pessimistic view of the state of nature – a war of all against all. **Thomas Hobbes** was born prematurely in Malmesbury on 5 April 1588, when his mother was told that the Spanish Armada was spotted off the coast of England. **Hobbes** grew in the house of his well-to-do uncle after his father abandoned his family. **Hobbes** began his schooling early and entered the Magdalen college in Oxford. Upon his graduation at the age of nineteen he became connected with the Cavendish family where he served as a tutor to William Cavendish. Although **Hobbes** showed little interest on the elements of philosophy, he began to study the classics with earnest after he went on a tour with William Cavendish in the European continent. He developed an interest in the movement of history and on the fates of nations and empires. In the year 1629, he translated Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War and published it.

Quotable quote

"Fear and I were born twins"

- **Hobbes**

Among **Hobbes'** many works, De Cive and the Leviathan were the most important.

Hobbes' Leviathan which is his most mature and exciting work attempts to demonstrate that the Galilean physics provides a model of human psychology which in turn lays the foundation for modern politics. His conception of human nature, the state of nature, the social contract and his ideas on sovereignty have captured the interest of all who read his political philosophy. In the following sections an attempt to understand these important works of **Hobbes** will be examined.

Human Nature

At most times, the Leviathan of **Hobbes** is taken as the starting point and begins with a coherent theory of 'Man', as a pre requisite to an understanding of politics. Very often political scientists use the term '**Hobbesian**' which probably could denote a very pessimistic view of man as essentially, anti-social, selfish, brutish and power lusting. If we agree with **Hobbes'** assumptions that man existed before there was any society or state, then, man would be concerned with doing only what will satisfy his need and wishes.

Quotable quote

I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death.

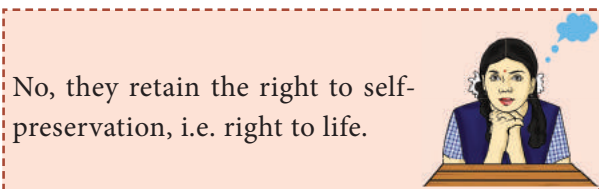
- **Hobbes**

In **Hobbes'** words human beings are driven by their passions and use their intellectual capacity simply as a means to determine what will bring them the greatest pleasure or the least pain. **Hobbes** further adds that the object of man's

desire is not to enjoy only once, and for one instant only, but to assure forever the way of his future desire. **Hobbes** is careful to also state that different people desire different forms of pleasure but there is one desire which is common in man – Power. Given that all are pleasure seekers, it must logically follow that all are power seekers. **Hobbes** thus regards human nature as utterly self-interested and self-regarding. Hence innately anti-social.



Did the people surrender all their rights to the sovereign?



No, they retain the right to self-preservation, i.e. right to life.

State of Nature

Hobbes in his theory of the state of nature provides a corollary method of understanding human behaviour. In the state of nature **Hobbes** argues, that it is a condition of absolute liberty and equality. Absolute liberty since there would be no laws to constrain individuals and thus would have a right to everything; absolute equality because human beings have roughly equivalent physical and intellectual capabilities. **Hobbes** argues that in such a condition where everyone has a right to everything and all have equal capabilities in exercising their rights, all are subject to attacks from all. The state of nature is thus a state of war where survival remains the ultimate motive for human beings to acquire power. Thus in the state

of nature everyone lives in constant fear of everyone else. It is thus by nature that human beings are by nature antisocial power seekers.

Social Contract

Hobbes' view of human nature has a profound impact on his political theory. Knowing the true nature of human beings, **Hobbes** puts forward a scientific theory of politics – the 'Social Contract'. The fundamental idea of the social contract is quite simple: The state is the result of a contract between human beings in which the scope and extent of the powers of the government are to be determined by an analysis of the terms of the contract. The state is created by mutual agreement or the consent of its members. As a result government is legitimate if it corresponds to what people have consented to.

Quotable Quote

"To do unto others before they do unto you"

- **Hobbes**

This is a very modern notion of the modern secular state which is contrary to medieval thought where the secular government exists by divine sanction. Such an idea was still employed by the Royalists who argued that the monarch ruled by divine right. The consent-contract flatly rejected this idea and on the contrary claimed that the government is legitimate only to the extent that people have consented to. The importance of **Hobbes** theory of social contract is that he believes that it is strictly a logical and scientific analysis of the state. He argues

that human beings would consent only to that which rationally accords to their needs and desires.

Sovereignty

Hobbes's conception of the sovereign/ sovereignty can be summed up in the relationship between the individual and the sovereign. The relationship between the individual and the sovereign was one that was between the absolute absence of power and the absolute unity of power. **Hobbes** is consistent in his argument in the commonwealth the removal of all bases of power from the individual on the one hand and the concentration of it with the sovereign was essential. In other words, **Hobbes** supported the creation of an absolute sovereign which would lack no power to enforce law and order against any possibility of man's irrationality.. The key to his political thinking is found in the absolute necessity to create an absolute authority. The sovereign could be one man or an assembly of men, although he preferred the sovereignty of one man.

- ❖ Fear and liberty are consistent.
- ❖ Liberty and necessity are consistent.
- ❖ Submission consists of both our obligation and our liberty.
- ❖ Other liberties depend on the silence of the law

Assessment

The importance of **Hobbes** lies not only on his political philosophy but also on his contributions towards the development of an anti-Aristotelian

and thoroughly materialist conception of politics. It is in his work that the beginnings of understanding politics from a non-teleological point of view emerged. His political philosophy served as the basis for other political philosophers such as **John Locke**, **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**, Immanuel Kant, who followed the tradition of examining politics from a modern scientific approach.

ACTIVITY



1. Find the meaning of Monism. How is it different from Pluralism?
2. Read about the book "The Leviathan".

7.6 John Locke (1632-1704)



Topic

Life And Times – Works of **Locke** – Central Ideas: Conception of Human Nature – State of Nature - Social Contract – Assessment – Activities - Questions

Life and Times

John Locke, the father of philosophical liberalism, was born on 29 August, 1632 at Wrington, Somersetshire, United Kingdom. He spent his childhood at Pensford, near Bristol. His acquaintance with William, the Prince of Orange, and his ascendancy to the English throne after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, brought **Locke** back to London. **Locke** was made the Commissioner for Appeals by William III in 1689. The unfavourable political climate induced him to resign again and led to his settlement at Essex. He ended his public life with his last assignment as the Commissioner on the Board of Tea.

Works of Locke

His important works are 'Letter Concerning Toleration' (1689), an 'Essay Concerning



Learning Objectives

- ❖ To understand the Political thought of **John Locke**
- ❖ To know about **John Locke** views on Political Theory, Human Nature, State of Nature, The social Contract.



Human Understanding' (1690), 'Two Treatises on Civil Government' (1690), 'A Second Letter on Toleration' (1692), 'A Third Letter on Toleration' (1692), 'A Fourth on Toleration' (1693) and 'Some Thoughts Concerning Education' (1693).

Central Ideas

Locke's central ideas can be discussed as follows:

Conception of Human Nature

Locke's comprehension of the human nature is reflected in his "Essay on Human Understanding". Unlike **Hobbes**, **Locke** does not subscribe to a pessimistic view of human nature. He identifies reason as the factor which shapes a rational human being. He also acknowledges reason as the foundation of individual and social life. Humans were social, rational, decent, mentally stable and capable of self-rule. **Lockean** view also upholds the natural state of equality for individuals. To him, humans are entitled to natural liberty. It is qualified as an inherent privilege to be free from any superior element but to be subversive towards the "dictate of the nature". He also reaches a consensus on the fact that individuals are prone to some degrees of discrepancies in terms of intelligence, strength and their skills. Nevertheless, his reliance on similarities among individuals were outweighing the differences. **Locke** is also particular in reflecting the utilitarian trait of humans. Following the line of Bentham, **Locke** says, humans seek to strike a balance of pleasure over pain. It is this notion of pleasure or utility which forms the basis of his covenant.

State of Nature

The **Locke** an contemplation on the state of nature can be found in his "Second Treatise". In contrast to the **Hobbesian** state of nature, **Locke** postulates a peaceful condition by virtue of the social instinct of humans. As dictated by the canons of natural law, his state of nature is based on perfect freedom. Moreover, the phase is also characterised by equality defined in terms of reciprocal power and jurisdiction. In his own words, "state of nature is a state of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation". In short, **Locke** underscores the optimistic nature of human beings.

Natural law is considered to be the source of both rights and duties. Humans derive their rights from the domain of natural law and it expects them to respect the ordained rights on a mutual basis for safeguarding the same. **Locke** goes to the extent of denoting natural law as the moral law enacted by God, which is sensible through reason. It would not be wrong to refer his state of nature as "an anarchist's paradise".

Finally, **Locke** identifies the three fundamental demerits which threatened the balance of state of nature. Firstly, the absence of a legal framework. Secondly, the lack of a "known and impartial judge". Thirdly, the requirement of an executive agency for the enforcement of decisions. Hence, the phenomenon of state was the means of liberation from this malady. Besides, it is worthwhile to keep in mind that the **Locke** an state of nature is inconsistent with facts. It rests on a fictional premise unsupported by any historical justification.

ACTIVITY



Can the people revolt against the government?

Yes, they can. But, they cannot dissolve the State. They can only change the government.



Social Contract

Social contract is configured as an instrument of admission to the civil society. The **Lockean** view proposes two contracts. The first one establishes the civil society and the second one calls for the constitution of government. He also recognises consent as the bedrock of the contract. To him, no individual can be admitted into this commonwealth without his/her own consent. **Locke** speaks of two kinds of consent: 1) formal or active consent, which is irrevocable in nature and 2) implied or tacit consent, which sanctions the departure of the stakeholders from the 'trust' and initiate a new order. **Locke** prefers the former as far as his version of contract is concerned, making it clear that there is no return to the state of nature. Another striking attribute of the **Locke's** contract is that individuals do not surrender their rights which they enjoyed in the state of nature. Submission of the rights would defeat the purpose of the contract itself as the state is being raised as the guarantor and protector of rights. Therefore, the contract is synonymous to a "charter of liberty" than a license for subjugation. The **Locke** an vision on social pact also authorises the

option for revolution against a tyrannous system of governance. This measure is included in order to reaffirm the role of the state as the guardian of the natural rights of individuals. Furthermore, **Locke** leaves the decision on revolution to the legislature with a focus on the principle of majoritarianism and consent.

On the question of the nature of authority, he outlines the notion of limited-sovereignty. Absolute sovereignty is against his construct of civil society. **Locke** was also not hesitant to offer an alternative blueprint on the separation of powers. According to him, the powers of the government were separated among three organs. Firstly, the legislature, which he refers as the "supreme power of the commonwealth". Secondly, the executive, which also includes the judicial powers. Thirdly, the federative, which implies the power of external relations of a state. **Locke** was also tolerant towards the idea of a single-ruler which sanctions the concentration of all powers in one hand, provided that it is an outcome of the consent of the majority.

Quotable quote

"Government has no other end, but the preservation of property".

-**John Locke**

Assessment

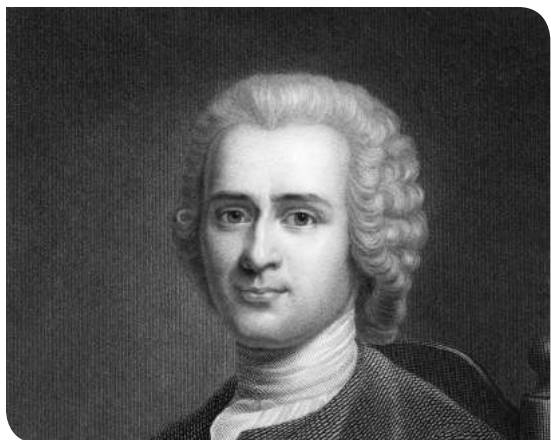
John Locke, by virtue of his scientific temper and rationality, finds a significant place in the Western Political Thought. Being an individualist by conviction, he believed that humans are the makers of their own destiny. His works were a great source

of impetus and inspiration for thinkers like **Voltaire**, **Diderot** and **Rousseau**, and even for the French Revolution. According to **Parrington**, **Locke's** Two Treatises on Government “became the textbook of American Revolution”. In the words of **Prof. Laski**, “**Hobbes** worked with an impossible psychology and sought no more than the prescription against disorder. Burke wrote rather a textbook for the cautious administrator than a guide for the liberal statesman. But **Locke** saw that the main problem of the state is the conquest of freedom and it was for its definition in terms of individual good that he above all strove”.

ACTIVITY

1. Understand the meaning of separation of powers and examine how it functions in various countries.
2. Differentiate between absolute monarchy and limited monarchy.

7.7 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778 CE)



Topic

Life And Times – Central Ideas: State of Nature – Social Contract – General Will – Assessment– Activities - Questions

Life and Times

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, one of the most prominent philosophers in the modern political discourse, was born on 28 July, 1712 in Geneva. Hailing from a broken family, **Rousseau** was devoid of the opportunity to enjoy the privilege of a nurtured childhood. After disengaging from a couple of apprenticeships, he fled from Geneva and found joy in wanderlust. With the help a young widow named **Madame de Warens**, **Rousseau** was introduced to formal education in a monastery based in Turin and a seminary in Annecy. The eventual aversion towards the style of pedagogy in those institutions, induced him to abandon the same. Out



Learning Objectives

- ❖ To understand the Political thought of **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**
- ❖ To know about **Jean-Jacques Rousseau's** views on Human Nature, Theory of General Will, Sovereignty and Social Contract Theory.



of the repeated failures, she was forced to send him to Lyons in 1730. After a year of wandering, he re-joined her in 1731 and lived under her bounty till 1740. Influenced by her intellectual halo and her invaluable assistance, he joined as a teacher in the family of Monsieur de Malby. Nonetheless, he left the assignment and resorted to his journey as an aimless soul.

His second trip to France in 1744 brought significant changes in his life. Despite his unsuccessful experiments in various fields like opera, theatre, poetry and so forth, **Rousseau** sustained his determination and positive spirit. The year 1749 was a turning point in his life. The Academy of Dijon announced the prize for the best essay on “Has the progress of sciences and arts contributed to corrupt or purify morals?” **Rousseau** writes in his Confessions, “Instantly I saw another universe, and I became another man”. The work he submitted had received the first prize in 1750 and it was published under the title – “A Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences”.

On his return to Geneva in 1754, **Rousseau**, a Catholic by himself, accepted Calvinistic denomination and reacquired the citizenship. After his travel to Paris, he spent 8 years of his life at Montmorency as a ward of Madame d'Epinay. **Rousseau** composed his most important works - The New Heloise (1761), Emile (1762) and the Social Contract (1762) – during this phase. Condemnation was the response received for his books which led to his further resettlements in various places. **Rousseau's** demise on 2 July, 1778, was received with a shock and was seen as a great loss to philosophy.

Central Ideas

Rousseau occupies a critical position in the realm of political philosophy. He is predominantly known for his contribution towards the “theory of social contract”. As a social contractualist by conviction, **Rousseau** sought to unearth the origin of state as an expression of the “general will”. He attributed the origin of state as a consequence of two phases – “state of nature” and “social contract”.

State of Nature

Unlike **Hobbes**, **Rousseau's** proposition of state of nature was an epitome of perfect liberty, perfect equality and perfect innocence. He also identifies it with a more peaceful, pleasant and idyllic environment. The man in his state of nature lived in solitude characterized by a care-free living with no desires. Despite the inconsistency in terms of a settled life, and inarticulate speech, the life was shaped by contentment, independence, self-sufficiency and prosperity. Absence of wickedness paved the way for idyllic happiness. As he says, “supreme bliss” was the norm of the time.

In due course, the status quo was threatened by changes in terms of sophistication of human life. He acknowledged a number of factors ranging from the divergences in climate, season and soil to organized profession and private property as responsible for challenging the sustenance of the state of nature. In the view of **Rousseau**, human progress and rational advancement accompanied by the revolution in the conduct of life and human thought brought a new layer of evils in its



wagon. He identifies the origin of inequality with this shower of changes that shook the fabric of the state of nature. The concept of private ownership created a new cleavage at the social sphere – rich and poor. In his words, “the first man who after enclosing a piece of land said to himself ‘this is mine’ and found people simply to believe him, was the real founder of civil society”.

The period was made to witness a chain of wars, murders and rifts between the rich and poor. This new order sanctioned evils at a universal scale that were unfound in the savage state. An unavoidable culmination of these turn of events was the rise of inequality and a strata of masters and slaves. **Rousseau** opines that there are two premises on which a savage acts. Firstly, a human is driven by the need of self-preservation and out of the interest of his/her own welfare. Secondly, the fear of death. He finds the genesis of rationality and reason in this emotional consciousness. **Rousseau** is of the view of that the humans by nature are incapable of thinking. Civil society is viewed as antithetical to nature and it is apparently an outcome of the march of human reason. He insists on the slogan of “returning to nature”. His demand for the retrospection to the nature does not tantamount to a prescription for the collapse of the newly woven social fabric, but the rule of nature. Such a call necessarily unveils **Rousseau’s** revelation that it is the philosophy and reason that allured the human life to entropy.



Why is private will subordinate to general will?

Because, the general will is the will of all and aims at the common good.



Social Contract

The idyllic character of the state of nature was short-lived. The emerging template of human complexities defined by economic advancement and social evolution facilitated only havoc. Humans were left with no alternative, but to constitute the civil state. It was materialized with the provision of social contract. In the sixth chapter of the ‘Social Contract’ **Rousseau** says, “I assume that men have reached at a point where primitive conditions can no longer subsist and the human race would perish unless it changed its mode of existence”. The state of nature is thriving on an individual’s pursuit of self-interest until a point wherein he/she realises that his/her self-preserving prowess against the insecurity posed by others is not strong enough. Hence, the utility of social contract is to encompass the prospects of security deriving from the collective association of individuals with the element of liberty which was possessed until their entry into the contract. The next dilemma that grappled the individuals was the question of force with respect to preservation. To him, men are incapable of creating any new forces but only redirect and guide that already exist. Therefore, a concerted approach is what recommended by him in this direction.

Quotable quote

“Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. One man thinks himself the master of others, but remains more of a slave than they are”

- **Rousseau**



He also discards any form of authority bereft of consent as volatile. In his own words, “Authority of man over man can have no rational basis, save agreement and consent”. **Rousseau**’s equation for the civil state can be summed as follows: “Each of us puts his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will and in one corporate capacity, we receive each number as an indivisible part of the whole”. Hence, the state thus formed is a moral body with a life and will of its own distinct from its members. The government is expected to be an agent of general will. **Rousseau** holds that state is not just an amalgamation of individuals, but a new body with an inherent identity, personality and life of its own. Above all, the state possesses a will of its own, what he terms as *volente* general or general will. Any separate or particular will shall be deemed to be subordinate to it.

The instinct-driven life of the state of nature is replaced by a life of justice and morality in the new civil state. Individuals lose their natural liberty and unlimited right to everything and in return they receive civil liberty and property rights. He condemns the liberty of the state of nature as a falsity as it is nothing but an enslavement of uncontrollable appetites. On the contrary, the moral liberty offered by the civil society make them the masters of themselves. In his own words, “obedience to a law which prescribe to our selves is liberty”. Unlike **Hobbes** and **Locke**, **Rousseau** professes a total surrender of the individual to the sovereign community in pursuit of attaining equality. His idea of individual delegation of all the rights to the body-politic fosters reconciliation between liberty and authority.

Rousseau was particular about the inalienable, indivisible, absolute and perpetual nature of sovereignty. To him, general will was the sovereign. The assignment of administrative powers to certain people do not make them the sovereign, but merely subordinate agents. Any attempt on part of the community to transfer all or a segment of its sovereignty to one of the agents shall result in the descending of the body-politic. Sovereign was a party in **Rousseau**’s contract. Furthermore, what he underscored was the notion of popular sovereignty.

General Will

General will or the community is identical to the state. People submit their powers and personality under the command of the general will. The individuals wills are outweighed by the general will. Besides, sovereignty rests in the body-politic as a whole and it coincides with nothing, but the general will. Given the residence of general will in the community, it imposes the paramountcy and sovereignty of the people, i.e. popular sovereignty. He emphasises the transferability of power. The general will is not equivalent to the will of all since the former considers the common interest whereas the latter attaches private interest into its fold. There are two premises that determine the general will. First, it seeks general good, which refers to the objective of will. Secondly, it must come from all and apply to all, which proposes its origin. General will lacks representative character as the representative bodies have the tendency to develop particular interest of their own without paying heed

to the concerns of the community. Ethical values and right consciousness do not coincide with the will of all. General will is invariably the manifestation of inner will and the product of conscience. Moreover, it is recognised as right, altruistic, universal and based on common good.

Assessment

Opinions are manifold about **Rousseau's** personality and works. G. D. H Cole opined about his 'Social Contract' to be "still far by the best of all text-books of political philosophy". Lord Morley took up different turn in expressing the status of **Rousseau** in the philosophical discourse by saying, "Would it not have been better for the world if **Rousseau** had never been born?" He tries to say that the awful experiences of the French Revolution could be prevented if **Rousseau** had not lived as the latter's ideas were fundamental throughout the movement.

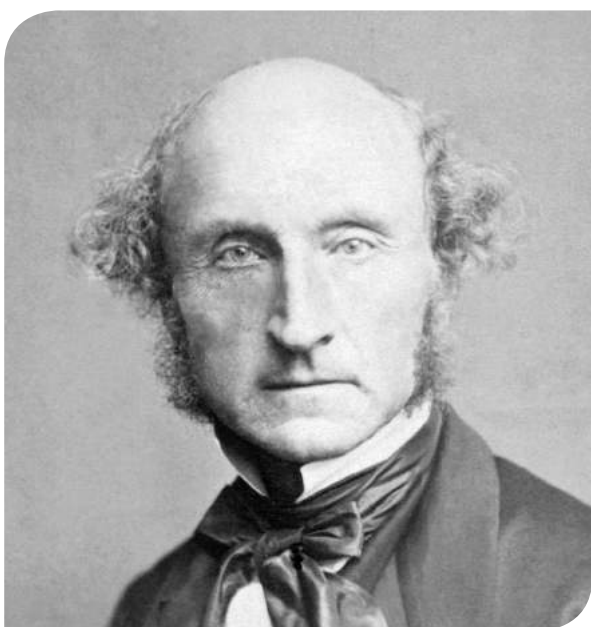
His philosophy also traces a socialistic background. Capitalism received an "ill-treatment" in the hands of **Rousseau**. He also favoured the nationalization of education and opposed the notion of private property. Besides, his discourse accommodates absolutism and authoritarianism as well. Under the pretext of general will, he is virtually favouring the "tyranny of majority". Despite all these, **Rousseau** deserves an irreplaceable position among the modern political philosophers.

ACTIVITY



1. Try to understand the meaning of popular sovereignty.
2. Read about the emergence and impact of the institution of property in the society.

7.8 John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873)



Learning Objectives

- ❖ To understand the Political thought of **J.S. Mill**
- ❖ To know about Critique of Utilitarianism, Liberty,

Topic

Life And Works – Central Ideas; on Liberty – Considerations on Representative Government – Assessment – Activities – Questions.



Life and Works

John Stuart *Mill* was born on 20 May 1806 in Bentonville, a northern suburb of London to Harriet Barrow and James *Mill*, a Scotsman who was educated at Edinburgh University. The development of John Stuart *Mill* as a social and political thinker can be divided into three specific periods. The first period represents the training that he received from his childhood under both his father, James *Mill* and Jeremy Bentham. The second period marks his recovery from his mental crisis which started in his early twenties, with the termination and dissolution of the philosophic radicals as a distinct party towards the end of the 1830s. It was at this period that *Mill* refashioned his thinking under a variety of intellectual and emotional influences. The final period which extends to over thirty years of his career, marks the time in which he published his major works that included, *A System of Logic*, *Principles of Political Economy*, *On Liberty* and *Considerations on Representative Government*.

On Liberty

On Liberty (1859) brought *Mill* enduring fame, and predicted that among all his works, this was destined to survive the longest and is has. The transformation of society from aristocratic to democratic forms of organization brought with it both advantages and disadvantages. It meant rule by social masses that would be more powerful, uniform and omnipresent than the rulers of previous eras. *Mill* held that, the dominance of the majority carried with it more risks than from a monarch that had the capacity to place restrictions

over the freedoms of individuals, which could be legislatively enacted. Informal mechanisms of social pressure and expectation could in democratic societies could be all-controlling. *Mill* expressed that such powers could have the capacity of stifling conformism in thought, character and action. It was in this context that *On Liberty* was written. The aims of this work is written in the first chapter which asserts one simple principle. This principle states that “the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection” (*Liberty*: XVIII 223). Thus, the practical philosophy of this argument by *Mill* is primarily utilitarian.

In his ‘*On Liberty*’ *Mill* puts forward different strategies to argue for freedom of thought and discussion, character, and action. Freedom of thought and discussion are discussed in chapter two of *On Liberty*, where arguments against the control of expression are explained. Chapter three of *On Liberty*, puts forward argument in favour of freedom of Character (individuality) where such arguments are two pronged. On the one hand *Mill* argues for freedom of space for individuals which individuals should have to develop their own character while on the other, he maintains that it is best for society too. “Human nature is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing” (*Liberty*,



XVIII: 263). *Mill* was of the opinion that mass society is self-repressive in nature which would lead to the sapping of human energy and potential. The Victorian society he claimed was governed by an ethos of propriety based on Christian self-denial while in contrast *Mill* encourages the Greek model of self-development. It is important for society to create conditions where individuals can develop their own ways of living. This will enable variety and diversity of character and culture which will become the engine of productive tension that will drive a nation forward. *Mill's* insistence throughout *On Liberty*, sought to preserve the individual's freedom against the possibility of legislative or state coercion and also from the deceptive forms of social coercion.

Considerations on Representative Government

In 1861 *Mill's* *Considerations on Representative Government* was published which contains his views on politics. *Mill* was a convinced democrat, however, this work reveals his disappointment, doubts, and difficulties about self-government. His view is paradoxical in nature where he views that the majority ought to rule but minority rule was probably right. He argued that majority has power but the minority has wisdom. *Mill* in this work expresses the dangers posed by the tyranny of the majority undertook to provide the criterion for good government. He concluded that ideally the best form of government was one that was representative where the sovereignty

is vested in the entire aggregate of the community, every citizen who not only have the right to at least occasionally be called on to take an actual part in the government by the personal discharge of certain public function, local or general.

Assessment

John Stuart *Mill* occupies a very important place in the history of political thought which was widespread in the nineteenth century. His work emphasized the importance of human nature for the proper study and understanding of the state. He developed his own philosophy of franchise. *Mill* states that casting one's vote is as necessary for the political animal as is the air that he or she breathes. No other political thinker has been as emphatic as *Mill* in the conception of voting. The influences that utilitarianism had on *Mill* also were important in the formulation of his ideas on the principle of economy and that of representative government where the freedom of the individual to develop his capabilities should be never interfered with. On each of these subjects *Mill* was often provocative that no student of the discipline can afford to ignore.

DO
YOU
KNOW?

❖ Utilitarianism: Greatest happiness of the greatest numbers.

❖ Even though *J.S. Mill* has been brought under the guidance of utilitarian thinkers like *James Mill* and *Jeremy Bentham*, he gave a different notion of utilitarianism.

ACTIVITY



1. Read more about the historical developments in the 18th century Europe.
2. Explore his ideas on utilitarianism.

7.9 Karl Marx



Introduction

Karl Marx is one of the few people who changed the way we see the world. For **Marx**, any theory should not only support in understanding the world around, but be a step towards transforming the world. His works – Communist Manifesto, Materialistic Conception of History and Das Capital, are a culmination of various economic ideas, channelled towards the single goal of self- emancipation of working class. It is important to know that, Marxism draws many elements from earlier thinkers like Hegel, Comte de Saint-Simon, J. C. L. de Sismondi, David Ricardo, Charles Fourier, and Louis Blanc.

Second half of the 18th century and 19th century witnessed the growth of Socialism in Europe. This period was also known as dual revolution era, wherein politically France witnessed the Revolution of 1789, which overthrew absolute monarchy and republic was proclaimed with liberty, equality and fraternity declared the right of every Frenchman. Second important revolution during this period that had a long lasting



Learning Objectives

- ❖ To understand the Political thought of **Karl Marx**
- ❖ To know about **Karl Marx** views on Dialectical Materialism – Theory of Surplus Value – Class Struggle And Revolution – Dictatorship of The Proletariat – Withering away of The State – Assessment

Topic

Introduction – Works of **Marx**: Communist Manifesto – Das Kapital – Central Ideas: Dialectical Materialism – Theory of Surplus Value – Class Struggle And Revolution – Dictatorship of The Proletariat – Withering away of The State – Assessment - Questions



impact on Europe was the Industrial Revolution. These two events had a major impact on *Marx's* work.

Works of *Marx*

The Communist Manifesto

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle

The Communist Manifesto (1848) is a collaborative work of *Karl Marx* and Friedrich Engels. It was a product of the social, economic and political turmoil that characterized Europe before 1850. This essay explains the social change through revolution. The Communist Manifesto goes on to argue that the nature of that class struggle varies according to the nature of production. Hence in feudal societies, where the main form of production was agriculture, the class struggle was between those who owned the land and those who worked on it. In a modern industry, the struggle is between the bourgeoisie (factory or business owners) and the proletariat (workers in the factory). In reality the society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other – bourgeoisie and proletariat. It is in this premise that *Marx* and Engels vouch that “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle”.

In conclusion the Communist Manifesto simply places two ideas side

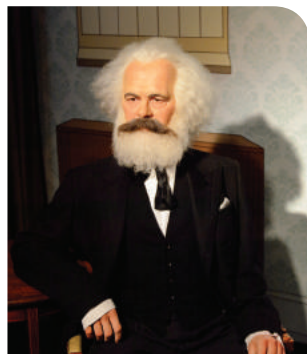
by side; “to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class” and “to win the battle of democracy”. *Marx* in this work also emphasises that the communist should aim to replace private property with public control of all properties. *Marx* and Engels may not have changed the world, but they certainly changed the way we interpret it. The historical significance of the Communist Manifesto is that virtually all socialist parties, from the Communist Party of China to the Trotskyite sect, owe a lesser or greater debt to the ideas expressed in its pages.

Das Capital

Marx's masterpiece, Das Capital, the “Bible of the working class,” as it was officially described was published in 1867 in Berlin. Only the first volume was completed and published in *Marx's* lifetime. The second and third volumes, unfinished by *Marx*, were edited by Engels and published in 1885 and 1894. The first volume deals with the process of production of capital; the second volume deals with the process of circulation of capital; the third volume deals with the totality of the process of capitalist production.

Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical Materialism is a philosophical approach to reality derived from the teachings of *Karl Marx* and Friedrich Engels. In theory dialectical materialism provides both a general world view and a specific method for the investigation of scientific problems. *Marx* and Engels look at every basic sections of society as materials and change in society



takes place only through “the struggle of opposites”. Materialism principally dealt with social world. The material world has always been in constant motion, contradictions and change. **Marx** believes that friction caused by constant motion in the society leads to contradictions within the society, which eventually leads to change in the society. Dialectical Materialism relates to the process of change in the society.

ACTIVITY



Marx's Work

Critique of Hegel
Philosophy of Right
The Holy Family
Theses on Feuerbach
The German Ideology
The Communist Manifesto
Critique of the Gotha Program
Das Capital

Theory of Surplus Value

Theory of Surplus Value, comes from the Das Capital. **Karl Marx** opines that human labour was the source of economic value, hence the term ‘surplus value’ denotes the difference between labour and labour power. The Capitalists gets surplus value for the extra labour that has been put in by the labourer. Surplus value is produced no matter how long the working day is: even if the factory only ran for an hour the capitalist would still extract his quota of surplus labour and therefore surplus value. The capitalist pays his workers less than the value their

labour, and in most occasions usually only enough to maintain the worker at a subsistence level.

Class Struggle and Revolution

Class consciousness and struggle are related to the social relations of production. **Marx** does not look at class as a factor of ideology, but as a person who holds particular social status. The term class relates to ownership based on property, for example bourgeoisie (person who owns means of production and also the landowners) and proletariat (one who sells labour for wages).

Marx's work on the “Class Struggle of France”, in the years 1848 – 1850 assesses the arguments on the class struggle and the need for revolution. **Marx** bases his idea of class conflict from the French Revolution of 1848. During this revolution both bourgeoisie and proletariat fought together against the aristocracy and succeeded in the proclamation of republic. Having come to power with the support of the proletariat during the February revolution, the bourgeoisie used the election process to claim legitimacy of their rule. The bourgeoisie class instead of emancipating the working class of all bondages increasingly alienated them.

The bourgeoisie on coming to power started controlling the state and the army, and crushed the proletariat showing that the former meant civil war in reality. **Marx** emphasises that the class struggle leads to revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and the abolition of private production resulting in socialism.



Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a phrase used by **Karl Marx** to refer to the assumption of state power by the working class. For **Marx**, it is a transitional period of permanent revolution between the overthrow of bourgeois political rule and a classless society. Of all **Marx's** contribution to political thought, probably the “dictatorship of the proletariat” has had the most profound implication for actual governance.

When the first group of the workers class (proletariat) assert themselves over the traditional ruling class (bourgeoisie) capitalist forms of production is abolished and the socialist forms of production takes the lead. Establishment of socialist forms of production results in the disappearance of class groups within the society eventually bringing about Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Withering Away of the State

With the break-up of Society into classes, and consequently into oppressed and oppressing groups, state becomes an instrument of exploitation. The class conflict becomes even more intensive and leading to the dictatorship of proletariat. Signs of victory of the proletariat can be seen with the capture of the government. “The proletariat will take control of the State and converts the means of production into State production. Taking control of the state and production, the proletariats, destroy all class differences and class antagonisms, and finally resulting in the ‘Withering Away of the State’.

ACTIVITY



Explain the various stages promulgated by **Marx** namely

Primitive Communism

Imperialism

Feudalism

Capitalism

Socialism

Communism

Assessment

In 1852, **Marx** summarized his contributions into three major sections:

- Classes (proletariat and bourgeoisie) are not a permanent features of a society
- Class struggle leads to ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’, resulting in workers taking control of production
- ‘Dictatorship of the proletariat’ would lead to classless society and with the differences vanishing from the society, the state eventually withers away.

Has the world become stateless as envisaged by **Marx**? The reality proves other way. Nevertheless, the impact that Marxism had on humanity can only be compared to the influence religion had on mankind. Nearly half of the world population was influenced by Marxist ideology. While, **Marx** himself would have not followed everything he wrote, his writings did influence leaders like Lenin, Stalin, Mao and others who used Marxist

theories in order to bring about change in countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc. In the present era most of the erstwhile communist countries have become democratic in nature. However, the society continues to witness class differences and it is increasing every year. Hence, so long there are capitalists and exploitation in the society, **Marx's** ideas can never be ignored or forgotten.



▲ Contemporary debates on Marxism focus on relative importance of its basic tenets and identification of some new forms of dominations and conflicts emerging in the present day society. These debates led to the emergency of Neo-Marxism.

Activities:



Discuss about Neo-Marxism in your class

Glossary



Aristocracy: A state in which governing power is held by the nobility.

Behaviouralism: Advocacy of or adherence to a behavioural approach to social phenomena.

Bourgeoisie: The capitalist class who own most of society's wealth and means of production.

Classless Society: The ultimate condition of social organization, expected to occur when true communism.

Dialectic: An enquiry into metaphysical contradictions and their solutions.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat: In Marxism, rule by the proletariat—the economic and social class consisting of industrial workers who derive income solely from their labour—during the transitional phase between the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of communism.

Enlightenment: A European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition.

General Will: In political theory, a collectively held will that aims at the common good or common interest.

Glorious Revolution: The events of 1688–89 that resulted in the deposition of James II and the accession of his daughter Mary II and her husband, William III, prince of Orange and stadholder of the Netherlands.

Individualism: A social theory favouring freedom of action for individuals over collective or state control.

Majoritarianism: A form of democracy which upholds the rule of the majority.

Oligarchy: A small group of people having control of a country or organization.

Political Economy: It is a branch of social science that studies the relationships between individuals and society and between markets and the state.

Proletariat: The working-class people regarded collectively.



Rationality: The quality of being based on or in accordance with reason or logic.

Reformation: A 16th-century movement for the reform of abuses in the Roman Church ending in the establishment of the Reformed and Protestant Churches.

Romanticism: A movement in the arts and literature which originated in the late 18th century, emphasizing inspiration, subjectivity, and the primacy of the individual.

State of Nature: In political theory, the real or hypothetical condition of human beings before or without political association.

Statecraft: The skilful management of state affairs; statesmanship.

Timocracy: A form of government in which possession of property is required in order to hold office.

Evaluation



I. Choose the correct answer

1. Name the philosopher who wrote “The Republic”

- a) Marx b) Aristotle
- c) Plato d) St. Thomas Aquinas



2. Whose real name was “Aristocles”?

- a) Socrates b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

3. Who is called the father of Political Science?

- a) Socrates b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

4. Who is famously known as the Doctor of the Church?

- a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

5. Who is the author of “Discourses on Livy”?

- a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Machiavelli c) Aristotle d) Xenophon

6. Who is the father of philosophical liberalism?

- a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Machiavelli c) Marx
- d) John Locke

7. Who said “It was a condition which, however free, is full of tears, and continual dangers”?

- a) John Locke b) St. Thomas Aquinas c) Thomas Hobbes d) Marx



8. Who is the author of the work “Principles of Political Economy”?

- a) St. Thomas Aquinas b) Thomas Hobbes c) John Stuart Mill d) Plato

9. Which work is called as the “Bible of the working class”?

- a) Principles of Political Economy b) Das Kapital
c) Theory of Surplus Value d) Class Struggle of France

10. Who promulgated the idea of “Dictatorship of the Proletariat”?

- a) Marx b) St. Thomas Aquinas
c) Thomas Hobbes d) John Stuart Mill

II Answer the following questions very shortly

11. Who wrote the book ‘The Statesman’ and when was it written?
12. Who according to Plato would rule the Ideal State?
13. Thomas Aquinas write about which characteristics of gregarious animals.
14. Why was Machiavelli a political analyst and not a political philosopher?

III Answer the following questions shortly

15. Write a short note on Plato’s Idea of Justice.
16. How does Aristotle classify the state?
17. Write a short note on life and works of St. Thomas Aquinas.
18. How does Machiavelli separate politics and Morality?
19. Write a short note on Machiavelli’s statecraft?
20. Assess Hobbes State of Nature?

IV Answer the following questions in detail

21. Analyse Plato’s works on Education, Democracy and Constitution.
22. Assess Aristotle’s engagement on function and classification of State.
23. Assess in detail Machiavelli approach to human nature.
24. Write a detailed note on John Locke’s state of nature and Social Contract Theory.



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ICT Corner

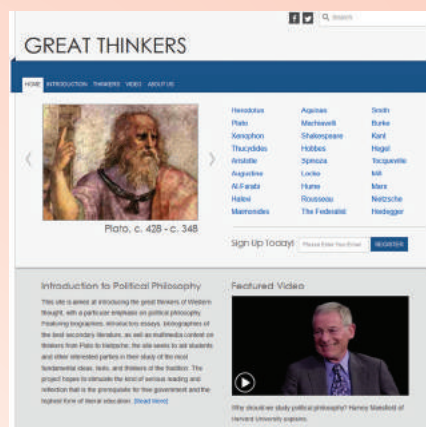
POLITICAL THOUGHT

Through this activity you will learn about Political thinkers and their works.

GREAT THINKERS

Procedure:

- Step - 1** Use the URL or QR code to open the GREAT THINKERS page, in which a list of great political thinkers names are placed on the top right of the window.
- Step - 2** Click on any name, a page which contains the details about the thinker will open.
- Step - 3** Click on the Biography button next to the Home button to know the detailed biography of the thinker.
- Step - 4** Similarly click on the consecutive buttons to explore more about the thinker such as the works, commentaries on the works, explanatory videos etc.



Step 1



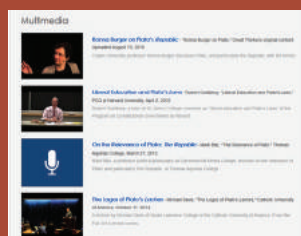
Step 2



Step 3



Step 4



GREAT THINKERS URL:

<http://thegreatthinkers.org/plato/biography/>

*Pictures are indicative



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KEY TERMS

Absolute Monarchy	- முடியாட்சி	Aristocracy	- பிரபுக்கள் ஆட்சி
Absolute Majority	- அறுதிப் பெரும்பான்மை	Arithmetic	- எண்கணிதம்
Act	- சட்டம்	Assembly	- சட்ட சபை
Activist	- செயற்பாட்டாளர்	Association	- கூட்டமைப்பு
Ad-Hoc	- ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட காரணத்திற்காக மட்டும்	Astronomy	- வானியல்
Adherence	- சார்ந்திருத்தல் (அ) பின்பற்றுகல்	Asylum	- புகலிடம்
Administrative Law	- நிருவாகச் சட்டம்	Audit	- தணிக்கை
Administrative Machinery	- நிர்வாக இயந்திரம்	Auditorium	- அரங்கம்
Administrative Policy	- நிர்வாகக் கொள்கை	Authority	- அதிகாரம்
Affirmative Action	- உடன்பாடான செயல்பாடு (நலிந்தோர் நலநோக்கு நடவடிக்கை)	Auxiliary Class	- துணைக்குழு வகுப்பு
Affiliation	- சார்ந்திருக்கும் நிலை	Auxiliary Agencies	- பதிலிப்பணி முகமைகள்
Age of Enlightenment	- அறிவு மறுமலர்ச்சிக்காலம்	Backward Classes	- பிற்படுத்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினர்
Agreement	- ஒப்பந்தம்	Behaviouralism	- நடத்தையியல்
Alignment	- கூட்டு சேருதல்	Behavioral Approach	- நடக்கையியல் அணுகுமுறை
All India Services	- அகில இந்தியப் பணிகள்	Bi-party System	- இரு கட்சி முறைமை
Amnesty International	- சர்வதேச பொது மன்னிப்பு கழகம்	Bicameralism	- ஈரவைச் சட்டமன்றம்
Amendment	- அரசியலமைப்பு சட்டத் திருத்தம்	Bill	- மசோதா
Anarchists	- அமைப்பெதிர்வாதிகள் / கலகக்காரர்கள்	Bill of Rights	- உரிமைகளின் சட்டம்
Anachronism	- காலத்திற்கு ஒவ்வாமை	Bourgeoise	- முதலாளித்துவவாதிகள் / பூர்வீகவாக்கள்
Anthropology	- மானுடவியல்	Budget	- வரவு செலவு திட்டம்
Anti-Hindi Agitation	- இந்தி எதிர்ப்புப் போராட்டம்	Bureaucracy	- அதிகாரவர்க்கம்
Apartheid	- இன ஒதுக்கல் கொள்கை (நிறவெறி)	Cabinet	- அமைச்சர் குழு (அமைச்சரவை)
Appellate Jurisdiction	- மேல்முறையீட்டு நீதிவரம்பு	Cabinet Meeting	- அமைச்சர் குழு கூட்டம்
Appetite	- உணவு நாட்டம்	Cabinet Decisions	- அமைச்சர் குழு முடிவுகள்
Articles	- அரசியலமைப்பு விதி	Capitalism	- முதலாளித்துவம்
Arbitrator	- கருத்து எடுத்துரைப்பவர்	Capitalist Democracy	- முதலாளித்துவ மக்களாட்சி
		Catholicism	- கத்தோலிக்கம்
		Centralisation	- அதிகாரக் குவிப்பு
		Charismatic Leadership	- வசீகரத் தலைமை
		Charter of Human Rights	- மனித உரிமைகள் சாசனம் / மனித உரிமைகள் பேரறிக்கை
		Checks and balances	- கட்டுப்பாடுகளும் சமநிலைகளும்



Child Labour	- குழந்தைத் தொழிலாளர்	Compartmentalism	- பகுதி பகுதியாக பிரித்தல்
Church	- திருச்சபை	Compromise Treaty	- சமாதான உடன்படிக்கை
Citizenship	- குடியுரிமை	Concurrent List	- பொதுப்பட்டியல்
Citizen	- குடிமகன்	Confederation	- கூட்டிணைவு
City-State	- நகர அரசு	Consenses	- ஒருமித்த கருத்து
Civic Participation	- குடிமைப் பங்கேற்பு	Conflicts	- முரண்பாடுகள்
Civil Equality	- குடிமைச் சமத்துவம்	Conflict Resolution	- முரண்பாடு தீர்வு
Civil Rights	- குடிமை உரிமைகள்	Conflict Management	- முரண்பாடு மேலாண்மை
Civil Society	- குடிமைச் சமூகம்	Conservatives	- மரபு விரும்பிகள் / பழமைவாதிகள்
Civil War	- உள்நாட்டுப் போர்	Constituencies	- தொகுதிகள்
Class Antagonisms	- வர்க்க முரண்பாடுகள் / சாதிய முரண்பாடுகள்	Constituent Assembly	- அரசமைப்பு நிர்ணய சபை
Class Struggle	- வர்க்கப்போராட்டம்	Constitutional Amendment	- அரசமைப்புச் சட்டதிருத்தம்
Classification	- வகைப்பாடு	Constitutional Law	- அரசமைப்பு சட்டம்
Classification of Governments	- அரசாங்கங்களின் வகைப்பாடு	Constitutional Monarchy	- அரசமைப்பு மன்னராட்சி
Classical Democracy	- மரபுவழி மக்களாட்சி	Constitutional remedies	- அரசமைப்பு தீர்வுகாண் உரிமைகள்
Classless Society	- வர்க்கமற்ற சமூகம்	Constitution	- அரசமைப்பு
Climate Change	- பருவநிலை மாற்றம்	Contractual Rights	- ஒப்பந்த உரிமைகள்
Coalition	- கூட்டணி	Conventional Ethical Standards	- மரபார்ந்த நன்னெறித் தரநிலைகள்
Coalition Ministry	- கூட்டணி அமைச்சரவை	Council of States	- மாநிலங்களவை
Cold War	- பனிப்போர்	Cultural and Educational Rights	- பண்பாட்டு மற்றும் கல்வி உரிமைகள்
Collective Responsibility	- கூட்டுப் பொறுப்புணர்வு	Customs	- பழக்கவழக்கங்கள்
Collegiability	- குழு செயல்பாட்டு தன்மை	Das Capital	- மூலதனம்
Colonialism	- குடியேற்றம்	Debates	- விவாதங்கள்
Committee System	- குழு முறை	Decree	- ஆணை
Commonwealth Nations	- பொது நலக் கூட்டு நாடுகள்	Decentralization of Powers	- அதிகாரப் பரவலாக்கல்
Communal Harmony	- வகுப்பு நல்லிணக்கம் (மத நல்லிணக்கம்)	Decision Making Policy	- முடிவு எடுத்தல் கொள்கை
Communalism	- வகுப்புவாதம்	Declaration	- பிரகடனம்
Communism	- பொதுவுடமை	Declaration of Rights of Man	- மனித உரிமைகள் பறைசாற்றம்
Community	- சமூகம்	Decolonization	- குடியேற்ற நீக்கம்
Communist Manifesto	- பொதுவுடமை அறிக்கை	Deductive Reasoning	- குறைப்பு முறை / பகுத்தறி முறைக் காரணவியல்
Comparative Approach	- ஒப்பீட்டு அணுகுமுறை	De-facto sovereignty	- சட்டபூர்வமில்லாத பெயரளவு இறைமை
Comparative Analysis	- ஒப்பீட்டு பகுப்பாய்வு		
Comparative Study	- ஒப்பீட்டு ஆய்வு		



De-jure sovereignty	- சட்டபூர்வமான இறைமை (சட்டநிலையிலான இறைமை)	Dynamism	- இயங்காற்றல்
Deliberative Democracy	- தன்விருப்ப மக்களாட்சி (அவதானமான மக்களாட்சி)	Ecclesiastical	- தேவாலயம் சார்ந்த (திருச்சபை தொடர்பானவை)
Deligation	- ஒப்படைப்பு	Ecologist	- சூழலியல் வல்லுநர்
Deligation of Authority	- அதிகார ஒப்படைப்பு	Economic Democracy	- பொருளாதார மக்களாட்சி
Democracy	- மக்களாட்சி	Economic Security	- பொருளாதாரப் பாதுகாப்பு
Democratic Elitism	- மக்களாட்சியிலான மேட்டிமைவாதம்	Election Manifesto	- தேர்தல் அறிக்கை
Department	- துறை	Electorate	- வாக்காளர் முறைமை
Despotic Government	- கொடுங்கோன்மை அரசாங்கம்	Emergency Provisions	- நெருக்கடிநிலை அதிகாரங்கள்
Despotism	- கொடுங்கோலாட்சி	Enforcement	- செயலாக்க நடைமுறை
Developed Countries	- வளர்ந்த நாடுகள்	Enforcible	- செயலாக்கத் தகுந்த
Dialectical Materialism	- இயக்கவியல் பொருள்முதல்வாதம்	Empirical	- பட்டறிவு சார்ந்த (செயலறிவு)
Dialectical Method	- இயங்கியல் முறை	Environmental Sustainability	- சுற்றுச்சூழல் நிலைத்தன்மை
Dictatorship Of The Proletariat	- பாட்டாளிகளின் சர்வாதிகாரம்	Election	- தேர்தல்
Dictatorship	- சர்வாதிகாரம்	Equality of Opportunity	- வாய்ப்புகளில் சமத்துவம் (சம வாய்ப்புரிமை)
Diplomacy	- தூதாண்மை	Equality	- சமத்துவம்
Direct Democracy	- நேரடி மக்களாட்சி	Equity	- சமபங்கு/சமச்சீராக்கம்
Directive Principles of State Policy	- அரசுக்கு வழிகாட்டும் நெறிமுறைகள் (அரசு வழிகாட்டி நெறிமுறைகள்)	Early Vedic Period	- முற்கால வேதகாலம்
Disaster Management	- பேரிடர் மேலாண்மை	Era	- சகாப்தம்
Distributive Justice	- பங்கீட்டு நீதி	Eradication	- ஒழிப்பு
Division of Powers	- அதிகாரப் பகிர்வு	Eradication of Poverty	- வறுமை ஒழிப்பு
Divine Origin Theory of State	- தெய்வீக உரிமை அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு	Eternal Law	- நித்திய சட்டம்/முடிவிலிச் சட்டம்
Divine Rights Theory	- தெய்வீக உரிமை கோட்பாடு	Ethics	- நன்னெறி
Domestic Liberty	- உள்நாட்டு சுதந்திரம்	Evolution	- பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி
Drafting Committee	- வரைவுக்குழு	Evolutionary Theory	- பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி கோட்பாடு
Dual Government	- இரட்டை அரசாங்கம்	Evolutionary Theory of Origin of State	- பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு
Dual Citizenship	- இரட்டை குடியுரிமை	Execution	- செயலாக்கம்
Duration	- கால அளவு	Executive Authority	- செயலாக்க அதிகாரம்
		External Sovereignty	- வெளிப்புற இறையாண்மை
		Extremists	- தீவிரவாதிகள்
		Experimental Approach	- பரிசோதனை அணுகுமுறை



Fabian Socialism	- எச்சரிக்கை மிகு சமதர்மம்	Human Trafficking	- ஆட்கடத்தல்
Factionalism	- உட்பிரிவினைவாதம்	Ideal State	- இலட்சிய அரசு
Federal Form of Government	- கூட்டாட்சி அரசாங்க முறை	Idealistic Theory of Rights	- இலட்சியவாத உரிமைக் கோட்பாடு
Feminists	- பெண்ணியவாதிகள்	Ideology	- இலட்சியவாதம்
Feudalism	- நிலப்பிரபுத்துவம்	Illiteracy	- எழுத்தறிவின்மை
Fiscal Liberty	- நிதிச் சுதந்திரம்	Imperialism	- ஏகாதிபத்தியம்
Finance Bill	- நிதி மசோதா	Implementation	- செயல்படுத்துதல்
Financial Administration	- நிதி நிர்வாகம்	Indigenous People	- பிறந்த நிலத்திற்குரிய மக்கள்/உள்நாட்டினர்/மண்ணின் மைந்தர்கள்
Financial Policy	- நிதிக் கொள்கை	Indirect Democracy	- மறைமுக மக்களாட்சி
Flexible constitution	- நெகிழும் அரசியலமைப்பு	Individualism	- தனிமனிதத்துவம்
Fraternity	- சகோதரத்துவம்	Inductive Method	- தொகுத்தறிமுகக் காரணவியல்
Fundamental Rights	- அடிப்படை உரிமைகள்	Industrial Revolution	- தொழிற்புரட்சி
Gender Equality	- பாலினச் சமத்துவம்	Initiative	- மக்கள் கருத்து முன்வடிவு
Gender Parity Index	- பாலினச் சமநிலைக் குறியீடு	Input-Output Approach	- உள்ளீட்டு வெளியீட்டு அணுகுமுறை
General Will	- பொது விருப்பம்	Institutional Approach	- நிறுவன ரீதியிலான அணுகுமுறை
Geometry	- வடிவியல்	Insurrection	- அரசுக்கு எதிரான உள்நாட்டு புரட்சி
Global Warming	- புவி வெப்பமயமாதல்	Interest Groups	- தன்னலக்குழுக்கள்
Glorious Revolution	- மகத்தான புரட்சி	Internal Sovereignty	- உள் இறையாண்மை
Good Governance	- நல் ஆளுகை	International Law	- பன்னாட்டுச் சட்டம்
Governing Elite	- ஆளும் உயர்ந்தோர்குழாம்	International Organizations	- பன்னாட்டு அமைப்புக்கள்
Government	- அரசாங்கம்	International Peace	- பன்னாட்டு அமைதி
Grass-Root Democracy	- அடித்தட்டு மக்களாட்சி	International Relations	- பன்னாட்டு உறவுகள்
Gross Domestic Product	- ஒட்டுமொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தி (மொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தி)	Joint Committee	- கூட்டுக் குழு
Gross National Happiness	- மொத்த தேசிய மகிழ்ச்சி/மொத்த நாட்டு மகிழ்ச்சி	Judicial Review	- நீதிப் புனராய்வு
Gross National Income	- மொத்த தேசிய வருமானம் / மொத்த நாட்டு வருமானம்	Jurisdiction	- அதிகாரவரம்பு எல்லை
Group Behaviour	- குழு நடத்தை	Justice	- நீதி
Hereditary Monarchy	- பாரம்பரிய மன்னராட்சி	Justiciable rights	- வழக்கிட்டு நிலைநாட்டக்கூடிய உரிமைகள்
House of Representatives	- பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை	Kingship	- அரசுரிமை
Human Development Index	- மனிதவள மேம்பாட்டுக் குறியீடு	Kitchen Cabinet	- குடும்ப அமைச்சர் குழு
Human Law	- மனிதச் சட்டம்	League of Nations	- பன்னாட்டுச் சங்கம்
Human Rights	- மனித உரிமைகள்	Leftist Ideology	- இடதுசாரி இலட்சியவாதம்



Legal Approach	- சட்டபூர்வ அணுகுமுறை	Natural Citizen	- இயற்கையான குடிமகன்
Legal Rights	- சட்ட உரிமைகள்	Natural Inequality	- இயற்கைச் சமத்துவமின்மை
Legal Sovereignty	- சட்டபூர்வ இறையாண்மை	Natural Law	- இயற்கைச் சட்டம்
Leftist Political Parties	- இடதுசாரி அரசியல் கட்சிகள்	Natural Rights	- இயற்கை உரிமைகள்
Leftist leader	- இடதுசாரி தலைவர்	Natural Science	- இயற்கை அறிவியல்
Legislature	- சட்டமன்றம்	Naturalised Citizen	- இயற்கையாதலான குடிமகன்
Liberals	- சுதந்தரவாதிகள்	Negative Liberty	- எதிர்மறை சுதந்திரம்
Liberty	- சுதந்தரம்/விடுதலை	Nominal Sovereignty	- பெயரளவிலான இறையாண்மை
Life Expectancy	- ஆயுள் கால அளவு	No Confidence Motion	- நம்பிக்கையில்லா தீர்மானம்
Linguistic Minorities	- மொழிவாரி சிறுபான்மையினர்	No objection Certificate	- ஆட்சேபணை இல்லா சான்றிதழ்
Local Government	- உள்ளாட்சி அரசாங்கம்	Non-Alignment	- கூட்டு சேராமை
Local-self Government	- உள்ளாட்சி சுய அரசாங்கம்	Non-Governing Elite	- ஆளுகை சாரா உயர்ந்தோர் குழாம்
Lower Chamber	- சட்டமன்ற கீழ் சபை	Non-Governmental Organizations	- அரசு சாரா அமைப்புகள்
Magna Carta	- மகா சாசனம்	Noon Meal Scheme	- மதிய உணவுத் திட்டம்
Majoritarianism	- பெரும்பான்மைத்துவம்	Normative	- கருத்தறிவு
Majority Party	- பெரும்பான்மைக் கட்சி	Neutrality	- நடுநிலை
Manufacturing Sector	- உற்பத்தித் துறை	Neutralised State	- நடுநிலை அரசு
Marxism	- மார்க்சியம்	Nutritious MealScheme	- சத்துணவுத் திட்டம்
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