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**SELF-LEARNING
MATERIAL**



MA POLITICAL SCIENCE

MPS 101- POLITICAL THEORY

w.e.f Academic Session: 2024-25



**CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY MEGHALAYA**

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Self Learning Material

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About The Course Structure:

This is the first paper of M.A. first semester in the subject Political Science. The paper explores a basic understanding of the meaning and significance of political theory with its various approaches. It also examines important concepts, providing necessary introductions and explanations. The course is designed with the needs of learners in mind who have been disconnected from traditional learning methods but remain interested in continuing their education.

To make the material learner-friendly, we have attempted to recreate the traditional instructor-led experience through features like sticky notes on the 'let's rewind' sections for review, 'let's sum up' chapter summaries, and 'check your progress' quizzes with answers. Model questions are included at the end of each chapter and can be used as assignments. Learners can refer to the 'let's rewind' notes for clarification and are encouraged to consult the provided references for their assignments.

About The Chapters:

Chapter 1: What is Political Theory and Utility of Learning It?

Political theory is the systematic study of fundamental political concepts, principles, and values. It seeks to understand the nature of politics, the purpose of government, and the relationship between the state and its citizens. The chapter provides an introduction to the meaning, nature, significance of political theory in order to equip the learners with the basic foundation of political theory.

Chapter 2: Approaches to Political Theory

This chapter explores the various ways in which political theory can be approached, including traditional and modern methods. It also delves into the historical development of political theory, examining periods of decline and resurgence in its influence. Ultimately, the chapter highlights the significance of political theory in shaping political thought and practice.

Chapter 3: The State

The state is a fundamental concept in political theory, representing the political entity that governs a territory. This chapter will explore the nature of the state, its origins, and its relationship with society. It also discusses the four essential elements of state in a lucid manner.

Chapter 4: Theories of the Origin of the State

The question of the origin of the state has been debated by political theorists for centuries. This chapter will examine various theories of the origin of the state, including the divine right theory, the force theory, and the social contract theory. It will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each theory and their implications for our understanding of the state.

Chapter 5: Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a key concept in political theory, referring to the supreme authority within a territory. This chapter will explore the nature of sovereignty, its different types (internal and external), and its implications for the relationship between the state and its citizens. It will also discuss the challenges and controversies surrounding the concept of sovereignty in the contemporary world.

Chapter 6: Citizenship

Citizenship is the status of being a member of a state and enjoying the rights and responsibilities associated with that membership. This chapter will explore the concept of citizenship, its historical development, and methods of acquiring citizenship.

Chapter 7: Rights and Duties

Rights and duties are fundamental to the relationship between the state and its citizens. This chapter will explore the nature of rights and duties, their historical development, and their relationship to each other. It will also discuss the different types of rights (civil, political, social, and economic) and the corresponding duties of citizens.

Chapter 8: Liberty

Liberty is a fundamental value in many political systems, representing the freedom of individuals to act without undue interference from others or the government. This chapter will explore the nature of liberty, its different types (positive and negative), and its relationship to other political values such as equality and justice.

Chapter 9: Equality

Equality is another fundamental value in many political systems, representing the idea that all individuals are equal in worth and deserving of the same treatment under the law. This chapter will explore the nature of equality, its different types (formal and substantive). It will also discuss the challenges of achieving equality in a diverse and complex society.

Chapter 10: Justice

Justice is a complex concept that involves the principles of fairness, equity, and impartiality. This chapter will explore the nature of justice, its different types (distributive, procedural, and retributive), and its relationship to other political values such as liberty and equality. It will also discuss the challenges of achieving justice in a world characterized by inequality and injustice.

Chapter 11: Democracy

Democracy is a form of government in which the people have the ultimate authority. This chapter will explore the nature of democracy, its different types (direct and representative), and its historical development. It will also discuss the challenges of democracy and the factors that contribute to its success or failure.

Chapter 12: Theories of Democracy

There are various theories of democracy that offer different perspectives on the nature and goals of democratic governance. This chapter will explore these theories, such as classical liberalism, pluralism, and elitism. It will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each theory and their implications for our understanding of democracy.

Chapter 13: The Constitution

The constitution is a fundamental legal document that outlines the structure, principles, and powers of a government. This chapter will explore the nature of constitutions, their different types (written and unwritten), and their role in shaping political systems.

Chapter 14: Public Opinion

Public opinion is the collective beliefs, attitudes, and values held by a group of people. This chapter will explore the nature of public opinion, its formation, and its influence on political decision-making. It will also discuss the challenges of measuring public opinion and the importance of understanding public opinion for effective governance.

Chapter 1: What is Political Theory and Utility of Learning It?

Chapter Structure:

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Political Theory:

1.1.1 Meaning

1.1.2 Definitions

1.2 Growth and Evolution of Political Theory

1.3 Nature of Political Theory

1.4 Characteristics of Political Theory

1.5 Utility of Learning Political Theory

1.6 Let's Sum Up

1.7 References and Further Reading

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.9 Model Questions/ Assignments

1.10 Activity Sheet

1.0 Introduction:

Imagine building a massive fort. Political theory is like the vast collection of strategies people have devised throughout history for constructing the most effective structure. Each element of the fort represents the diverse concepts and ideas contributed by different individuals, all crucial or helpful in completing the structure. Studying political theory equips you as a citizen with a deeper understanding. You become familiar with the various ideas in organizing a society and the reasons behind them. It empowers you to critically examine how things function, question notions of fairness, and gain insight into the underlying philosophies shaping our world.

The **objective** of the chapter is to equip the learners with the-

- Knowledge about the meaning and definition of Political Theory.
- Understanding about the nature, characteristics and significance of Political Theory.
- New set of ideas.

1.1 Political Theory:

1.1.1 Meaning:

Political theory is essentially a systematic explanation of political phenomena. Rooted in the Greek concept of "theoria," it involves a contemplative examination aimed at understanding political realities. Political theory is one of the core areas in Political Science. From ancient Greece to the present, the history of political theory has dealt with fundamental and perennial ideas of Political Science. Political theory reflects upon political phenomenon, processes and institutions and on actual political behaviour by subjecting it to philosophical or ethical criterion.

Weinstein considers political theory as an activity which involves posing questions, developing responses to those questions and creating imaginative perspectives on the public life of human beings. It has been probing into questions like: nature and purpose of the state; why one should prefer a kind of state over the other; what the political organization aims at; by what criteria it ends, its methods and its achievements should be judged; what is the relation between state and the individual. Political theory has been engaged in these age old questions from Plato onwards because it is concerned with the fate of man which depends upon his ability to create a kind of

political community in which rulers and ruled are united in the pursuit of common good. It is not necessary that political theory can provide answers to all questions but it can at least tell us how one should go about the solution. Political theory is the categorization of social thought by a group or by the persuasion or beliefs of a geo-political mass. Many political theories are found as critiques toward existing political, economic and social conditions of the theorist's time. Political theory can also be considered as a critical tradition of discourse that provides a reflection on collective life, the uses of collective power, and resources within a collectivity.

There are many different elements that create the foundation for theoretical analysis towards political science. Since the ancient Greek period, political theory analyzes and interprets the foundations of political life and evaluates its principles, concepts and institutions. Political theory is the study of the concepts and principles that people use to describe, explain, and evaluate political events and institutions. It seeks to understand, explain and analyze the political phenomena and prescribe ways and means to rectify the shortcomings.

Some major political philosophers and their ideas are-

- **Plato:** Advocated for a philosopher-king to rule in the ideal state.
- **Aristotle:** Believed in a mixed government combining elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.
- **Machiavelli:** Emphasized the importance of power and the need for a ruler to be pragmatic and ruthless.
- **Thomas Hobbes:** Argued for a strong central authority to maintain order and prevent chaos.
- **John Locke:** Proposed natural rights of life, liberty, and property, and advocated for limited government.
- **Jean-Jacques Rousseau:** Believed in popular sovereignty and the social contract, where people surrender individual rights for the common good.
- **Karl Marx:** Criticized capitalism and advocated for a classless society based on communism.

Political theory is a dynamic field that continues to evolve in response to changing social, economic, and political conditions. By understanding the ideas of major political thinkers, we can gain valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities facing societies today.

1.1.2 Definitions:

In common parlance, political theory is "...a body of knowledge related to the phenomenon of the state." While 'political' refers to 'matters of public concern', 'theory' refers to 'a systematic knowledge'. Political theory can be defined as the discipline which aims to explain, justify or criticize the disposition of power in society. It delineates the balance of power between states, groups and individuals. Different scholars have defined it in the following ways:

- ✚ David Held opines that political theory is a "...network of concepts and generalizations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of government, state and society, and about the political capabilities of human beings."
- ✚ According to Francis W. Coker, "...a branch of political science concerned chiefly with the ideas of past and present political thinkers and the doctrines and proposals of political movements and group discussion of the proper scope of governmental action ... has usually been regarded as a proper part of political theory."
- ✚ David Peritz considers political theory as "...a tradition of thinking about the nature of political power; the conditions for its just and unjust use; the rights of individuals, minorities, and majorities; and the nature and bounds of political community. Rather than tackling pressing political problems one at a time, political theorists seek systematic solutions in overall visions of just societies or comprehensive diagnoses of the roots of oppression and domination in existent political orders."
- ✚ Andrew Hacker defines it as "...a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other."
- ✚ George Catlin says, "political theory includes political science and political philosophy....It is concerned with means; political philosophy is concerned with the end or final value, when man asks what is the national good or what is good society."

✚ John Plamentaz defines it as “...the analysis and clarification of the vocabulary of politics and the critical examination, verification and justification of the concepts employed in political argument.”

In brief, political theory by referring to the comprehensive definition given by Gould and Kolb who say that it is ‘a sub-field of political science’ which includes:

- Political philosophy – a moral theory of politics and a historical study of political ideas;
- A scientific criterion;
- A linguistic analysis of political ideas, and;
- The discovery and systematic development of generalizations about political behaviour.

On the basis of the above definitions, it can be concluded that political theory is concerned with the study of the phenomena of the state both in philosophical as well as empirical terms. It not only involves explanation, description and prescription regarding the state and political institutions but also evaluation of their moral philosophical purpose. It is not only concerned with what the state is but also what it ought to be.

Let's Rewind:

Political theory is a core discipline within political science that examines the foundational ideas shaping political life. It involves analyzing the concepts and principles underlying political events and institutions, seeking to understand, explain, and evaluate them. Political theory goes beyond describing the state's current form; it also explores its ideal form. To facilitate study, it's divided into classical, modern, and empirical branches. Classical theory, rooted in philosophy, focused on describing, explaining, prescribing, and evaluating political phenomena. In contrast, empirical theory adopted a scientific approach, prioritizing description and explanation. Contemporary theory aims to bridge the gap between these two perspectives.

Check Your Progress:

- What is the origin of the word theory?
- Who authored the book 'The Nerves of Government'?

1.2 Growth and Evolution of Political Theory:

Political theory, a field that investigates the nature, purpose, and principles of government, has undergone a significant evolution over centuries. Its development has been shaped by historical, social, and philosophical factors. A brief explanation follows to help you understand the whole scenario. Take a look-

Early Political Thought

- **Ancient Greece:** Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle, laid the groundwork for Western political thought. Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* explored ideal forms of government, the relationship between the individual and the state, and the concept of justice.
- **Roman Republic:** Roman political thought was influenced by Greek philosophy but developed its own concepts, including the balance of power and the importance of law and order.

Medieval Political Thought

- **Christian Political Thought:** Christianity significantly influenced medieval political thought. Augustine and Aquinas developed theories that merged religious and political concepts, emphasizing the divine right of kings and the role of the Church in political affairs.
- **Feudalism:** The feudal system characterized by a hierarchical social structure and decentralized power, shaped political thought and practice during this period.

Renaissance and Enlightenment

- **Humanism:** The Renaissance marked a shift towards humanism, emphasizing the value of human reason and experience. This led to a renewed interest in classical political thought and a critique of medieval political institutions.
- **Machiavelli:** Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* offered a more realistic and pragmatic view of politics, focusing on the acquisition and maintenance of power.
- **Social Contract Theory:** Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau developed the social contract theory, arguing that individuals voluntarily surrender some of their freedoms to form a government in exchange for protection and security.

Modern Political Theory

- **Liberalism:** Liberalism emerged as a dominant ideology in the 19th and 20th centuries, emphasizing individual rights, limited government, and economic freedom. John Stuart Mill was a prominent liberal thinker.
- **Conservatism:** Conservatism, which seeks to preserve traditional values and institutions, developed as a reaction to liberalism. Edmund Burke was a key figure in conservative thought.
- **Socialism:** Socialism, advocating for a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources, gained prominence in the 19th century. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were influential socialist theorists.
- **Feminism:** Feminism emerged as a political movement and theoretical framework, challenging gender inequality and advocating for women's rights. Mary Wollstonecraft was a pioneer of feminist thought.
- **Postmodernism:** Postmodernism, a critique of modern Western thought, has influenced political theory by questioning universal truths and emphasizing diversity and plurality.

Contemporary Political Theory

- **Globalization:** The rise of globalization has led to new challenges and opportunities for political theory, as it explores the impact of interconnectedness on governance, democracy, and justice.

- **Environmentalism:** Environmental concerns have become increasingly important in political theory, with theorists addressing issues such as climate change and sustainable development.
- **Multiculturalism:** The growing diversity of societies has prompted discussions about multiculturalism and the challenges of accommodating different cultural values and identities within a single political framework.

As political theory continues to evolve, it remains a vital field for understanding the complexities of governance and the challenges facing societies today.

Let's Rewind:

Political theory has undergone significant development over centuries, influenced by historical, social, and philosophical factors. Early Greek and Roman thinkers laid the foundations of Western political thought. Medieval political thought was shaped by Christianity and feudalism. The Renaissance and Enlightenment brought new ideas, such as humanism and social contract theory. Modern political theory has been influenced by liberalism, conservatism, socialism, feminism, and postmodernism. Contemporary challenges, including globalization, environmentalism, and multiculturalism, continue to shape the evolution of political theory.

Check Your Progress:

- Which ancient Greek philosopher argued for the ideal form of government in his work *The Republic*?
- During the Renaissance, which philosopher offered a more realistic and pragmatic view of politics, focusing on the acquisition and maintenance of power?
- 19th-century ideology advocated for a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources?

1.3 Nature of Political theory:

Political theory is the study of the phenomena of the state both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view. In this context, certain similar terms are also used such as political thought, political philosophy, and political science. Although all of them are concerned with explaining the political phenomena, yet political theory is distinct from them. The distinction of political theory from other terms, as discussed by Biju P.R, has been mentioned as follows:

- **Political Theory and Political Thought:**

It is generally believed that political thought is the general thought comprising of theories and values of all those persons or a section of the community who think and write on the day-to-day activities, policies and decisions of the state, and which has a bearing on our present living. These persons can be philosophers, writers, journalists, poets, political commentators etc. Political thought has no 'fixed' form and can be in the form of treatise, speeches, political commentaries etc.

What is important about political thought is that it is 'time bound' since the policies and programmes of the governments change from time to time. Thus, Greek thought or Roman thought of ancient period or the political thought of the medieval ages exist today. Political theory, on the other hand, is the systematic speculation of a particular writer who talks specifically about the phenomena of the state. This speculation is based on certain hypothesis which may or may not be valid and may be open to criticism. Theory provides a model of explanation of political reality as is understood by the writer. As such there can be different political theories of the same period. Also, political theory is based on certain discipline – be it philosophy, history, economics or sociology. And lastly, since the task of theory is not only to explain the political reality but also to change it or to resist change, political theory can be conservative, critical or revolutionary. According to Barker, while political thought is the immanent philosophy of a whole age, political theory is the speculation of a particular thinker. While political thought is implicit and immersed in the stream of vital action, political theory is explicit and may be detached from the political reality of a particular period.

- **Political Theory and Political Philosophy:**

Philosophy is called 'science of wisdom'. This wisdom can be about this world, man or God. This wisdom is all-inclusive and tries to explain everything. When this wisdom is applied to the study of political phenomena or the state, it is called political philosophy. Political philosophy belongs to the category of normative political theory. It is concerned with not only explaining what 'is' but also what 'ought' to be. Political philosophy is not concerned with contemporary issues but with certain universal issues in the political life of man such as nature and purpose of the political organization, basis of political authority, nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice etc.

The distinction between political philosophy and political theory is explained by the fact that whereas a political philosopher is a political theorist, but a political theorist may not necessarily be a political philosopher. Though theory deals with the same issues as political philosophy, it can explain them both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view. In other words, while political philosophy is abstract or speculative, political theory can be both normative and empirical.

A political theorist is as much interested in explaining the nature and purpose of the state as in describing the realities of political behaviour, the actual relations between state and citizens, and the role of power in the society. As has been pointed out by Arnold Brecht, philosophical explanations are theories too, but they are non-scientific. Political theory is concerned both with political institutions and the ideas and aspirations that form the basis of those institutions. However, we must not forget that though we can analytically distinguish between philosophy and theory, yet if political theory is separated from political philosophy, its meaning will appear distorted and it will prove barren and irrelevant. Theory must be supplemented by philosophy.

- **Political Theory and Political Science:**

As a discipline, political science is much more comprehensive and includes different forms of speculation in politics such as political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, institutional or structural framework, comparative politics, public administration, international law and organizations etc. With the rise of political science as a separate discipline, political theory was made one of its subfields. However, when used specifically with emphasis on 'science' as distinct from 'theory', political science refers to the study of politics by the use of

Scientific methods in contrast to political philosophy, which is free to follow intuition. Political theory when opposed to political philosophy is political science.

Political science is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behaviour, generalizations about man and political institutions on empirical evidence, and the role of power in the society. Political theory, on the other hand, is not only concerned about the behavioural study of the political phenomena from empirical point of view but also prescribing the goals which states, governments, societies and citizens ought to pursue. Political theory also aims to generalize about the right conduct in the political life and about the legitimate use of power.

Thus, political theory is neither pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science. While it draws heavily from all of them, yet it is distinct from them. Contemporary political theory is trying to attempt a synthesis between political philosophy and political science.

Let's Rewind:

- Even though Political theory draws heavily from Political Thought, Political Philosophy and Political Science, yet it is distinct from them. It is neither pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science.
- Political thought is the philosophy of a particular age whereas; political theory is the speculation of a particular thinker. There can be different political theories of the same period on an identical matter. Political thought is implicit while political theory is explicit.
- While political philosophy is abstract or speculative, political theory can be both normative and empirical. However, political theories must be supplemented by philosophy, absence of which distorts the former.
- Political Science is a broader subject of which Political theory is a sub- field.
- Political science is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behaviour, Political theory, on the other hand, is not only concerned about the behavioural study of the political phenomena from empirical point of view but also prescribing the goals which states, governments, societies and citizens ought to pursue.

Check Your Progress:

- How does political theory differ from political thought?
- Mention the best possible relationship between political theory and political science.
- What is the primary difference between political theory and political philosophy?

1.4 Characteristics of Political Theory:

Political theory is a complex field of study with several key characteristics:

- **Human Creation:** Political theory is a product of human intellect, shaped by societal, cultural, and historical contexts. It is a dynamic field influenced by evolving human understanding. It focuses on the nature of human beings, their interactions, and the formation of societies. It examines the factors influencing political behaviour and decision-making.
- **Explanatory Framework:** It seeks to provide rational explanations for political phenomena, such as the state, power, and governance. These explanations are based on underlying assumptions and arguments. It explores the institutions, systems, and procedures through which power is exercised and distributed. It analyzes the dynamics of governance and the relationship between the state and its citizens.
- **Hypothetical Construction:** Political theories are built upon hypotheses or educated guesses about the political world. These hypotheses are subject to testing, refinement, and potential rejection. It aims to comprehend the complexities of political life, identifying patterns, trends, and causal relationships.
- **Disciplinary Foundations:** The methodologies and perspectives of various disciplines, such as philosophy, history, sociology, and economics, influence the development of political theory. This interdisciplinary nature enriches its analytical depth. Political theories are often rooted in specific ideologies that provide a framework for understanding the world and prescribing political action. These ideologies shape the values, beliefs, and goals of theorists.

- **Normative Evaluation:** Political theory often involves assessing the desirability of different political arrangements and policies based on ethical, moral, or ideological principles.
- **Social Change:** It can be a tool for advocating political reforms and transformations. Theorists may propose alternative models of governance or challenge existing power structures. Political theory has evolved over time, reflecting changing social, economic, and political conditions. Different historical periods have emphasized different issues and produced distinct theoretical approaches.
- **Diverse Issues:** The scope of political theory is broad, encompassing a wide range of topics such as justice, equality, liberty, democracy, and the state. Contemporary political theory also addresses emerging challenges like globalization, environmentalism, and technology.

In short, Political theory is not just an academic pursuit; it has real-world implications. The ideas of political theorists can influence policy decisions, social movements, and even revolutions.

Let's Rewind:

Political theory is a human-constructed intellectual endeavor aimed at understanding the complexities of political life. It involves creating and testing explanations for political phenomena, influenced by various disciplines and historical contexts. Beyond mere description, political theory seeks to evaluate political systems and advocate for change. It is shaped by underlying ideologies and addresses a wide range of issues, evolving over time to reflect changing social and political realities.

Check Your Progress:

- Political Science is a broader subject of which Political theory is a sub- field. Is the statement true?
- Who authored the book- *Leviathan*?

- Political theory is a product of human intellect. True or False?

1.5 Utility of Learning Political Theory:

Learning political theory offers a multitude of benefits, both for personal and societal development. Here are some key utilities:

1. Understanding Political Systems:

- **Informed Citizenship:** Political theory helps individuals comprehend how governments function, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the factors that influence political decision-making. This knowledge empowers citizens to participate more effectively in democratic processes.
- **Critical Thinking:** Studying political theory encourages critical analysis of political issues, allowing individuals to evaluate different perspectives and arguments.

2. Developing Analytical Skills:

- **Problem-Solving:** Political theory equips individuals with analytical skills that can be applied to various areas of life, such as problem-solving, decision-making, and argumentation.
- **Research and Writing:** The ability to analyze political texts and construct coherent arguments is valuable for academic pursuits and professional careers.

3. Promoting Civic Engagement:

- **Social Justice:** Political theory can inspire individuals to become involved in social justice movements and work towards creating a more equitable and just society.
- **Leadership Development:** Understanding political systems and the principles of governance can be helpful for those aspiring to leadership roles in government, non-profit organizations, or other sectors.

4. Fostering Global Awareness:

- **Comparative Politics:** Studying political theory can provide insights into different political systems and cultures, promoting global awareness and understanding.
- **Intercultural Dialogue:** Political theory can help individuals engage in meaningful dialogue with people from diverse backgrounds, fostering respect and tolerance.

5. Personal Growth and Development:

- **Ethical Reflection:** Political theory encourages reflection on ethical and moral questions, leading to personal growth and development.
- **Civic Responsibility:** Understanding the principles of democracy and the importance of civic engagement can inspire individuals to take responsibility for their communities and contribute to the common good.

In conclusion, learning political theory offers a wide range of benefits, from enhancing analytical skills to promoting civic engagement and fostering personal growth. It is a valuable tool for understanding the world around us and making informed decisions as citizens and individuals.

Let's Rewind:

Learning political theory offers a multitude of benefits, including understanding political systems, developing analytical skills, promoting civic engagement, fostering global awareness, and personal growth. By studying political theory, individuals can become informed citizens, think critically about political issues, enhance their problem-solving and research abilities, participate in social justice movements, develop leadership skills, gain insights into different political systems and cultures, and engage in ethical reflection and civic responsibility. Overall, political theory is a valuable tool for understanding the world around us and making informed decisions.

Check Your Progress:

- What is the primary benefit of learning political theory for individuals?
- How can learning political theory contribute to personal growth and development?

1.6 Let's Sum Up:

Political theory is a field of study that explores the nature, purpose, and principles of government and political systems. It delves into questions about power, justice, equality, and the relationship between individuals and the state. Over centuries, political theory has evolved, influenced by historical, social, and philosophical factors. Early Greek and Roman thinkers laid its foundations, followed by medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment developments. Modern political theory has been shaped by ideologies such as liberalism, conservatism, socialism, feminism, and postmodernism.

Political theory is a multidisciplinary field that draws on philosophy, history, sociology, economics, and other disciplines. It can be both normative, focused on what ought to be, and empirical, focused on what is. Political theory is characterized by critical analysis, normative judgments, an interdisciplinary nature, and an evolutionary nature.

The utility of learning political theory is multifaceted. It helps individuals understand political systems and participate more effectively in civic life. It enhances problem-solving, decision-making, and research abilities. It inspires individuals to become involved in social justice movements and leadership roles. It provides insights into different political systems and cultures. And it encourages ethical reflection and civic responsibility.

In conclusion, political theory is a valuable field of study that offers insights into the nature, purpose, and principles of government. By understanding political theory, individuals can become more informed citizens, develop critical thinking skills, and contribute to a more just and equitable society.

1.7 References and Further Reading:

- Bhargava, Rajeev & Ashok Acharya(ed.) Political Theory: An Introduction, New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2008
- Gauba, O. P. An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981

- N. J. Hirschman, and C. D. Stefano (eds.), *Revisioning the Political: Feminist*
- N. P. Barry, *Introduction to Modern Political Theory*, London, Macmillan, 1995.
- *Reconstructions of Traditional Concepts in Western Political Theory*, Westview Press, Harper Collins, 1996.

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What is the origin of the word theory?
 - The word “theory” finds its roots in the ancient Greek term “theoría.”
- Who authored the book ‘The Nerves of Government’?
 - Karl Deutsch authored the book ‘the Nerves of Government’.
- Which ancient Greek philosopher argued for the ideal form of government in his work *The Republic*?
 - Plato.
- During the Renaissance, which philosopher offered a more realistic and pragmatic view of politics, focusing on the acquisition and maintenance of power?
 - Niccolò Machiavelli.
- 19th-century ideology advocated for a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources?
 - Socialism.
- How does political theory differ from political thought?
 - Political theory is implicit while political thought is explicit.
- Mention the best possible relationship between political theory and political science.
 - Political theory is a branch of political science.
- What is the primary difference between political theory and political philosophy?
 - Political theory is more practical, while political philosophy is more abstract.
- Political Science is a broader subject of which Political theory is a sub- field. Is the statement true?
 - Yes.
- Who authored the book- *Leviathan*?

- Thomas Hobbes authored the book *Leviathan*.
- Political theory is a product of human intellect. True or False?
- True.
- What is the primary benefit of learning political theory for individuals?
- It enhances their understanding of political systems and their ability to participate in civic life.
- How can learning political theory contribute to personal growth and development?
- By encouraging ethical reflection and civic responsibility.

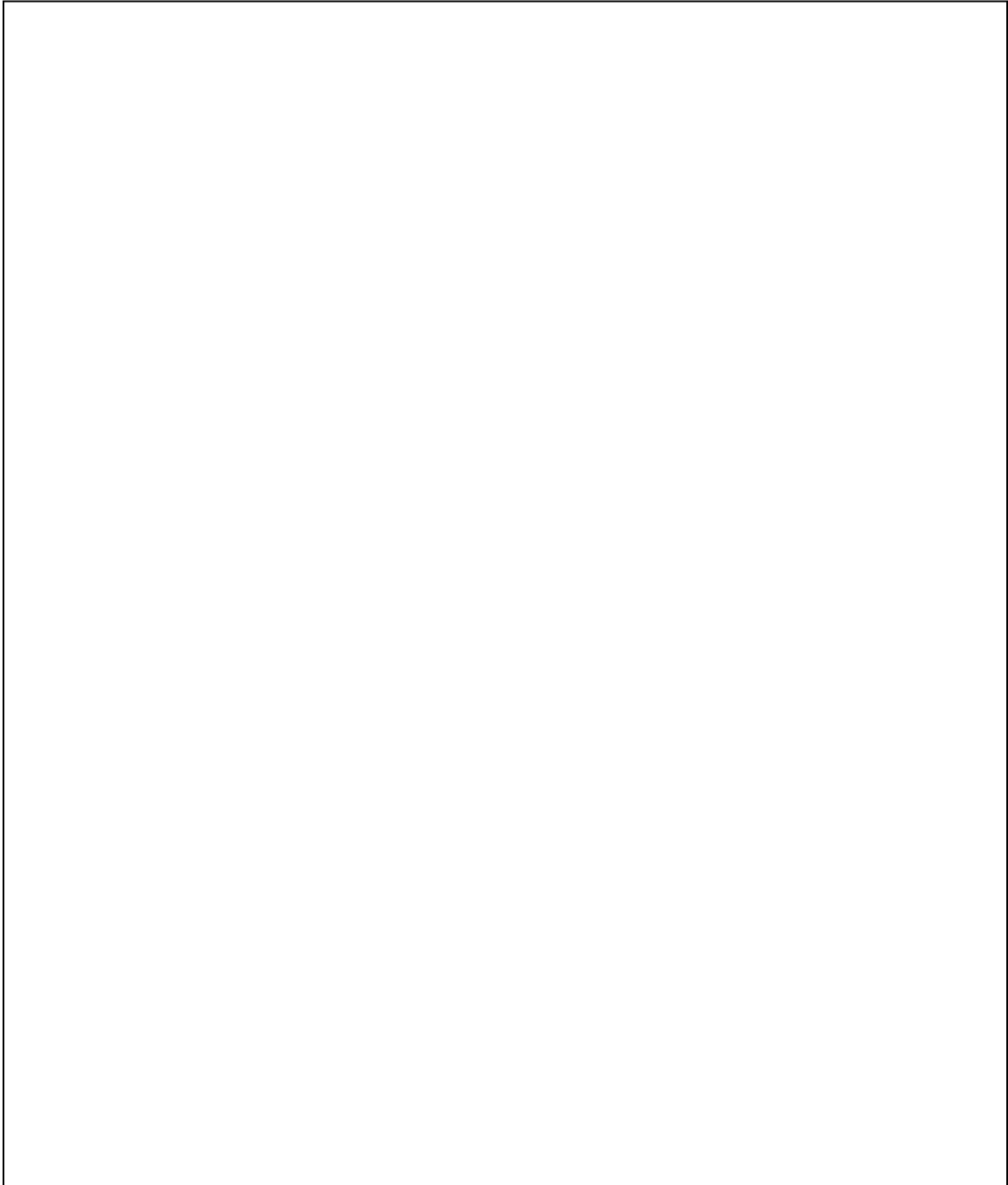
1.9 Model Questions/ Assignments:

1. What do you mean by political theory? Give at least two definitions best suitable to your answer.
2. Weinstein considers political theory as an activity. How do you understand this?
3. How do you see the nature of political theory?
4. Write an essay on utility of learning political theory.

1.10 Activity Sheet

Q. Write your own understanding about the significance of political theory.

Marks: 5

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the student to write their own understanding about the significance of political theory.

Chapter 2: Approaches to Political Theory

Chapter Structure:

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Meaning of Approaches
- 2.2 Classification of Approaches
 - 2.3.1 Traditional Approaches
 - 2.3.2 Modern Approaches
- 2.3 Decline and Resurgence: Debate in Political Theory
- 2.4 Let's Sum Up
- 2.5 References and Further Reading
- 2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 2.7 Model Questions/ Assignments
- 2.8 Activity Sheet

2.0 Introduction:

In the earlier chapter we have learned about the meaning of political theory. We got to understand that political theory is an amalgamation of ideas that shape our world. To navigate these world shaping ideas we need a compass. Approaches to Political Theory provide that compass. These approaches to political theory provide valuable tools for understanding and engaging with political ideas. These approaches can help you analyze political discourse, evaluate arguments, and develop your own critical thinking skills.

The **Objectives** of the chapter is to enable the learners to-

- Think critically about the political myths and reality.
- Understand Political Phenomena and reasons of their occurrence.
- Communicate their political views more clearly.

2.1 Meaning of Approaches:

Approaches and methods are distinct yet interconnected tools in social sciences. Approaches guide the selection of research questions and relevant data, while methods are specific techniques for data collection and analysis. While approaches often dictate the choice of method, the reverse is not always true. For instance, the behavioral approach commonly employs scientific methods, whereas the normative approach leans towards philosophical ones. In this chapter we will try to undertake a journey to various approaches towards understanding political theory in a lucid manner. Let's begin the journey here.

2.2 Classification of Approaches:

Political science employs various approaches to study politics. Wasby categorized these into normative and empirical based on the fact-value distinction, and philosophical, ideological, institutional, and structural based on the study's objective.

While Wasby's classification is influential, contemporary scholars often divide approaches into normative and empirical perspectives. Normative approaches, often with a liberal bias, focus on values and ideals. In contrast, the empirical approach, pioneered by behavioralism, emphasizes scientific observation and analysis of political behavior. More recently, feminist approaches have emerged, offering a gendered lens to political study. The following section delves with these approaches under the classification as traditional and modern approaches-

2.2.1 Traditional Approaches:

The traditional approach to political science is characterized by a value-laden perspective that intertwines facts with normative judgments. This approach, rooted in the works of Plato and Aristotle, prioritizes the study of broad political questions such as the state's nature, purpose, and ideal form.

Key features of the traditional approach include:

- **Normative Emphasis:** A strong focus on values, ideals, and ethical considerations.
- **Philosophical Orientation:** A search for underlying principles and the good life, evident in the works of thinkers like Plato and Aristotle.
- **Historical Perspective:** Recognition of the importance of history in understanding political phenomena, as seen in the writings of Machiavelli, Sabine, and Dunning.
- **Institutional Focus:** Analysis of political structures like the executive, legislature, and judiciary, exemplified by Aristotle and modern thinkers like Bryce and Laski.
- **Legal Orientation:** Consideration of the state as a legal entity and the role of law in shaping political order, with theorists like Cicero, Bodin, and Austin.

The following are the approaches fall under the category of traditional approaches-

- **Philosophical Approach**

This approach seeks to understand the fundamental principles governing political life through philosophical inquiry. It often delves into normative questions about justice, equality, and the good life. The Key features of the philosophical approach include- Normative emphasis, search

for universal principles, and focus on ideal political orders. Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Machiavelli were some of the prominent thinkers of the approach. Plato's "Republic" that explores the ideal state governed by philosopher-kings can be cited as an example based on the philosophical approach.

- **Historical Approach**

It examines political phenomena within their historical context, emphasizing the evolution of political ideas and institutions over time. It focuses on historical development, contextual analysis, emphasis on continuity and change. Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Burke were the major thinkers of the approach. Machiavelli's "The Prince" analyzes political power and leadership in the context of Renaissance Italy which can be understood as a work applying the historical approach.

- **Legal Approach**

The legal approach centers on the role of law in shaping political systems. It examines the relationship between law, the state, and individuals, often focusing on constitutionalism and the rule of law. It emphasizes on legal institutions and processes, study of constitutional law, analysis of rights and obligations. John Austin, Jeremy Bentham, Montesquieu supported the approach. In fact, Montesquieu in his "The Spirit of the Laws" applies this approach to examine the relationship between different forms of government and legal systems.

- **Institutional Approach**

This approach focuses on the structure and functions of political institutions, such as governments, legislatures, and bureaucracies. It analyzes how these institutions shape political outcomes and the distribution of power. Focus on formal institutions, study of government structures and processes, analysis of power distribution are some of the key features of this approach. Woodrow Wilson, Maurice Duverger were the top supporters of this approach. Woodrow Wilson's work on comparative government examined different political systems and their institutional arrangements.

Limitations of Traditional Political Theory

- **Western Focus:** Traditional political theory often focuses on Western philosophers and systems, ignoring non-Western perspectives.
- **Idealistic Approach:** It often focuses on what should be rather than what is, making it less practical.
- **Ignoring Context:** It may overlook the historical and social context of political ideas.
- **Power Overlooked:** It sometimes doesn't fully consider how power and inequality affect politics.
- **Limited Diversity:** It may not include the experiences of marginalized groups or non-Western societies.

While the traditional approach has contributed significantly to political thought, it has also been criticized for its lack of empirical rigor and its tendency towards idealism. Nevertheless, its emphasis on fundamental questions and enduring values remains relevant in contemporary political discourse.

2.2.2 Modern Approaches:

Modern approaches to political theory emerged as a departure from the normative and philosophical foundations of traditional thought. Shifting focus to the empirical and scientific study of politics, these approaches prioritize observable data and systematic analysis. They often incorporate methodologies from other disciplines to gain a comprehensive understanding of political phenomena. The features of modern approaches are-

- **Empirical Focus:** A strong emphasis on observable, verifiable data and evidence.
- **Scientific Methodology:** Employing quantitative and qualitative research methods to analyze political phenomena.
- **Behavioralism:** A focus on understanding the behavior of individuals and groups in the political process.
- **Interdisciplinary Approach:** Integrating insights from other social sciences like sociology, psychology, and economics.

- **Systemic Perspective:** Viewing politics as a complex system with interconnected parts and feedback loops.
- **Focus on Power and Authority:** Examining how power is distributed and exercised in political systems.
- **Policy Orientation:** A concern with practical implications and the development of effective policies.

The following are the approaches fall under the category of modern approach-

- **Behavioral Approach**

This approach emerged in the mid-20th century, seeking to introduce scientific rigor into political science. It emphasizes empirical observation, quantification, and hypothesis testing to study political behavior. Emphasis on scientific method, focus on individual behavior, and use of quantitative data are the important features of the behavioral approach. David Easton, Harold Lasswell were the major supporters of this approach. Studies of voting behavior and public opinion are the examples of behavioural approach.

- **Post-Behavioral Approach**

A reaction to the perceived limitations of behavioralism, this approach seeks to balance scientific objectivity with normative concerns. It emphasizes the importance of values, ethics, and social context in political analysis. It combines empirical and normative elements, focus on policy relevance, emphasis on social justice and equality. Almond, Verba were the major thinkers to support the approach. Studies on political culture and democratization satisfy this post-behavioural approach.

- **Structural-Functional Approach**

This approach views political systems as complex organisms with interconnected parts working together to maintain stability. It focuses on the functions performed by different institutions. It emphasizes on system maintenance, analysis of political functions, focus on equilibrium and adaptation. Its prominent thinker includes- Talcott Parsons. Studies of political socialization and the role of political parties are the examples under this approach.

- **Marxist Approach**

Rooted in the works of Karl Marx, this approach emphasizes economic factors as the primary determinants of political power and social relations. It focuses on class conflict and the exploitation of the working class. Economic determinism, class analysis, emphasis on revolution and social change are the key focus of this approach. Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin were the prominent thinkers of the Marxist approach. Analysis of capitalist societies and the role of the proletariat is the most suitable example under this approach.

- **Feminist Approach**

This approach examines politics from a gender perspective, highlighting the experiences and perspectives of women. It critiques traditional political theory for its male-centered bias and seeks to incorporate gender equality into political analysis. Focus on gender inequality, analysis of women's political participation, critique of patriarchal structures etc. are the significant features of this approach. Betty Friedan, Judith Butler were the supporters of the approach. Studies on gender and political representation can be cited as an example under this approach.

- **Postmodern Approach**

This approach challenges traditional assumptions about knowledge, power, and identity, emphasizing the diversity of human experiences and the importance of language and discourse in shaping political reality. Critique of grand narratives, focus on power relations, emphasis on difference and diversity are key focus of the post- modern approach. Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida were major supporters of it. Analysis of discourse and power in political institutions fall under this approach.

These modern approaches have significantly shaped the study of politics by introducing new methods, perspectives, and research questions. They have broadened the scope of political inquiry and contributed to a more nuanced understanding of political phenomena. While the modern approach to political theory has brought significant advancements, it also faces certain limitations.

Limitations of Modern Approaches-

- **Overemphasis on Quantification:** The heavy reliance on quantitative methods can sometimes overlook the qualitative aspects of political life, such as values, beliefs, and cultural factors.
- **Ahistorical Tendencies:** The focus on empirical data and contemporary issues can lead to a neglect of historical context, which is crucial for understanding the evolution of political ideas and institutions.
- **Reductionism:** The attempt to simplify complex political phenomena into measurable variables can oversimplify reality and overlook important nuances.
- **Value Neutrality:** While striving for objectivity, the complete separation of facts and values can be problematic, as values inevitably influence research questions and interpretations.
- **Limited Explanatory Power:** The modern approach often struggles to explain fundamental questions about the nature of politics, justice, and the good life, which were central to traditional political theory.
- **Neglect of Power Structures:** The focus on individual behavior can sometimes overlook the broader structures of power and inequality that shape political outcomes.

These limitations highlight the need for a balanced approach that combines the strengths of both traditional and modern perspectives.

An attempt to draw a **comparative analysis between traditional and modern approaches** leads to the following remarks-

Traditional political theory focused on establishing normative ideals and understanding the fundamental principles governing political life. It was rooted in philosophy and history, with a strong emphasis on values, ethics, and the good society.

Modern political theory emerged as a departure from this normative focus, emphasizing empirical observation and scientific analysis. It seeks to explain and predict political phenomena through data-driven research.

Key Differences between Traditional and Modern Approaches:

- **Focus:** Traditional theory focused on ideals and values, while modern theory focuses on empirical data and observable behavior.
- **Methodology:** Traditional theory relied on philosophical and historical analysis, while modern theory employs scientific methods like quantitative and qualitative research.
- **Goals:** Traditional theory sought to understand the best form of government, while modern theory aims to explain and predict political outcomes.
- **Nature of inquiry:** Traditional theory often dealt with broad, philosophical questions, while modern theory tends to focus on specific, testable hypotheses.

Essentially, the shift from traditional to modern political theory reflects a broader movement in the social sciences towards a more scientific and empirical approach to knowledge production.

Let's Rewind:

Approaches to political theory involve different methods of studying political phenomena. Traditional approaches relied on philosophical and historical analysis to understand ideal government structures and principles. In contrast, modern approaches prioritize empirical data and scientific methods to explain political behavior and outcomes. This shift reflects a broader trend towards scientific inquiry in the social sciences.

Check Your Progress:

- Name three political thinkers who had supported the traditional approach to political theory.
- What is the central focus of behaviouralism?

2.3 Decline and Resurgence: Debate in Political Theory

The mid-twentieth century marked a period of decline for political theory, primarily due to the rise of behavioralism. This methodological shift emphasized empirical observation, quantification, and a value-free approach, challenging the normative and philosophical foundations of traditional political theory. Key factors contributing to this decline include:

- **Historicism:** Excessive focus on historical context and past events, neglecting the analysis of contemporary issues.
- **Positivism:** The dominance of a scientific, empirical approach, leading to a neglect of normative questions and values.
- **Moral Relativism:** A decline in belief in universal moral principles, undermining the basis for normative political theory.
- **Hyper-factualism:** Overemphasis on data collection without a strong theoretical framework, leading to a fragmentation of knowledge.

However, thinkers like Isaiah Berlin and George H. Sabine argued against the notion of political theory's demise. They emphasized the enduring nature of fundamental political questions and the continued relevance of normative inquiry. Scholars such as Hannah Arendt, John Rawls, and Robert Nozick contributed to the resurgence of political theory by addressing core questions of justice, liberty, and the nature of the political community.

The revival of political theory was also fueled by broader societal changes and the limitations of empirical approaches. The rise of new social movements and the complexities of modern life created a demand for fresh theoretical perspectives. As a result, political theory experienced a renewed emphasis on normative questions, while also incorporating empirical insights to inform its analysis.

Several factors contributed to the revival of political theory in the latter half of the twentieth century:

- **Limitations of Behavioralism:** The recognition of the limitations of a purely empirical approach, including its inability to address normative questions and its overemphasis on quantitative methods.
- **Social and Political Changes:** The emergence of new social movements and political challenges, such as civil rights, feminism, and environmentalism, demanded new theoretical frameworks.
- **The Challenge of Modernity:** The complexities of modern society, including globalization, technology, and cultural diversity, necessitated a re-examination of traditional political concepts.
- **Return to Normative Questions:** A renewed interest in questions of justice, equality, and the good life, reflecting a desire for a more comprehensive understanding of politics.

The resurgence of political theory has led to a more pluralistic and interdisciplinary field, incorporating insights from various disciplines and perspectives.

The following new themes have surfaced during the resurgence of political theory:-

- **Communitarians:** Theorists such as Michael Walzer, Michael Sandel, Alistair Macintyre and Charles Taylor belong to this school. They reject the liberal conception of individuated self and hold that self is part of social relations in which he/she is embedded.
- **Post-Modernism:** It got genesis in the writings of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jean-Francois Lyotard. These scholars attacked the universalistic foundations of political theory and stress on decentred, fragmented nature of human experience. Identity and culture are the prominent aspects on which postmodernists have emphasized.
- **Multiculturalism:** Scholars like Will Kymlicka, I.M. Young and Bhikhu Parekh have laid stress on the attribute of culture as context of experience and human well-being. They blame the contemporary political theory of being culture biased and neglecting the concerns of different cultural groups. As such they have favoured-a regime of group differentiated right to address discrimination meted out to cultural identities as well as the ambit of democracy. Will Kymlicka's "Multicultural Citizenship" and Bhiku Parekh's "Rethinking Multiculturalism" are important works on multiculturalism.

- **Feminism:** The theorists of this school have attacked the alleged neutrality of public sphere. Instead, they locate structures of power that symbolize power of men over women. It neglects the aspect of gender and results in subjugation of women.
- **Environmentalism:** The theorists of this school have attacked the notion of progress that has led to depletion of flora and fauna over the years. Instead they place ecological components at the centre of political theory and emphasize its importance over other animate objects.

Thus, in brief, it can be argued that in 1950s and 1960s, factors such as historicism, hyper-factualism, moral relativism and ideological reductionism led to the **decline** of political theory. However, in 1970s onwards, works of scholars like Machel Oakeshott, Robert Nozick, Eric Vogelin, Hannah Arendt, John Rawls, F.W. Hayek, Isaiah Berlin, Bhiku Parekh and Karl Popper **revived** the political theory.

Let's Rewind:

The mid-20th century witnessed a period of critique directed at political theory. Concerns arose that the field was becoming overly focused on historical analysis, neglecting its ability to address contemporary issues. Additionally, an emphasis on scientific methods was seen as potentially downplaying the importance of value judgments and questions of fairness. However, since the 1970s, political theory has enjoyed resurgence. New approaches like feminism and critical race theory have broadened the scope of the field, offering fresh perspectives on power, justice, and the role of government.

Check Your Progress:

- According to David Easton, what is the major cause of decline of political theory?
- How will you define the resurgence of political theory?

2.4 Let's Sum Up:

Political theory has evolved over time, with traditional approaches focusing on normative questions and ideal forms of government. Modern approaches have become more empirical and analytical, emphasizing the study of real-world political phenomena. While the discipline faced a decline in the 20th century, it has experienced resurgence in recent decades, driven by new challenges and opportunities, such as globalization, climate change, and social justice movements. This resurgence has led to a more diverse and interdisciplinary approach to political theory, incorporating insights from various fields of study and addressing a wider range of political issues.

2.5 References and Further Reading:

- D. Germino, *Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory*, New York, Harper and Row, 1967.
- D. Held, *Political Theory Today*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991.
- Bhargava, Rajeev, *What is Political Theory and Why do We need it*, New Delhi: OUP, 2010
- Brecht, *Political Theory: The Foundations of Twentieth Century Political Thought*, Bombay, The Times of India Press, 1965.

2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- Name three political thinkers who had supported the traditional approach to political theory.
 - Plato, Aristotle and Thomas Hobbes were some of the thinkers who had supported the traditional approach to political theory.
- What is the central focus of behaviouralism?
 - The central focus of behavioralism is its emphasis on the study of political behaviour which refers to acts, attitudes, preferences and expectations of man in political context.
- According to David Easton, what is the major cause of decline of political theory?

- According to David Easton, historicism may be regarded as the major cause for the decline of political theory.
- How will you define the resurgence of political theory?
- The resurgence of political theory can be defined as an evolutionary phase of the growth of political theory that in order to cope up with the changing situation and needs of evolving society incorporated new ideas and thoughts within it.

2.7 Model Questions/ Assignments:

1. Political theory is divided into distinct streams such as classical, modern and empirical. Elaborate.
2. What are the various approaches to political theory? Explain.
3. How do you see the reasons behind the emergence of post- behaviourism?
4. What do you mean by Decline and Resurgence of Political Theory?

2.8 Activity Sheet

Q. Are the current approaches to political theory sufficient? Write in support of your answer.

Marks: 5

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the student to write their answer to the question. The box occupies most of the lower half of the page.

Chapter 3: State

Chapter Structure:

3.0 Introduction

3.1 State:

3.1.1 Meaning

3.1.2 Defining Characteristics of State

3.1.3 Distinctions from Other Entities

3.2 Elements of State:

3.3 Necessity of the State

3.4 Let's Sum Up

3.5 References and Further Reading

3.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.7 Model Questions/ Assignment

3.8 Activity Sheet

3.0 Introduction:

Imagine waking up in a strange new world. Everyone seems nice, but there are no laws, no police, and no agreed-upon way to resolve disagreements. One day, someone takes away your gadget! With no clear system in place, who would you turn to? How would you even get your belonging back? This chaotic scenario underscores the importance of studying the state in political theory. The state, functioning like a complex web of agreements and institutions, provides a framework for order.

In the previous chapters, while discussing about the meaning and various aspects of political theory we came across repeated mention of a particular entity called state. What it is? The state is a fundamental concept in political science, referring to a political entity that exercises sovereignty over a defined territory and population. It is characterized by the ability to make and enforce laws, collect taxes, and maintain a monopoly on the use of legitimate force within its borders.

The study of the state is central to political science, as it provides a framework for understanding political power, governance, and the relationship between individuals and their governments. This chapter helps you visualize what a state is.

The **Objectives** of the chapter are to enable the learners-

- Understand the meaning and its elements of state.
- Recognise the importance of state.
- Differentiate state from other entities.

3.1 State:

3.1.1 Meaning

A state is a political organization that regulates society and the population within a defined territory. It is a fundamental concept in political science, representing a complex form of human organization. It is distinguished from other social groups by its specific purpose, methods, territory, and sovereignty.

The definition given by Holland is that : "A state is a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority, or of an ascertainable class of persons, is by the strength of such a majority or class, made to prevail against any of their who oppose it". Bluntschli says, "The state is the politically organized people of a definite territory". White defined the state as a "political community of free citizens occupying a territory of defined boundaries, and organized under a government sanctioned and limited by a written constitution and established by the consent of the governed". Garner adds another definition of the state in the following terms: "The state as a concept of political science and public law, is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so, of external control, and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience". W. W. Willoughby considers it to be "a group of human individuals viewed as an organized corporate community over which exists a ruling authority which is recognized as the source of commands legally and, in general, ethically, binding upon the individuals composing the community". According to Woodrow Wilson "it is the people organized for law within a definite territory". Maclver defines state as "an association which, acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order". According to Gilchrist, "the state is a concept of political science and a moral reality which exists where a number of people living on a definite territory, are unified under a government, which in internal matters is the organ for expressing their sovereignty and in external matters is independent of other Governments".

It may be summed up as "a state is a political association with effective dominion over a geographic area. It usually includes the set of institutions that claim the authority to make the rules that govern the people of the society in that territory, though its status as a state often in part on being recognized by a number of other states as having internal and external sovereignty over it. In Max Weber's influential definition, it is that organization that has a "monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory", which may include the armed forces, civil service or state bureaucracy, courts and police.

Therefore, the state is a natural, a necessary, and a universal institution. It is natural because it is rooted in the reality of human nature. It is necessary because, according to Aristotle, "The state

comes into existence originating in the bare needs of life and continuing in existence for the sake of good life". Man needs the state to satisfy his diverse needs and to be what he desires to be. Without the state he cannot rise to the full stature of his personality. In fact, in the absence of such a controlling and regulating authority, society cannot be held together and there will be disorder and anarchy. What food means to the human body the state means to man. Both are indispensable for his existence and development. The state has existed whenever and wherever man has lived in and organized society."

3.1.2 Defining Characteristics of the State

- **Purpose:** The state's primary function is to establish order and security within its territory. This involves creating and enforcing laws, protecting its citizens, and resolving disputes.
- **Methods:** The state employs formal institutions, legal frameworks, and coercive power to achieve its objectives. It maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within its borders.
- **Territory:** The state exercises jurisdiction over a defined geographic area, establishing boundaries and controlling the movement of people and goods.
- **Sovereignty:** The state possesses supreme and independent political power within its territory, free from external control.

3.1.3 Distinctions from Other Entities

It is essential to distinguish the state from related concepts:

- **Society:** While society represents a broader community of people sharing common values and interests, the state is a political organization with a specific territory and government.
- **Government:** The government is the machinery through which the state exercises its authority. It is a subset of the state.
- **Nation:** A nation is a cultural and ethnic group, while the state is a political entity. A nation-state is a political unit where the majority of the population shares a common cultural identity.

In essence, the state is a complex and multifaceted entity that plays a crucial role in modern society. It provides the framework for political, social, and economic life while maintaining order and security.

3.2 Elements of State:

A State stands identified with its four absolutely essential elements:

- **Population** is the group of people living within the state's territory and subject to its laws. It is the foundation of the state, providing it with its workforce, consumers, and citizens. The size, composition, and distribution of the population can have significant implications for the state's political, economic, and social development.
- **Territory** is the defined geographical area under the control of the state. It provides the state with a physical basis for its existence and serves as a source of resources and identity. Clearly delineated borders are essential for defining the state's jurisdiction and preventing conflicts with neighboring states.
- **Government** is the institution responsible for governing the state and making decisions on behalf of its citizens. It performs various functions, such as lawmaking, law enforcement, and the provision of public services. The type of government in a state can vary, from democracies to monarchies, dictatorships, and federal systems.
- **Sovereignty** is the supreme authority within a territory, allowing the state to make decisions without interference from external actors. It is the cornerstone of the state's independence and autonomy. Internal sovereignty refers to the state's exclusive authority within its borders, while external sovereignty refers to its independence from other states and its right to conduct foreign relations.

These four elements are interconnected and interdependent. The presence and effective functioning of all these elements are essential for a state to exist and exercise its authority. A state without sovereignty, territory, population, government, or legitimacy would be incomplete and unable to fulfill its functions. Understanding these elements is crucial for understanding the nature and dynamics of political power and governance.

Let's Rewind:

The state is a political entity that exercises sovereignty over a defined territory and population. It is distinguishable from other entities by its ability to make and enforce laws, collect taxes, and maintain a monopoly on the use of legitimate force. The key elements of a state are sovereignty, territory, population, government or legitimacy. These elements are interconnected and interdependent, forming the foundation of the state's existence and functions.

Check Your Progress:

- What is the primary characteristic that distinguishes a state from other political entities?
- Which element of the state refers to the defined geographical area under its control?
- What is the primary function of the government within a state?

3.3 Necessity of State:

Why the state is so important? This section attempts to answer this question under the following grounds-

1. State is the Natural Institution:

Man is a social animal. His nature impels him and necessities compel him to live in society and enter into social relations with others. He is by nature a gregarious animal. He always wants to live and remain in the company of fellow human beings. State is needed by him for providing security law and order as well as for punishing all criminals and anti-social elements.

2. State is a Social Necessity:

When man lives in the company of others, he naturally develops social relations with other human beings. He forms family and several other groups. He gets involved in a system of relations. He inherits several relations and throughout his life remains bound up with these. Further, his physical and economic necessities always force him to form economic trade and cultural relations. He and his society need security for their life, property and relations. The state serves this need, by protecting the society from internal and external dangers.

3. Economic Necessity of State:

In each society the people need the state because it provides currency and coinage for the conduct of economic business and trade relations. State formulates and implements all financial policies and plans for the benefit of all the citizens. It provides financial help to the poor and weaker sections of society. By providing security law and order, the state helps the people to carry out their economic relations and activities.

4. State secures Peace, Security and Welfare of all in Society:

Social relations continuously need peace, security and order. Man is a social being. However along-with it some selfishness is also a part of his being. At times, selfishness of some persons can cause some difficulties and harms to others. This is prevented by the state. While living in society, man needs protection for his life and property. This is provided by the state.

5. State is needed for Protection against War and External Enemies:

State is needed for getting protection and security against external aggressions, wars and internal disturbances and disorders. The society needs the state for security, peace, order stability and protection against external aggressions and wars.

State maintains defence forces for fighting external wars and meeting aggressions. The state works for the elimination of terrorism and violence. State is the sovereign political institution of each society. It protects the people and tries to ensure conditions for their happiness, prosperity and development.

Let's Rewind:

The state, a fundamental political entity, plays a crucial role in providing essential services, ensuring security, and promoting justice. As public goods are often not efficiently provided by the market due to the free-rider problem, the state is often seen as the most effective means of ensuring their production and distribution. Additionally, the state is responsible for protecting its territory and citizens from external threats, maintaining internal security, and enforcing laws. By promoting equality, fairness, and human rights, the state can contribute to a just and equitable society. Furthermore, the state's monopoly on violence and its ability to promote social cohesion and economic development are additional arguments for its necessity. While the extent of the state's involvement in these areas may vary depending on the political system and cultural context, it is clear that the state plays a vital role in shaping society and ensuring its well-being.

Check Your Progress

- Media is regarded as the fourth pillar of democracy. Name the other three pillars.
- What do you mean by sovereignty?

3.4 Let's Sum Up:

The state is a political entity that exercises sovereignty over a defined territory and population. It is distinguishable from other entities by its ability to make and enforce laws, collect taxes, and maintain a monopoly on the use of legitimate force. The key elements of a state are sovereignty, territory, population, government, and legitimacy. These elements are interconnected and interdependent, forming the foundation of the state's existence and functions. The state plays a crucial role in providing essential services, ensuring security, and promoting justice, making it a necessary institution for the functioning of society.

3.5 References and Further Reading:

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3.6 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What is the primary characteristic that distinguishes a state from other political entities?
 - Sovereignty.

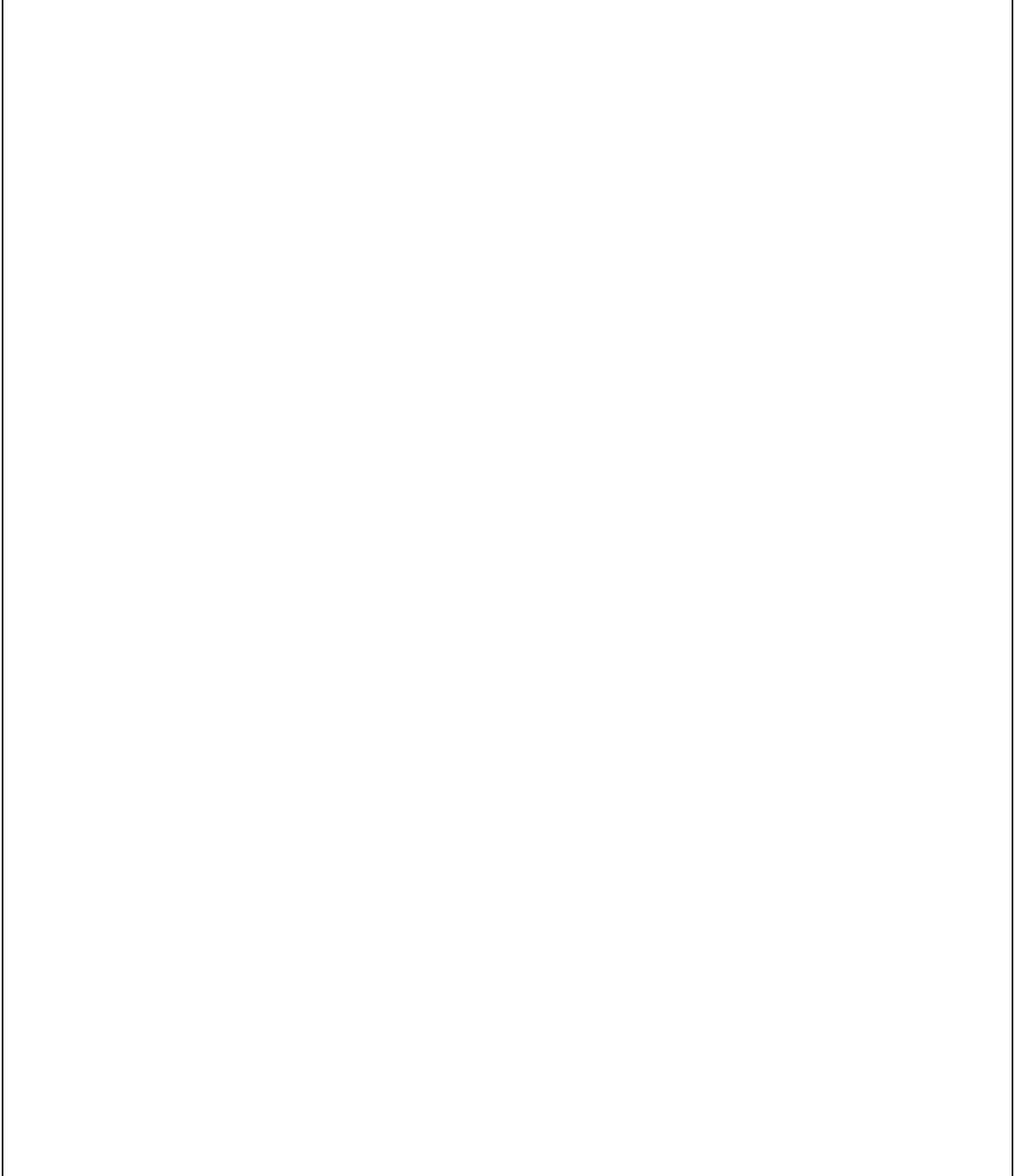
- Which element of the state refers to the defined geographical area under its control?
 - Territory.
- What is the primary function of the government within a state?
 - To make and enforce laws.
- Media is regarded as the fourth pillar of democracy. Name the other three pillars.
 - Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the other three pillars of democracy.
- What do you mean by sovereignty?
 - Sovereignty means absolute power of the state within its territory. It has two dimensions. One is internal that implies- state's exclusive right to make and enforce laws applicable to its entire citizen within its border. The other is external sovereignty that means complete independence of the State from external control. It also means the full freedom of the State to participate in the activities of the community of nations.

3.7 Model Questions/ Assignments

1. Define State. How it differs from other entities? Explain.
2. What are the elements of state? Can there be a state without these elements?
3. Write an essay on the necessity of state.

3.8Activity Sheet

Q. How do you see the importance of state in your life as well as in the society? Marks: 5



Chapter 4: Theories of Origin of State

Chapter Structure:

4.0 Introduction

4.1 Theories of Origin of the State:

4.1.1 The Theory of Divine Origin

4.1.2 The Force Theory

4.1.3 The Social Contract Theory

4.1.4 The Evolutionary Theory

4.2 Different Perspectives of State

4.3 Globalization and State Sovereignty

4.4 Let's Sum Up

4.5 Further Reading

4.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.7 Model Questions/ Assignment

4.8 Activity Sheet

4.0 Introduction:

So far we have learned about the meaning, characteristics and elements of state in the previous chapter. But there is still something to learn about the state that is the question of origin of state. How did the state originate? This question of how states originated has puzzled political theorists and historians for centuries. Various theories have been proposed to explain the formation of states, each offering a different perspective on the factors that contributed to their emergence. These theories offer diverse explanations for the origin of states, each with its own strengths and limitations. Understanding these theories can help us better understand the historical development of states and the factors that continue to shape their existence and functions today. This chapter focuses on four theories that describe how state came to existence in its present form. By delving into these theories about the state, you become a more informed citizen.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to enable the learners-

- Understand different theories regarding the origin of the state.
- Comprehend Globalisation and its impacts on the state.
- Ask critical questions on state.

4.1 Theories of Origin of State:

There are several theories that discuss about the origin of the state. Some of them are-

4.1.1 The Theory of Divine Origin:

This theory holds that the state was created directly and deliberately by God. Man has not been the major factor in its creation, although the state has been made for man. It was His will that men should live in the world in a state of political society and he sent His deputy to rule over them. The ruler is a divinely appointed agent and he is responsible for his actions to God alone.

As the ruler is the deputy of God, obedience to him is held to be a religious duty and resistance a sin. The advocates of the Divine Origin theory place the ruler above the people as well as law. Nothing on earth can limit his will and restrict his power. His word is law and his actions are

always just and benevolent. The theory that the state and its authority has a divine origin and sanction finds unequivocal support in the scriptures of almost all religions in the world. In the Mahabharata, it is recounted that the people approached God and requested him to grant them a ruler who should save them from the anarchy and chaos prevailing in the state of nature. In the Bible it is stated: Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God". Thus, God is the source of royal powers. The ruler is the agent of God on earth.

Strengths of the Theory:

- **Legitimacy:** The divine origin theory provides a powerful source of legitimacy for the state, as it suggests that the ruler's authority comes directly from God. This can help to maintain social order and stability.
- **Social Cohesion:** By linking the state to a higher power, the divine origin theory can promote a sense of unity and belonging among the population.
- **Tradition:** The theory is rooted in ancient traditions and beliefs, which can provide a sense of continuity and stability.

Weaknesses of the Theory:

- **Lack of Empirical Evidence:** There is no empirical evidence to support the claim that the state's authority derives from a divine source. This makes the theory vulnerable to criticism and skepticism.
- **Authoritarianism:** The divine origin theory often justifies absolute rule and limits individual freedoms, as the ruler is seen as a divine representative.
- **Religious Conflict:** The theory can lead to religious conflict and intolerance, as different groups may claim to have a divine mandate to rule.
- **Irrelevance in Modern Society:** In modern, secular societies, the divine origin theory is largely irrelevant. Most people no longer believe in the divine right of kings, and the state's authority is based on democratic principles and the consent of the governed.

Even though, the theory hardly finds any relevance in modern day society, the theory can still be used as a historical lens to understand the development of political thought and institutions.

However, in most contemporary societies, the state's authority is based on democratic principles and the consent of the governed, rather than on divine mandate.

4.1.2 The Force Theory:

There is an old saying that 'war begat the king', and true to this maxim, the theory of force emphasizes the origin of the state in the subordination of the weak to the strong. The advocates of the theory argue that man, apart from being a social animal, is quarrelsome by nature. There is also lust for power in him. Both these desires prompt him to exhibit his strength. Craving for power and desire for self assertion are, according to the exponents of this theory, the two primary instincts of man. In his behaviour and actions man is governed by these twin forces.

The physically strong man attacked, captured and enslaved the weak. The successful man began to exercise his sway over a sizeable section and this led to the emergence of clans and tribes. Jenks, an exponent of this theory, says, "Historically speaking, there is not the slightest difficulty in proving that all political communities of the modern type owe their existence to successful warfare.

Once the state came into existence, it was necessary to use force to hold down the power-impulses of men inside and of other states outside. The continued existence of the state, according to the advocates of this theory, demands permanent employment of force for maintaining internal order and external security. Hence force is the basis of the state. In the words of Bosanquet, "The state is Necessarily force".

Strengths of the theory:

- **Historical Accuracy:** The force theory often accurately reflects the historical process of state formation, where powerful individuals or groups have used force to establish their dominance over a territory and its population.
- **Realism:** The theory recognizes the role of power and coercion in shaping political relationships and institutions.
- **Explanation of Authoritarian Regimes:** The force theory can help explain the emergence and persistence of authoritarian regimes, where rulers maintain power through force and repression.

Weaknesses of the theory:

- **Oversimplification:** The force theory can oversimplify the complex factors that contribute to state formation, ignoring the role of cultural, economic, and social factors.
- **Lack of Legitimacy:** States founded through force often lack legitimacy and may face challenges in maintaining long-term stability.
- **Ethical Concerns:** The theory can be seen as morally problematic, as it suggests that violence and coercion are acceptable means of establishing political authority.

While the force theory may not be a complete explanation for the origin of all states, it remains relevant in understanding certain political phenomena. For example, it can help explain the emergence of authoritarian regimes, the use of military force in international relations, and the challenges faced by states that lack legitimacy. Additionally, the theory can serve as a cautionary tale about the dangers of relying on force and coercion to maintain power.

4.1.3 The Social Contract Theory:

Whereas the theory of divine origin of the state postulates the deliberate creation of the state by God, the social contract theory holds that man deliberately created the state in the form of a social contract. Men got together and agreed upon a contract establishing the state. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau are among those who discussed at length the social contract theory.

Thomas Hobbes, an English political thinker, in his attempt to justify the British Monarchy conceived of the state as originating in this manner. He described the period before states arose as a "state of nature" in which men lived like beasts in the jungle. In his word life in a state of nature was "solitary", poor, nasty, brutish and short". Such a life was too precarious. With man set against man, with might making right and the strong are the only effective law, some sort of government, Hobbes said was a necessity.

To make life bearable, man created government and ultimately the state. Men got together and contracted among themselves to vest in some sovereign, ruler or king the authority necessary to bring order out of the chaos in which they lived.

According to Hobbe's theory, the ruler to whom all authority was given was not a party to the contract. In a sense, the king was above the law. John Locke also wrote about the state of nature,

but in contrast to Hobbes he did not believe that men necessarily lived brutish life in this natural condition. Yet there was enough uncertainty to make life difficult and enough injustice to make it tragic. Thus again according to Locke, men decided to contract with one another to guarantee their rights more effectively.

Rousseau likewise did not look upon the state of nature as bad. In his view, natural man, unencumbered with the trappings of civilization and the accoutrements of government, lived in idyllic life. Although, life in a state of nature might be theoretically superior, nevertheless it eventually became obvious to man that government was necessary. Men are not equal in energy or intelligence. Inevitably any natural state, without the restraining influences of government, will change capriciously with the ambitions of the various strong men. Ultimately, life in such a state of nature proved to be inconvenient and troublesome. Thus, like Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau presumes that a general contract evolving all men was made to establish government and the state for the advantage of all.

Sometimes the Mayflower compact (1620) is given as an example of a social contract. In the terms of the Mayflower compact the signers solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combining ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colonies, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

Strengths of the theory:

- **Legitimacy:** The social contract theory provides a justification for the state's authority based on the consent of the governed. This can help to legitimize the state and promote social stability.
- **Individual Rights:** The theory emphasizes the importance of individual rights and freedoms, which are seen as essential for a just and equitable society.
- **Limited Government:** The social contract theory often advocates for limited government, with the state's power being derived from and constrained by the consent of the governed. This can help to prevent tyranny and protect individual liberties.

Weaknesses of the theory:

- **Historical Accuracy:** The historical accuracy of the social contract theory has been questioned, as there is little evidence of explicit social contracts being formed in the past.
- **Idealization:** The theory can be seen as an idealized view of human nature and social relations, ignoring the realities of power, conflict, and inequality.
- **Individualism:** The theory can be criticized for prioritizing individual rights over the common good, potentially leading to social fragmentation and a lack of collective action.

The social contract theory remains relevant in present-day society, as it provides a framework for understanding the relationship between individuals and the state. It continues to be used to justify the legitimacy of governments, to argue for individual rights, and to advocate for limited government. However, the theory's relevance has also been challenged in recent years, as some argue that it fails to adequately address issues of inequality, social justice, and global governance.

4.1.4 The Evolutionary Theory:

This theory considers the state neither as a divine institution nor as a deliberate human contrivance, it sees the state coming into existence as the result of natural evolution. 'The proposition that the state is a product of history', says J.W. Burgess, means that it is a gradual and continuous development of human society out of a grossly imperfect beginning through crude but improving forms of manifestation towards a perfect and universal organization of mankind.

In the early society, kinship was the first and strongest bond; and government, as W. Wilson points out, must have begun in clearly defined family discipline. Such discipline would scarcely be possible among races in which blood-relationship was subject to profound confusion and in which family organization, therefore, had, no clear basis of authority on which to rest. Common worship was another element in the welding together of families and tribes. This worship evolved for primitive animism to ancestor-worship. When ancestor-worship became the prevailing form of religion, religion was inseparably linked with kinship for, at the family or the communal altar; the worshipper did homage to the great dead of his family or group and craved protection and guidance.

War and migration were important influences in the origin of the state. The demands of constant warfare often led to the rise of permanent headship. When a tribe was threatened by danger or involved in war, it was driven by necessity to appoint a leader. The continuity of war conduced to the permanence of leadership. Further, war and conquest helped to give the mark of territoriality to the state and, finally, political consciousness. As Wilson says, in origin government was spontaneous, natural, twin-born with man and the family; Aristotle was simply stating a fact when he said man is by nature a political animal'. The need for order and security is an ever-present factor; man knows instinctively that he can develop the best of which he is capable only by some form of political organization.

States are of course today much bigger than they used to be, much stronger, certainly more complex. State also accepts more responsibilities and thus affects the individual more markedly than did their earlier counterparts.

Strengths of the theory:

- **Scientific Basis:** The evolutionary theory of the state draws on insights from biology and other natural sciences, providing a scientific foundation for understanding the development of political institutions.
- **Historical Accuracy:** The theory can help explain the gradual and incremental development of states over time, often reflecting historical patterns and processes.
- **Adaptability:** The evolutionary perspective emphasizes the ability of states to adapt to changing environmental conditions, ensuring their survival and continuity.
- **Interdisciplinary Approach:** The theory can be integrated with other approaches to political theory, such as historical, sociological, and cultural perspectives.

Weaknesses of the theory:

- **Determinism:** The evolutionary theory can sometimes be seen as overly deterministic, suggesting that the development of states is primarily shaped by biological or environmental factors, rather than human agency and choice.
- **Lack of Teleology:** The theory does not necessarily imply a predetermined direction or goal for the evolution of states, potentially limiting its explanatory power.

- **Difficulty of Measurement:** Measuring the evolutionary progress of states can be challenging, as there are no clear criteria or metrics for determining what constitutes a "more evolved" state.

The evolutionary theory of the state remains relevant in contemporary political thought, providing a framework for understanding the historical development of political institutions and the factors that shape their ongoing evolution. It can help explain the emergence and persistence of different types of states, the challenges faced by states in adapting to changing global conditions, and the potential for political innovation and transformation. While the theory may not provide a complete explanation for all aspects of state formation and development, it offers valuable insights into the complex dynamics of political life.

Let's Rewind:

A state is a political entity characterized by four key elements: a defined territory, a permanent population, a recognized government, and sovereignty.

There are certain theories that explain the origin of State.

The Theory of Divine Origin holds that the state was created directly by God, with the ruler acting as God's representative on Earth. The core concept of **the force theory of state** is that states emerge through conquest, where the strong overpower the weak and establish themselves as rulers, laying the foundation for the state. The core concept of **social contract theory** is that governments derive their legitimacy from an implicit agreement among the people. This agreement involves individuals surrendering some freedoms in exchange for the advantages of an orderly society with laws, protection of rights, and other benefits. The core concept of **the evolutionary theory** of the state is that states weren't created through a single event, but rather emerged gradually over time. This gradual development is seen as a product of various social changes that took place over a long period.

Check Your Progress:

- What is the core concept of the ‘Divine Origin Theory’?
- Who were the exponents of the social contract theory?
- Which theory of state origin argues that individuals voluntarily surrender some of their freedoms to form a government in exchange for protection and security?
- Which theory of state origin is often criticized for its lack of empirical evidence and its potential to justify authoritarian rule?

4.2 Different Perspective of State:

The state, a fundamental concept in political science, has been viewed from various perspectives throughout history. These different perspectives offer diverse insights into the nature, purpose, and functions of the state. Following are some of them-

- **Liberal Perspective:**

The liberal perspective on the state emphasizes individual rights and freedoms as the cornerstone of a just and equitable society. Liberals view the state as a necessary evil, required to maintain order and protect individual rights, but argue that it should be limited in its power to prevent it from becoming tyrannical. The liberal perspective advocates for limited government, rule of law, and the protection of civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, expression, and assembly.

- **Marxist Perspective:**

In contrast, the Marxist perspective views the state as an instrument of class oppression, serving the interests of the ruling class. Marxists argue that the state is a product of class conflict and is used to maintain the dominance of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. They advocate for the abolition of the state and the establishment of a classless society, where the means of production are collectively owned and controlled.

- **Pluralist Perspective:**

The pluralist perspective offers a more optimistic view of the state, seeing it as a neutral arbiter between competing interest groups. Pluralists argue that the state is influenced by a variety of groups and individuals, and that its policies are the result of bargaining and compromise among these groups. They emphasize the importance of pluralism and participation in shaping state policies, arguing that a diverse and inclusive political system is essential for a healthy democracy.

- **Feminist Perspective:**

The feminist perspective critiques the state for its role in perpetuating gender inequality and oppression. Feminists argue that the state is often patriarchal, reflecting and reinforcing gender stereotypes and discriminatory practices. They advocate for the restructuring of the state and its institutions to promote gender equality, such as through affirmative action policies, quotas, and legal reforms.

- **Postmodern Perspective:**

The postmodern perspective challenges traditional notions of the state and sovereignty, emphasizing the fragmentation of power and the importance of cultural and identity politics. Postmodernists argue that the state is no longer a unitary actor but is composed of multiple, competing centers of power. They also emphasize the importance of recognizing and celebrating diversity, challenging the dominance of Western cultural norms and values.

These modern perspectives on the state offer diverse and often competing views on its nature, purpose, and role in society. Each perspective provides valuable insights into the complexities of political life and can help us understand the challenges and opportunities facing states in the contemporary world.

Lets' Rewind:

Modern perspectives on the state offer diverse views on its nature, purpose, and role in society. The liberal perspective emphasizes individual rights and freedoms, while the Marxist perspective views the state as an instrument of class oppression. The pluralist perspective sees the state as a neutral arbiter between competing interest groups, while the feminist perspective critiques the state for its role in perpetuating gender inequality. The postmodern perspective challenges traditional notions of the state, emphasizing the fragmentation of power and the importance of cultural and identity politics. These perspectives provide valuable insights into the complexities of political life and can help us understand the challenges and opportunities facing states in the contemporary world.

Check Your Progress:

- Which perspective on the state emphasizes individual rights and freedoms?
- Name the perspective that challenges traditional notions of the state and sovereignty, emphasizing the fragmentation of power and the importance of cultural and identity politics.

4.3 Globalization and State Sovereignty

Globalization refers to the increasing interconnectedness of the world through the flow of goods, services, capital, people, and ideas across national borders. It is driven by advancements in technology, transportation, and communication.

Key features of globalization:

- **Economic integration:** Removal of trade barriers, free flow of capital and technology.
- **Cultural exchange:** Diffusion of ideas, values, and lifestyles across cultures.
- **Political interdependence:** Growing influence of international organizations and agreements on national policies.

Globalization has led to a more integrated global economy but also raised concerns about inequality, cultural homogenization, and the erosion of national sovereignty.

- **Globalisation and Its Impact on the State**

Globalization has been producing a subtle change in the functions of the State. Its role in the ownership and production of goods has been getting reduced. However, this does not in any way mean a return of the Laissez faire state.

In the era of globalization, the functions of the State began undergoing a change. With the increasing disinvestment of public sector, privatization was encouraged. Public sector was made to compete with the private sector, and as a whole open competition, free trade, market economy and globalization were practiced. State ownership of industries came to be rejected. The role of state began emerging as that of a facilitator and coordinator. The exercise still continues.

In this era of Globalization, **several changes** have been taking place **in the functions of the State**:

1. Decreased Economic activities of State:

The process of liberalization- privatization has acted as a source of limitation on the role of the state in the economic sphere. Public sector and enterprises are getting privatized and state presence in economic domain is shrinking.

2. Decrease in the role of the State in International Economy:

The emergence of free trade, market competition, multinational corporations and international economic organizations and trading blocs like European Union, NAFTA, APEC, ASEAN and others, have limited the scope of the role of state in the sphere of international economy.

3. Decline of State Sovereignty:

Increasing international inter-dependence has been compelling each state to accept limitations on its external sovereignty. Each state now finds it essential to accept the rules of international economic system, the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF. The role of MNC/TNC has also been growing in national and local politics as they play a significant role in shaping the state decisions and policies. Their key objective behind influencing the state decision and policy-making is to promote their vested interests.

4. Growing People's Opposition to their Respective States:

Globalization has encouraged and expanded people-to-people socio-economic-cultural relations and cooperation in the world. As IT revolution and development of fast means of transport and communication have been together making the world a real Global Community. The people of each state now deal with people of other states as members of the World Community. The loyalty towards their respective states continues, but now the people do not hesitate to oppose those state policies which are held to be not in tune with the demands of globalization.

5. Reduced Importance of Military Power of the State:

The state continues to maintain its military power as an important dimension of its national power. However, the strength being gained by movement for international peace and peaceful coexistence as the way of life has tended to reduce the importance of military power of the state.

6. Increasing Role of International Conventions and Treaties:

Several international conventions and treaties have placed some limitations upon all the states. All the states are now finding it essential to follow the rules and norms laid down by such conventions. The need to fight the menace of terrorism and rogue nuclear proliferation as well as the shared responsibility for protecting the environment and human rights, have compelled all the states to accept such rules and regulations as are considered essential for the securing of these objectives. Thus, Globalization and several other factors have been together responsible for influencing a change in the role of State in contemporary times.

7. Decline in Public Expenditure on Public Welfare Policies

Most advanced western states appear committed to reducing social expenditure on public welfare programs, and to introducing measures such as labour market deregulation and lowered tax rates which facilitate greater economic competitiveness, but impact adversely on rates of poverty and inequality. These economic and political initiatives have coincided with a period of intense economic globalization. The growing significance of international trade, investment, production and financial flows appears to be curtailing the autonomy of individual nation states. In particular, globalization appears to be encouraging, if not demanding, a decline in social spending on public welfare programs and policies.

The march of globalization is unstoppable. It is no longer an option; it is a fact. It is spreading its tentacles everywhere and the developed nations use it as a means to control world economy. Some dub it as yet another form of economic colonialism. Under these circumstances the civil services should strive to save the country from the thrall dom of imperialistic and monopolistic globalization. By protecting them from the dangers of globalization they should act as protective shields. In the words of D. C. Pande and P. S. Bisht, the state "must promote" ethics in politics and allow only those honest individuals into politics who firmly believe that they are there simply because of political need for economic development and certainly not because of any political desire of their own."

In brief, to label globalization in absolute terms as either a totally positive or negative phenomenon is a simplistic approach. Ultimately, globalization benefits society at large in countries that enjoy some degree of political stability, those have in place adequate infrastructure, equitable social safety nets and in general strong democratic institutions. Experience has shown that globalization requires strong, not weak States.

Let's Rewind:

Globalization, the increasing interconnectedness of the world's economies, cultures, and societies, has significantly impacted the nature and functions of states. While globalization has brought benefits such as economic growth and cultural exchange, it has also eroded state sovereignty. Economic interdependence, international organizations, and cultural globalization have limited the autonomy of states in decision-making. Additionally, the rise of non-state actors and the development of global governance have challenged the traditional authority of states. States have been forced to adapt their policies and strategies to navigate the complexities of the globalized world, while still striving to maintain their sovereignty and autonomy.

Check Your Progress:

- Name a key factor that has eroded state sovereignty in the era of globalization.
- Which entity has challenged the traditional authority of states in contemporary period?

- Name the entity that has limited the autonomy of states in making decisions on issues such as trade, finance, and human rights.

4.4 Let's Sum Up:

The state is a fundamental political entity that has been the subject of various theories and perspectives throughout history. Theories of the origin of the state include the divine right of kings, force theory, social contract theory, and evolutionary theory. Each theory offers a different explanation for the formation and development of states. Modern perspectives on the state include the liberal, Marxist, pluralist, feminist, and postmodern perspectives, each providing unique insights into its nature, purpose, and role in society. Globalization, the increasing interconnectedness of the world, has significantly impacted the state, eroding its sovereignty and challenging traditional notions of power. While globalization has brought benefits, it has also created new challenges for states, requiring them to adapt their policies and strategies to navigate the complexities of the globalized world.

4.5 References and Further Reading:

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- S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters, *Social Principles and the Democratic State*, London, George & Allen, 1959.

4.6 Answers To Check Your Progress:

- What is the core concept of the ‘Divine Origin Theory’?
 - The core concept of the Divine Origin Theory is that the state was created directly and deliberately by God. The ruler is a divinely appointed agent and he is responsible for his actions to God alone.
- Who were the exponents of the social contract theory?
 - Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were the three exponents of the Social Contract Theory.
- Which theory of state origin argues that individuals voluntarily surrender some of their freedoms to form a government in exchange for protection and security?
 - Social Contract Theory.
- Which theory of state origin is often criticized for its lack of empirical evidence and its potential to justify authoritarian rule?
 - Divine Right of Kings.
- Which perspective on the state emphasizes individual rights and freedoms?
 - Liberal perspective.
- Name the perspective that challenges traditional notions of the state and sovereignty, emphasizing the fragmentation of power and the importance of cultural and identity politics.
 - Postmodern perspective.
- Name a key factor that has eroded state sovereignty in the era of globalization.
 - Economic interdependence.
- Which entity has challenged the traditional authority of states in contemporary period?
 - Non-state actors.
- Name the entity that has limited the autonomy of states in making decisions on issues such as trade, finance, and human rights.
 - International organizations.

4.7 Model Questions/ Assignment:

1. What is State? What are the different theories of origin of the state?
2. What is Globalization? How does globalization impact the sovereignty of the state?
3. Define social contract theory with an emphasis on the viewpoints of its three main exponents.

4.7 Activity Sheet

Q. Write a note on decline of state sovereignty in light of globalization and its impact. Marks: 5

Chapter 5: Sovereignty

Chapter Structure:

5.0 Introduction

5.1 Sovereignty

5.1.1 Meaning

5.1.2 Characteristics

5.1.3 Types of Sovereignty

5.2 Theoretical Bases of Sovereignty

5.3 Challenges to Sovereignty

5.4 Let's Sum Up

5.5 References and Further Reading

5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.7 Model Questions/ Assignments

5.8 Activity Sheet

5.0 Introduction:

In the previous chapters we got to learn that one of the most important elements of state is sovereignty. Sovereignty is a fundamental concept in political science that refers to the supreme authority within a territory. It is the power of a state to govern itself without interference from external actors. Sovereignty is essential for the existence and functioning of states, as it allows them to make decisions, enforce laws, and maintain their independence.

This chapter thoroughly discusses this important element of the state in order to acquaint the learners with the concept called sovereignty.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to-

- Define and explain the concept of sovereignty.
- Identify and analyze challenges to state sovereignty.
- Evaluate the implications of sovereignty for state power, national security, economic development, and democratic governance.

5.1 Sovereignty

5.1.1 Meaning

Sovereignty is a complex and multifaceted concept that lies at the heart of political science and international relations. It refers to the supreme authority or ultimate power held by a state or other entity within its territory. This authority encompasses both internal and external dimensions, encompassing the ability to make laws, enforce them, and maintain control over its own affairs without undue interference from outside forces. While often associated with absolute power, the concept of sovereignty has evolved and diversified over time, giving rise to various interpretations and perspectives.

At its core, sovereignty is about the supreme power of a state to govern itself and its people. It involves the ability to make decisions without external interference and to enforce those decisions within its borders. This notion of self-determination and independence is central to the understanding of sovereignty.

According to Jean Bodin, “Sovereignty is the supreme power over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law.” According to Burgess, “Sovereignty is original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects.” In the words of Willoughby, “Sovereignty is the supreme will of the state.” According to Laski, “The sovereign is legally supreme over any individual or group.”

5.1.2 Characteristics of Sovereignty

Sovereignty, the supreme power of a state or entity within its territory, is characterized by several key attributes:

- **Absoluteness:** Sovereignty is considered the ultimate authority within a territory, not subject to any higher power. It implies that the sovereign entity has the ultimate power to make and enforce laws, govern its people, and control its resources without interference from external entities.
- **Exclusivity:** Sovereignty is exclusive to a particular state or entity. No other entity, whether internal or external, can claim the same level of authority within that territory.
- **Internality:** Sovereignty refers to the power exercised within a state's borders. It encompasses the ability to make and enforce laws, maintain order, and provide essential services to its citizens.
- **Externality:** Sovereignty also refers to a state's ability to conduct its foreign relations without undue interference from other states. It involves the freedom to negotiate treaties, establish diplomatic relations, and defend its territory against external aggression.
- **Legality:** Sovereignty is grounded in law and international recognition. It is based on the existence of a legal framework that confers authority to the state and its leaders.
- **Permanence:** Sovereignty is considered a permanent attribute of a state. It is not something that can be granted or taken away easily.
- **Indivisibility:** Sovereignty is indivisible. It cannot be shared or divided between different entities within a state.
- **Inalienability:** Sovereignty cannot be transferred or sold to another entity. It remains the exclusive right of the sovereign state.

These characteristics collectively define the concept of sovereignty and distinguish it from other forms of power and authority. Understanding these characteristics is essential for comprehending the nature and scope of sovereignty in international relations and political science.

5.1.3 Types of Sovereignty

The following can be studied as the types of Sovereignty-

1. Internal Sovereignty:

Internal sovereignty refers to the supreme authority of a state within its own borders. It encompasses the state's ability to make laws, maintain order, and provide essential services to its citizens. Internal sovereignty is often associated with concepts such as territorial integrity, political stability, and the rule of law.

2. External Sovereignty:

External sovereignty, on the other hand, refers to a state's ability to conduct its foreign relations without undue interference from other states. It involves the freedom to negotiate treaties, establish diplomatic relations, and defend its territory against external aggression. External sovereignty is closely linked to concepts such as independence, self-defense, and international recognition.

3. De Jure and De Facto Sovereignty:

- **De Jure Sovereignty:** This refers to the legal right of a state to exercise sovereignty. It is based on international recognition and the existence of a legal framework that confers authority to the state. De jure sovereignty may exist even if a state is unable to exercise its sovereignty in practice.
- **De Facto Sovereignty:** This refers to the actual exercise of power by a state within its territory. It is based on the state's ability to control its territory and enforce its laws effectively. De facto sovereignty may exist even if a state's legal right to sovereignty is not fully recognized by other states.

4. Limited Sovereignty:

In the modern world, the concept of absolute sovereignty has been increasingly challenged by the rise of international organizations, regional agreements, and transnational actors. This has led to the emergence of limited sovereignty, where states may share certain powers or decision-making authority with other actors. Limited sovereignty can be seen in areas such as environmental protection, human rights, and trade.

Let's Rewind:

Sovereignty is the supreme authority of a state or entity within its territory. It encompasses the ability to make laws, enforce them, and maintain control over its own affairs without undue interference from outside forces. Key characteristics of sovereignty include **absoluteness**, **exclusivity**, **internality**, **externality**, **legality**, **permanence**, **indivisibility**, and **inalienability**. Types of sovereignty include **internal sovereignty** (authority within borders) and **external sovereignty** (authority in foreign relations).

Check Your Progress:

- What is the core concept of sovereignty?
- Is Sovereignty divisible?

5.2 Theoretical Bases of Sovereignty:

Sovereignty, a cornerstone concept in political theory and international relations, has evolved over centuries. Its theoretical underpinnings have been shaped by various philosophical, political, and legal perspectives. This exploration delves into the key theoretical foundations of sovereignty, examining the classical, modern, and contemporary approaches.

Classical Approaches

- **Thomas Hobbes:** A proponent of absolutism, Hobbes argued that sovereignty was necessary to prevent the state of nature, a chaotic condition of war of all against all. The sovereign, in this view, holds absolute authority to maintain order and peace.

- **John Locke:** While also advocating for a strong central authority, Locke emphasized the social contract theory. He posited that individuals willingly surrender some of their rights to the sovereign in exchange for protection and the preservation of their natural rights.

Modern Approaches

- **Westphalian Sovereignty:** Originating from the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), this concept established the principle of internal sovereignty, where states have exclusive authority within their borders, and external sovereignty, where states are independent of other states.
- **Legal Positivism:** This approach views sovereignty as a legal construct, defined by international law and treaties. It emphasizes the formal recognition of a state's authority by other states.
- **Interdependence Theory:** With the rise of globalization, interdependence theory challenges the absolute nature of sovereignty. It argues that states are increasingly interconnected, leading to a decline in their ability to act independently.

Contemporary Approaches

- **Cosmopolitanism:** This perspective rejects the idea of exclusive state sovereignty, advocating for a global community where individuals have rights beyond their national boundaries.
- **Post-Structuralism:** Critiquing the traditional notion of sovereignty, post-structuralism focuses on the power dynamics and discourses that shape statehood and international relations.
- **Critical Sovereignty Theory:** This approach challenges the dominant narratives of sovereignty, examining how it is constructed and maintained to serve particular interests.

The theoretical foundations of sovereignty have evolved significantly over time, reflecting changing political, social, and economic realities. While the concept of state sovereignty remains central to international relations, contemporary approaches increasingly question its absolute nature and emphasize the interconnectedness of states in a globalized world. Understanding these

theoretical perspectives is essential for analyzing the complexities of sovereignty in the 21st century.

Let's Rewind:

The theoretical foundations of sovereignty have evolved over time, reflecting changing political, social, and economic realities. Classical approaches, such as those of Hobbes and Locke, emphasized the need for a strong central authority to maintain order and protect individual rights. Modern approaches, including Westphalian sovereignty, legal positivism, and interdependence theory, have shaped our understanding of sovereignty in the context of nation-states and globalization. Contemporary approaches, such as cosmopolitanism, post-structuralism, and critical sovereignty theory, challenge the traditional notion of state sovereignty and explore alternative perspectives on power, authority, and governance.

Check Your Progress:

- Which classical thinker argued for absolute sovereignty to maintain order and prevent the state of nature?
- Which theory of sovereignty emphasizes the interconnectedness of states in a globalized world?
- Which approach to sovereignty critiques the traditional notion of statehood and focuses on power dynamics and discourses?

5.3 Challenges to Sovereignty:

Sovereignty, the supreme authority of a state within its territory, has faced increasing challenges in the contemporary era. These challenges arise from various factors, including globalization, regional integration, international law, and the rise of non-state actors. Take a look-

Globalization

- **Economic Interdependence:** The interconnectedness of global economies has reduced the autonomy of states in economic policymaking. Transnational corporations and financial markets can exert significant influence over national economies, limiting the ability of governments to pursue independent economic policies.
- **Cultural Exchange:** The rapid exchange of ideas, information, and cultural products has challenged the cultural homogeneity of states. This can lead to tensions and conflicts as states struggle to balance their cultural identities with the pressures of globalization.

Regional Integration

- **Pooling of Sovereignty:** The formation of regional organizations, such as the European Union, often involves the pooling of sovereignty among member states. This means that states may have to cede some of their decision-making authority to supranational institutions.
- **Dependency:** Regional integration can also lead to a degree of dependency on other member states. This can limit the ability of individual states to pursue their own interests without taking into account the needs and concerns of their regional partners.

International Law

- **Human Rights Norms:** The development of international human rights law has placed limits on the ability of states to exercise their sovereignty without regard for the rights of their citizens. States are now expected to respect human rights standards, even if they conflict with domestic laws or traditions.
- **Environmental Regulations:** International environmental agreements have also imposed limits on state sovereignty. States are required to comply with international environmental standards, even if they conflict with domestic economic interests.

Non-State Actors

- **Terrorism:** Terrorist groups can challenge state sovereignty by carrying out attacks within a state's territory and undermining its authority.
- **Transnational Crime:** Transnational criminal organizations can operate across borders, challenging the ability of states to enforce their laws and maintain order.
- **Multinational Corporations:** Multinational corporations can exert significant influence over states, sometimes to the detriment of national interests. They may be able to influence government policies and avoid paying taxes.

The challenges to sovereignty in the contemporary world are complex and multifaceted. While states continue to assert their sovereignty, they are increasingly constrained by the forces of globalization, regional integration, international law, and the rise of non-state actors. Understanding these challenges is essential for navigating the complexities of contemporary international relations.

Let's Rewind:

The challenges to sovereignty in the contemporary world arise from various factors, including globalization, regional integration, international law, and the rise of non-state actors. Globalization has led to economic interdependence and cultural exchange, limiting the autonomy of states in economic policymaking and challenging their cultural homogeneity. Regional integration, such as the formation of the European Union, can involve the pooling of sovereignty and create dependencies among member states. International law, including human rights and environmental regulations, has placed limits on the ability of states to exercise their sovereignty without regard for the rights of their citizens or the environment. Non-state actors, such as terrorist groups, transnational criminal organizations, and multinational corporations, can challenge state sovereignty by operating outside the state's control or by exerting influence over its policies.

Check Your Progress:

- Is nationalization a major challenge to sovereignty in the contemporary world?
- How has globalization challenged state sovereignty?
- What is the impact of regional integration on state sovereignty?
- How has international law challenged state sovereignty?

5.4 Let's Sum Up:

Sovereignty is the supreme authority of a state within its territory. It encompasses the ability to make laws, enforce them, and maintain control over its own affairs without undue interference from outside forces. Key characteristics include **absoluteness**, **exclusivity**, **internality**, **externality**, **legality**, **permanence**, **indivisibility**, and **inalienability**. Types include **internal sovereignty** (authority within borders) and **external sovereignty** (authority in foreign relations). Theoretical foundations include **classical approaches** (Hobbes, Locke), **modern approaches** (Westphalian sovereignty, legal positivism, interdependence theory), and **contemporary approaches** (cosmopolitanism, post-structuralism, critical sovereignty theory). Challenges to sovereignty arise from **globalization**, **regional integration**, **international law**, and **non-state actors**.

5.5 References and Further Reading:

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5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What is the core concept of sovereignty?
- The right of a state to self-determination
- Is Sovereignty divisible?
- No.
- Which classical thinker argued for absolute sovereignty to maintain order and prevent the state of nature?
- Thomas Hobbes.
- Which theory of sovereignty emphasizes the interconnectedness of states in a globalized world?
- Interdependence theory.
- Which approach to sovereignty critiques the traditional notion of statehood and focuses on power dynamics and discourses?
- Post-structuralism.
- Is nationalization a major challenge to sovereignty in the contemporary world?
- No.
- How has globalization challenged state sovereignty?
- By limiting the autonomy of states in economic policymaking.
- What is the impact of regional integration on state sovereignty?
- It can lead to a loss of sovereignty for member states.
- How has international law challenged state sovereignty?
- By limiting the ability of states to pursue their own interests.

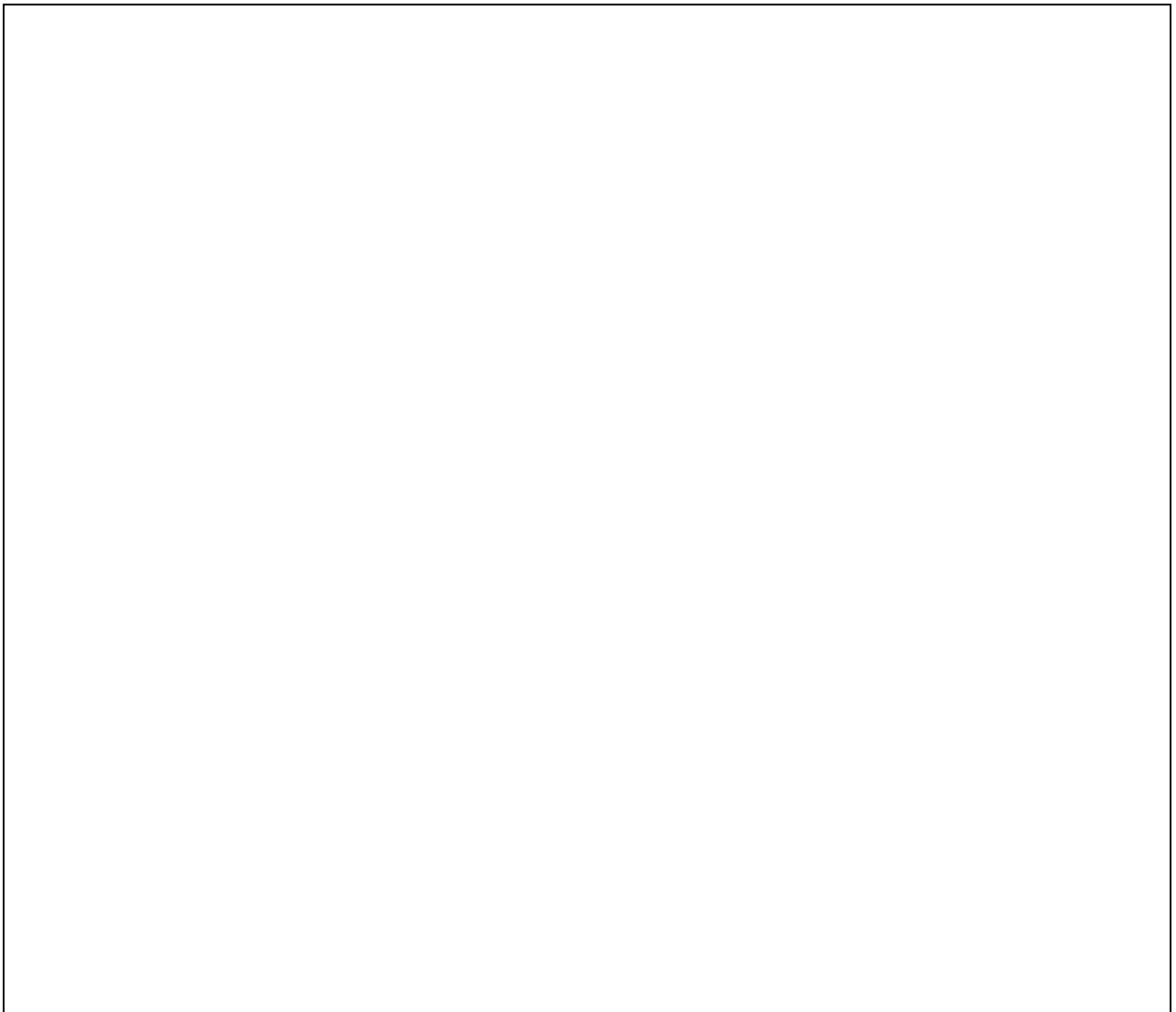
5.7 Model Questions/ Assignments:

1. What is sovereignty? What are its characteristics?
2. Explain various types of sovereignty.
3. Write a note on the theoretical bases of sovereignty.

4. What are the challenges to sovereignty? What are the precautions to overcome those challenges?

5.8 Activity sheet

Q. Is there any alternative to sovereignty? Give reasons in support of your Answer. Marks: 5



Chapter 6: Citizenship

Chapter Structure:

6.0 Introduction

6.1 Citizenship

6.1.1 Meaning and its Historical Perspective

6.2 Methods of Acquiring Citizenship

6.3 Loss of Citizenship

6.4 Qualities of a Good Citizen

6.5 Rights and Duties of Citizen

6.6 Let's Sum Up

6.7 References and Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Model Questions/ Assignments

6.10 Activity Sheet

6.0 Introduction:

So far we have learnt about the meaning and the various approaches of political theory in our initial chapters. While dealing with those, we have also learnt about the importance and significance of the concept called state in the subject. We also have learnt that there are four elements of state that differentiate it from other entities. In our previous chapter we studied about the concept of sovereignty in a deeper manner. Along with sovereignty, there is another important element of state called population meaning- people. It talks about the group of people within a geographical boundary. Even though this chapter is not about population in its exact terms but it is more or less similar and relevant to the study of political theory that is citizenship. This chapter deals with the meaning, methods and loss of citizenship in detail.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to make the learners-

- Understand the concept of citizenship.
- Recognize the historical evolution of citizenship.
- Build some good habits as responsible citizens.

6.1 Citizenship:

6.1.1 Meaning and its Historical Perspective

The term citizen has been derived from the Latin word ‘Civis’. In its narrow sense it means, the resident of a city or one who has privilege of living in a city. In its broad sense, citizen means any individual living within the territorial limits of a state excluding the aliens. Citizenship is a fundamental concept in political science and legal theory, defining the relationship between individuals and the state. It confers certain rights and responsibilities upon individuals, establishing their legal and social status within a particular political community.

Citizenship, as a concept, has evolved significantly over time, reflecting changes in political, social, and economic conditions. In ancient Greece and Rome, citizenship was restricted to a small elite group of male property owners. These individuals enjoyed certain privileges, such as

the right to vote and hold public office, but the vast majority of the population was excluded from citizenship.

During the Middle Ages, the concept of citizenship became more closely associated with feudalism. Feudal lords held the power to grant or deny citizenship to their subjects, and citizenship was often tied to land ownership. With the decline of feudalism and the rise of nation-states, the concept of citizenship began to shift. The French Revolution and the American Revolution marked a significant turning point, as these events promoted the idea of popular sovereignty and the rights of the individual. These revolutions helped to expand the concept of citizenship to include a wider range of people, including women and minorities.

In the 20th century, the concept of citizenship continued to evolve, influenced by factors such as globalization, migration, and the development of international human rights law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948, affirmed the right of everyone to nationality. This declaration helped to establish international standards for citizenship and human rights.

Today, citizenship remains a complex and multifaceted concept with significant implications for individuals and societies. It grants rights, imposes responsibilities, and defines our sense of belonging. Understanding the historical context of citizenship is essential for appreciating its significance and the challenges it faces in the contemporary world.

Let's Rewind:

Citizenship is a fundamental legal and social status that confers certain rights and responsibilities upon individuals in relation to a state. It has evolved significantly over time. In ancient societies, citizenship was often restricted to a small elite group. With the rise of democratic ideals, citizenship became more inclusive, extending to a broader range of people. The concept has continued to evolve in response to factors such as globalization, migration, and the development of international human rights law

Check Your Progress:

- What is the primary purpose of citizenship?
- How has the concept of citizenship evolved over time?

6.2 Methods of Acquiring Citizenship:

Citizenship in India is regulated by the Citizenship Act, 1955. The primary methods of acquiring Indian citizenship are as follows:

By Birth:

- **Jus Soli:** Individuals born within India's territorial boundaries acquire Indian citizenship regardless of their parents' citizenship.
- **Jus Sanguinis:** Children born outside India to Indian citizens acquire Indian citizenship if they are registered with an Indian consulate within a year of their birth.

Naturalization:

- **Residency:** Individuals must have resided in India for a minimum of five years out of the last eight years, including one year of continuous residence immediately preceding the application.
- **Good Moral Character:** Applicants must demonstrate good moral character and have not been convicted of any serious crime.
- **Knowledge of Hindi or English:** Applicants must have a basic knowledge of Hindi or English.
- **Registration:** Individuals who have been registered as citizens of India under the Citizenship Act, 1955, and have resided in India for at least five years after registration can apply for naturalization.

Registration:

- **Persons of Indian Origin:** Individuals of Indian origin who have resided in India for at least five years can apply for registration as citizens.
- **Persons of Indian Descent:** Individuals who have Indian descent and have resided in India for at least five years can also apply for registration.

Citizenship by Marriage:

- **Foreign Spouse:** A foreign spouse who has resided in India for at least five years after marriage can apply for citizenship.
- **Indian Spouse:** An Indian citizen's foreign spouse can apply for citizenship after residing in India for at least two years.

Citizenship by Descent:

- **Grandparents:** Individuals whose grandparents were Indian citizens can apply for citizenship if they have resided in India for at least five years.

However, the specific requirements and processes for acquiring Indian citizenship can be complex and may vary depending on individual circumstances.

6.3 Loss of Citizenship:

Indian citizenship, once acquired, can be lost under certain circumstances. The Citizenship Act, 1955, outlines the grounds for the loss of Indian citizenship:

1. **Renunciation:** A person can voluntarily renounce Indian citizenship by making a declaration before a prescribed authority.
2. **Registration as a citizen of another country:** If a person acquires the citizenship of another country voluntarily, they may lose Indian citizenship, unless they have obtained the prior permission of the Indian government.
3. **Cancellation:** The Indian government can cancel a person's citizenship if they are found to have obtained it fraudulently or by misrepresentation.

4. **Termination:** Citizenship can be terminated if a person engages in activities that are prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of India, or if they are convicted of a crime that involves a punishment of imprisonment for five years or more.

It is important to note that the loss of Indian citizenship can have significant consequences, including restrictions on travel, property rights, and access to government services.

Let's Rewind:

Citizenship in India can be acquired through various methods, including birth, naturalization, registration, marriage, and citizenship by descent. Individuals born within India's territory or to Indian citizen parents can acquire citizenship through birth. Naturalization requires residency in India for a specified period, good moral character, knowledge of Hindi or English, and absence of criminal convictions. Individuals of Indian origin or descent can apply for registration as citizens. Foreign spouses who have resided in India for a specified period can also apply for citizenship. Citizenship by descent is available to individuals whose grandparents were Indian citizens. The specific requirements and processes for acquiring Indian citizenship can vary depending on individual circumstances, and it is advisable to consult with the relevant Indian authorities for the most accurate and up-to-date information. There are also ways by which a person can lose his or her citizenship.

Check Your Progress:

- What are the two primary ways to acquire Indian citizenship by birth?
- What is the primary difference between naturalization and registration for acquiring Indian citizenship?
- Is marriage to a foreign citizen a ground for the loss of Indian citizenship?

6.4 Qualities of a Good Citizen:

A good citizen is an individual who actively contributes to the well-being of their community and society. They possess certain qualities that make them valuable members of their community. Here are some of the key qualities of a good citizen:

Civic Responsibility:

- **Active Participation:** Good citizens actively participate in the political and social life of their community. They vote, serve on juries, and volunteer for local organizations.
- **Respect for Laws:** They obey the laws of the land and respect the rights of others.
- **Civic Engagement:** Good citizens are involved in civic affairs, such as community meetings and public discussions.

Social Responsibility:

- **Community Service:** They contribute to the well-being of their community through volunteer work and charitable activities.
- **Respect for Diversity:** They respect and appreciate the diversity of cultures, beliefs, and backgrounds.
- **Tolerance:** They are tolerant of others, even if they disagree with their views.

Ethical and Moral Values:

- **Honesty and Integrity:** Good citizens are honest and trustworthy. They adhere to ethical principles and have strong moral values.
- **Respect for Others:** They treat others with respect, regardless of their social or economic status.
- **Empathy:** They are empathetic and compassionate towards others.

Knowledge and Awareness:

- **Informed Citizen:** Good citizens are informed about current events and issues affecting their community and society.
- **Critical Thinking:** They are able to think critically and evaluate information from various sources.
- **Lifelong Learning:** They are committed to lifelong learning and personal growth.

Patriotism:

- **National Pride:** They have a sense of pride in their country and its values.
- **Loyalty:** They are loyal to their country and its institutions.
- **Willingness to Serve:** They are willing to serve their country, if called upon to do so.

By possessing these qualities, good citizens contribute to the overall well-being of their communities and societies. They help to create a more just, equitable, and harmonious world.

6.5 Rights and Duties of Citizen:

Citizenship confers certain rights and responsibilities upon individuals. These rights and duties are essential for the functioning of a democratic society.

Rights of a Citizen:

1. Political Rights:

- Right to vote
- Right to hold public office
- Right to participate in political processes

2. Civil Rights:

- Right to freedom of speech
- Right to freedom of assembly
- Right to freedom of religion
- Right to equality before the law

3. Social Rights:

- Right to education
- Right to healthcare
- Right to housing
- Right to work

4. Economic Rights:

- Right to property
- Right to livelihood

- Right to fair wages

Duties of a Citizen:

1. Civic Duties:

- Obeying the law
- Paying taxes
- Serving on juries
- Voting in elections

2. Social Duties:

- Respecting the rights of others
- Contributing to the community
- Promoting social harmony
- Protecting the environment

3. National Duties:

- Defending the country
- Promoting national unity
- Contributing to the nation's progress

The rights and duties of citizens are interconnected. The exercise of rights is often accompanied by corresponding duties. For example, the right to vote is accompanied by the duty to be informed about political issues and to cast a responsible vote. Similarly, the right to freedom of speech is accompanied by the duty to use that freedom responsibly and to respect the rights of others.

It is important to note that the specific rights and duties of citizens may vary depending on the country and its legal system. However, the general principles of citizenship remain consistent across different societies.

Let's Rewind:

Good citizens possess qualities such as civic responsibility, social responsibility, ethical values, knowledge, and patriotism. They actively participate in their community, respect others, and

contribute to the well-being of society. As citizens, individuals have rights like political rights, civil rights, social rights, and economic rights. They also have duties such as obeying laws, paying taxes, serving on juries, and contributing to the community. The rights and duties of citizens are interconnected, and their exercise is essential for the functioning of a democratic society.

Check Your Progress:

- What is the primary duty of a citizen?
- What is the relationship between rights and duties?
- What is the importance of citizenship in a democratic society?

6.6 Let's Sum Up:

Citizenship is a fundamental legal and social status that confers certain rights and responsibilities upon individuals in relation to a state. It has evolved significantly over time, reflecting changes in political, social, and economic conditions. Citizenship can be acquired through birth, naturalization, or marriage. It grants individuals rights like voting, holding public office, and enjoying social benefits. In return, citizens have duties such as obeying laws, paying taxes, and serving on juries. Good citizens possess qualities like civic responsibility, social responsibility, ethical values, knowledge, and patriotism. They actively participate in their community, respect others, and contribute to the well-being of society. Understanding the concept of citizenship is crucial for navigating the complexities of contemporary society.

6.7 References and Further Reading:

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- Mayhew, David R. "The Raging Debate Over Citizenship: A Survey of the Literature." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1996, pp. 13-20.

- Shapiro, Ian. "The Future of Citizenship: Challenges and Opportunities." *Daedalus*, vol. 126, no. 4, 1997, pp. 1-26.

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What is the primary purpose of citizenship?
 - To grant individuals legal rights and responsibilities, to define the relationship between individuals and the state and to promote social equality.
- How has the concept of citizenship evolved over time?
 - It has become more inclusive.
- What are the two primary ways to acquire Indian citizenship by birth?
 - Jus sanguinis and jus soli
- What is the primary difference between naturalization and registration for acquiring Indian citizenship?
 - Naturalization requires a longer residency period than registration.
- Is marriage to a foreign citizen a ground for the loss of Indian citizenship?
 - No.
- What is the primary duty of a citizen?
 - Paying taxes, voting in elections, obeying the law.
- What is the relationship between rights and duties?
 - Rights and duties are interconnected.
- What is the importance of citizenship in a democratic society?
 - It promotes individual rights and freedoms, ensures the stability and well-being of the society and fosters a sense of community and belonging.

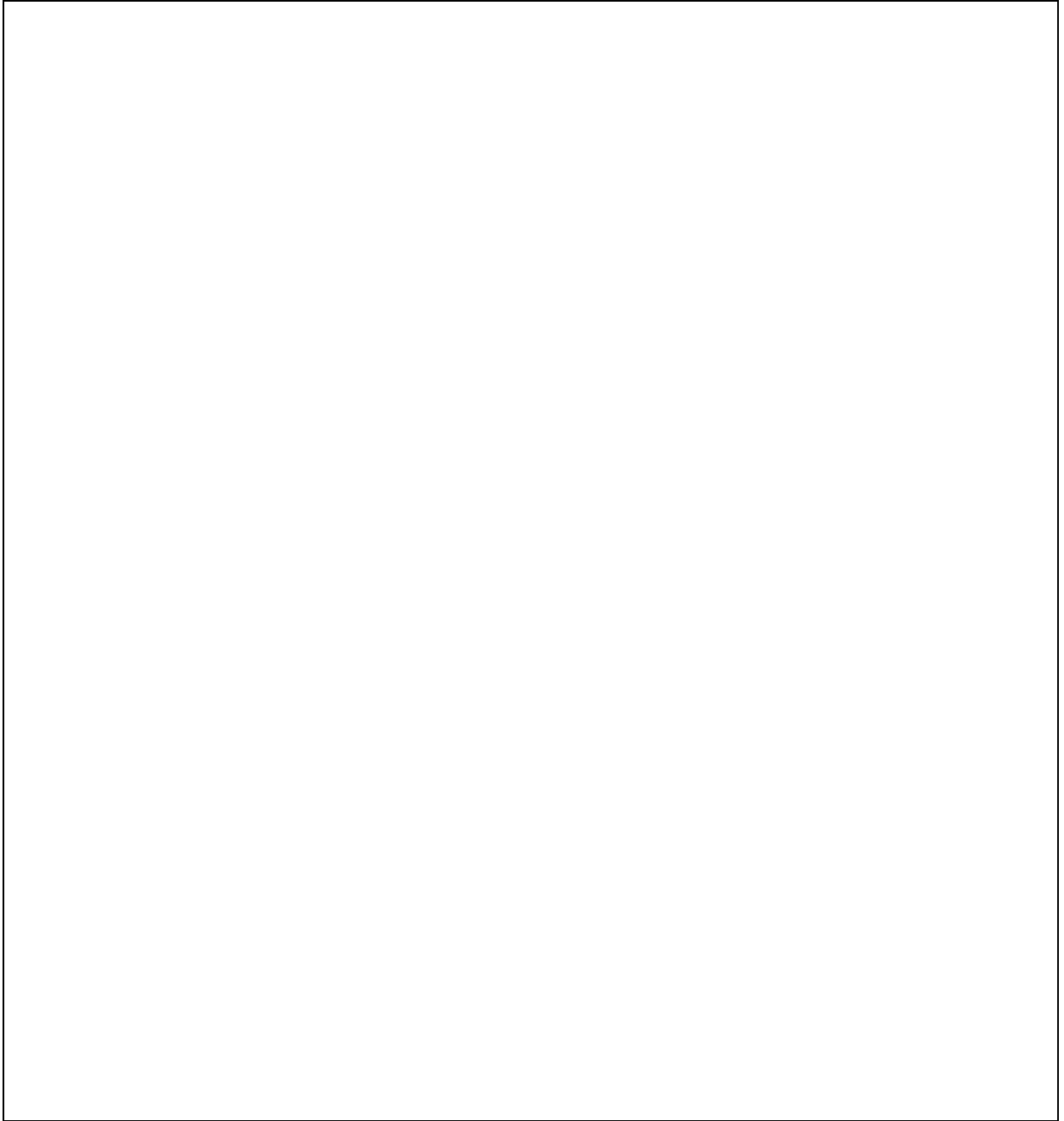
6.9 Model Questions/ Assignment:

1. Define citizenship. What are the methods of acquiring citizenship?
2. What are the rights and responsibilities of a citizen?
3. Write an essay on how has the concept of citizenship evolved over time.
4. Write a note on loss of citizenship.

6.10 Activity Sheet

Q. What are the differences between a citizen and an alien?

Marks: 5

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Chapter 7: Rights and Duties

Chapter Structure:

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Meaning and Types of Rights
- 7.2 Characteristics of Rights
- 7.3 Meaning and Types of Duties
- 7.4 Characteristics of Duties
- 7.5 Necessity of Rights and Duties
- 7.6 Let's Sum Up
- 7.7 References and Further Reading
- 7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 7.9 Model Questions/ Assignment
- 7.10 Activity Sheet

7.0 Introduction:

Till now we have understood the concepts of political theory, approaches, state, important elements etc. In the previous chapter we learnt about citizenship. As it is about citizen or human being, there has to be some rights and duties conferred upon them naturally or legally to lead a good dignified life. By rights you need to understand that these are certain privileges or opportunities for the betterment of human. Again, since human beings are social animals and they live in groups in a society, they must have to be concerned about others comforts and discomforts. This chapter has been included in your course to make you conscious about your rights and at the same time your doable things to others.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to-

- Acquaint you with the concepts of rights and duties.
- To train you as a sensible citizen.
- To widen your views on group living.

7.1 Meaning of Rights:

Rights are fundamental entitlements or claims that individuals can assert against others, typically governments or institutions. They are essential for human dignity and a just society. Rights are often categorized into various types:

Civil Rights

- **Freedom of Speech:** The right to express oneself freely through words, actions, or symbols without fear of government censorship or punishment.
- **Freedom of Assembly:** The right to gather peacefully with others for a common purpose, such as protesting or celebrating.
- **Freedom of Religion:** The right to practice one's religion without government interference or discrimination.

- **Right to Privacy:** The right to be free from unreasonable government intrusion into one's personal life.

Political Rights

- **Right to Vote:** The right to participate in elections and choose one's government representatives.
- **Right to Hold Public Office:** The right to seek and hold government positions.
- **Right to Run for Election:** The right to participate in the electoral process as a candidate.
- **Right to Petition the Government:** The right to address grievances to the government and seek redress.

Economic Rights

- **Right to Work:** The right to have a job and earn a livelihood.
- **Right to Fair Wages:** The right to receive just compensation for one's labor.
- **Right to Property:** The right to own property and use it freely.
- **Right to Social Security:** The right to a basic level of economic security, such as social safety nets and pensions.

Social Rights

- **Right to Education:** The right to access education, including primary, secondary, and higher education.
- **Right to Health:** The right to access healthcare services, including preventive care, treatment, and rehabilitation.
- **Right to Housing:** The right to have a safe and affordable place to live.
- **Right to Food:** The right to have access to sufficient food to meet one's nutritional needs.

Cultural Rights

- **Right to Cultural Identity:** The right to maintain and express one's cultural heritage, including language, traditions, and customs.

- **Right to Cultural Participation:** The right to participate in cultural activities and enjoy cultural resources.
- **Right to Cultural Heritage:** The right to protect and preserve one's cultural heritage, including historical sites, artifacts, and traditions.

The specific rights recognized and protected can vary depending on cultural, historical, and political contexts. While rights are often considered inalienable, their enforcement and scope can be subject to limitations and interpretations.

- **Fundamental Rights vs. Human Rights:**

Fundamental Rights are the basic rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of nationality, race, gender, religion, or any other status. They are considered to be inalienable, meaning they cannot be taken away or given up. Fundamental rights are often protected by law and international treaties. Human Rights are a broader concept that encompasses all the rights enjoyed by human beings, including fundamental rights, as well as other rights such as social, economic, and cultural rights. Human rights are derived from various sources, including international law, domestic laws, and cultural norms. They are considered to be universal and apply to all people, regardless of their nationality, race, gender, religion, or any other status.

Key Differences –

- **Scope:** Fundamental rights are a subset of human rights, focusing on the most basic and essential rights, while human rights encompass a wider range of rights, including social, economic, and cultural rights.
- **Origin:** Fundamental rights are often rooted in natural law and human dignity, while human rights are derived from a variety of sources, including international treaties, domestic laws, and cultural norms.
- **Legal Protection:** Fundamental rights are typically protected by international law and domestic constitutions, while human rights may be protected by a variety of legal instruments, including treaties, laws, and judicial decisions.

Similarities-

- Both fundamental rights and human rights are essential for human dignity and well-being.
- They are universal and apply to all people, regardless of their nationality, race, gender, religion, or any other status.
- They are also considered to be inalienable, meaning they cannot be taken away or given up.

Importance-

Both fundamental rights and human rights play a crucial role in promoting equality, justice, and social progress. They are essential for ensuring that all people have the opportunity to live with dignity and freedom.

7.2 Characteristics of Rights:

Rights are fundamental entitlements or claims that individuals can assert against others, typically governments or institutions. They are essential for human dignity and a just society. Here are some of the key characteristics of rights:

1. Universality: Rights are universal, meaning they apply to all human beings, regardless of their nationality, race, gender, religion, or any other status. This principle is enshrined in international human rights law, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. Inalienability: Rights are inalienable, meaning they cannot be taken away or given up. They are considered to be inherent to human beings, and no one has the authority to deprive them of these rights.

3. Interdependence: Rights are interdependent, meaning that they are all interconnected and interrelated. The enjoyment of one right often depends on the fulfillment of other rights. For example, the right to freedom of expression is meaningless without the right to freedom of information.

4. Indivisibility: Rights are indivisible, meaning that they cannot be divided or separated. All rights are equally important and should be respected and protected without discrimination.

5. Positive and Negative: Rights can be classified into two categories: positive rights and negative rights. Positive rights are those that require the government or other actors to take action to fulfill them, such as the right to education or healthcare. Negative rights are those that require the government or other actors to refrain from interfering with an individual's freedom, such as the right to freedom of speech or religion.

6. Equality: Rights are equal, meaning that they apply to all people without discrimination. No one should be denied their rights based on their race, gender, religion, nationality, or any other status.

7. Progressivity: Rights are progressive, meaning that they should be progressively realized and fulfilled over time. This means that governments and other actors have a responsibility to take steps to ensure that everyone enjoys their rights to the fullest extent possible.

8. Justiciability: Rights are justiciable, meaning that they can be enforced through legal means. This means that individuals can seek redress from courts or other legal institutions if their rights have been violated.

These characteristics are essential for understanding the nature and importance of rights. They help to ensure that rights are protected, respected, and fulfilled for all people.

Let's Rewind:

Rights are fundamental entitlements or claims that individuals can assert against others. They are essential for human dignity and a just society. Rights are categorized into types like civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. They are universal, inalienable, interdependent, indivisible, and can be positive or negative. Rights should be equal, progressive, and justiciable. These characteristics help ensure rights are protected, respected, and fulfilled for all people.

Check Your Progress:

- What are the basic rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of their status?
- Which characteristic of rights ensures that they apply to all people without discrimination?
- What does it mean for rights to be justiciable?

7.3 Meaning and Types of Duties:

Duties are moral or legal obligations that individuals have to fulfill towards others or society. They are essential for maintaining a just and equitable society.

Duties can be classified into different types, such as ethical duties, legal duties, and social duties.

Ethical Duties are moral obligations that individuals have to themselves and others, based on their own conscience and values. They are often grounded in principles of fairness, justice, and respect for others. Ethical duties can include things like being honest, trustworthy, and helpful. They can also include more abstract concepts, such as respecting human rights and promoting social good.

Legal Duties are obligations that are imposed on individuals by law. They are enforceable by laws, and serving on juries. They are essential for maintaining order and stability in society.

Social Duties are obligations that individuals have to their communities and society as a whole. They are based on the idea that we all benefit from living in a just and equitable society, and that we have a responsibility to contribute to that society. Social duties can include things like volunteering, helping others in need, and protecting the environment. They can also include more abstract concepts, such as promoting social justice and equality.

Duties are an important part of human life. They help to shape our character and make us better people. They also help to create a just and equitable society for everyone.

- **Fundamental Duties:**

These are moral obligations that individuals have to fulfill towards their country and society. They are enshrined in the Constitution of India and are considered to be essential for the maintenance of democracy and the progress of the nation. Fundamental duties are important for building a strong and prosperous nation. They help to promote national unity, social harmony, and economic progress. They also help to ensure that all citizens have equal opportunities and are treated fairly.

7.4 Characteristics of Duties:

Duties are moral or legal obligations that individuals have to fulfill towards others or society. They are essential for maintaining a just and equitable society. Here are some of the key characteristics of duties:

- **Correlative to Rights:** Duties are often seen as the counterpart to rights. For example, the right to freedom of speech is accompanied by the duty to respect the freedom of speech of others.
- **Societal Expectations:** Duties are often rooted in societal expectations and norms. They are based on the idea that individuals have a responsibility to contribute to the well-being of their communities and society as a whole.
- **Legal Obligations:** Many duties are imposed by law and are enforceable by legal authorities. These legal duties can include things like paying taxes, obeying traffic laws, and serving on juries.
- **Moral Obligations:** Some duties are based on moral principles and ethical considerations. These duties may not be legally enforceable, but they are still important for maintaining a just and equitable society.
- **Interconnectedness:** Duties are often interconnected and interrelated. For example, the duty to respect the rights of others is connected to the duty to promote social justice and equality.
- **Responsibility:** Duties involve a sense of responsibility and accountability. Individuals who fail to fulfill their duties may face consequences, both legal and moral.

These characteristics are essential for understanding the nature and importance of duties. They help to ensure that duties are fulfilled and that society functions smoothly.

Let's Rewind:

Duties are moral or legal obligations individuals have towards others or society. They are essential for a just and equitable society. Duties can be ethical (based on conscience and values), legal (imposed by law), or social (towards communities). They are often correlative to rights, rooted in societal expectations, and involve responsibility. These characteristics help

ensure duties are fulfilled and contribute to a well-functioning society.

Check Your Progress:

- What are moral obligations that individuals have to themselves and others, based on their own conscience and values?
- What is the relationship between rights and duties?

7.5 Necessity of Rights and Duties:

Rights and duties are fundamental to human society, providing a framework for interaction, justice, and the pursuit of a better life. They are essential for:

- 1. Human Dignity:** Rights affirm the inherent worth and value of every individual, regardless of their circumstances. They protect our freedoms and ensure that we are treated with respect. Duties, in turn, remind us of our obligations to others and society, promoting a sense of responsibility and empathy.
- 2. Justice and Equality:** Rights and duties are essential for creating a just and equitable society. Rights ensure that everyone has equal opportunities and protections, while duties promote a sense of fairness and responsibility.
- 3. Social Harmony:** Rights and duties help to maintain social harmony by establishing clear expectations and boundaries. They promote cooperation, understanding, and respect among individuals and groups.
- 4. Individual and Collective Well-being:** Rights and duties contribute to the well-being of both individuals and society as a whole. By fulfilling our duties, we contribute to the common good, while the enjoyment of our rights allows us to live fulfilling and productive lives.
- 5. Democratic Governance:** Rights and duties are essential for democratic governance. Rights protect citizens from government overreach, while duties ensure that citizens participate actively in the political process and contribute to the functioning of democratic institutions.

In conclusion, rights and duties are interconnected and essential for a just, equitable, and harmonious society. They promote human dignity, justice, social harmony, individual and collective well-being, and democratic governance.

7.6 Let's Sum Up:

Rights are fundamental entitlements or claims that individuals can assert against others, while duties are moral or legal obligations that individuals have to fulfill towards others or society. Both rights and duties are essential for a just and equitable society. Rights include civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, while duties can be ethical, legal, or social. They are interconnected, with rights often accompanied by corresponding duties. Understanding the meaning, types, and characteristics of rights and duties is crucial for navigating the complexities of human interaction and societal organization.

7.7 References and Further Reading:

- Bhargava, Rajeev & Ashok Acharya(ed.) Political Theory: An Introduction, New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2008
- Bhargava, Rajeev, What is Political Theory and Why do We need it, New Delhi: OUP, 2010
- Gauba, O. P. An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981
- Ramaswamy, Sushila, Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts, New Delhi: Macmillan, 2003

7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What are the basic rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of their status?
 - Fundamental rights.
- Which characteristic of rights ensures that they apply to all people without discrimination?
 - Equality.
- What does it mean for rights to be justiciable?
 - They can be enforced through legal means.

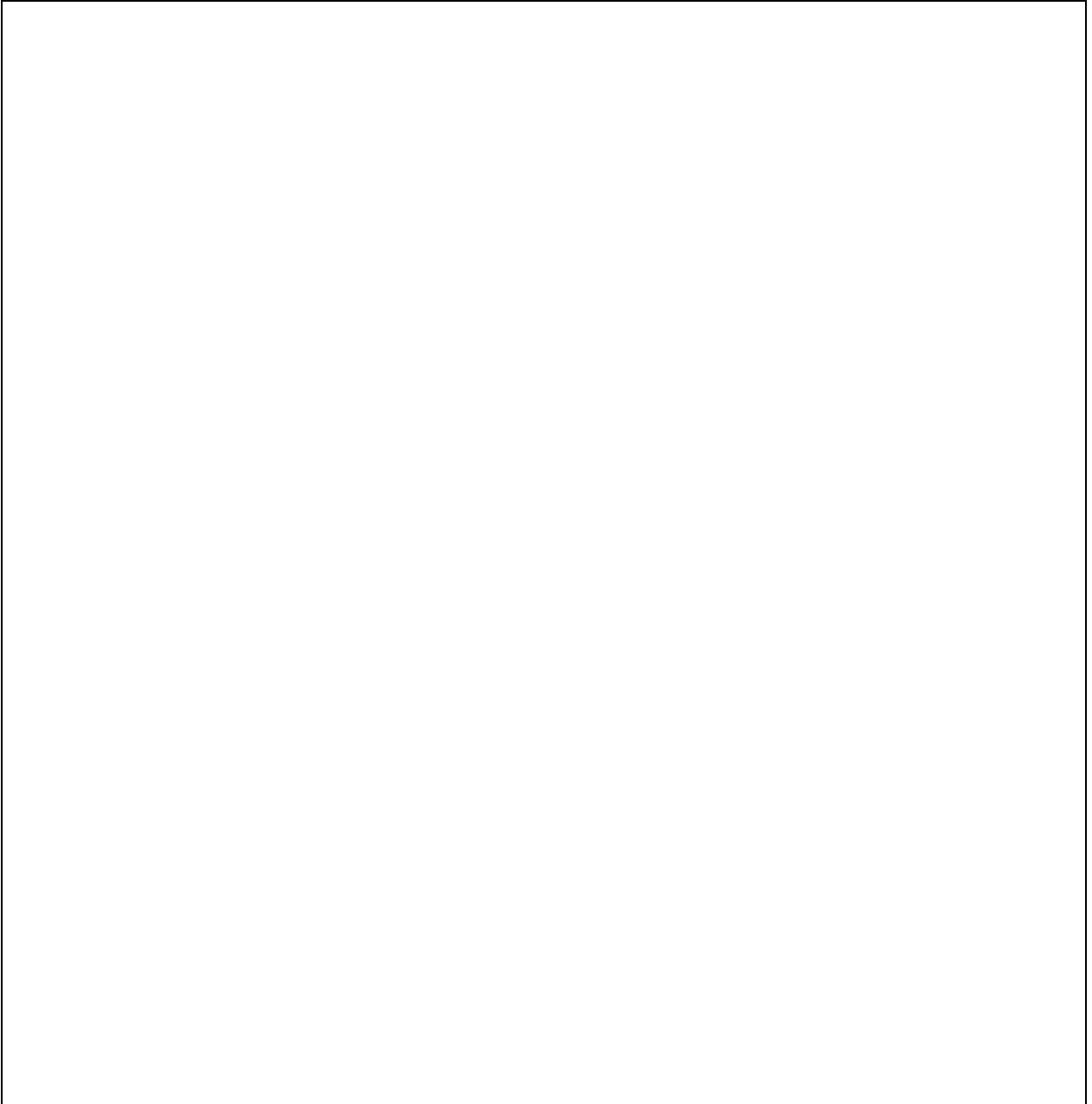
- What are moral obligations that individuals have to themselves and others, based on their own conscience and values?
 - Ethical duties, Legal duties, Social duties.
- What is the relationship between rights and duties?
 - Rights and duties are interconnected.

7.9 Model Questions/ Assignment

1. Define Rights. What are its types?
2. Define duties. What are its types?
3. Rights and duties are interconnected. Explain.
4. Write an essay on the necessity of rights and duties.

7.10 Activity Sheet

Q. Do you know how many fundamental rights you have? Write a note on it. Marks: 5

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the student to write their answer to the question. The box occupies most of the page below the question text.

Chapter 8: Liberty

Chapter Structure:

8.0 Introduction

8.1 Liberty

8.1.1 Meaning

8.1.2 Nature and Scope

8.1.3 Classification of liberty

8.1.4 Isaiah Berlin's Two Concepts of Liberty

8.2 Let's Sum Up

8.3 References and Further Reading

8.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.5 Model Questions/ Assignment

8.6 Activity Sheet

8.0 Introduction:

As soon as there is the appearance of the concepts like state and citizenship, some other relevant concepts emerge spontaneously because of their significance in human life. In our previous chapter we learnt about citizenship, rights and duties. Along with these, there are some major concepts in political theory which are not only important from subject matter point of view, but also bear utmost significance to dignified human existence. In this chapter as well as in the upcoming chapters we will delve into these concepts thoroughly. Let's begin with the concept called Liberty here in this chapter.

The **objective** of the chapter is to enable the learners-

- Well acquainted with the meaning of liberty.
- Become an informed citizen.
- Conscious about their privileges and their limitations being a citizen.

8.1 Liberty

8.1.1 Meaning

The word Liberty has derived from a Latin word "Liber", which means free or independent. The concept of liberty occupies a very important place in civics. It has made powerful appeal to every man in every age. It is the source of many wars and revolutions. In the name of liberty war, battles, revolutions and struggles have taken place in the history of mankind. Liberty means the unrestricted freedom of the individual to do anything he likes to do. But this sort of unrestricted liberty is not possible in society.

Liberty being the central value of human life has traditionally been defined and explained from the negative and positive perspective. In general, negative liberty is the absence of obstacles, barriers or constraints.

One has negative liberty to the extent that actions are available to one in this negative sense. Positive liberty is the possibility of acting — or the fact of acting — in such a way as to take control of one's life and realize one's fundamental purposes. While negative liberty is usually

attributed to individual agents, positive liberty is sometimes attributed to collectivities, or to individuals considered primarily as members of given collectivities. The idea of distinguishing between a negative and a positive sense of the term 'liberty' goes back at least to Kant, and was examined and defended in depth by Isaiah Berlin in the 1950s and 60s. Discussions about positive and negative liberty normally take place within the context of political and social philosophy.

They are distinct from, though sometimes related to, philosophical discussions about free will. Work on the nature of positive liberty often overlaps, however, with work on the nature of autonomy. According to Berlin, negative and positive liberty are not merely two distinct kinds of liberty; they can be seen as rival, incompatible interpretations of a single political ideal. Since few people claim to be against liberty, the way this term is interpreted and defined can have important political implications.

Political liberalism tends to presuppose a negative definition of liberty: liberals generally claim that if one favours individual liberty one should place strong limitations on the activities of the state. Critics of liberalism often contest this implication by contesting the negative definition of liberty: they argue that the pursuit of liberty understood as self-realization or as self-determination (whether of the individual or of the collectivity) can require state intervention of a kind not normally allowed by liberals.

8.1.2 Nature and Scope

The following summarizes the nature and dimension of liberty in political theory-

- **Individual Autonomy:** Liberty is often associated with the capacity of individuals to make choices and pursue their own interests without external constraints.
- **Negative and Positive Liberty:** This distinction highlights the difference between freedom from external restraints (negative liberty) and the capacity to act meaningfully (positive liberty).
- **Civil Liberties:** These are specific freedoms guaranteed by law, such as freedom of speech, religion, and assembly.
- **Political Liberty:** This refers to the right to participate in the political process, including voting and holding public office.

- **Economic Liberty:** This involves the freedom to engage in economic activities without undue government interference.

The Scope of Liberty:

The scope of liberty is influenced by various factors, including:

- **Social and Cultural Context:** Different societies have varying conceptions of liberty based on their historical, religious, and cultural values.
- **Political System:** The nature of the political regime significantly impacts the extent of individual liberty. Democratic systems generally prioritize individual freedoms, while authoritarian regimes may restrict them.
- **State Intervention:** The balance between individual liberty and state authority is a complex issue. While the state may be necessary to protect individual liberties, excessive state intervention can also limit them.

In conclusion, liberty is a complex and contested concept with far-reaching implications for political, social, and economic life. Understanding the different dimensions of liberty and the factors that influence its scope is essential for evaluating the quality of a society.

8.1.3 Classification of Liberty

Liberty can be classified under following categories:

- **Natural Liberty:** It implies complete freedom for a man to do what he aspires to. In other words, it means absence of all restraints and freedom from interferences. It may be easily understood that this kind of liberty is no liberty at all in as much as it is euphemism for the freedom of the forest. What we call liberty pertains to the realm of man's social existence. This kind of liberty, in the opinions of the social philosophers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau was engaged by men living in the "state of nature" – since where there was not state and society. This kind of liberty is not possible at present. Liberty cannot exist in the absence of state. Unlimited liberty might have been engaged only by few strong but not all.

- **Social/Civil liberty:** it relates to man's freedom in his life as a member of the social organization. As such, it refers to a man's right to do what he wills in compliance with the restraints imposed on him in the general interest. Civil or social liberty consists in the rights and privileges that the society recognizes and the state protects in the spheres of private and public life of an individual.

Social liberty has the following sub categories:

- **Personal liberty:** it is an important variety of social liberty. It refers to the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in those areas of a man's life that the results of his efforts mainly affect him in that isolation by which at least he is always surrounded.
- **Political Liberty:** It refers to the power of the people to be active in the affairs of the state. Political liberty is closely interlinked with the life of man as a citizen. Simply stated political liberty consists in provisions for universal adult franchise, free and fair elections, freedom for the avenues that make a healthy public opinion. As a matter of fact political liberty consists in curbing as well as constituting and controlling the government.
- **Economic Liberty:** It belongs to the individual in the capacity of a producer or a worker engaged in some gainful occupation or service. The individual should be free from the constant fear of unemployment and insufficiency.
- **Domestic/ Family Liberty:** It is sociological concept that takes the discussion of liberty to the sphere of man's family life. It implies that all associations within the state, the miniature community of the family, is the most universal and of the strongest independent vitality. Domestic liberty consists in: - Rendering the wife a fully responsible individual capable of holding property, suing and being sued, conducting business on her own account, and engaging full personal protection against her husband. It is establishing marriage as far as the law is concerned on a purely contractual basis, and leaving the sacramental aspect of marriage to the ordinance of the religion professed by the parties and seeing the physical, mental and moral care of the children.
- **National liberty:** It is synonymous with national independence. As such, it implies that no nation should be under subjection of another. National movements or wars of independence can be identified as struggles for the attainment of national liberty. So, national liberty is identified with patriotism.

- **International Liberty:** It means the world is free from controls and limitation, use of force has no value. Dispute can be settled through peaceful means. Briefly all countries in the world will be free of conflicts and wars. In the international sphere, it implies renunciation of war, limitation on the production of armaments, abandonment's of the use of force, and the pacific settlement of disputes. The ideal of international liberty is based on this pious conviction to that extent the world frees itself from the use of force and aggression it gains and peace is given a chance to establish itself.
- **Moral Liberty:** This type of freedom is centred in the idealistic thoughts of thinkers from Plato and Aristotle in ancient times to Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Green and Bosanquet in modern times. Moral liberty lies in man's capacity to act as per his rational self. Every man has a personality of his own. He seeks the best possible development of his personality. At the same time he desires the same thing for other. And more than this, he pays sincere respect for the real worth and dignity of his fellow beings. It is directly connected with man's self – realization.

Let's Rewind:

Liberty is a cornerstone of human rights, allowing individuals to exercise autonomy and make choices about their lives. It encompasses personal, political, economic, and civil liberties, which protect individuals from government overreach and allow them to express themselves freely, participate in the political process, engage in economic activities, and pursue their personal goals without undue interference. While liberty is not absolute and may be subject to certain limitations, it is a fundamental value that should be upheld and defended.

Check Your Progress:

- What is the origin of the word Liberty?
- Liberty is Subject to certain limitations to protect the rights of others. True or false?
- The right to vote and hold office is an example of political liberty. True or False?

8.2 Isaiah Berlin's Two Concepts Of Liberty

British intellectual **Isaiah Berlin** (1909-1997) left his mark as a philosopher, historian, and defender of liberalism. His 1958 essay, "Two Concepts of Liberty," ignited renewed interest in political theory with its distinction between positive and negative liberty. This concept continues to be a cornerstone of discussions on freedom. Berlin remained a champion of liberalism throughout his life, intertwining it with his moral beliefs and focus on human values. He also explored the history of ideas, particularly critiques of the Enlightenment, in the latter part of his career.

By the 1950s, Berlin's core ideas were well-established. Isaiah Berlin, in his seminal essay "Two Concepts of Liberty," introduced a profound distinction between two fundamental understandings of freedom: negative liberty and positive liberty.

- **Negative Liberty**

Negative liberty emphasizes the absence of external constraints on individuals. It focuses on the area within which an individual is free to act without interference from others. In essence, it is about freedom from coercion. The more areas of activity a person can enter without resistance from others, the greater is their negative liberty.

- **Positive Liberty**

Positive liberty, on the other hand, focuses on the individual's capacity to act in accordance with their own will and to fulfill their potential. It is about being one's own master and realizing one's true self. This concept often requires the presence of certain conditions, such as education, healthcare, and economic opportunity, which enable individuals to exercise their freedom effectively.

Key Differences

- **Focus:** Negative liberty focuses on external constraints, while positive liberty focuses on internal capacities.

- **Role of the state:** Negative liberty often involves limiting state intervention, while positive liberty can justify state action to create conditions for individual flourishing.
- **Nature of freedom:** Negative liberty is about freedom from, while positive liberty is about freedom to.

Berlin argued that these two concepts are not merely different ways of describing the same idea but represent fundamentally different political ideals. While negative liberty is often associated with classical liberalism, positive liberty has been influential in various political ideologies, including socialism and communitarianism.

Check Your Progress

- What do you mean by positive liberty?
- What is negative liberty?

8.3 Let's Sum Up:

Liberty in political theory signifies freedom from restrictions, empowering individuals to pursue their goals and participate meaningfully in society. It's about freedom from undue control, allowing individuals to make choices, express themselves, and reach their potential. However, how much liberty a person can have is still a debate.

There are several kinds of liberty. **Natural liberty** refers to the idea of inherent freedom individuals possess before any government exists with no laws or rulers to restrict. **Moral liberty** refers to the freedom to act according to one's own conscience and values, independent of external pressures or social norms. It's about being free to choose our own moral path. **Social or civil liberty** focuses on the freedoms guaranteed by society or law, like free speech, religion, and assembly. It's about the rights one has within the framework of an organized society. This social or civil liberty has further sub- divided in to **personal liberty** (it focuses on freedom in one's own private life, like choosing lifestyle, beliefs, and personal relationships, with minimal government interference.), **political liberty** (it is the freedom to participate in the political process, including voting, holding office, and expressing political views.), **economic liberty** (it is the freedom to make one's own economic choices, like pursuing desired career, owning property, and engaging in trade without undue government restrictions.), **domestic liberty** (it refers to freedoms within the family unit), **national liberty** (focuses on a nation's freedom from external control.), international liberty (refers to the freedom of nations to interact without undue dominance from other states.)

Liberty in its **positive aspect means** focuses on having the power and resources to actually pursue one's goals and fulfil one's potentialities within a society. **Negative liberty** is about **freedom from interference**. It emphasizes the absence of external constraints that prevent a person from acting on his or her will.

8.4 References and Further Reading:

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- D. Miller, Social Justice, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1976.
- G. Catlin, A Study of the Principles of Politics, London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1930.
- Gauba, O. P. An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981

8.5 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What is the origin of the word Liberty?
 - Latin word *Liber*.
- Liberty is Subject to certain limitations to protect the rights of others. True or false?
 - True.
- The right to vote and hold office is an example of political liberty. True or False?
 - True.
- What do you mean by positive liberty?
 - The ability to actively participate in and shape society.
- What is negative liberty?
 - The absence of interference from others.

8.6 Model Questions/ Assignment

1. What do you mean by liberty? Based on your understanding try to write five characteristics of liberty.
2. What are the various types of liberty?

3. Write a note on negative and positive liberty with suitable examples.
4. How do you see the importance of liberty in human lives? Write your own understanding.

8.7 Activity Sheet

Q. 'Liberty is Subject to certain limitations to protect the rights of others'- explain. Marks: 5

Chapter 9: Equality

Chapter Structure:

9.0 Introduction

9.1 Equality

9.1.1 Meaning

9.1.2 Dimensions of Equality

9.1.3 Characteristics

9.1.4 Types

9.1.5 Evaluation of the Notion of Equality

9.1.6 Main Obstacles

9.1.7 Dworkin's Theory of Equality

9.2 Let's Sum Up

9.3 References and Further Reading

9.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.5 Model Questions/ Assignment

9.6 Activity Sheet

9.0 Introduction:

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this chapter deals with another major concept of political theory that is- equality. **Equality** is a fundamental principle that asserts that all individuals are inherently equal in worth and deserving of the same rights, opportunities, and treatment under the law. It is a cornerstone of democratic societies and a key component of social justice.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to enable the learners-

- to define and explain the concept of equality
- to discuss the significance of equality
- to explore the challenges and obstacles
- to think critical

9.1 Equality

The American Declaration of Independence, 1776 proclaims that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. The French Declaration of 1789 also proclaimed," men are born and live free and equal in their rights. Both the documents underline the fact that Equality is a protest ideal, a symbol of man's revolt against chance, fortuitous disparity, unjust power, crystallized privilege.

Equality is difficult and controversial notion in politics. It is a fact that humans are not equal. They have differences in their mental, moral qualities or their attitudes and abilities. The demand for equality does not neglect the differences among humans it is a protest against unjust, undeserved, and unjustified inequalities, for hierarchies of worth and ability never satisfactorily corresponds to effective hierarchies of power. Demand for equality provides necessary motion to break the inertia of human society, which constantly tends to perpetuate the existing vertical structures such structures perpetuate themselves with nurturing the belief that each man should live according to his station and by means of routine custom, and traditional, social mechanisms. The ideal of equality works against such force of gravity inherent in politico-socio organisms.

9.1.1 Meaning

Equality, in brief, refers to the equal enjoyment of rights by all citizens and absence of any discrimination based on status, race or sex. The principle that all men are equal only means that they ought to be treated in the same manner in certain vital respects. It means impartiality of treatment. According to Harold J Laski equality means the absence of special privilege availability of adequate opportunities open to all; it is fundamentally a leveling process. Marx argued for equality as an end to class domination and economic exploitation of man by man. These definitions show two aspects of equality-

1) Negative aspect - It means absence of special privileges

2) Positive aspect - It means that adequate opportunities should be made available to all

9.1.2 Dimensions of Equality:

- **Legal Dimension of Equality**

Legal dimension of Equality is essential ingredient of liberal democracy. Legal equality implies that every individual is equal before the law and is entitled to and can claim equal protection of the laws. In modern democratic states, law neither allows special privileges to any particular class nor confers unequal rights on, or claim unequal obligations from, different categories of citizens. Equality before the law does not guarantee equal treatment by the law but equal access to the law, and consideration only of those factors laid down by law as relevant. Legal equality does not mean that any two persons must always be treated exactly alike. It claims that the grounds for deciding between two persons should be only those laid down by law, and not any legally extraneous ones, whether unreasonable grounds of moral sentiments or Natural law, or unreasonable ones of private caprice. Application of legal dimension is contextual. Division of labour and distributive justice provides ground for legitimate unequal treatment to certain classes or categories of individuals or groups. Equality before the law basically denotes equal enjoyment of certain fundamental rights and duties.

- **Political Dimension of Equality**

Political equality implies equal access to political power. This form of equality is closely associated with liberal democratic form of government. The concrete expression of political

equality is the conferment, on all adult citizens, of the right to vote and its corollaries, the right to contest for public office and equal eligibility for administrative and judicial posts provided the necessary technical qualifications are fulfilled.

In short, political equality denotes the equality of political rights of citizens. This notion of equality is heavily discarded by many. According to elitist theory, ordinary citizens, even when they have votes, have no real access to political power. In democratic political system power is contested by political parties which are themselves controlled by a clique or self-appointed leaders. According to Laski, "political equality is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality. Political power otherwise is bound to be the handmaid of economic power." Marx ridiculed the notion of equality in a society based on capitalism.

- **Socio-Economical Dimensions of Equality**

It is generally agreed that legal and political dimensions alone are not adequate to interpret equality because it ignores the basic fundamental aspect of equality, i.e., its socio-economic dimensions. If the legal and political equalities are of the formal type, economic and social equalities are substantive and of the material type. First is apparent and second is real equality.

Literally it implies the attempt to expunge all differences in wealth, allotting to every man and woman an equal share in worldly goods. But practically it is difficult to follow this meaning. Properly interpreted, economic equality means the provision of adequate opportunities for all in the material sense of equalising the starting-points that is, creating by means of a relatively equal distribution of wealth the material conditions for equal access to opportunities. In Marxian sense it demands State ownership of all wealth. The principle of social equality remains a characteristically democratic preoccupation.

9.1.3 Characteristics

Following are some of the characteristics of equality-

1. **Absolute equality is not desirable:** Complete uniformity in treatment and reward is impractical and undesirable. Individuals possess diverse talents, skills, and needs, making identical treatment counterproductive.

2. Natural inequality among individuals: People are born with different abilities, potentials, and circumstances. Recognizing these inherent differences is essential for a just society.

3. Equality as a leveling process: The concept of equality is often associated with reducing disparities and ensuring fairness. However, it does not imply creating a homogenous society where everyone is identical.

4. Equality as a foundation for social justice: Equality is a fundamental principle for achieving a just society. It provides a basis for fair distribution of opportunities and resources.

5. Equal opportunities for all: Equality means that everyone should have the same chances to succeed in life, regardless of their background or circumstances. This requires removing barriers to advancement and ensuring access to education, healthcare, and other essential resources.

6. Elimination of special privileges: Equality demands the removal of advantages granted to specific individuals or groups without justification. It promotes a level playing field where everyone has equal rights and opportunities.

7. Provision of essential goods and services: Ensuring access to basic necessities like food, shelter, and healthcare is essential for creating a just and equitable society. This is often seen as a core aspect of equality.

9.1.4 Types of Equality

Equality is a fundamental principle that asserts that all individuals are inherently equal in worth and deserving of the same rights, opportunities, and treatment under the law. While the concept of equality is often understood in broad terms, it can be further categorized into several distinct types:

- **Formal Equality:** Formal equality, also known as legal equality, is the most basic form of equality. It stipulates that all individuals are equal before the law and should be treated equally regardless of their personal characteristics, such as race, gender, religion, or social status. This principle is enshrined in many legal systems and is considered a cornerstone of democratic societies.

- **Substantive Equality:** Substantive equality goes beyond formal equality and recognizes that individuals may face systemic barriers that prevent them from achieving equal outcomes. It acknowledges that even when laws are applied equally, individuals from marginalized groups may still experience discrimination and disadvantage due to factors such as socioeconomic status, cultural background, or physical disability. Substantive equality requires affirmative action and other measures to address these disparities and ensure that everyone has the same opportunities to succeed.
- **Equality of Opportunity:** Equality of opportunity is the principle that everyone should have the same opportunities to achieve their full potential, regardless of their background or circumstances. This includes access to education, employment, healthcare, and other resources that are essential for success. Equality of opportunity is often seen as a prerequisite for achieving substantive equality.
- **Equality of Outcome:** Equality of outcome is a more controversial concept that suggests that everyone should have the same level of material well-being and social status. This approach often involves redistributive policies, such as progressive taxation and social welfare programs, to reduce economic inequality and ensure that everyone has a basic standard of living. While equality of outcome is a desirable goal for many, it is also important to recognize that it may conflict with other values, such as individual merit and personal responsibility.
- **Equality of Respect:** Equality of respect is the principle that all individuals should be treated with dignity and respect, regardless of their differences. This includes recognizing and valuing the diversity of human experiences and perspectives. Equality of respect is essential for building inclusive and harmonious societies.

These are just a few of the different types of equality that exist. The specific interpretation and application of these concepts may vary depending on cultural, historical, and political contexts.

9.1.5 Evaluation of the Notion of Equality:

1) A peaceful society can be developed only on the solid foundation of equality. The history is full of wars, clashes and revolutions because there was absence of equality.

2) Equality is a necessary precondition for enjoyment of liberty. Without equality liberty becomes a privilege of some people.

3) Equality promotes justice.

Equality is highly contested concept. It is one of the leading ideals of the body politic; it is the most controversial of the great social ideals. It is the essence of social justice. Along with other ideals it is the basic core of today's egalitarianism. Despite various differences it serves to remind us of our common humanity. In social sciences we use the concept of equality in number of ways. e.g. Equality before the law, equality of opportunity, equality of outcome, gender equality, racial equality, social equality etc. There is no single acceptable, common notion of the term equality.

Apart from common meaning of the term the value of equality itself is attacked by many thinkers and school of thoughts. In ancient Greece, Aristotle justified inequality when he justified slavery. He contended that slavery was natural, a reasonable institution because there was a fundamental difference and inequalities among men. In his words, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule. Cicero contradicts these arguments of Aristotle. According to him, men differ indeed in learning, but they are equal in the faculty of learning, nature has given to all men reasons.

9.1.6 Main obstacles

Following are the main obstacles in the implementation of equality:

- 1) Social-** Age old customs, traditions and superstitions create inequality of social status
- 2) Political-** Political power is enjoyed by people belonging to certain castes and certain families. This means absence of equal opportunities
- 3) Economic-** There is concentration of economic wealth in the hands of few

Following are **some common arguments against equality-**

The different components of equality are often, mutually incompatible. For example, equality of opportunity and condition tend to produce inequality of results. The notion of equality of opportunity is characteristic of liberalism and some versions of liberalism are content to accept a situation where inequality of outcome is predominant

A political programme to secure equality generally would be feasible, since to secure radical equality of condition or equality of outcome would require massive social and political regulation by the state resulting in a totalitarian and authoritarian regime. The price of significant equality is political despotism which would subordinate individual talent and achievement.

The achievement of equality may be incompatible with other values which are also desirable than personal liberty, or at least that liberty and equality are somewhat mutually exclusive.

Let's Rewind:

Equality is the bedrock of a just society. An equal society is one where opportunities are open to all, and judgments are based on merit and character, not on factors like race, gender, or social class. The law serves as a great equalizer, ensuring everyone has the same rights and receives fair treatment. In essence, equality removes artificial barriers, allowing individuals to reach their full potential and contribute to society.

Absence of special privileges indicates **negative aspect** of equality while availability of adequate opportunities for all indicates **positive aspect** of equality.

The core concept of **legal dimension of equality** envisages equal legal protection to all without any discrimination. The essence of **political equality** is that everyone can take part equally in the governing process including fair representation and ability to hold govt. offices. The **socio-economic dimension of equality** focuses on **reducing disparities in social status and economic opportunities**.

However, social customs, unequal resources, lack of awareness may create hurdles in the proper implementation of equality.

Check Your Progress:

- Equality of opportunity emphasizes access to resources and opportunities regardless of background. True or false?
- Substantive equality requires affirmative action to address systemic inequalities. True or false?

9.1.7 Dworkin's Theory of Equality:

Ronald Dworkin offered a significant contribution to the debate on equality by proposing the concept of "equality of resources". He challenged the dominant theories of his time, such as Rawls' difference principle and utilitarianism.

Key points of Dworkin's theory:

- **Critique of Rawls:** Dworkin argued that Rawls' focus on primary goods neglected the importance of individual choices and responsibilities. He questioned the fairness of subsidizing those who make irresponsible choices.
- **Equality of resources:** Dworkin proposed that individuals should be compensated for unequal starting points (e.g., disabilities, talents) but not for choices that lead to unequal outcomes.
- **Hypothetical insurance:** To determine fair compensation, Dworkin introduced the idea of a hypothetical insurance scheme where individuals would insure against life's uncertainties.
- **Responsibility and choice:** Dworkin emphasized the importance of individual responsibility. People should be held accountable for the consequences of their choices, but not for their inherent talents or circumstances.

Dworkin's theory aimed to balance the competing demands of equality and individual responsibility. While it has been influential, it has also faced criticisms, particularly regarding the difficulty of implementing hypothetical insurance schemes and the potential for unintended consequences.

While Dworkin's theory of equality of resources represents a significant contribution to political philosophy, it has faced several criticisms.

Challenges to Dworkin's Equality of Resources

- **The Problem of Luck:** Critics argue that Dworkin's distinction between brute luck and option luck is not always clear-cut. Some forms of luck, such as natural talents or family background, may fall into a gray area.

- **The Role of the State:** Dworkin's theory focuses on individual responsibility and choice, but critics argue that the state plays a crucial role in shaping opportunities and creating conditions for equality.
- **Ignoring Structural Inequalities:** Dworkin's focus on individual choices may overlook the impact of broader social and economic structures on inequality. Critics argue that addressing systemic inequalities requires more than individual responsibility.
- **The Challenge of Measurement:** Determining what constitutes equal resources in practice is difficult, as it requires making complex judgments about the value of different goods and services.
- **Neglect of Needs:** Some argue that Dworkin's theory insufficiently addresses the needs of individuals with disabilities or other special requirements, who may require additional resources to achieve a comparable level of well-being.

Despite these criticisms, Dworkin's theory remains influential and continues to shape debates about equality and justice.

Let's Rewind:

Legal philosopher Ronald Dworkin viewed equality as central to a just government. He believed all citizens, regardless of background, deserve equal respect and consideration. Dworkin wasn't satisfied with a single concept of equality. He identified different types, such as equal opportunity (a fair shot at success) and equality of resources (fair distribution of things like education and healthcare). His "envy test" imagined a scenario where, in a truly equal system, no one would be envious of another person's resources.

Dworkin further linked equality to individual respect through his concept of the "Hermeneutic of Dignity." He argued that judging laws and policies should involve evaluating how well they treat people with the inherent dignity they possess. Dworkin's ideas on equality, though complex and debated, remain influential in discussions about fairness and the government's role in achieving it.

Check Your Progress:

- What forms Dworkin's central point of equality?

- Write three main obstacles towards implementation of equality in society.

9.2 Let's Sum Up:

Equality is a fundamental principle that asserts that all individuals are inherently equal in worth and deserving of the same rights, opportunities, and treatment under the law. It encompasses various notions, including formal equality (equal treatment before the law), substantive equality (addressing systemic inequalities), equality of opportunity (access to resources), and equality of outcome (equal distribution of benefits).

Ronald Dworkin's theory of equality emphasizes the importance of **equality of resources**. He argues that individuals should be compensated for the disadvantages they face in life, such as disabilities, genetic predispositions, or socioeconomic circumstances. Dworkin proposes a "auction of opportunities" where individuals would receive a "starting gate" of resources to compete fairly in society. This theory challenges traditional notions of equality and suggests that true equality requires addressing the underlying causes of inequality rather than simply focusing on equal outcomes.

9.3 References and Further Reading:

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- Plant, Modern Political Thought, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991.
- Ramaswamy, Sushila, Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts, New Delhi: Macmillan, 2003

9.4 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- Equality of opportunity emphasizes access to resources and opportunities regardless of background. True or false?
 - True.
- Substantive equality requires affirmative action to address systemic inequalities. True or false?
 - True.
- What forms Dworkin's central point of equality?
 - The principle of '**equal concern and respect**' forms the central point of Dworkin's equality concept.
- Write three main obstacles towards implementation of equality in society.
 - Three main obstacles towards implementation of equality are- a) **Social** (Age old customs, traditions and superstitions create inequality of social status); b) **Political** (power is enjoyed by people belonging to certain castes and certain families indicating absence of equal opportunities and misuse of it); c) **Economic** (concentration of economic wealth in the hands of few may hinder the process of implementation of equality in the society).

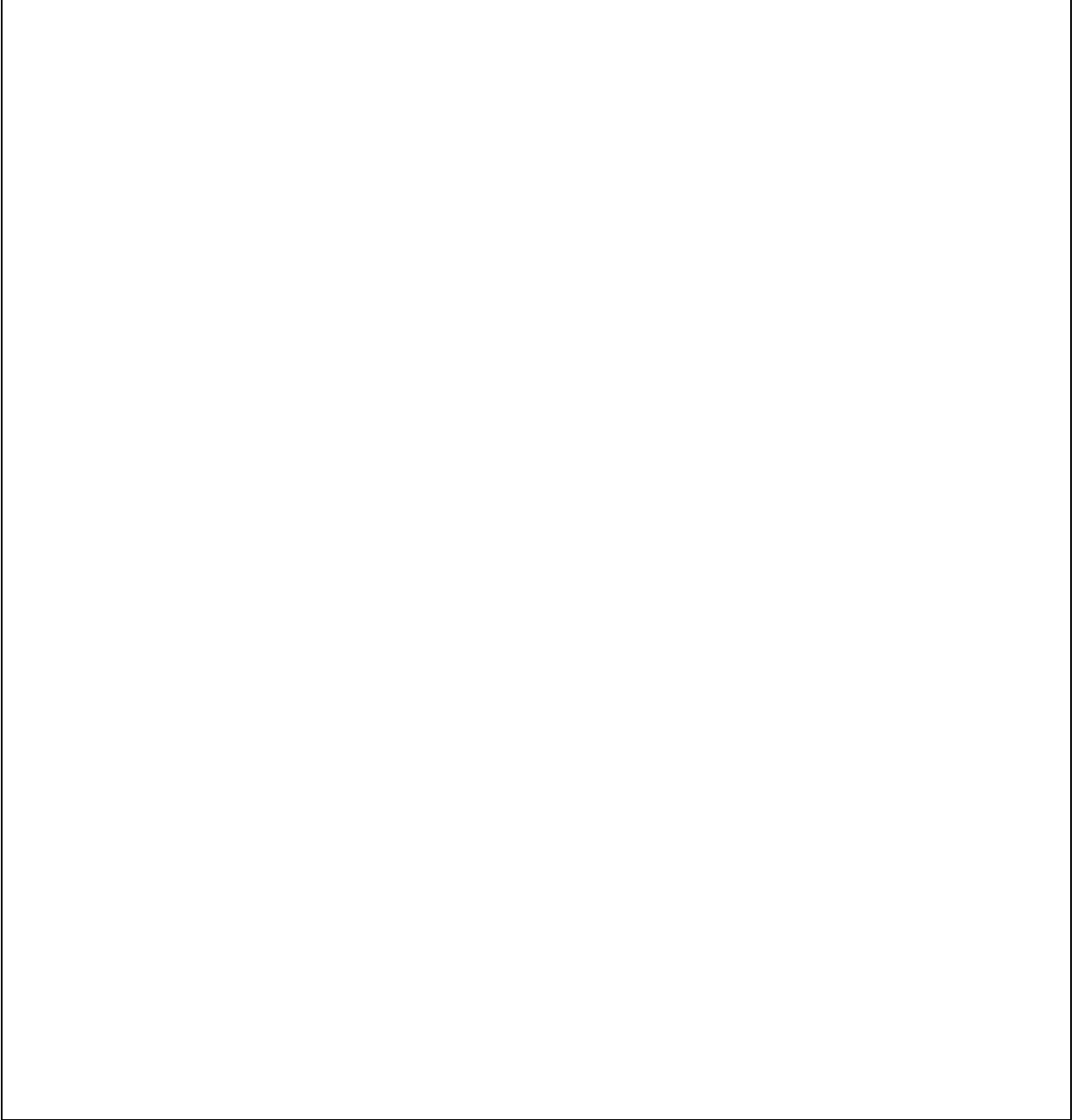
9.5 Model Questions/ Assignment:

1. What is Equality? Is equal treatment possible in a society? Give reasons in support of your answer.
2. What are the types of equality? Explain.
3. What are the characteristics of equality? Explain.
4. What are the obstacles in proper implementation of equality? What measures would you like to suggest eradicating those obstacles?

9.6 Activity Sheet

Q. Is equal treatment to all possible? Write in support of your answer.

Marks: 5

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the student to write their answer to the question. The box occupies most of the page below the question and marks.

Chapter 10: Justice

Chapter Structure:

10.0 Introduction

10.1 Justice

10.1.1 Meaning

10.1.2 Nature

10.1.3 Dimensions of Justice

10.1.4 John Rawls' and the Theory of Justice

10.2 Let's Sum Up

10.3 References and Further Reading

10.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.5 Model Questions/ Assignment

10.6 Activity Sheet

10.0 Introduction:

Society and human existence would be in turmoil, had there been no justice. Justice is a complex concept yet a major one that encompasses the principles of fairness, equity, and impartiality. It is often understood as the application of law and the pursuit of what is right and just in society. Justice involves upholding the rights and interests of individuals while ensuring that laws are applied fairly and consistently. It is a fundamental value that is essential for a just and harmonious society.

In the previous chapter we learnt about the concepts called rights, liberty and equality. Justice provide safeguard to these concepts. In this chapter we will learn about justice, its meaning, dimension and theory in deeper way.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to make enable the learners-

- Define and explain the concept of justice
- Explore the different types of justice.
- Analyze the role of justice in society
- Think critically and debate

10.1 Justice

10.1.1 Meaning

The word justice has been derived from the Latin term *justitia*, which means the idea of joining or fitting, the idea of bond or tie. The joining of fitting implied in the idea of justice is that between man and man in an organized system of human relations. According to Barker justice is not only about binding man and man but also is the reconciler and the synthesis of political values. It is their union on in an adjusted and integrated whole. For Rawls, "Justice is a set of principles for defining the appropriate distribution of benefits and burdens of social co-operation after identifying the relevant considerations which determine this balance"

10.1.2 Nature of Justice

It is one of the most provocative concepts that contain the essence of values like liberty, equality, rights, fraternity, dignity etc. In common parlance it is employed as just behavior or treatment, the quality of being fair and reasonable. The essence of justice is in achieving proper balance. In legal sense, it means fair trial, a just sentence. In political theory, justice has concerned both the terms of membership of a social group and the distribution of burdens and benefits within that group. In first sense it is called as social justice while in second sense it is known as distributive justice.

Plato attempts to assimilate virtue of justice with the pursuit of the common good. According to him every member of society should perform their social functions without interrupting work of others. He designed an ideal state with fixed statuses and locations of its members and thus balances in their personal roles and social functions. Aristotle was of the opinion that justice denotes an equality of proportion between person and things assigned to them i.e. those differences in treatment should be proportional to the degrees to which individuals differ in relevant respects.

The liberal view, justice emphasized on legal and political dimensions. The rule of law i.e. equality before law and equal protection of laws with provision for civil and political rights to participate in the political process are the determining characteristics of modern liberal democratic school of thought.

Barker has shown that justice represents synthesis of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Human relations are guided by faculty of reason present in humans it is this virtue of reason that convinces humans that all human are equal in dignity and potentially capable of acquiring excellence according to their capacities and making suitable contributions to the social good. They all need and deserve equal freedom for personal development in their own right so as to prove their worth to society. Unrestricted freedom to some is denial of liberty to others. Value of liberty demands proper balance by equality. At the same time forced or imposed equality is detrimental to the development of creative and productive tendencies of individuals. Undue emphasis on equality is against the liberty of the people. Fraternity among humans provides a common bond that keeps human relations harmonious and helps to solve and content antagonistic tendencies between liberty and equality. Thus finally justice implies that liberty should be

qualified by the principle of equality and equality is further qualified by the principle of fraternity. It is a dynamic idea because our realization of it is a continuous process. Our progress towards its realization depends upon the development of our social consciousness, so that what was regarded as just some centuries ago is not so today.

10.1.3 Dimensions of Justice

- **Legal Dimensions of Justice**

Law refers to the general body of rules recognized and enforced by the state and upheld by the courts. The essence of justice in any given society implies legal codes enacted by the state and supplemented by customary rules which are observed by the people. Law defines the rights and duties of individuals and associations in a community. The legal dimension of justice denotes adherence to declared rules.

- **Political Dimension of Justice**

Political justice refers to the transformation of political institutions, political process and political rights according to current conceptions of justice. It means the establishment of democratic institutions in the political life of the community so that these institutions represent and take care of the interests of the people, not of any privileged class. It also implies a full guarantee of the liberty of thought and expression, especially the right to criticize the government and its policies, right to form associations and interest groups. It postulates a universal availability of the mechanism for resolving the conflicting claim of different interests in society.

- **Social Dimension of Justice**

Social justice implies elimination of all kinds of discrimination and privileges on the grounds of birth, race, caste, and creed or sex. Social roles should be determined on the basis of capacity and not status. There should be social mobility between the various types of occupations and trades.

- **Economic Dimension of Justice**

Socialists, anarchists and the Marxists advocated that justice must be sought in the economic structure of a given society. Proudhon advocated an economic system based on the principle of mutual cooperation, Dugust stressed on social solidarity, Marxists sought to end proletariat

suffering which are due to their exploitation by bourgeois, by overthrowing the existing state apparatus through a socialist revolution and establishing classless society.

Let's Rewind:

Justice represents the ideal of fairness for all. It's about ensuring everyone receives what they deserve, whether it's an equal opportunity to succeed, fundamental rights, or a fair share of society's benefits. The law plays a crucial role in upholding justice by guaranteeing consistent rules and protections that apply to everyone.

The core principle of **legal justice** lies in the fair and impartial application of the law. This ensures everyone is held accountable to the same set of rules, irrespective of their background. Consistent enforcement, protection of fundamental rights, and delivering proportionate consequences for violations are all crucial aspects of achieving this legal ideal.

Political justice focuses on the principle of fair influence within government. This translates to ensuring everyone has an equal opportunity to participate in the political process. This participation can take the form of voting for representatives, running for office themselves, or expressing their views on political issues.

Social justice stands for equality in social standing and opportunities. It aims to dismantle barriers based on factors like race, gender, or social class that prevent individuals from reaching their full potential. Social justice seeks to create a society where everyone has a fair chance to succeed, regardless of their background.

Economic justice seeks to create a fair and equitable economic system. It aims to dismantle barriers that prevent equal access to resources and opportunities for economic well-being, regardless of background. This could involve policies promoting fair wages, access to education and healthcare, and a social safety net that helps those in need.

Check Your Progress:

- Justice is primarily concerned with the application of law and fairness. True or False?
- The concept of justice is complex and multifaceted. True or false?
- Distributive justice focuses on the fair distribution of resources. True or false?

10.1.4 John Rawls and the Theory of Justice

John Rawls' theory of justice as fairness is a prominent framework in contemporary political philosophy. It offers a conception of justice that aims to balance liberty and equality within a democratic society.

- **The Original Position**

Central to Rawls' theory is the concept of the original position. This hypothetical scenario involves individuals selecting principles of justice behind a "veil of ignorance," unaware of their social and economic status, natural talents, or comprehensive conception of the good. This device ensures impartiality in the choice of principles.

- **The Principles of Justice**

From this original position, Rawls argues that individuals would select two fundamental principles of justice:

1. **Equal Basic Liberties:** Each person has an equal right to the most extensive basic liberties compatible with similar liberties for others. These liberties include freedom of speech, assembly, and conscience.
2. **Fair Equality of Opportunity and the Difference Principle:** Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:
 - To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged
 - Attached to positions and offices open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

The first principle prioritizes equal basic liberties, while the second addresses economic and social inequalities. The difference principle ensures that inequalities benefit the least advantaged members of society.

Key Features of Rawls' Theory

- **Justice as Fairness:** Rawls seeks to establish principles of justice that are fair to all members of society.
- **The Veil of Ignorance:** This device promotes impartiality by preventing individuals from knowing their own social position.
- **Priority of Liberty:** Basic liberties are given priority over economic and social inequalities.
- **Distributive Justice:** The difference principle focuses on ensuring that inequalities benefit the least advantaged.

Rawls' theory has been influential but also subject to criticism, with debates centering on the plausibility of the original position, the interpretation of the principles, and the relationship between justice and other political values.

Let's Rewind:

John Rawls was arguably the most important political philosopher of the twentieth century. He wrote a series of highly influential articles in the 1950s and '60s that helped refocus Anglo-American moral and political philosophy on substantive problems about what we ought to do. His first book, **A Theory of Justice**, revitalized the social-contract tradition, using it to articulate and defend a detailed vision of egalitarian liberalism. In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls attempts to solve the problem of distributive justice (the socially just distribution of goods in a society) by utilizing a variant of the familiar device of the social contract. The resultant theory is known as "Justice as Fairness", from which Rawls derives his two principles of justice: the liberty principle and the difference principle. Many critiqued Rawls' views regarding Justice.

John Rawls' theory of justice asks us to imagine choosing the rules of society blind to our own advantages. This "original position" ensures fairness. From this thought experiment, Rawls argues for two key principles: equal basic liberties for all and allowing inequalities only if they benefit the society are least fortunate. In essence, Rawls' theory emphasizes a fair society that prioritizes basic rights and ensures those at the bottom have the most to gain

from any social or economic disparities.

Check Your Progress

- What is the origin of the word Justice?
- ‘The most striking feature of the original position is the veil of ignorance’. True or False?

10.2 Let's Sum Up:

Justice is a complex concept that encompasses the principles of fairness, equity, and impartiality. It involves upholding the rights and interests of individuals while ensuring that laws are applied fairly and consistently. There are various types of justice, including distributive justice (fairness in the distribution of resources), procedural justice (fairness in the process of decision-making), and retributive justice (punishment for wrongdoing). Justice also has multiple dimensions, such as social justice, economic justice, and environmental justice. **John Rawls' theory of justice** focuses on the idea of fairness in social institutions. Rawls argues for a "veil of ignorance" where individuals would design a just society without knowing their own social or economic status. This leads to the principles of liberty and difference, which prioritize the rights of individuals and the well-being of the least advantaged members of society.

10.3 References and Further Reading:

- Bhargava, Rajeev & Ashok Acharya(ed.) Political Theory: An Introduction, New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2008
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10.4 Answers to Check Your Progress:

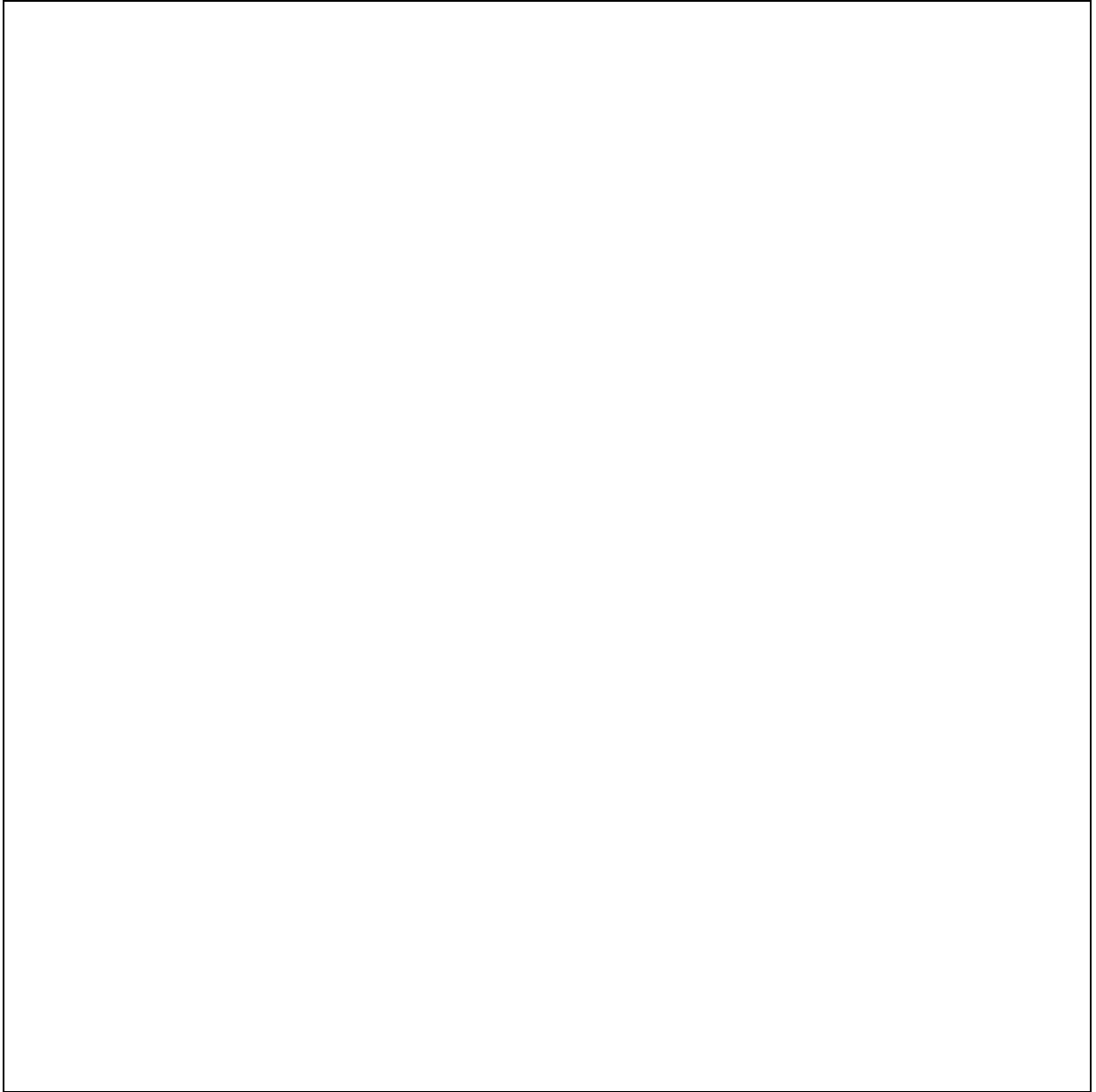
- What is the origin of the word Justice?
 - The word justice has been derived from the Latin term *justitia*, which means the idea of joining or fitting
- Justice is primarily concerned with the application of law and fairness. True or False?
 - True.
- The concept of justice is complex and multifaceted. True or false?
 - True.
- Distributive justice focuses on the fair distribution of resources. True or false?
 - True.
- ‘The most striking feature of the original position is the veil of ignorance’. True or False?
 - True.

10.5 Model Questions/ Assignment:

1. What is Justice? How justice can be attained in an unjust environment? Think and write your own observations.
2. Explain the theory of justice given by John Rawls.
3. Write a note on distributive justice.
4. What are the types of justice? Elaborate.

10.6 Activity Sheet

Q. How do you see the establishment of justice in a modern society full of needs, limited resources and unequal treatments? Write an essay on your observation. Marks: 5

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the student to write their essay response to the question above.

Chapter 11: Democracy

Chapter Structure:

11.0 Introduction

11.1 Democracy

11.1.1 Meaning

11.1.2 Development Of The Concept- Democracy

11.1.3 Definitions

11.1.4 Main Features of Democracy

11.1.5 Conditions Necessary for the Success of Democracy

11.1.6 The Authority of Democracy

11.1.7 Limits to the Authority of Democracy

11.2 Let's Sum Up

11.3 References and Further Reading

11.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.5 Model Questions/ Assignments

11.6 Activity Sheet

11.0 Introduction:

Imagine a world where everyone's voice matters, shaping the rules and how things work. Democracy is like a giant team project, where everyone gets a say in the rules and how things are run. It's not just about voting, though that's important too. It is about the presence of that environment in which everyone can express themselves, get justice for unjust. Learning about democracy isn't memorizing dates; it's about exploring how we can all work together to build a fair and just society.

Learners, you must have acquainted with the concepts like rights, liberty, equality and justice from our previous chapters. And you have to understand that all these major elements get flourished only in the presence of a democratic system. But what a democratic system is all about? This chapter will try to answer this question.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to equip our learners with the ability to-

- Define and explain the concept of democracy.
- Analyze the historical development of democracy.
- Promote awareness of democratic issues.

11.1 Democracy:

11.1.1 Meaning:

The word democracy comes from the Greek words "demos", meaning people, and "kratos" meaning power; so democracy can be thought of as "power of the people": a way of governing which depends on the will of the people.

There are so many different models of democratic government around the world that it is sometimes easier to understand the idea of democracy in terms of what it definitely is not. Democracy, then, is not autocracy or dictatorship, where one person rules; and it is not oligarchy, where a small segment of society rules. Properly understood, democracy should not even be "rule

of the majority", if that means that minorities' interests are ignored completely. A democracy, at least in theory, is government on behalf of all the people, according to their "will".

The idea of democracy derives its moral strength – and popular appeal – from two key principles:

1. Individual autonomy: The idea that no-one should be subject to rules which have been imposed by others. People should be able to control their own lives (within reason).

2. Equality: The idea that everyone should have the same opportunity to influence the decisions that affect people in society.

These principles are intuitively appealing, and they help to explain why democracy is so popular. Of course we feel it is fair that we should have as much chance as anyone else to decide on common rules!

The problems arise when we consider how the principles can be put into practice, because we need a mechanism for deciding how to address conflicting views. Because it offers a simple mechanism, democracy tends to be "rule of the majority"; but rule of the majority can mean that some people's interests are never represented. A more genuine way of representing everyone's interests is to use decision making by consensus, where the aim is to find common points of interest.

11.1.2 Development of the Concept- Democracy:

- **Ancient history**

The ancient Greeks are credited with creating the very first democracy, although there were almost certainly earlier examples of primitive democracy in other parts of the world. The Greek model was established in the 5th century BC, in the city of Athens. Among a sea of autocracies and oligarchies – which were the normal forms of government at the time – Athenian democracy stood out.

However, compared to how we understand democracy today, the Athenian model had two important differences:

1. There was a form of direct democracy – in other words, instead of electing representatives to govern on the people's behalf, "the people" themselves met, discussed questions of government, and then implemented policy.

2. Such a system was possible partly because "the people" was a very limited category. Those who could participate directly were a small part of the population, since women, slaves, aliens – and of course, children – were excluded. The numbers who participated were still far more than in a modern democracy: perhaps 50,000 males engaged directly in politics, out of a population of around 300,000 people.

- **Democracy in the modern world**

Today there are as many different forms of democracy as there are democratic nations in the world. No two systems are exactly the same and no one system can be taken as a "model". There are presidential and parliamentary democracies, democracies that are federal or unitary, democracies that use a proportional voting system, and ones that use a majoritarian system, democracies which are also monarchies, and so on.

One thing that unites modern systems of democracy, and which also distinguishes them from the ancient model, is the use of representatives of the people. Instead of taking part directly in law making, modern democracies use elections to select representatives who are sent by the people to govern on their behalf. Such a system is known as representative democracy. It can lay some claim to being "democratic" because it is, at least to some degree, based on the two principles above: equality of all (one person – one vote), and the right of every individual to some degree of personal autonomy.

11.1.3 Definitions

The term "democracy," refers very generally to a method of group decision making characterized by a kind of equality among the participants at an essential stage of the collective decision making. Four aspects of this definition should be noted. **First**, democracy concerns collective decision making, by which means decisions that are made for groups and that are binding on all the members of the group. **Second**, this definition means to cover a lot of different kinds of groups that may be called democratic. So there can be democracy in families, voluntary organizations, economic firms, as well as states and transnational and global organizations.

Third, the definition is not intended to carry any normative weight to it. It is quite compatible with this definition of democracy that it is not desirable to have democracy in some particular context.

So, the definition of democracy does not settle any normative questions. **Fourth**, the equality required by the definition of democracy may be more or less deep. It may be the mere formal equality of one-person one-vote in an election for representatives to an assembly where there is competition among candidates for the position. Or it may be more robust, equality in the processes of deliberation and coalition building.

“Democracy” may refer to any of these political arrangements. It may involve direct participation of the members of a society in deciding on the laws and policies of the society or it may involve the participation of those members in selecting representatives to make the decisions. The function of normative democratic theory is not to settle questions of definition but to determine which, if any, of the forms democracy may take are morally desirable and when and how. For instance, Joseph Schumpeter argues that only a highly formal kind of democracy in which citizens vote in an electoral process for the purpose of selecting competing elites is highly desirable while a conception of democracy that draws on a more ambitious conception of equality is dangerous. On the other hand, Jean Jacques Rousseau is apt to argue that the formal variety of democracy is akin to slavery while only robustly egalitarian democracies have political legitimacy. Others have argued that democracy is not desirable at all. To evaluate their arguments we must decide on the merits of the different principles and conceptions of humanity and society from which they proceed.

Like other political concepts democracy is also essentially contested concept. Thus, democracy, according to Greeks is the system of governance, where people rule over themselves without any external interference.

1. Aristotle considered it as a perverted form of government when he talks about many forms of government.
2. Herodotus, describes democracy as that form of government in which the ruling power of the state is mostly vested in the whole community.

3. Abraham Lincoln defined it as a government 'of the people, by the people and for the people.
4. Bryce defined democracy as that form of government in which state is legally sovereign.
5. According to Mazzini democracy is the best and wisest form of government.

11.1.4 Main Features of Democracy

1. Popular sovereignty: The people here have the almighty power in their hands. They are the ones who are represented and controlled by the people of the real government. The opinion of the people here is very important and their opinion is same as the opinion of God. This is because of the fact that Democracy is a systematic government where people form government and run the country.

2. Equality: Democracy is a state of equality. Discrimination has no place in democracy. All are equal in a democracy. Brotherhood is the symbol of friendship. The neutrality of national policies influences its governance.

3. Liberty and Justice: Freedom is most important weapon of an individual. Freedom helps a person to develop his personality. It simply came to our notice then. Justice, on the other hand, is the key to the rule of law. Another name for justice is truth. Justice is intended not to oppress the weak. Without justice, there would be no faith in the rule of the nation. So it is a person's freedom and trust. It is the system that promotes democratic values. Justice is always based on equality.

4. Importance of Majority: In a democracy, the importance of majority thinking is much higher than that of quality thinking. However, in this process it does not neglect the minority.

5. Election: Elections are the most powerful means of expressing democratic values. This gives citizens the opportunity to represent the government. This increases the effect of the person's innate personality. Elections explore talent and change in many ways.

6. Political Parties: Political parties are an integral part of increasing the dynamics of democracy. This increases political participation. The party system trains the new generation. The activism of the opposition further dissolves democracy. Political parties are therefore compared to the heart of democracy.

7. Open Discussion: In a democracy, all decisions are made through open discussion. The talks are being held between representatives of the ruling party and the opposition in the legislature. The rule of law in this country prioritizes the personal ideology of the ruler. Governance is not reflected in the expression of thought or personal will. Therefore, public opinion is respected through open interpretation.

8. Change of the Government by Public Opinion through Constitutional means: Change of the Government by public opinion through Constitutional means at regular intervals. Violence is not seen here to overthrow the government. Governance is governed by the Constitution. The public enjoys this power through voting.

9. Tolerance: A tolerant or patient attitude maintains a brotherly relationship. The decision is made by a majority vote, promising not to ignore anyone. Tolerance is very helpful for a strong mind. Tolerance promotes unity by discouraging social divisions.

10 Promoting Welfarism: The gap between rich and poor is reduced through a variety of welfare schemes. The state is always trying to meet the basic needs of the people. There are many ways to look at minorities.

11. Rule of Law: This system of governance is based on the rule of law. No one here is above the law. The law is the youngest way to avoid arbitrariness. The law is used as the main weapon to establish equality, justice, and freedom. The rule here is not of anyone, but the people. It is the duty of all to abide by the law and to respect it. Equality of law is essential for building a prosperous society. The popular law is enforced here and the government is strengthened.

12. Political liberty: Citizens take an active part in governing the country in a democracy. Citizens enjoy political independence, the right to vote in elections, the right to freedom of expression, the right to criticize the government, and the right to form unions. In addition, fundamental rights are granted to the development of the personality of the individual.

Let's Rewind:

Democracy is all about people's government which is formed by their elected representatives. In a democracy, citizens aren't simply subjects; they have a say in how things are run. This

participation can be direct, like voting on laws, or indirect, by electing representatives who reflect their views. The core idea is that everyone has a voice and the system is fair, protecting the rights of all. Laws and policies are made through a process that reflects the will of the people, not a king or a small elite group. This often involves **features like free and fair elections, freedom of speech to express ideas, and a rule of law** etc. that applies equally to everyone. Democracy isn't a perfect system, but it's a powerful idea that gives people the chance to shape their own society.

Check Your Progress:

- The concept of democracy has evolved over time, with significant developments in ancient Greece, the Roman Republic and the enlightenment. True or false?
- Mention a key feature of democracy.

11.1.5 Conditions Necessary for the Success of Democracy

While admitting that Democracy is the best system, we have to remember that there are several possible demerits which must be controlled. In-fact, the success of Democracy can be possible only when it works in such conditions as are essential for its successful working.

It can be successful only when following conditions are secured:

1. Democratic Society:

A democratic society is essential for the success of a democratic government. A democratic society is one which willingly accepts the values of liberty and equality. It is a society which is not characterized by a democratic thinking, no democracy can be successful. Without being supported by a democratic society, no democracy can successfully work.

2. Economic Equality:

Economic equality in society can guarantee the success of democracy. Without economic democracy, political democracy remains true only on papers. People cannot be fed on votes, they need foods. They cannot live on mere slogans and populism. Economic equality involving equitable distribution of income and wealth and adequate opportunities for livelihood, is an essential condition for the success of democracy.

3. Educated and Enlightened Citizenship:

Democracy is a system which involves a continuous and active involvement of the people in the political process. Without popular and effective political participation, no democracy can be successful. For this purpose, it is essential that literacy should be widespread and people must be enlightened in respect of their rights, freedoms and duties as citizens of a democratic system.

No democracy can work successfully if its citizens are not prepared to sacrifice their individual interests for the sake of social good. Only educated and enlightened citizens are expected to realize and follow this vital condition for the success of democracy. Illiteracy and ignorance always hinder the success of democracy. The experience of our own country is before us.

4. Full respect for Fundamental Rights and Freedoms:

Democracy is regarded as the best form of government because it grants and guarantees fundamental human rights and freedoms to its entire people. For this purpose it is essential for a democracy to take all steps which are necessary for granting, preserving and protecting the rights of the people. For this purpose Rule of Law, Separation of Powers, Judicial Review, Decentralization of Power and Independence of Judiciary have to be ensured.

5. Freedom of Press:

Without freedom of press, we cannot even imagine the working of a democratic government. Public opinion has to be the basis of all policies and decisions of a democratic government. The government must keep a continuous track of the demands of public opinion.

Press is the means for transmitting the public opinion to the government. Only a free press can perform this task in a desired manner. It is only through a free press that the people can exercise their right to freedom of speech and expression as well as their right to discuss and debate, criticize or support the policies and programmes of their government. Press is often described as the fourth essential but non-governmental institution of democracy.

6. Well Organized and Active Opposition:

In a democratic system political parties play a key role. These contest elections, wield power when voted to majority or act as opposition when not in majority. The majority party uses power

of the government and the opposition parties criticize the policies of ruling party. Both have to play their respective roles and only then can a democracy work.

The ruling party can misuse its position by ignoring the interests of the minorities and the people in general. There is every need to keep it under supervision and check. It must be prevented from misusing its power in the name of majority. For this purpose the existence of a strong, well-organized and well-functioning opposition is always essential.

7. Mature Leadership:

The people are sovereign but they have to be led by their leaders and only then can they fruitfully exercise their power. In a democracy the leaders are in reality the policy-makers and the decision-makers. They can perform these tasks only when they are able, mature, honest and dedicated.

8. Spirit of Tolerance and Compromise:

In a democratic government no person, group or party can be permitted to act arbitrarily. No one should try to impose one's will upon others and use power in an arbitrary way. This can be possible only when the people have a high sense of tolerance, accommodation and compromise.

The majority should not ignore the minority. It must respect the wishes of the minority. The minority should not act in a way as can create hindrances in the way of exercise of power by the majority. This can be secured only when all the people accept tolerance, accommodation, compromise, secularism and mutual give-and-take in national interest as their values.

9. Well organized and Powerful system of Local Government:

For a successful working of a democratic system one of the most essential conditions is the existence of a well organized and powerful system of local government. A local government is that through which the people of a local area meet their local needs and problems with the help of local resources and through a locally elected government.

It is as such a training school of democracy. Local government system constitutes the grass root level base of a democratic system. Just as no big building can be raised without broad and solid foundations, likewise no democratic government can be really organized and effectively run

without the existence of a board, strong and efficient system of local government working at the foundation level.

10. Democratic Institutions:

Independence of judiciary, rule of law, decentralization of powers, separation of powers, sound and independent election machinery, healthy education system, and liberalism in thought and actions are the other essential requirements for the success of a democratic system. All these features must be properly secured only then can a democracy be expected to work successfully.

At these are the essential conditions for the successful working of a democracy. These conditions can help a democracy to reduce its possible demerits as well as to let its merits help the people in developing their personalities and in enjoying their lives.

Democratic theory deals with the moral foundations of democracy and democratic institutions. It is distinct from descriptive and explanatory democratic theory. It does not offer in the first instance a scientific study of those societies that are called democratic. It aims to provide an account of when and why democracy is morally desirable as well as moral principles for guiding the design of democratic institutions. Of course, normative democratic theory is inherently interdisciplinary and must call on the results of political science, sociology and economics in order to give this kind of concrete guidance. This brief outline of normative democratic theory focuses attention on four distinct issues in recent work. First, it outlines some different approaches to the question of why democracy is morally desirable at all. Second, it explores the question of what it is reasonable to expect from citizens in large democratic societies. This issue is central to the evaluation of normative democratic theories as we will see. A large body of opinion has it that most classical normative democratic theory is incompatible with what we can reasonably expect from citizens. It also discusses blueprints of democratic institutions for dealing with issues that arise from a conception of citizenship. Third, it surveys different accounts of the proper characterization of equality in the processes of representation. These last two parts display the interdisciplinary nature of normative democratic theory. Fourth, it discusses the issue of whether and when democratic institutions have authority and it discusses different conceptions of the limits of democratic authority.

Let's Rewind:

Democracy needs a few things to work well. An educated citizenry is crucial, as informed voters make informed choices and actively participate in the political process. This participation is further bolstered by free and fair elections, where the people's will determines who holds power. However, a strong democracy goes beyond just elections. It necessitates a strong rule of law, where everyone, regardless of status, is subject to the same set of laws. This fosters trust and stability within the system. Finally, a healthy democracy thrives on active public engagement. This can take many forms, from holding leaders accountable to expressing views and concerns. Through informed participation and a strong legal framework, a democracy can ensure its long-term success.

Check Your Progress

- Give two conditions necessary for the success of democracy.
- The potential for corruption and abuse of power is a challenge to democracy. True or false?

11.1.6 The Authority of Democracy

Since democracy is a collective decision process, the question naturally arises about whether there is any obligation of citizens to obey the democratic decision. In particular, the question arises as to whether a citizen has an obligation to obey the democratic decision when he or she disagrees with it. There are three main concepts of the legitimate authority of the state. **First**, a state has legitimate authority to the extent that it is morally justified in imposing its rule on the members. Legitimate authority on this account has no direct implications concerning the obligations or duties that citizens may hold toward that state. It simply says that if the state is morally justified in doing what it does, then it has legitimate authority. **Second**, a state has legitimate authority to the extent that its directives generate duties in citizens to obey. The duties of the citizens need not be owed to the state but they are real duties to obey. The **third** is that the state has a right to rule that is correlated with the citizens' duty to it to obey it. This is the strongest notion of authority and it seems to be the core idea behind the legitimacy of the state.

The idea is that when citizens disagree about law and policy it is important to be able to answer the question, who has the right to choose? With respect to democracy we can imagine three main

approaches to the question as to whether democratic decisions have authority. **First**, we can appeal to perfectly general conceptions of legitimate authority. Some have thought that the question of authority is independent entirely of whether a state is democratic. Consent theories of political authority and instrumentalist conceptions of political authority state general criteria of political authority that can be met by non-democratic as well as democratic states. **Second**, some have thought that there is a conceptual link between democracy and authority such that if a decision is made democratically then it must therefore have authority. **Third**, some have thought that there are general principles of political authority that are uniquely realized by a democratic state under certain well defined conditions.

11.1.7 Limits to the Authority of Democracy

If democracy does have authority, what are the limits to that authority? A limit to democratic authority is a principle violation of which defeats democratic authority. When the principle is violated by the democratic assembly, the assembly loses its authority in that instance or the moral weight of the authority is overridden.

A number of different views have been offered on this issue. **First**, it is worthwhile to distinguish between different kinds of moral limit to authority. We might distinguish between internal and external limits to democratic authority. An internal limit to democratic authority is a limit that arises from the requirements of democratic process or a limit that arises from the principles that underpin democracy. An external limit on the authority of democracy is a limit that arises from principles that are independent of the values or requirements of democracy. Furthermore, some limits to democratic authority are rebutting limits, which are principles that weigh in the balance against the principles that support democratic decision making. Some considerations may simply outweigh in importance the considerations that support democratic authority. So in a particular case, an individual may see that there are reasons to obey the assembly and some reasons against obeying the assembly and in the case at hand the reasons against obedience outweigh the reasons in favour of obedience.

On the other hand some limits to democratic authority are undercutting limits. These limits function not by weighing against the considerations in favor of authority, they undercut the considerations in favor of authority altogether; they simply short circuit the authority. When an undercutting limit is in play, it is not as if the principles which ground the limit outweigh the

reasons for obeying the democratic assembly, it is rather that the reasons for obeying the democratic assembly are undermined altogether; they cease to exist or at least they are severely weakened.

Let's Rewind:

Democracy requires certain conditions to function effectively. These include **rule of law**, which ensures that laws are applied equally to all; **limited government**, which restricts the power of the government to prevent tyranny; **participation**, which allows citizens to actively engage in the political process; and **accountability**, which holds elected officials responsible for their actions. While democracy grants significant authority to the people through their elected representatives, this authority is not absolute. **Limitations on democratic authority** include the need to protect minority rights, prevent the abuse of power, and ensure that the government can effectively govern.

Check Your Progress:

- Limited government is essential for democracy. Why?
- Is citizen participation in democracy essential?

11.2 Let's Sum Up:

Democracy empowers citizens to shape their own society. Participation, either directly through voting on laws or indirectly through elected representatives, ensures everyone has a voice in a fair and just system. Free and fair elections, freedom of speech, and a strong rule of law are essential features. However, an educated citizenry and active public engagement are crucial for a healthy democracy.

11.3 References and Further reading:

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11.4 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- The concept of democracy has evolved over time, with significant developments in ancient Greece, the Roman Republic and the enlightenment. True or false?
 - True.
- Mention a key feature of democracy.
 - Popular sovereignty and participation.
- Give two conditions necessary for the success of democracy.
 - A democratic society and respect and protection towards fundamental rights and freedom can be considered two important conditions out of many for the success of a democratic government.
- The potential for corruption and abuse of power is a challenge to democracy. True or false?
 - True.
- Limited government is essential for democracy. Why?
 - Because it prevents the abuse of power.
- Is citizen participation in democracy essential?
 - Yes, it is.

11.5 Model Questions/ Assignment

1. Explain the concept of democracy with an emphasis on its important features.
2. Write a note on evolution of the concept democracy.
3. For the success of democracy, there are certain conditions need to fulfil. Explain.

4. Are there any obstacles to the success of democracy? Explain.

11.6 Activity Sheet

Q. Is democracy necessary for human growth? Support your answer with logical explanations.

Marks: 5

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Chapter 12: Theories of Democracy

Chapter Structure:

12.0 Introduction

12.1 Theories of Democracy

12.1.1 Classical Liberalism

12.1.2 Elite Theory

12.1.3 The Pluralist Theory of Democracy

12.1.4 Marxist Theory of Democracy

12.2 Let's Sum Up

12.3 References and Further Reading

12.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.5 Model Questions/ Assignments

12.6 Activity Sheet

12.0 Introduction:

Theory serves as a crucial lens through which we can understand, analyze, and evaluate democratic systems. By examining various theoretical perspectives, we can gain insights into the underlying principles, values, and mechanisms that shape democracy. So far we have learnt about democracy as a concept. But in order to run democracy as a system, theory must be there as a guiding light. In short, theory is not just an academic exercise; it is a vital tool for understanding and improving democratic systems. By studying various theoretical perspectives, we can gain a deeper appreciation for the complexities of democracy and work towards building more just, equitable, and participatory societies.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to-

- Provide a frame work,
- Explain democratic phenomena,
- Identify with challenges and opportunities and
- Promote critical thinking of the learners.

12.1 Theories of Democracy:

Liberal Theory of Democracy:

Liberals claim that the state is to promote the interests of the individual; the individual is the end, and the state is the means. According to them, the freedom of the individual should not be unduly restrained by the state. The essence of democracy for them lies in maximizing the freedom of the individual. The better off an individual is, the freer he is. So to say, the interests of individuals are identical with their freedoms. Locke who said that the state had to ensure the safety of the life, liberty and property of the individual is generally regarded as the most influential and respected liberal philosopher.

The liberal theory of democracy has passed through three phases and in each phase it has got a different name. As a result, we have got the classical liberal theory of democracy, the elitist theory of democracy, and the pluralist theory of democracy.

12.1.1 Classical Liberalism

The main proponents of the classical liberal theory of democracy are John Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Bentham and J. S. Mill. Locke said that the individual had the right to resist the state and revolt against it if the latter failed to discharge its basic duty of safeguarding the life, liberty and property of the former. He emphasized that the government, based on the consent of the individual, was limited in its authority. Montesquieu who propounded the theory of separation of powers provided sufficient safeguards against the growth of dictatorship.

The utilitarians, in general, laid emphasis on the importance of people's participation in the political process. They held that the government whose main objective was to provide "greatest good of the greatest number" should encourage increased political participation on the part of individuals. Jeremy Bentham, the proponent of the "pleasure and pain" theory, advocated universal adult franchise while J.S. Mill, the son of his illustrious friend, James Mill, emphasized the need of enhancing the quality of democracy by increasing the quality of political participation. Mill, the "reluctant democrat", focused on the moral aspect of democracy.

He believed that political participation would help the individual in fashioning his all-round development. Hence Mill has been described by Macpherson as the propounder of the "developmental theory of democracy".

- **Salient Features of the theory:**

1. **Man is at the centre of democracy.** Democracy aims at defending and promoting the interests of man. The government is the instrument for this; the state is not a sanctified entity. It is neither endowed with any supernatural quality nor invested with any supreme power unrelated to the realization of its basic aim of serving the individuals belonging to it.
2. **The government is constitutional, limited and responsible.** It is based upon the consent of the people expressed through periodic elections which are based upon the

principle of universal adult suffrage. The man is assumed to be rational; he makes rational choices while casting his vote.

- 3. The government does not run whimsically according to the sweet desires of some persons in power.** It functions in conformity with the provisions of the constitution. Because of separation of powers and check and balance implicit in the constitution itself, the government is expected not to act illegally and arbitrarily. The executive is accountable to the legislature and the members of the latter, sooner or later, are responsible to the people who regularly elect them at regular intervals. In other words, the government, because of its responsibility to the people, would seldom neglect and ignore them. Public opinion is thus highly respected in democracies.
- 4. Democracy is the art of reaching compromise and consensus.** It encourages debates, discussions, arguments and negotiations which help in narrowing down the difference between adversaries and enable them to reach some compromise. Discussions and debates are potentially conflict reducers. These contribute towards lessening tensions, taking away a lot of heat and anger, and prepare the ground for effecting compromises.
- 5. Democracy respects fundamental rights;** in particular, the freedom of expression is very highly valued. Any state which tries to dwarf its men would soon realize that it cannot accomplish any big things with such dwarfed men, said J.S. Mill.

To sum up, it was observed that the liberal theory of democracy assumes "the existence of rational and active citizens who seek to realize a generally recognized common good through collective initiation, discussion and decision of policy questions concerning public affairs, and who delegate authority to agents (elected government officials) to carry through the broad decisions reached by the people through majority vote.

"He further says, "participation in the management of public affairs would serve as a vital means of intellectual, emotional, and moral education leading towards the full development of the capacities of individual human beings." According to Peter H. Merkel, the four principles of liberal democracy are: government by discussion, majority rule, recognition of minority rights, and constitutional government. The majority should form the government, but it-Should not ride roughshod over the minority. J. S. Mill evinced keen interest in the minority. He strongly argued that the views of the minority should be respected.

- **Criticisms:**

1) The classical theory of democracy assumes that the man is rational. He is capable of determining his vital interests and the best strategy for promoting them. But the experience suggests that individuals are often swayed by other considerations which hardly serve their interests best. They tend to be guided in their political behaviour by parochial factors like Casteism, Ethnicism, Communalism and Localism.

2) Democracy is said to be reflecting the will of the people. A democratic government, in theory, is based upon the consent of the people. It claims legitimacy because it is formed by the people through their free choice. "Free choice" of the people involves some difficulties. Are people really free in a society which is poor, backward and is characterized by inequality and domination?

The political freedom of the people is often seriously undermined and crippled by ignorance, poverty and fear. Elections are often won by money, muscle-power and parochialism. Even in developed countries the democratic process is not free of these shortcomings and flaws. Thus it is criticized that the democratic legitimacy derived from "consent" and "free choice" is more of a myth than of a reality.

3) Democracy is meant to serve the interests of all. But both the process and organization of democracy are quite complex and complicated. Democracy involves many laws and principles, and operates at several levels. An ordinary man would find it difficult to grasp all these things properly and successfully.

The excessive emphasis laid upon the unrestrained freedom of the individual by the classical liberals was apparently meant to prevent state intervention in the economic pursuits of the rich. Macpherson has observed: "Liberal democracy has typically been designed to fit a scheme of democratic government into a class-divided society; that this fit was not attempted, either in theory or in practice, until the nineteenth century; and that, therefore, earlier models and visions of democracy should not be counted as models of liberal democracy.

Let's Rewind:

Developed in the 18th century, **classical liberal democracy** placed individual liberty at the heart of a well-functioning government. This theory emphasizes a limited government's role, focusing on protecting fundamental rights like life, liberty, and property, rather than micromanaging personal choices. It champions individualism, where people are free to pursue their goals as long as they don't harm others. The rule of law binds everyone, including the government itself, ensuring a fair and predictable system.

However, classical liberalism isn't without its **critics**. Some argue that a purely free market championed by this theory can lead to wealth concentrating in the hands of a few, undermining equal opportunity for all. Additionally, concerns exist about the "tyranny of the majority." Unrestricted majority rule could potentially disregard the rights and needs of minority groups. Finally, critics point out that a limited government might neglect social welfare programs and public goods, potentially leaving some citizens behind. Despite these criticisms, classical liberalism laid the groundwork for modern democracy, and the debate around balancing individual freedom with social responsibility continues to be a cornerstone of democratic discourse.

Check Your Progress:

- Classical liberal theory of democracy emphasizes individual liberty and limited government. True or false?
- What is the primary function of government according to classical liberal theory of democracy?
- A potential criticism of classical liberal theory is its emphasis on individual liberty over collective rights. True or false?

12.1.2 Elite Theory

The elite theory states that the society is always ruled by a minority who are "superior" to others. The earlier elite theorists like Mosca and Pareto said that the elites were superior to others in

quality. On the other hand, the later elite theorists like C. W. Mills and Floyd Hunter stated that the so-called superiority of elites was derived from their family and social backgrounds and the hierarchical organization of the society.

The classical liberal theory truly reflected the needs of the new middle class of the 18th and 19th centuries during which it emerged. The new middle class was then fighting against the decaying monarchical and feudal orders. The bourgeoisie, through democratization, sought to curb the feudal control over power structures.

By the 20th century the problems and priorities of the bourgeoisie had greatly changed. Having strongly entrenched itself in power by banishing the feudal lords from it, it wanted to monopolize it by preventing other elements of the society from competing with it for power. The elite theory, like its predecessor - the classical liberal theory - was developed to serve the interests of the dominant class, the bourgeoisie. It was designed to rationalize the existing political order prevailing in the early part of the 20th century -the domination of power-structures by elites.

- **Elements of Elite Theory –**

All need not be equally active in democracy. It is enough that some are more active and involved in the political process than others. In other words, democracy, for its success, requires the gradation of the political involvement of citizens.

1. Elites should be drawn from all sections of the people as much as possible.
2. Elites should not neglect the common people to whom they are accountable at regular intervals.
3. The elite structure should be open, and the deserving people from below should be encouraged and enabled to enter it. Otherwise, it will gradually lose its vitality, and decay.
4. In democracy, there should not be too much stress on "ideology". It is better that the ideological polarisation among political elites/parties is reduced to the minimum. The "end of ideology" is a recent feature of democracies. The one ideology to which all of them should be committed is the maintenance and stability of the system. None of them should see radical change in it.

5. The government is a mechanism of mediating between the competing elites and establishing compromise and consensus among them. It should aim at minimizing conflict among them.

- **Criticisms**

1. The elite theory is anti-democratic in nature. It has little faith in the people. It pins its hopes on elites. The common man is devalued, while elites are overvalued.

2. Elitists are primarily concerned with the maintenance of the stability of the system. They have not much sympathy for any effort to reform or modify the system. They are thus highly conservative and even reactionary.

3. Moral man misses in the writings of elite theorists. For them the utility of the common man lies in its function as the voter, required to elect ruling elites at regular intervals. The all-round development of individual is of little concern to elitists.

Let's Rewind:

Elite theory, drawing from the ideas of Pareto, Mosca, and Michels, argues that small, influential elite holds the reins in society's key areas like economics, politics, and social issues. These elite may not be born into power, but maintains control through wealth, influence, or positions within important institutions. Critics argue elite theory downplays the power of democratic processes and public pressure on decisions. Additionally, it's seen as overly simplistic, neglecting the complexities of power structures where alliances shift and struggles for influence can occur within the elite itself. Despite these critiques, elite theory remains a valuable lens for examining how power imbalances and concentrated influence shape social outcomes.

Check Your Progress:

- Elite theory posits that a small group of elites controls the government and society. True or false?
- According to elite theory, the elite class is primarily composed of the upper class. True or false?
- Mention a criticism of elite theory.

12.1.3 The Pluralist Theory of Democracy

Both Marxists and elitists hold that powers rest in the hands of a minority; the majority of the members of the society are excluded from the power structure. The pluralists, on the other hand, maintain that powers are not concentrated; these are dispersed. These are shared among all sections of people primarily through different organizations formed to articulate their interests. These groups and associations make regular and intense efforts to influence government policies and decisions. Some of them are overtly political while many others are potentially so. The latter, though apparently meant to serve some socio-cultural/economic purposes, are, when need arises, politically mobilized and activated.

A closer look at the dynamics of political and semi-political associations would reveal that these are dominated by a small group of leaders who tend to monopolize powers. As Lipset has observed in relation to trade unions, leadership tends to be oligarchic. This means that to a great extent the competition among different organizations for power-sharing is the competition among the leaders of these organizations. It is thus apparent that there is a great deal of overlapping between the Dahl-Schumpeter version of the elite theory, and the pluralist theory of democracy. In the ultimate analysis it is the elites who dominate political parties and interest groups, and who seem to be having close links with the ruling elites controlling the governmental structure.

- **Elements of Pluralism**

1. Powers are fragmented and dispersed. The state is required to share powers with several political parties, interest groups, private groups and individuals.
2. Because of the provision of separation of powers, and check and balance at several points, there is not much possibility of the rise of dictatorship. Neither any branch of the government nor any other organization is likely to emerge over-dominant for a long time. These actors through containing one another would prevent anyone of them having monopoly of power.
3. Sovereignty is not the exclusive possession of either the state or any other group or association. It is, in fact, distributed among them. The sovereignty of the state is limited by the powers of other actors to contain it.

4. Political organizations and other groups, seeking to articulate the demands of their members, help in establishing contact between them and the state. Through their mediation, they help in bridging the distance between the government and the people. Further, they contribute to improving the quality of governmental decisions by supplying their skill and interest.

- **Criticisms**

1. Dahl claims to have discovered a plurality of elites competing with one another for power by examining the making of decisions on some issues. It is, however, argued by some critics that Dahl has examined only "safe decisions". In any power structure some crucial issues do not come for decision-making; these are settled outside the policy-making structure. The powerful elites bring only those issues to the decision-making structure on which they are sure of getting favorable decisions or if they are not to lose much even if the decisions are not up to their satisfaction. Thus the examination of safe decisions would fail to prove the existence of pluralist power structures.

2. Pluralists argue that the government is not decisively controlled by economic elites and it enjoys "autonomy". The critics do not reject the contention that the government enjoys some amount of autonomy. But they argue that it is in the interests of ruling elites including economic elites that the government should have some amount of autonomy. Autonomy would help it in dealing effectively and flexibly, with the members of the subject class. By making some token concessions it can dissuade them from making serious challenges to the dominance of ruling elites.

3. Pluralism is criticized on the ground that it encourages "pressure politics". The interest groups are hardly expected to rise above their narrow interests and perspectives. Further, in pursuance of their interests, they indulge in illegal and unfair practices. They tend to pressurize the government to favor them even at the expense of the vital interests of the community/nation. Pressure politics has the potential to weaken and immobilize the government, and seriously damage the important interests of the nation.

Let's Rewind:

The pluralist theory of democracy presents a contrasting view to the elite theory. Here, power isn't concentrated in a single elite group, but rather dispersed amongst various social groups with distinct interests. These groups, like labour unions or environmental organizations, compete to influence government policy through lobbying and advocacy. Policy decisions become the product of bargaining and compromise between these competing forces. While acknowledging limitations in direct public participation, pluralists believe these groups effectively represent the public's diverse interests. However, **critics** argue that some groups hold more resources and influence, creating an uneven playing field. Additionally, the theory might downplay the significant role powerful institutions can play in shaping policy. Possibility of favouritism attitude is also undeniable.

Check Your Progress:

- Pluralist theory argues that power is shared among various groups and interests. True or false?
- Pluralist theory emphasizes the importance of interest group representation. True or false?
- Mention one criticism against pluralist theory.

12.1.4 Marxist Theory of Democracy

Marxists, in principle, do not oppose democracy. On the other hand, they claim that their "democracy" is genuine whereas the bourgeois democracy is 'fake' and a 'sham'. Marxists do not regard democracy as a political system. They view it as a system of values and a form of society. In the latter sense democracy does not have a final point of achievement. It is a continuously growing process. Thus democracy goes on struggling to go beyond itself, in the process retaining its essence and improvising it further.

As a political system, democracy is a class organism. It is meant to serve the interests of a particular class. Lenin distinguishes working class democracy from bourgeois democracy. The latter serves the interests of the bourgeoisie -a small minority -whereas the former promotes the interests of the proletariat the vast majority of the society. When socialism - the transitional phase

matures into communism, democracy as a political system will cease to exist, but democracy as a system of values will flourish. A communist society is a democratic society because it nourishes democratic values like socio-economic equality and the absence of exploitation of one class by another. According to Lefebvre, Marx regards democracy "not as a system but as a process which comes down essentially to a struggle for democracy. The latter is never completed because democracy can always be carried forward or forced back.

The purpose of struggle is to go beyond democracy and beyond the democratic state, to build a society without state power". According to Marxists, in bourgeois democracy, the state is controlled by the economic elites- the finance capital. The members of this class, by occupying key posts in different branches of the power structure, use the government to promote the interests of their class. Some other Marxists take a slightly different view. They do not think that the organs of the government are manned by the members of rich class. They believe that the latter, by preferring to stay outside the government, dominate policy-making process from behind the scene. They allow the state some autonomy so that the state can utilize that autonomy to better serve their interests. It is thus clear that both Marxist view-points - capitalists controlling the government machinery (a) from within, (b) from without-point to the same proposition that the government in capitalist countries is controlled by economic elites who use it to further their own interests.

Marxists reject the legitimacy of elections in bourgeois democracies. They argue that political parties in bourgeois states hardly differ from one another in respect of ideology. The ideologies of all of them are designed to buttress the interests of rich people. As a result, the poor people of capitalist countries have little choice. Whichever party they vote for would help the rich against them.

Marxists further argue that in bourgeois democracies justice is very expensive. It is only the rich who can get judgments in their favor. They gave the money to buy justice. By money power and political influence they can close the eyes of the court to their crimes and other misdeeds. The poor, even if innocent, would be punished by courts. They have little leverage vis-a-vis the judiciary. The judiciary, it is contended, is not impartial. It has got a class character. It is manned by the representatives of the rich class and, no wonder, derives its interests.

Before we make a critical examination of the Marxist theory of democracy, we may bring to an end the preceding discussion by quoting Lenin from his State and Revolution. He said:

The dictatorship of the proletariat - the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of suppressing the oppressors - for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the money-bags. The dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists.

- **Criticism**

The Marxist theory of democracy has been criticized on the following grounds.

1. Negation of Democracy: The Liberals criticize that the socialist democracy is not democracy at all; it is the opposite of democracy. They argue that democracy is a government of the whole people of the society. Democracy is not a government of one group to be used by it against another. But the socialist democracy, which represents the interests of one class only - though it is the majority group fails to satisfy the main criterion of democracy mentioned above. The liberals charge that the dictatorship of proletariat, far from being the democracy for the proletariat, is a dictatorship over them. In socialist democracy the party bureaucracy becomes growingly powerful and the common man becomes increasingly alienated from the system. Sartori describes it as a "dictatorship pure and simple", while Popper paints it as a "closed society" in which there is neither freedom nor democracy. Benn and Peters have observed: Marxists can equate the "dictatorship of the proletariat" with "democracy" because they exclude any but the workers from the "people" But that is not what is meant by the "people" in the context we have in mind. We should say that a system was just as undemocratic if it denied people votes because they were rich, as if it denied them votes because they were poor.

2. Bloody and Heartless: Some minor differences among them notwithstanding, Marxists, in general, agree that the socialist revolutions as well as the socialist democracy are predominantly violent in nature. Lenin advocates the "bloody" overthrow of the bourgeois government. Excessive emphasis upon violence makes the working men democracy unacceptable to many. Many cultures in the world either hate violence or give very low place to it. No wonder, because of its open support to violence, the Marxist democracy is not welcome in these cultures.

3. Parliamentary Socialism: Many people believe that socialism, a good goal, can be achieved through parliamentary peace. One need not resort to violence and revolution for this. Important reforms with the objective of helping the mass can be pushed through legislations. The people can make use of elections, pressure groups and other democratic instruments at their disposal to influence -if necessary; force the government to adopt "welfare" measures.

This is particularly the strong feeling of the Communist parties of Western Europe who have evolved "Euro-Communism" to represent their point of view. Some democratic countries of the third world are also of this opinion. It is important to note that this view has won support in Moscow at a few points of time. In 1956 Khrushchev, the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, declared that there are two roads to socialism: one is 'revolution', and the other is 'parliamentary road'. However, China bitterly attacked Khrushchev for this.

4. Not a Pure Democracy: Some revisionists like Bernstein and Kautsky have criticized socialist democracy on the ground that it is not a "pure democracy." Kautsky charged that the dictatorship of proletariat, established in Russia after the 1917 revolution, did not grant liberties to citizens. While Bernstein criticized the socialist democracy of Russia for unnecessarily indulging in violence, Rosa Luxemburg, a German Marxist, attacked it for its failure to grant freedoms to the press and people. In her opinion, the dictatorship of proletariat of Russia has become the dictatorship of some politicians.

Let's Rewind:

Marxist theory challenges the idea of traditional (bourgeois) democracy as a true representation of the people's will. They argue it favors the wealthy elite. For Marxists, genuine democracy can only emerge after a socialist revolution led by the working class. This worker-controlled state would dismantle social classes and ensure everyone has a voice in government. This might involve participatory democracy with citizens directly involved in decision-making, rather than just choosing representatives. The ultimate Marxist vision is a classless, stateless society where the need for democracy itself dissolves. However, it has been criticized as opposite to democracy.

Check Your Progress:

- Marxist theory of democracy argues that the working class is exploited by the ruling class. True or false?
- According to Marxist theory, the ruling class controls the government through what means?
- Marxists believe that true democracy can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism. True or false?

12.2 Let's Sum Up:

Democracy empowers citizens to shape their own society. Participation, either directly through voting on laws or indirectly through elected representatives, ensures everyone has a voice in a fair and just system. Free and fair elections, freedom of speech, and a strong rule of law are essential features. However, an educated citizenry and active public engagement are crucial for a healthy democracy.

Theories: Classical Liberal Democracy, emphasizing individual liberty and limited government, has been criticized for potentially creating economic inequality and neglecting social welfare programs. Elite theory suggests power concentrates in a wealthy few, while Pluralism sees it spread among various social groups vying for influence. Marxism rejects the concept of true democracy existing within capitalism, advocating for a socialist revolution and a classless society. C.B. Macpherson argues for a more equitable distribution of power and resources, allowing for active citizen participation beyond just voting. Democracy's complexity lies in the ongoing debate about the best way to achieve a society where power serves the people, not the other way around.

12.3 References and Further Reading:

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12.4 Answers To Check Your Progress

- Classical liberal theory of democracy emphasizes individual liberty and limited government. True or false?
 - True.
- What is the primary function of government according to classical liberal theory of democracy?
 - To protect individual rights and liberties.
- A potential criticism of classical liberal theory is its emphasis on individual liberty over collective rights. True or false?
 - True.
- Elite theory posits that a small group of elites controls the government and society. True or false?
 - True.
- According to elite theory, the elite class is primarily composed of the upper class. True or false?
 - True.
- Mention a criticism of elite theory.
 - It underestimates the influence of public opinion while overemphasising the role of elites.

- Pluralist theory argues that power is shared among various groups and interests. True or false?
- True.
- Pluralist theory emphasizes the importance of interest group representation. True or false?
- True.
- Mention one criticism against pluralist theory.
- It underestimates the power of the elite.
- Marxist theory of democracy argues that the working class is exploited by the ruling class. True or false?
- True.
- According to Marxist theory, the ruling class controls the government through what mean?
- Through economic and social dominance.
- Marxists believe that true democracy can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism. True or false?
- True.


12.5 Model Questions/ Assignment

1. Explain the classical liberal theory of democracy. What are its strong and weak points?
2. Explain the elite theory of democracy focusing on its advantages and disadvantages.
3. What is the core idea of pluralist theory of democracy? What are its strong and weak points?
4. Write a note on Marxism theory of democracy with emphasis on its advantages and disadvantages.

12.6 Activity Sheet

Q. Which theory of democracy you liked the most and why?

Marks: 5

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the student to write their answer to the question. The box occupies most of the lower half of the page.

Chapter 13: Constitution

Chapter Structure:

13.0 Introduction

13.1 Constitution

13.1.1 Meaning

13.1.2 Kinds of Constitution

13.1.3 Features of a Good Constitution

13.2 Components of a Constitution

13.3 Relationship between Constitution and the State

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13.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.7 Model Questions/ Assignments

13.8 Activity Sheet

13.0 Introduction:

Political theory is a branch of political science that studies the foundations of government, the nature of political power, and the relationship between the state and its citizens. The constitution, as the fundamental legal document governing a state, is a central object of study in political theory. It outlines the structure of government, defines the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the state, and establishes the rules by which political power is exercised. Therefore, the constitution is not only a legal document but also a significant theoretical construct that shapes political thought and practice.

In our previous chapters, we learnt about democracy, its meaning, theories etc. But for a proper functioning of a system be it democracy or any other forms there has to be some instructions or guidelines and that need is met by a document called constitution. We will discuss in this chapter in detail what a constitution is, its types and other relevant details.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to enable the learners with the ability to-

- Define and explain the concept of a constitution.
- Discuss the key components of a constitution.
- Explore the relationship between the constitution and the state.

13.1 Constitution:

13.1.1 Meaning

A constitution is a foundational legal document that outlines the structure, principles, and powers of a government. It serves as the supreme law of a country, establishing the framework within which the government operates and defining the rights and responsibilities of its citizens. A constitution typically includes provisions for government structure, fundamental rights, directive principles, and an amendment process. Its purpose is to provide a legal framework, limit government power, protect individual rights, promote stability and order, and serve as a national

symbol. Constitutions can be written or unwritten, and the principle of constitutionalism emphasizes the government's adherence to the rule of law and the principles enshrined in the constitution.

13.1.2 Types of constitutions:

1. Written Constitutions:

- **Formal documents:** These constitutions are codified into a single, written document. They are typically adopted through a constitutional assembly or convention.
- **Examples:** The United States Constitution, the Indian Constitution, and the French Constitution are all examples of written constitutions.
- **Advantages:**
 - **Clarity and conciseness:** Written constitutions provide a clear and concise framework for government, making it easier for citizens to understand their rights and responsibilities.
 - **Stability:** Written constitutions can provide a stable legal framework for a nation, promoting predictability and continuity in governance.
 - **Protection of individual rights:** Many written constitutions contain explicit guarantees of individual rights and freedoms, such as freedom of speech, religion, and assembly.
 - **Facilitates public understanding:** The written nature of a constitution makes it easier for citizens to understand the structure and functions of their government.
- **Disadvantages:**
 - **Difficulty in amendment:** Written constitutions can be difficult to amend, often requiring a complex process such as a constitutional convention or a supermajority vote in the legislature.
 - **May not adapt to changing circumstances:** A written constitution may not be able to adapt easily to changing social, economic, or political conditions.
 - **Can become outdated:** Over time, a written constitution may become outdated and no longer reflect the values and needs of a society.

2. Unwritten Constitutions:

- **Combination of laws, customs, traditions, and court decisions:** Unwritten constitutions are not codified into a single document but are derived from a variety of sources. They are often based on historical practices, legal precedents, and political conventions.
- **Examples:** The British Constitution, the Canadian Constitution, and the Israeli Constitution are examples of unwritten constitutions.
- **Advantages:**
 - **Flexibility and adaptability:** Unwritten constitutions can be more flexible and adaptable to changing circumstances, as they are not bound by a single written document.
 - **Reflects cultural and historical context:** Unwritten constitutions can reflect the unique cultural and historical context of a nation, making them more relevant to the specific needs and values of its people.
 - **Evolves over time:** Unwritten constitutions can evolve over time through legislation, court decisions, and changes in political practices.
- **Disadvantages:**
 - **Ambiguity and difficulty of interpretation:** Unwritten constitutions can be ambiguous and difficult to interpret, as they are not codified into a single document.
 - **May not provide adequate protection for individual rights:** Unwritten constitutions may not provide as explicit or strong protections for individual rights as written constitutions.
 - **Can be subject to political manipulation:** Unwritten constitutions can be more susceptible to political manipulation and abuse, as they are not as clearly defined or protected as written constitutions.

In short, both written and unwritten constitutions have their own advantages and disadvantages. The choice between these two types of constitutions depends on the specific needs and values of a nation. Many countries have a combination of written and unwritten elements in their constitutional systems.

13.1.3 Features of a Good Constitution:

1. Brevity and Clarity:

- **Concise language:** A good constitution uses clear and concise language, avoiding unnecessary jargon or legal terminology that may be difficult for ordinary citizens to understand.
- **Logical structure:** The document should be organized in a clear and logical manner, with related provisions grouped together and a clear hierarchy of importance.
- **Avoids ambiguity:** The constitution should be specific and avoid vague or ambiguous language that could lead to differing interpretations.

2. Flexibility:

- **Adaptability:** A good constitution should be adaptable to changing circumstances, allowing for the government to respond to new challenges and opportunities.
- **Open to interpretation:** The constitution should be open to interpretation by courts and other legal bodies, allowing it to evolve over time.
- **Avoids excessive rigidity:** While it is important for a constitution to provide a stable framework, it should not be so rigid that it cannot be amended or adapted to changing circumstances.

3. Specificity:

- **Clear definitions:** The constitution should define key terms and concepts precisely to avoid ambiguity and ensure that the law is applied consistently.
- **Avoids vagueness:** The constitution should avoid vague or ambiguous language that could lead to different interpretations and potential abuses of power.
- **Provides guidance:** A specific constitution provides clear guidance for the government and its officials, reducing the potential for arbitrary or discriminatory actions.

4. Balance of Powers:

- **Separation of powers:** A good constitution divides the government into separate branches (legislative, executive, judicial) to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual or group.
- **Checks and balances:** Each branch of government should have the power to check and balance the others, ensuring that no single branch becomes too powerful.
- **Limited government:** The constitution should place limits on the powers of the government to protect individual rights and prevent tyranny.

5. Protection of Fundamental Rights:

- **Guarantee of rights:** A good constitution explicitly guarantees fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and equality.
- **Limits on government power:** The constitution should place limits on government power to protect individual rights from infringement.
- **Enforcement mechanisms:** The constitution should include mechanisms for enforcing individual rights, such as judicial review or independent human rights commissions.

6. Democratic Principles:

- **Popular sovereignty:** The ultimate authority should rest with the people, as expressed through their elected representatives.
- **Rule of law:** The law should apply equally to everyone, including those in power.
- **Accountability:** Government officials should be accountable to the people and subject to the rule of law.
- **Participation:** The constitution should encourage citizen participation in the political process, such as through voting, public hearings, and other forms of engagement.

7. Social Justice:

- **Equality:** A good constitution should promote equality of opportunity and treatment for all citizens, regardless of their race, gender, religion, or socioeconomic status.

- **Welfare provisions:** The constitution may include provisions for social welfare programs to ensure that all citizens have access to basic necessities such as education, healthcare, and housing.
- **Social justice:** The constitution should promote social justice by addressing inequalities and ensuring that all citizens have the opportunity to participate fully in society.

8. Limited Government:

- **Checks on government power:** A good constitution should place limits on government power to prevent tyranny and protect individual rights.
- **Individual liberties:** The constitution should protect individual liberties, such as freedom of speech, religion, and assembly, from government interference.
- **Rule of law:** The constitution should ensure that the government is subject to the rule of law and cannot act arbitrarily or capriciously.

9. Evolutionary Nature:

- **Amendability:** A good constitution should be amendable to adapt to changing circumstances and the evolving needs of society.
- **Flexibility:** The constitution should be flexible enough to accommodate new developments and challenges without compromising its core principles.
- **Avoids excessive rigidity:** While it is important for a constitution to provide a stable framework, it should not be so rigid that it cannot be adapted to changing times.

10. Cultural Relevance:

- **Reflects national values:** A good constitution should reflect the cultural values and aspirations of the people it governs.
- **Adapts to changing cultural contexts:** The constitution should be able to adapt to changes in cultural norms and values over time.
- **Promotes unity and cohesion:** A constitution can help to promote unity and cohesion among a diverse population by providing a shared framework of values and principles.

By possessing these features, a good constitution can serve as a powerful tool for promoting democracy, justice, and the well-being of a nation.

Let's Rewind:

A constitution is a fundamental legal document that outlines the structure, principles, and powers of a government. It serves as the supreme law of a country, establishing the framework within which the government operates and defining the rights and responsibilities of its citizens. Constitutions can be written or unwritten, and they vary in terms of their structure, content, and flexibility. A good constitution should be concise, clear, flexible, specific, balanced, protective of rights, democratic, just, limited, adaptable, and culturally relevant. By possessing these features, a constitution can provide a stable, just, and democratic framework for governance.

Check Your Progress:

- A constitution that protects individual rights is considered as democratic constitution. True or false?
- A good constitution should be clear, concise and flexible. True or false?

13.2 Components of Constitution:

A constitution typically includes several key components, each serving a specific purpose in defining the structure, principles, and powers of a government. These components may vary slightly from one constitution to another, but they generally include the following:

1. Preamble:

- **Statement of purpose:** The preamble is a brief introductory statement that outlines the goals and objectives of the constitution.
- **National values:** It often reflects the nation's values, aspirations, and ideals.
- **Constitutional principles:** The preamble can also introduce the key principles that will guide the government and its citizens.

2. Fundamental Rights:

- **Guaranteed rights:** This section outlines the basic rights and freedoms that are guaranteed to citizens by the constitution.
- **Examples:** Freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and expression; right to equality; right to life, liberty, and personal security.
- **Limits on government power:** These rights serve as limitations on government power, preventing the government from infringing on the individual liberties of its citizens.

3. Directive Principles of State Policy:

- **Guidelines for government:** These are non-enforceable guidelines that direct the government towards certain social, economic, and political goals.
- **Examples:** Promotion of equality, justice, and welfare; protection of the environment; development of agriculture and industry.
- **Aspirational goals:** Directive principles are often aspirational in nature, aiming to inspire the government to work towards a better society.

4. Structure of Government:

- **Branches of government:** This section outlines the structure of the government, typically dividing it into three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial.
- **Powers and responsibilities:** It defines the powers and responsibilities of each branch, ensuring a system of checks and balances.
- **Relationship between branches:** It establishes the relationship between the different branches of government, such as the power of the executive to veto laws passed by the legislature or the power of the judiciary to review the constitutionality of laws.

5. Citizenship:

- **Definition of citizenship:** This section defines who is considered a citizen of the country, including criteria such as birth, descent, or naturalization.

- **Rights and responsibilities:** It outlines the rights and responsibilities of citizens, such as the right to vote and the duty to obey the law.

6. Emergency Provisions:

- **Exceptional powers:** This section grants the government exceptional powers in times of emergency, such as war, natural disasters, or internal unrest.
- **Safeguards:** It also includes safeguards to prevent the abuse of these powers and ensure that they are used only in genuine emergencies.

7. Amendment Process:

- **Procedure for changes:** This section outlines the procedure for amending the constitution, ensuring that changes are made only through a deliberate and democratic process.
- **Requirements:** It specifies the requirements for proposing and ratifying amendments, such as the number of votes needed in the legislature or the number of states that must approve a proposed amendment.

These are just some of the key components that can be found in a constitution. The specific content and structure of a constitution may vary depending on the historical, cultural, and political context of a country.

Let's Rewind:

A constitution typically includes a preamble, fundamental rights, directive principles, and the structure of government, citizenship provisions, emergency powers, and an amendment process. These components work together to define the government's structure, protect individual rights, and promote social and economic justice.

Check Your Progress:

- The preamble of a constitution typically states the purpose and values of the nation. True or false?
- The structure of government section of a constitution typically outlines the powers and responsibilities of the government. True or false?

13.3 Relationship between Constitution and the State

The constitution is the supreme law of a country, establishing the structure, principles, and powers of the government. It defines the relationship between the government and its citizens, setting out the rights and responsibilities of both. The state, on the other hand, is the political entity that governs a country. It is comprised of the government, its institutions, and its citizens. The relationship between the constitution and the state is one of mutual dependence. The constitution provides the legal framework for the state to function, while the state is responsible for implementing and upholding the constitution. This relationship is essential for ensuring that the government remains accountable to the people and that the rule of law is upheld.

13.4 Let's Sum Up:

A constitution is a fundamental legal document that outlines the structure, principles, and powers of a government. It serves as the supreme law of a country, establishing the framework within which the government operates and defining the rights and responsibilities of its citizens. Constitutions can be written or unwritten, and they vary in terms of their structure, content, and flexibility. A good constitution should be concise, clear, flexible, specific, balanced, protective of rights, democratic, just, limited, adaptable, and culturally relevant. By possessing these features, a constitution can provide a stable, just, and democratic framework for governance.

A constitution typically includes a preamble, fundamental rights, directive principles, the structure of government, citizenship provisions, emergency powers, and an amendment process. These components work together to define the government's structure, protect individual rights, and promote social and economic justice. It is an essential document for the functioning of the state.

13.5 References and Further Reading:

- Bhargava, Rajeev & Ashok Acharya(ed.) Political Theory: An Introduction, New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2008
- Bhargava, Rajeev, What is Political Theory and Why do We need it, New Delhi: OUP, 2010
- Gauba, O. P. An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981
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- Held, David, Political Theory and the Modern State, London: Polity, 1994 (ed.)
Political Theory Today, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991

13.6 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- A constitution that protects individual rights is considered as democratic constitution. True or false?
➤ True.
- A good constitution should be clear, concise and flexible. True or false?
➤ True.
- The preamble of a constitution typically states the purpose and values of the nation. True or false?
➤ True.
- The structure of government section of a constitution typically outlines the powers and responsibilities of the government. True or false?
➤ True.

13.7 Model Questions/ Assignment:

1. What do you mean by a constitution? Can a state function without having a constitution?
2. What are the types of Constitution? Make a comparative analysis of the various types of Constitution.

3. What are the features of a good constitution?
4. What are the components of a constitution?

13.8 Activity Sheet

Q. Write an essay on the necessity of Constitution.

Marks: 5

Chapter 14: Public Opinion

Chapter Structure:

14.0 Introduction

14.1 Public Opinion

14.1.1 Meaning

14.1.2 Agencies of Public Opinion

14.1.3 Role of Public Opinion

14.1.4 Challenges in measuring Public Opinion

14.2 Let's Sum Up

14.3 References and Further Reading

14.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.5 Model Questions/ Assignment

14.6 Activity Sheet

14.0 Introduction:

Public opinion is the collective beliefs, attitudes, and values held by a group of people, typically a population. It is a dynamic force that shapes political, social, and economic outcomes. Understanding public opinion is crucial for policymakers, politicians, and researchers alike.

Throughout the chapters learners have come across the understanding about the importance the concept of state, democracy, constitution etc. By that you must have understood the importance of citizens in a democratic system. For that matter how people's opinions take shape is another aspect to look around. This chapter will explore various aspects of public opinion, including: formation of public opinion, role of public opinion in democracy and challenges in measuring public opinion. By examining these aspects, we can gain a deeper understanding of the complex and multifaceted nature of public opinion and its significance in shaping our society.

The **objectives** of the chapter are to enable the learners with-

- The understanding of the power of their opinion
- the understanding on how democracy runs
- Help them build their own opinion about minor to major issues of their day to day lives.

14.1 Public Opinion:

14.1.1 Meaning

Public opinion is a multifaceted concept that refers to the collective beliefs, attitudes, and values held by a group of people, typically a population. It is a dynamic force that can shape political, social, and economic outcomes. Public opinion is often expressed through surveys, polls, elections, and other forms of public participation.

Key characteristics of public opinion:

- **Collective nature:** Public opinion is not the opinion of a single individual but rather the shared beliefs and attitudes of a group of people.

- **Dynamic and evolving:** Public opinion is constantly changing and evolving in response to new information, events, and experiences.
- **Influenced by various factors:** Public opinion is influenced by a variety of factors, including media, social networks, personal experiences, and cultural values.
- **Can shape public policy:** Public opinion can play a significant role in shaping public policy, as governments often respond to the preferences and demands of the public.

Understanding public opinion is crucial for:

- **Politicians and policymakers:** To make informed decisions and respond to the needs and concerns of their constituents.
- **Researchers and academics:** To study the dynamics of public opinion and its impact on society.
- **Businesses and organizations:** To understand consumer preferences and market trends.
- **Citizens:** To be informed and engaged in the democratic process.

Public opinion is a complex and multifaceted construct that plays a vital role in shaping our society. By understanding the nature and dynamics of public opinion, we can better appreciate its significance and its impact on our lives.

14.1.2 Agencies to mould Public Opinion

Public opinion is shaped by a variety of agencies and institutions. Some of the most influential include:

1. Media:

- **Newspapers:** Traditional newspapers continue to play a significant role in shaping public opinion, especially through their editorials and opinion pieces.
- **Television:** Television news and current affairs programs can have a powerful influence on public opinion, particularly due to their ability to reach a wide audience.
- **Social media:** Platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram have become increasingly influential in shaping public opinion, allowing for rapid dissemination of information and the formation of online communities.

- **Online news outlets:** Websites and blogs that provide news and commentary can also shape public opinion, especially among specific demographics or interest groups.

2. Government:

- **Public relations departments:** Governments often employ public relations departments to manage their image and shape public opinion.
- **Propaganda:** Governments may use propaganda to promote their policies and influence public opinion.
- **State-owned media:** Governments may own or control media outlets to disseminate their preferred messages.

3. Interest Groups:

- **Lobbying:** Interest groups often lobby government officials to influence policy decisions and shape public opinion.
- **Public relations campaigns:** Interest groups may conduct public relations campaigns to promote their agenda and influence public opinion.
- **Grassroots activism:** Interest groups may organize grassroots campaigns to mobilize public support for their cause.

4. Educational Institutions:

- **Curriculum:** Schools and universities can shape public opinion through the curriculum they teach and the values they promote.
- **Faculty influence:** Teachers and professors can influence their students' beliefs and attitudes.

5. Religious Institutions:

- **Moral and ethical teachings:** Religious institutions can shape public opinion through their moral and ethical teachings.
- **Social networks:** Religious institutions often have extensive social networks that can be used to influence public opinion.

6. Celebrities and Influencers:

- **Endorsements:** Celebrities and influencers can influence public opinion through their endorsements of products, causes, or political candidates.
- **Social media following:** Celebrities with large social media followings can shape public opinion by sharing their views on various issues.

It is important to note that these agencies are not always acting in concert. They may have competing interests and may attempt to influence public opinion in different directions. Understanding the various agencies that shape public opinion is essential for citizens to be informed and critical consumers of information.

14.1.3 Role of Public Opinion

Public opinion plays a crucial role in shaping society in a variety of ways. Here are some of the key roles it plays:

1. Shaping Political Decision-Making:

- **Influencing elections:** Public opinion can influence the outcome of elections, as voters often cast their ballots based on the candidates' positions on issues that matter to them.
- **Guiding policy decisions:** Governments often respond to public opinion when making policy decisions, as they seek to maintain public support and legitimacy.
- **Holding officials accountable:** Public opinion can hold elected officials accountable for their actions and force them to address the concerns of their constituents.

2. Driving Social Change:

- **Social movements:** Public opinion can fuel social movements and drive change on important issues such as civil rights, environmental protection, and economic justice.
- **Cultural shifts:** Public opinion can shape cultural norms and values, leading to changes in attitudes and behaviors.
- **Social progress:** Public opinion can play a vital role in advancing social progress and promoting equality and inclusion.

3. Shaping Economic Outcomes:

- **Consumer preferences:** Public opinion can influence consumer preferences and market trends, affecting economic activity.
- **Business decisions:** Businesses often consider public opinion when making decisions about product development, marketing, and corporate social responsibility.
- **Economic policy:** Public opinion can shape economic policy, such as tax rates, government spending, and monetary policy.

4. Influencing Media Content:

- **News coverage:** Media outlets often tailor their coverage to cater to the interests and preferences of their audience.
- **Entertainment content:** Public opinion can influence the types of entertainment content that is produced and consumed.

5. Promoting Civic Engagement:

- **Encouraging participation:** Public opinion can encourage citizens to participate in the democratic process and be active in their communities.
- **Building social capital:** Public opinion can foster a sense of civic engagement and social cohesion.

Public opinion is a powerful force that can shape society in a variety of ways. By understanding the role of public opinion, we can better appreciate its significance and its impact on our lives.

14.1.4 Challenges in Measuring Public Opinion

Measuring public opinion accurately can be challenging due to several factors:

1. Sampling Bias:

- **Non-representative samples:** Surveys may not accurately represent the entire population, leading to biased results.

- **Sampling error:** Random sampling errors can occur, even with the best sampling techniques.

2. Measurement Error:

- **Question wording:** The phrasing of survey questions can influence responses and introduce bias.
- **Social desirability bias:** Respondents may provide answers they believe are socially acceptable, rather than their true opinions.
- **Measurement scales:** The choice of measurement scales (e.g., Likert scales, semantic differential scales) can affect the accuracy of results.

3. Non-response Bias:

- **Refusal to participate:** Some individuals may refuse to participate in surveys, leading to non-response bias.
- **Self-selection bias:** Those who choose to participate may have different opinions than those who do not.

4. Changing Public Opinion:

- **Rapid shifts:** Public opinion can change rapidly, making it difficult to capture accurate measurements at any given time.
- **Unpredictability:** Public opinion can be influenced by unexpected events, making it difficult to anticipate.

5. Margin of Error:

- **Statistical uncertainty:** All surveys have a margin of error, which reflects the statistical uncertainty associated with the results.
- **Interpretation:** It is important to consider the margin of error when interpreting survey results.

6. Privacy Concerns:

- **Data collection methods:** Some methods of data collection, such as online surveys, may raise privacy concerns.
- **Data security:** Ensuring the security and confidentiality of survey data is important.

7. Cultural and Linguistic Barriers:

- **Cross-cultural research:** Conducting surveys across different cultures and languages can present challenges in terms of translation and interpretation.
- **Cultural differences:** Cultural differences can influence how people respond to survey questions.

To address these challenges, researchers can employ various strategies such as using representative samples, carefully designing survey questions, using multiple data collection methods, and being aware of cultural and linguistic differences. By understanding and mitigating these challenges, researchers can improve the accuracy and reliability of public opinion measurements.

Check Your Progress:

- What is public opinion?
- Does weather can shape public opinion?
- What should we do to improve the accuracy of public opinion measurement?

14.2 Let's Sum Up:

Public opinion is the collective beliefs, attitudes, and values held by a group of people. It is shaped by various agencies like media, government, interest groups, educational institutions, religious institutions, and celebrities. Public opinion plays a crucial role in shaping political decisions, driving social change, influencing economic outcomes, and promoting civic engagement. However, measuring public opinion accurately can be challenging due to sampling bias, measurement error, non-response bias, changing public opinion, margin of error, privacy concerns, and cultural and linguistic barriers. Understanding these challenges is essential for accurately measuring and interpreting public opinion.

14.3 References and Further reading:

- Bhargava, Rajeev & Ashok Acharya(ed.) Political Theory: An Introduction, New Delhi: PearsonEducation,2008
- Bhargava, Rajeev, What is Political Theory and Why do We need it, New Delhi: OUP, 2010
- Gauba, O. P. An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981
- Ramaswamy, Sushila, Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts, New Delhi: Macmillan, 2003
- Held, David, Political Theory and the Modern State, London: Polity, 1994 (ed.)
Political TheoryToday, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991

14.4 Answers to Check Your Progress:

- What is public opinion?
 - The collective beliefs, attitudes, and values of a group.
- Does weather can shape public opinion?
 - No.
- What should we do to improve the accuracy of public opinion measurement?
 - Use representative samples, b) carefully design survey questions, c) be aware of cultural and linguistic barriers

14.5 Model Questions/ Assignment:

1. What do you mean by public opinion? Mention its characteristics.
2. What are the agencies to mould public opinion?
3. Write an essay on the role of public opinion in a democracy?
4. What are the challenges in measuring public opinion? What are your solution to overcome those challenges?

14.6 Activity Sheet

Q. Do you believe that your opinion matters in a democratic system? If so, how and why? Give reasons in support of your answer.

Marks: 5

Topics for Assignment (Attempt any two):

1. Discuss the role of political theory in shaping political discourse and public policy.
2. Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of normative, empirical, and critical approaches to political theory.
3. Evaluate the concept of sovereignty in the contemporary world.
4. Compare and contrast the different theories of the origin of the state.
5. Analyze the challenges of sovereignty in the contemporary world, such as globalization and regional integration.
6. Evaluate the challenges of citizenship in a diverse and globalized world.
7. Evaluate the challenges of balancing individual rights with the interests of society.
8. Compare and contrast positive and negative liberty.
9. Discuss the challenges of achieving equality in a diverse and complex society.
10. Evaluate the challenges of achieving justice in a world characterized by inequality and injustice.
11. Discuss the challenges of democracy in the contemporary world.
12. Analyze the different theories of democracy (classical liberalism, pluralism, elitism).
13. Analyze the key components of a constitution (preamble, fundamental rights, structure of government, etc.).
14. Discuss the role of public opinion in shaping political decision-making and social change.
