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JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV

PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

(Established by Act No. 19 of 2019 of the Legislature of State of Punjab)

BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER II

BAB31204T: POLITICAL THEORY II

CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL STUDY MATERIAL FOR JGND PSOU

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**JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY,
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PREFACE

Jagat Guru Nanak Dev Punjab State Open University, Patiala was established in December 2019 by Act 19 of the Legislature of State of Punjab. It is the first and only Open University of the State, entrusted with the responsibility of making higher education accessible to all, especially to those sections of society who do not have the means, time or opportunity to pursue regular education.

In keeping with the nature of an Open University, this University provides a flexible education system to suit every need. The time given to complete a programme is double the duration of a regular mode programme. Well-designed study material has been prepared in consultation with experts in their respective fields.

The University offers programmes which have been designed to provide relevant, skill-based and employability-enhancing education. The study material provided in this booklet is self-instructional, with self-assessment exercises, and recommendations for further readings. The syllabus has been divided in sections, and provided as units for simplification.

The University has a network of 99 Learner Support Centre /Study Centres, to enable students to make use of reading facilities, and for curriculum-based counseling and practicals. We, at the University, welcome you to be a part of this institution of knowledge.

Prof. G.S Batra
Dean Academic Affairs



BACHELOR OF ARTS
CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER – II
(BAB31204T) POLITICAL THEORY II

MAX. MARKS: 100
INTERNAL: 30
EXTERNAL: 70
PASS: 40%
Credits: 6

Objective:

This course aims to introduce the students to the basic concepts and themes of the discipline of political science. It will provide an overview about political science and theory and State and its sovereignty.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES:

Candidates are required to attempt any two questions each from the sections A, and B of the question paper, and any ten short answer questions from Section C. They have to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.

SECTION – A

1. Political Theory: Meaning, Definition, Characteristics and Significance
2. Approaches to Political Theory: Historical, Normative and Empirical.
3. Rights and Duties: Definition and Types of Rights, Relationship between Rights and Duties.
4. Liberty: Meaning, Definition, Types and its safeguards.
5. Equality: Meaning, Definition, Types and its relationship with Liberty.

SECTION – B

1. Justice: Meaning and its various Dimensions.
2. Democracy: Meaning, Characteristics; Liberal and Marxist Theories.
3. Political Socialization: Meaning, Definition, Characteristics and its Agencies.
4. Political Culture: Meaning, Definition, Characteristics and its Types.
5. Political System: Meaning, Definition, Characteristics, Functions and its distinction from State.

Recommended Readings:

1. J.C. Johri: Principles of Political Science, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 2009.
2. S.P. Verma: Political Theory, Geetanjali Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983.
3. A.C. Kapoor: Principles of Political Science, S.Chand & Company, New Delhi, 2009.
4. Robert A. Dahl & Bruce: Modern Political Analysis, Sixth Edition, Pearson, Education, 2003.
5. M.P. Jain: Political Theory, Authors Guild Publication, Delhi (Punjabi & Hindi), 1990.
6. Andrew Heywood: Political Theory: An Introduction, MacMillan Press, London, 1999.
7. Andrew Heywood: Politics, Macmillan, London, 1997.
8. O.P. Gauba: An Introduction to Political Theory, Macmillan India Ltd. New Delhi, 2009
9. Frank Bealey, Richard: Chapman and Michael Sheehan: Elements in Political Science, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1999.
10. David Easton: The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science, Wiley, New York, 1953.
11. E. Ashirvatham: Political Theory, S.Chand & Company, New Delhi, 2010.



JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER - II

COURSE (BAB31204T): POLITICAL THEORY II
COURSE COORDINATOR- DR. SUKHPAL KAUR

SECTION A

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SECTION B

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BACHELOR ARTS

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY – II

UNIT 1 :- POLITICAL THEORY: MEANING, DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE

STRUCTURE

1.0. Learning Objectives

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1.9. Questions for Practice

1.9.1. Long Answer Questions

1.9.2. Short Answer Questions

1.10. Suggested Readings

1.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES: -

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of political theory.
- Define political theory
- Evaluate the significance of Political Theory

1.1.KEY WORDS: Political Theory, thought, politics, liberty, equality, justice

1.2. INTRODUCTION

For a long time, the necessity of Political Theory was hotly debated. The argument was that theory is an abstraction and hence its study is waste of time without much utility. However this view has changed. Catlin has rightly observed, –The maturity and advancement of a subject is to be judged from the soundness and abstraction of that subject.‖ David Easton has laid stress on the study of Political Theory. His contention was that a subject can advance only when its theory and research is regularly conducted. Political Theory alone can get for political science an independent Status. Political Theory is responsible for producing and bringing out facts and interpretations.

1.3. MEANING: -

The term theory is derived from the Greek word “*Theoria*” meaning –a focused mental outlook taken at something in a settle of contemplation with the intent to grasp it.‖ In political studies political theory has been considered as a separate branch of political science. Political speculations of individual philosophers and some ideologies such as anarchism and communism etc are put together at one place which is given the title of ‘Political Theory’. The assumption is that other parts of political science like governmental organizations, political parties and pressure groups, International Relations are distinct from Political Theory. The impact of studying Political Theory in such a way is that a special meaning is being attached to the word ‘theory’ and this will rule out the possibility of the existence of any theory in other branches of political science. Vernon Van Dyke states, –The practice has objectionable aspect in that it seemed to suggest that all statements expressing theory belong in the subdivision labeled Political Theory, and conversely, it seems to suggest that books and courses in other subdivisions go beyond their proper limits if any theory is included. If theory is taken to be synonymous with thought, this attitude becomes disastrous for the other sub divisions.‖

A theory is a generalized statement about facts .The level of generality differs from one theory to another. In the entire field of political science, theory building, in this scientific sense, is possible. Montesquieu theory of separation of powers, Michel’s iron law of oligarchy and recent theories on community power structure and in the field of international relations represents some of the attempts in this direction. The behavioural movement in political analysis which seeks to formulate testable, empirical and general propositions about political facts is also motivated by the urge to build a corpus of scientific political theory. Often the terms –political philosophy‖ and –Political Theory‖ are used simultaneously. But there is a need to make a distinction between the two terms. Philosophy is ‘thought about thought’ and is concerned with the nature and implications of rational thought. Clarification of thought, elucidation of meaning and elimination of linguistic confusions constitute the basic concern of philosophy. Political philosophy in this sense will continue to remain a separate but integral part of political science dealing with the logical analysis of thought about politics. Political Theory is a theory about what Political is. Political theory is the science and philosophy of something that is political. Political

Theory is that theory which is related to generalize, to define the Institution of state, explanation of government, forms of government and relation between man and state. Political Theory stands for an abstract model of the political order.

1.4. DEFINITIONS: -

According to Germino, –Political Theory is the critical study of the principle of right order in human social existence. It is a science but not a science which confined itself to prepositions capable of sensory verifications."

According to David Held, –Political Theory is a network of concepts and generalizations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and features of Government, State and Society and about the political capabilities of human beings.¶

According to Andrew Hacker, –Political Theory is a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other.¶

G.H. Sabine defines the whole concept of political theory as, –Broadly, it means as anything about politics or relevant to politics and narrowly as the disciplined investigation of political problems.¶

According to Bluhm, –Political Theory is an explanation of but politics is all about, a general understanding of political word, a framework of reference. Without it, we should be unable to recognize an event as political, decide anything about why it happened, judge whether it was good or bad or decide that was likely to happen next.¶

George Catlin refers to Political Theory includes Political Science and political philosophy. While, science refers to the phenomena of control in many forms and over all the process of whole social field. It is concerned with means, political philosophy is concerned with the end or final value, when man asks what is the national good or what is good society.

Political Theory is not always a part of philosophy while philosophy can be a part of Political Theory. Political Theory is a philosophy with action. Any Political Theory without action hardly is a Political Theory like theory of ideal state of Plato. It is essential to know its agents and actors like elite class theory and decision making theory is also the element of Political Theory.

1.5. HISTORY OF POLITICAL THEORY:-

We can see the history of Political Theory as ancient political Theory, medieval Political Theory, traditional Political Theory, modern political theory, and contemporary political theory. According to Barker, –Political thought begins with Greeks.¶ But we cannot fully agree with this view because in India the tradition of political speculation dates back to 1500 BC that is the Vedic era .It cannot be ruled out that other civilizations too might be having their own tradition

of political speculation like India, But since no evidence is available, the Western thinkers considered Greeks the pioneers in the field of Political Theory. Plato and Aristotle are the two great thinkers of the Ancient or classical Political Theory. The Roman and Christian like Saint Augustine and Cicero of middle ages played a significant role in the development of medieval Political Theory.

Traditional period is that period during which the new trends like Liberalism, Scienticism, Marxism and Positivism became popular in Europe. The long spell of classical thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Cicero and the like was broken in a number of ways after the twin revolutions of reformation and Renaissance in 15th century Europe, coupled with Industrial Revolution later on this period called traditional Political Theory started with the writings of Machiavelli, who was born in Italy in 1469. His ideas were very different from the thinkers of medieval period. He was called the first modern political thinker. When empirical and behavioural trends started in the beginning of 20th century the Political Theory of this period before it started being designated as traditional theory, while the 20th century was called modern Political Theory. Since the second half of the 20th century, the method of studying Political Theory from a single perspective that is either from liberal or Marxist view was found inadequate to grapple with the kind of issues which have come to dominate the political scene. So, positive, empirical and behavioural trends came into force. The supporters of these trends declared the traditional Political Theory as dull and irrelevant and in the place of this approach, gave another kind of Political Theory which is known as empirical, behavioural and scientific Political Theory. This approach has a long history but the credit of making significant development in this connection goes to American social scientists. In 1908, two writings, one by an English scholar Graham Wallas (*Human Nature in Politics*) and another by American scholar Arthur Bentley (*Process of Government*) were published. The new approach stressed on the need straying Political Theory on the basis of facts. Modern Political Theory is also known as scientific Political Theory.

Empirical Political Theory began to be criticized after 1960s due to too much focus on methods, tools and techniques on making the subject pure science, value free politics and its failure to study pressing social and political issues. David Easton, who had earlier come forward as the foremost supporter of behavioural movement, now criticized it for over emphasis on facts and value free study and gave the new ideas which are known as Post Behaviouralism during 1970s. It was admitted frankly that in every political structure, there are many segments of human life, relating to values and purposes which are ignored by behavioural studies. During the post behavioural face, the core issues of Political Theory like liberty, equality and justice were once again taken up by Rawls, Nozick, Habermas and others which signaled once again the revival of normative theory. This new Revival is termed as contemporary political theory.

1.6. CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL THEORY: - The characteristics of Political Theory can be discussed as follows

1. Political Theory is an intellectual and moral creation of man :- Basically political theory is the deliberation of an individual who is giving us theoretical explanation built upon certain hypothesis which may be valid or not valid and which is always open to criticism . So, Political Theory is nothing but various attempts made by thinkers from Plato onwards to unravel the mysteries of human political life. It is largely an attempt to seek truth as a scholar sees it and it is usually expressed through a work, such as Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Politics, Hobbes' Leviathan and Rawls's Theory of justice.

2. The Scope of Political Theory is broadly related to 'What is Political' :- The area in which Political Theory works extends to the realms of 'political' only .Political life of a citizen ,his political behavior, his political ideas, the government established by him and the functions performed by that government constitute the subject matter of Political Theory.

3. Various aspects of political theory: - According to J Roland Pennock, -Political Theory has many aspects including ethical, speculative, legal and scientific etc.

Ethical: - The aim of Political Theory is to evaluate philosophical and ethical objectives of state and political institutions. What the state is, what the state ought to be, constitutes an important aspect of Political Theory. Rational method is used to determine this aspect

Speculative: - When a political scientist prepares a concept of an ideal state or political organization, this is called the speculative aspect of the Political Theory.

Legal: - A study and analysis of the concepts like law sovereignty etc, constitutes the legal aspects of Political Theory.

Scientific: - When certain generalizations, rules and trends are determined after the investigation of collected data, it is called scientific aspect of Political Theory.

It is clear from the above mentioned aspects that every problem, institution, method, Idea or content is analyzed in a special manner. It is also important to understand here that none of these aspects constitute a complete Political Theory. All these aspects are interrelated and analysis of one aspect is helpful in understanding the other.

4. Methods Of Investigating Political Theory: - For explanation and investigation of any political phenomenon, political theory applies various methods like description, explanation and investigation. When the whole material related to a political phenomenon or fact is collected and investigated with the help of above mentioned methods some results called generalizations are drawn. Political theorist cannot ignore the moral aspect while reaching these generalizations. He must keep human values, needs and aspirations in his mind while determining goals or theory of

a political system. This is the moral content of Political Theory and no theory can be considered complete without it.

David Easton also discusses these different methods of political theory as main elements of political theory: (i) Factual or descriptive statements (ii) Pure theory (iii) Value theory

According to William T Blum political theory has four main elements (i) Description (ii) Explanation (iii) Prescription (iv) Evaluation

5. Relationship of Political Theory with other social science subjects: - we can understand the relationship of political theory with other social science subjects from two aspects. (i) Though phenomena which the theorist seeks to explain that is 'The state' the writer may be a philosopher, historian, economist, theologian or a sociologist. Thus we are confronted by a variety of Political Theories each differentiated by the discipline on which it is based. (ii) Now a days it has been recognized that the major subject of Political Theory is state and its various Institutions, but it is an endeavour to understand 'political' in the social, economic, psychological, ecological, historical and moral context, because all these aspects influence the state, political institutions and organizations and provide them their distinct identity.

6. Uniformity and coherence: - There isn't any confusion that in political science, we have not accurate and rigid theories, like physical sciences. It is an accepted fact that uniformity and coherence are the main aims of political theory. While analyzing the collected data through empirical investigation some doubts and irregularities appear. There are certain reasons or causes of these irregularities which means that by removing those causes, confusions and irregularities too can be done away with. An experienced theorist aims at finding such theories through which it may be possible to bring about coherence and uniformity by removing all the irregularities.

7. Political Theory is a branch of political science: - Political theory is not political science while it is a branch of political science. According to Rodee, Anderson and Christol, 'political theory is the so what the department of political science. It is the place where findings by statisticians, psychologists, sociologists and all the rest of the researchers and tabulators may be weighed tied together cross refined and contemplated to the end that meaning and significance may be extracted from this mountainous mass of the data.' It is the house of comparative study and evaluation. It takes help from other Social Sciences as well as Natural Sciences and after observation makes some generalizations.

8. Political Theory is neither political thought nor political ideology and political philosophy: - For understanding the true nature of Political Theory it must be distinguished from political thought, political ideology, and political philosophy. Political Theory is a branch of political science. According to Rodee, Anderson, and Christol, 'Political thought refers to the ideas and beliefs of a particular people at a particular time. A political philosophy expresses the ethical standards which presumably guide the policy of a particular society. A political ideology

is an official doctrine covering all vital aspects of man's existence to which everyone living in that society is supposed to adhere. A Political Theory has three different kinds of ingredients (i) Factual or descriptive (ii) Generalizations based on such empirical data (iii) A moral component that is value judgment .|| So, Political Theory has some special elements that doesn't available in other branches of political science.

9. Political Theory can be negative as well as positive in approach: - According to Henry B Mayo, -Each type of political system has a theory appropriate to it, a more or less cohesive body of principles on which it operates, and a body of normative beliefs to justify it. A complete Political Theory, we may explain and justifies a political system.|| The Political Theory can be negative as well as positive in its approach .When a Political Theory justifies the political system then it is working positively in its approach but when a political theory is against or condemns the political system then it is working negatively in its approach.

10. Dynamic nature Of Political Theory: - Political Theory is a dynamic subject. The subject matter of Political Theory is changeable. Any subject that belongs to human being or human society is always dynamic. If we see the history of political theory then we realize that in the different time period of history, different subjects of that time influence Political Theory and also provide direction to political theorists to work out.

11. Political Theory embodies both means and ends: - Political theory has a unique feature that it doesn't discuss only the political facts or political problems but it also gives a methodology to change that wrong facts and establish a better political structure.

1.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Write Two Definitions of Political theory.

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2. Write the different Aspects of Political Theory.

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1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY: -

Political Theory seeks to understand, explain and analyse the political phenomena. It provides solutions and resources to sort out the shortcomings of the political phenomena. It is a complex subject. This is because in the western tradition, it is at least 2500 years old and had been attended by philosophers, theologians, economists, sociologists and others. For the purpose of its utility, Political Theory is divided into distinct streams such as classical, modern and empirical. The classical Political Theory determined by philosophy and deals with description, explanation,

prescription and evaluation of political phenomena. Empirical Political Theory claimed to be a Science and had been mainly related to the description and explanation of political phenomena. Contemporary political theory has been tried to blend the theoretical and practical aspects.

According to David Held, –Political Theory is a network of concepts and generalizations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of Government, State and Society and about political capabilities of human beings.‖

Political Theory is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behavior, generalizations on the basis of empirical evidence and role of power in the society. Political Theory is not only concerned with the behavioural study of the political phenomena from empirical point of view but also prescribing the goals which states, Government, societies and citizens out to pursue. A sound political theory is bound to provide a sound understanding of all the political problems. The significance of political theory may be sought in following areas:-

1. A Political Theory Fulfils a Number of Functions:-Political theory helps us to identify significant political variables and its mutual relations. To ensure it, analytical scheme is essential. If we have own theoretical framework to guide us, we can make our research meaningful and arrange our facts with a review to reach generalizations.

2. Social Criticism and Reconstruction:-The political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, Mill and McPherson have given their own schemes of social reconstruction. Plato brilliantly exposed the *Modus Operandi* (a particular way of doing something that is typical of a person or a group etc.) of selfish and cunning politicians in a democracy. Machiavelli vividly described the character of selfish and greedy people. Marx analyzed the sources of conflict between the owner and non owners of the property and McPherson pointed out the intricacies of power structure in contemporary society which obstructs the way to creative freedom of individual.

3. Political Theory as a Technique of Analysis: - According to G H Sabine, –Political theory is quite simply, man’s attempts to consciously understand and solve the problems of his group life and organizationIt is the disciplined investigation of political problems.... Not only to show what a political practice is but also to show what it means in showing what a practice means, or what it ought to mean, political theory can alter what it is.‖ Political theory is used to either defend or question the status quo. Taking into consideration facts and details, it has to explain and describe politics in abstract and general terms that allows space for critical imagination. As a discipline the aim of political theory is to describe, explain, justify or criticize the existing institutional arrangements and power equations in society.

4. Conceptual Clarification: - It helps to understand the concepts and terms used in apolitical argument and analysis, like the meaning of freedom, equality, democracy, justice and rights. These terms are used in political theory discourse. An understanding of these terms is important. Liberals define freedom as implying choice, absence of restraints while socialists link freedom

with equality. Liberals define a state as an instrument of human welfare while for a socialist a state is an instrument of oppression, domination and class privileges. Conceptual clarification is definitely possible but cannot be neutral.

5. Synthesis of political science and political philosophy: - Political theory aims at a synthesis of political science and political philosophy. The functions of political theory should also reflect this synthesis. Broadly speaking we may identify three functions of Political Theory (i) description (ii) criticism and (iii) reconstructions.

1. Description:-This function is akin to political science. Political Theory should be built upon a sound knowledge of facts for example knowledge of human nature, economic, cultural and political conditions prevailing in society, laws governing social change, the conditions that give rise of conflict and the tested methods of resolution of the conflict.

2. Criticism: - This function is akin to political philosophy. Political philosophy is a search for better life .When we compare the conditions of actual life with our concept of better life; we find many shortcomings, weaknesses and disadvantages, which must be rectified finally.

3. Reconstruction: - This function is related to political thought. It calls for a vision of a new ideal social order which would be free from the shortcomings found by us in the conditions of actual life. We have a long tradition of political thinkers who have advanced their schemes of social reconstruction. We can certainly learn about them, compare and contrast their views, identify their bias, examine their applicability in the light of contemporary experience and draw our own conclusion.

6. Political Theory as the History of Political Thought: - The courses in political theory provide a detailed and elaborate study of books or particular political philosophies from Plato to contemporary times, from a historical perspective. These books are studied for their normative statement about the desirability of certain type of Institutions, governments, and laws which are usually accompanied by rational arguments. The classics are portrayed as a timeless in quality, permanent in relevance and universal in its significance. The classics offer divergent interpretations of politics and this makes their study useful for understanding contemporary politics.

7. Political Theory helps to Formal Model Building: - It considers political theory as an exercise in devising formal models of political processes, similar to the ones in theoretical economics. These models serve two purposes. They are explanatory, offering systematic analysis of factors on which political processes are based. They are normative, for they try to show the consequences that accrue from following a certain rule.

1.7.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Who introduced Behaviouralism?

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2. Write two important books related to the empirical approach of political theory.

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1.8. SUMMARY:-

From above discussion, it is clear that political theory is a branch of political science and it has various aspects like ethical, speculative, sociological, legal or scientific. Political theory has some unique elements that all are not present in any other branch of political science. The nature of political theory is dynamic but consistency and coherence are aims of political theory. Political theory seeks to understand, explain and analyse the political phenomena. It provides solutions and resources to sort out the shortcomings of political phenomena.

1.9. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE:-

1.9.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Define political theory. Discuss its characteristics.
2. What is political theory? Discuss its significance.
3. Write a note on Political Theory.

1.9.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by political theory?
2. Political Theory is neither political thought nor political ideology. Briefly explain.
3. According to David Easton what are the methods of political theory?

1.10. SUGGESTED READINGS:-

- Andrew Heywood -"Political Theory An Introduction", Palgrave McMillan, New York, 2004
- S.P. Verma, *Modern Political Theory*, Vikas Publishing House, Noida, 2017
- O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, National Paperbacks, U. P., 2019
- J. C. Johari, *Contemporary Political Theory (New Dimensions, Basic Concepts, and Major Trends)*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., U.P., 2019

BACHELOR ARTS

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY –II

UNIT2:- APPROACHES TO POLITICAL THEORY: HISTORICAL, NORMATIVE AND EMPIRICAL

STRUCTURE

- 2.0. Objectives**
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- 2.3. Meaning of Approach**
- 2.4. Approaches to Political Theory**
- 2.5. Historical Approach**
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 - 2.7.3. Advantages of Empirical Approach**
 - 2.7.4. Disadvantages of Empirical Approach**
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2.8. Summary

2.9. Questions for Practice

2.9.1. Long Answer Questions

2.9.2. Short Answer Questions

2.10. Suggested Readings

2.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the meaning of historical, normative and empirical approaches to political theory.
- Identify the characteristics of historical, normative and empirical approaches to political theory.
- Analyze the advantages and disadvantages of historical, normative and empirical approaches to political theory.
- Compare the historical, normative and empirical approaches to political theory.

2.1. KEY WORDS: Approach, Normative, Empirical, Values, Facts, Behaviouralism, Post-Behaviouralism, Scientific, Political Theory

2.2. INTRODUCTION

Political Science is a social science which deals with political aspects of human life. It is the study of political institutions e.g. State and government etc., political functions, political activities, political processes, political system etc. Political Science is a vast subject which has various branches such as political theory, political thought, political philosophy etc. Political Theory is an important branch of political science which systematically investigates political phenomena or problems. It attempts to arrive at generalizations, interferences or conclusions to be drawn from the data gathered by other specialists, not only in political science but throughout the whole range of human knowledge and experience. Different approaches have been used by different political thinkers for the study of political theory. Firstly, they are categorized as traditional and modern approaches on the basis of time period. They are further broadly categorized into Historical, Normative and Empirical approaches. All approaches are inter-related and these can't be completely separated from one another. Some characteristics of empirical as well as normative approaches can be identified in both the traditional and modern approaches, along with their distinctive characteristics. Let us, first describe the meaning of approach and then proceed to examine historical, normative and empirical approaches to political theory.

2.3. MEANING OF APPROACH

Different approaches are used in the study of social sciences. The terms ‘_approach’ and ‘_method’ are used interchangeably in social sciences. Although these two terms are related, there is a distinction between the two. Method is the procedure through which certain problems and related information or facts are collected. It is used to obtain reliable knowledge in order to arrive at reliable conclusions in systematic study. Social scientists have used various methods such as scientific method, inductive method, deductive method, comparative method, etc. But an approach is a wider term which is a way of looking at and then explaining a particular phenomenon. It covers not only the method but also the focus of the study in order to understand the given phenomenon. It explains how to inquire and what to inquire about. Vernon Van Dyke described that an approach consists of criteria of selection-criteria employed in selecting the problems or questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear; it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data. Dyke has further explained the difference between method and approach. Approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data. Approaches are generally associated with particular methods. For example, historical and normative approaches are associated with philosophical methods. On the other hand, empirical approach is associated with scientific method.

2.4. APPROACHES TO POLITICAL THEORY

The study of political theory is very vast. Therefore, the study of political theory has been done using various approaches. The approaches which were used before the twentieth century are termed as traditional approaches. On the other hand, modern approaches developed in the beginning of the twentieth century and became popular in second half of the twentieth century after the end of the Second World War in 1945. Traditional approaches were largely historical and normative in nature as these focused primarily on values and philosophy. Modern approaches are empirical in nature as these give prominence to facts and used scientific methods. But traditional and modern approaches overlap for using normative and empirical methods. Many traditional political scientists used normative as well as empirical methods. Similarly, modern political scientists applied both normative and empirical methods in their approaches. Hence watertight distinction between traditional and modern approaches is not acceptable. Post-behavioural revolution in political theory further has shrunken the gap between normative and empirical approaches.

2.5. HISTORICAL APPROACH

Historical approach is an important and commonly used approach by traditional political scientists. Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, J.J. Rousseau, Jermey Bentham, J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, Karl Marx etc. used historical approach to explain their political philosophy.

George Sabine is a prominent advocate of this approach as he explained political thought through historical accounts in his great writing 'A History of Political Theory'.

2.5.1. MEANING OF HISTORICAL APPROACH

Political theory has evolved over the course of history. Historical Approach is based on historical study in political theory. It emphasizes on the use of historical evidence for the study of political phenomena. Every political phenomenon is constructed during a particular time. It can be analyzed in the light of its origin and evolution. Historical approach to political theory may be applied in two ways. Firstly, it advocates that history is governed by laws which determine characteristics of every time period. Hegel and Marx prepared laws governing politics by analyzing historical events. Karl Popper has called it 'historicism'. Secondly, the historical approach attempts to understand political theory through a historical account of political thought of the past. George Sabine's 'A History of Political Theory' is a testimony to historical approach in this regard.

All political theorists are greatly influenced by their contemporary conditions and times. Political theory can be understood by studying the time, place and circumstances in which it has developed. Political theorists have also had a great impact on history. Thus, political theory is not only the product of history rather it also shaped history. Political theory has its causes and effects. It can be explained in a cause-effect perspective. With historical analysis, relevance of political theory to the present situations can be evaluated and relevant predictions can be made for future perspective. Dr. Garner expressed that political institutions can be thoroughly studied through knowledge of the past, which means how they evolved or how they assumed their present form and to some extent moved towards those objectives.

2.5.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF HISTORICAL APPROACH

- 1. Widely used in the study of political theory:** Historical approach is widely used in the study of political theory. It has its distinctive characteristics. It mainly focuses on the study of past or on a selected period of time as well as on a sequence of selected events within a particular period. This approach analyzes the historical background of political institutions and explains how these institutions evolved in different time periods.
- 2. It studies socio-economic factors:** Historical approach studies socio-economic factors which causes emergence of political theory. Such factors have an everlasting effect on the minds of great political thinkers. Political thinkers formed new political theories as a reaction to those effects, to solve the problems. For example Plato's political theory was a reaction against the political system of the ancient Greek city-state of Athens. The Civil War in England during the 17th century inspired Hobbes to propound the theory of absolute sovereignty. Later, Locke explained the concept of people's sovereignty as a reaction to the struggle for supremacy between the Parliament of England and the King. According to the historical approach almost every political theory is formed in the

context of particular time, place and circumstances. Therefore, it is important to analyze political theory in the context of that time, place and circumstances.

3. **It analyses the whole socio-political issues:** the A study of political theory with historical approach also looks into the role of individual motives, actions, accomplishments, failures and contingencies in historical continuity and change. But the use of historical approach to burning political questions varies in certain ways depending upon the range of choice that a thinker adopts for his study.
4. **Historical approach used evolutionary methods:** Historical approach used evolutionary methods and applied it to human institutions. According to this, human institutions are the result of a long evolutionary process. Human institutions can be understood through complete information about their evolution. These institutions' progress from past to the present form can only be revealed with the analysis of their development processes.
5. **Historical approach deals with only political fact:** The word 'history' is used in a special sense in the historical approach. The historical approach is related to the genetic history of any political theory which is not only limited to any particular period of history. A political theory may have developed through many periods of history. The historical approach analyses only those historical facts of each period which have contributed to the origin of that political theory.
6. **Political evolutionism is an integral part of historical approach:** Political evolutionism is an integral part of historical approach. The great political thinkers applied evolutionary principles to describe the different stages of political development. Thinkers like Sir Henry Maine and MacIver put forward the idea that there was no state in the early period. Blood relations, customs, religion, property and economic activities, war, etc. played a very important role in the evolution of the state. They did not make predictions for the future. Rather they only tried to describe how the political institutions took their present form.
7. **Historical approach is descriptive in nature:** Historical approach is descriptive in nature. It descriptively explains past events in order to understand the origin and evolution of political theory. It applies an inductive method based on facts and observation of historical events and specific situations. It uses past events as a valuable guide in the formation of political theory.

2.5.3. ADVANTAGES OF HISTORICAL APPROACH

1. **It is useful for understanding the political views and theories:** Historical approach has great utility for the study of political theory. It is useful for understanding the political views and theories of political thinkers from ancient to the present times. The writings of classic political thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hegal, Machiavelli, Burke etc. have developed during particular historical periods. Historical approach also throws light on the enormous influence of these classical political thinkers on their contemporary

times as well as influence in the shaping of ideas for the future. The subsequent leading and modern thinkers were greatly influenced by the theories of classical political thinkers. Their ideas were not only significant in their contemporary times rather their importance has not diminished even today. They were extremely influential in the formation of political institutions, ideas and ideologies. This contribution was the result of a method or methodology derived from historical facts. Political thought of political thinkers is an integral part of the historical approach. Sabine rightly observed that political theory always advanced in reference to a specific situation and, therefore, reconstruction of the time, place and the circumstances in which it was produced, is essential to understand it.

2. **Help to search out the questions:** The writings of these political thinkers help to search out those questions which they have raised about the truth or validity of political theories throughout the ages. It studies the growth and survival of political theory from ancient to recent times. Historical study helped political theory to attain universal character. It is also necessary to understand whether a political theory is true or false, valid or unreliable. This involves a question of values. A political theory is evaluated in two ways- as a theory and as a cause of events. As a theory, it is criticized and analyzed. As a cause it represents class interests and the motives of the political thinkers advocating these theories. Historical approach is useful to evaluate political theory in both these two ways.
3. **Significant to understand the origin and growth of political institutions:** Historical approach is significant to understand the origin and growth of political institutions. It explains different stages of evolution of political institutions. It also analyses various factors which have contributed to the development of political institutions in different time periods.
4. **Historical approach provides knowledge of political structures and institutions:** Historical development provides the basis for estimating the possibilities of future change. Historical approach provides a good amount of knowledge of the political structures, organizations, problems, assumptions, and goals of contemporary institutions during which political theories developed by great political thinkers. It helps to understand the methods for study used by different political theorists in different time periods.
5. **Helps to analyse present situations:** It does not mean that the historical approach does not have significance for the future times. It also helps to analyse present situations and provides suggestions for future situations. A good political theory, though it is the outcome of particular historical circumstances, has significance for all times to come. It is exactly this universal character of political theory which makes it respectable. A study of political theories is important, not only from the point of view of their role in a particular time period of history but also from the point of view of the contribution they have made to the political behaviour of society as a whole throughout history. Historical approach provides testimony to this contribution.

- 6. Plays an important role in the study of political reality and events:** Historical approach plays a very important role in the study of political reality and events. The significance of historical objects and facts cannot be neglected. History is witness to the fact that things written at different times serve as beacons for future generations and their significance will be the subject of further study for the theorists in the future.

2.5.4. DISADVANTAGES OF HISTORICAL APPROACH

- 1. Historical approach emphasizes only one aspect:** The historical approach has certain weaknesses. Historical approach emphasizes only one aspect i.e. of a study of the past. Thus, it prefers only one aspect and ignores the other aspects. But, it is important to study the past as well as the present and the future for a complete and accurate study.
- 2. Mainly focuses on the study of the past:** Political theory is also concerned with what ought to be? But this aspect has given little importance in the historical approach. It mainly focuses on the study of the past and is descriptive in nature. There is a lack of use of analytical as well as scientific methods in this approach. Therefore, reliable political theory formulation is difficult.
- 3. It can bring biases in the study of political theory:** There is a strong possibility to be influenced by values and emotions while studying the facts of the past. Moreover ethical aspects cannot be ignored for collecting historical information or data. It can bring biases in the study of political theory.
- 4. Difficult to find relevant and authentic facts from history:** There is also the possibility that history is used in more selective terms than scientific way by political thinkers of different ages. Historical approach has to deal with superficial resemblances. Historical data sometimes may be misleading and historical facts have been exaggerated or misused as required. It becomes difficult to find relevant and authentic facts from history.
- 5. Ideas of the past hardly provide accurate solutions to contemporary problems:** The use of historical approach creates a conservative attitude as it is absorbed in the study of the past and unable to focus on progressive factors. It is not possible to understand ideas of the past ages in the context of contemporary ideas and circumstances. Ideas of the past hardly provide accurate solutions to problems of the contemporary world which were beyond apprehension of the earlier thinkers.

2.5.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Describe the meaning of historical approach to political theory.
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2. Explain three characteristics of historical approach to political theory.
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3. Analyze three disadvantages of historical approach to political theory.

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2.6. NORMATIVE APPROACH

Traditional and Modern Approaches to political theory are broadly categorized into normative and empirical approaches. All political theories are evaluated and debated on the basis of their normative and empirical character. Traditional political theory was dominated by a normative approach. Classical and traditional thinkers like Plato, Aristotle to some extent, Rousseau, Kant, Bentham, Green, J.S. Mill, Barker, and Laski used this approach. Leo Strauss has used the normative approach in contemporary political theory in a new way.

2.6.1. MEANING OF NORMATIVE APPROACH

Normative approach to political theory is known with different names. Sometimes it is called a philosophical approach. Normative approach seeks to determine political theories based on prescribed values, ethics and philosophy. It studies political theory in terms of ethical considerations. It is not concerned with actual facts rather emphasis on values. It makes a normative statement which is concerned with what ought to be?

The normative approach describes political phenomena in its ideal type. It is theorising about values in politics. The normative approach either justified a political system that was existing or proposed an entirely new political system based on some norms. This approach suggests the mode by which an imperfect political system could be made perfect. It is primarily concerned with political values which ought to be implemented in order to achieve a great degree of harmony and stability and unity in common political life. Thus, the place of values and goals predominate in a normative approach.

The aim of normative approach is to determine certain levels of good, right and fairness and to evaluate certain political institutions and traditions on the basis of these. Exponents of this approach have given their views on what things or things should be like. Their values are prioritized. It is not a matter of what the purpose, means, or values really are, but of what they should be. They want to look at the facts and establish what they should look like.

The normative approach is mainly based on imagination. It uses some norms, values or preconceived assumptions about political facts, on the basis of which political theory is studied and analyzed.

2.6.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF NORMATIVE APPROACH

Normative approach has its distinctive characteristics.

1. **Normative approach is mainly prescriptive:** The normative approach is mainly prescriptive. It is concerned with laws and conditions largely created or adopted by

human society, which are dynamic. These can be evaluated morally right or wrong which helps to prescribe the right course. Prescription may be preceded by description in the normative approach. Political theorists provide descriptions of their experience before prescribing their respective solutions. Normative approach lays down certain standards of evaluation through which imperfectness of a particular system may be judged and measures for its improvement would be suggested.

2. **Value laden approach:** Normative approach is value laden. The aim of a normative approach is to create commitment to certain values. Political phenomena are judged based on certain values and prescriptions are provided for improvement. This approach tries to produce a hierarchy of principles or scales of values and also tries to explain how many should use them to make sets of values of their choices. It evolves 'standards of right and wrong' for the purpose of a critical evaluation of the existing political institutions, laws and policies. The aim of normative approach is to establish standards of the good, the right, and the just, and to appraise or prescribe political institutions and practices according to these standards.
3. **Idealistic:** Normative approach is idealistic in nature. It is based on certain ideal assumptions and seeks solution of the existing problems within a perfect or ideal framework. It is far from reality. It is concerned with should and should not without taking into consideration the real world of political facts. Ideal standards are formulated which may even be difficult to achieve.
4. **Concerned with imagination and speculation:** Normative approach is philosophical. It is concerned with imagination and speculation. It emphasizes on 'what ought to be?' It seeks to prescribe universal answers concerning political life. Normative statements tend to express preference for a particular type of order as dictated by a sense of duty or universal need or by commitment to a moral principle or ideal. While strong arguments may be advanced in support of a normative statement, it is not capable of being discovered, described or verified by our sense-experience. For example, 'what is justice- this question may be answered in several ways, such as 'justice is treating equals equally and unequals unequally', or 'justice is giving equal freedom and equal opportunity to all provided any departure from equal distribution will prove beneficial to the least advantaged', etc. All such statements defining justice express a variety of value preferences.
5. **It is goal oriented approach:** Normative approach is goal oriented. There is a direction, a purpose, a vision, and a frame of reference which guides normative approach. Prof. Leo Strauss, who is a great advocate of this approach in contemporary times, rightly says, -All political action aims at either preservation or change. When desiring to preserve, we wish to prevent a change for the worse; when desiring to change, we wish to bring about something better. All political action is, then, guided by some thought of better or worse. But thought of better or worse implies thought of the good. The awareness of the good, which guides all our actions, has the character of opinion: it is no

longer questioned, but, on reflection, it proves to be questionable. The very fact that we can question it, directs us towards such a thought of the good as is no longer questionable towards a thought which is no longer opinion but knowledge. All political action has then in itself directedness towards knowledge of the good: of the good life, or the good society. For the good of society is the complete political good."

6. **It is deductive:** It is deductive. It is based on a view of what values should be? It tries to establish a set of norms or values on this basis of which it studies particular political phenomena. It attempts to justify a political principle or phenomena with more general, higher level principles or norms.
7. **Approach is subjective:** Normative approach is subjective. It is based on values which are dominated by personal perspectives or opinions. Ethical values are also subjective to time, circumstances and many other factors.

2.6.3. ADVANTAGES OF NORMATIVE APPROACH

Normative approach has its advantages for the study of political theory. It is quite refreshing. It is goal-oriented and aligns political theory with the case of good life. Normative political theory plays an important role in making political science the normative science. Political science as a social science is concerned with the political needs of human life. Political science can make valuable contributions to human life with a normative approach. Normative approach attempts to determine what political life should be? Thus, it can prove beneficial for the development of the state, society and human beings.

Normative approach is based on rationality. Rationality in political life can solve social, economic, political, etc. problems. Rationality is the basis that motivates human beings to live in a peaceful environment. Thus, a normative approach helps to establish ideal political social order in which all human beings can live in harmony.

One advantage of the normative approach is that it relates the cause and the actual fact. Why and how the real facts happened can be explained on the basis of rationality. Cause and effect are definitely related and the normative approach plays an important role in clarifying this relationship.

Normative approach helps to formulate good legislation to legislators. Moreover, by motivating executives, it can teach executives and justice defenders how to make good laws based on ethics. Ethics, rationality and ideals are the basis of good society, good government, good legislators, good executive officers and good judiciary.

Normative approach, by giving emphasis on values, brings ethics in political theory. Although, modern political theory uses more scientific and empirical approaches and even these approaches cannot ignore values by becoming scientific.

2.6.4. DISADVANTAGES OF NORMATIVE APPROACH

Normative approach is criticized as insignificant and useless as it is more concerned with speculation rather than reality. It is a utopian approach that deviates from the facts. It is generally criticized for being deductive, speculative, hypothetical, abstract and imaginative. It is based on certain pre-conceived ideals and it attempts to solve the existing problems within such ideal assumptions. Thus, it is away from the world of reality.

Normative approach uses philosophical and deductive methods for the study of political theory. It formulates imaginary and hypothetical political theories on the basis of their philosophy. It doesn't try to collect facts and to verify hypotheses. It emphasizes only on logic and philosophy as main tools for attaining more and more knowledge about political phenomena. Moreover, it is based on philosophical methods which keep on changing their form. It is therefore imperative for philosophers to reconsider their rational and linguistic frameworks as their purpose is to interpret rational frameworks and not to eliminate them.

Normative approach is considered as an obstacle in the way of scientific political theory. Its formulations cannot be put to an empirical investigation; therefore, it cannot be termed as scientific study. It doesn't provide objective criteria for scientific political studies. Thus, conclusions drawn by this approach can be reliable and realistic.

2.6.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Define normative approach to political theory.
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2. Explain three characteristics of normative approach to political theory.
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3. Identify three advantages of normative approach to political theory.
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2.7. EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The names of Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu and Marx may be associated with empirical observations. But, modern political theory which emerged in the twentieth century was mainly dominated by empirical approaches. It has been borrowed from natural sciences into social sciences. Empirical approach is concerned with facts or actualities. The facts can be subjected to scrutiny and so this approach can be called a scientific approach. Modern Political thinkers such as Charles Merriam, Max Weber, Harold Laswell, David Apter, Robert A. Dahl, David Easton, Gabriel Almond and Powell etc., under behavioural revolution widely used empirical approach.

2.7.1. MEANING OF EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The empirical approach seeks to discover and describe facts. The empirical approach aims at making an empirical statement which is concerned with ‘What is?’. Political theorists seek to understand and explain political reality as it is and offers solution to the prevailing political problems in scientific terms. It attempts to attain scientific inquiry about political phenomena. It empirically verified and proves political principles and theories through scientific tools. Empirical approach is value free and concerned with principles and situations which are real and can be verified by repeated observation and whose accuracy can be tested. Thus, empirical approaches focus to make political theory more and more scientific and formulate more reliable conclusions. It seeks to discover laws that are unalterable. Through experiments and fact based studies, it tries to formulate uniform political theories.

2.7.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The empirical approach has all characteristics which make it a scientific approach.

1. It is fact laden approach: It is fact laden and should also be treated as an analytical description of reality. It discards values in the study of political theory and treats all values as equally significant. Instead of utopian ideas, it examines the real political phenomena by verifiable facts. If a political theorist puts aside his personal feelings and values and searches for a fact, he will surely be able to draw fair conclusions.

2. The empirical approach is objective: While the normative approach is subjective, the empirical approach is objective. The paradigms cannot be determined, but the general principles of political theory can be formulated by analysing special events in certain situations. For example, separation of powers is an established principle of political theory. The obvious implication of this theory is that the centralization of all powers of government can prove fatal to human freedom. The famous French scholar Montesquieu used an empirical approach to formulate this theory. Likewise, all material relating to political life may be quantified and on the basis of which some general principles may be laid down by testing their validity in similar situations.

3. Bring uniformity in principles of political theory: Empirical approach attempts to bring uniformity in principles of political theory. It is a fact that there may not be uniformity in the views of different scholars on all principles of political theory, but there may be certain principles about which uniformity of opinion is possible. For example, the aim of the state is public welfare, the government should be accountable to the people, power corrupts the individual, all the powers of the government should not be vested in one person or one institution, etc.

4. Focused on Experiments: The empirical approach emphasizes that experiments are possible in political theory, although these are different from physical sciences. In Political theory experiments are not done behind closed doors of laboratories, but in an open society. History is a laboratory of political theory and validity of every political theory can be tested on the basis of its historical experience.

5. Based on empirical Study The empirical approach uses scientific tools and techniques for the study of political theory. Political knowledge and material is collected and systematized. Political theorists use various methods for collecting and statistically analyzing data on political issues. People's voting behavior can be observed through empirical studies. Similarly, the functioning of political institutions can be monitored by collecting the required material. Political data is acquired through empirical study, observation and experience and whose facts have been equated, sorted and classified. Some predictions can be made after experiments to determine some general principles of political theory.

The empirical approach is mainly descriptive. It seeks to discover laws that are unalterable Hence, they are beyond man's control; one can discover and describe them. In the empirical approach, description may be followed by prescription for the achievement of some oblivious goals. Therefore, empirical approaches can provide great help in examining the grounds of normative statements.

2.7.3. ADVANTAGES OF EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The empirical approach has its own advantages. It is based on the study of facts in political theory. It emphasizes that facts can be empirically tested without values in political theory. Political reality can only be traced through an empirical study of facts. It cannot be do on the basis of values because value laden study produces biased conclusions.

The empirical approach uses scientific tools and methods which make the study of political theory scientific. Political facts are systematically collected and analyzed. Scientific observations are made after empirical investigation and verification of the facts. It results in coherent theory-building.

The empirical approach brings objectivity in the study of political theory. With fact laden study, reliable predictions can be made which are empirically true and whose validity can be scientifically proved. It also helps to examine the normative argument due to scientifically valid or reliable methods of determining what is morally right or wrong.

The empirical study helps to formulate certain general principles and to bring uniformity of principles in political theory. Knowledge about political phenomena can be systematized through empirical investigation. The empirical approach analyses all the factors which influence the process of politics. Thus it brings comprehensiveness, realism and precision in the study of political theory.

2.7.4 DISADVANTAGES OF EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The empirical approach may be criticized for being too scientific. It is dependent on scientific techniques and methods ignoring the limitations of political science as a science. The advocates of this approach said that human beings behave in similar ways in similar circumstances, but it is not right. It is difficult to study human behaviour and political phenomena and to get a definite result. Therefore it is always difficult to use scientific methods in the study of political theory.

The study of political theory can't be totally value free. Values and facts are closely related. Political theorists being a human being is not always value neutral. Moreover, the study of political theory has to be meaningful for society. It must involve study of values.

Political science is social science. Therefore, general and uniform principles for all times, circumstances and situations cannot be fixed in political science as in physical sciences. Definite experiments and predictions are not possible in political theory because it is concerned with the study of political phenomena and human behaviour which is of dynamic character.

Due to the dynamic subject matter of political theory, it lacks a definite relationship between cause and effect. Therefore, a purely empirical study is not possible in the study of political theory.

2.7.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. Define empirical approach to political theory.
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3. Identify three advantages of empirical approach to political theory.
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4. Analyse three disadvantages of empirical approach to political theory.
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2.8. SUMMARY

There are different approaches to the study of political theory. They are broadly divided into traditional and modern approaches. Traditional political theorists gave prominence to historical and normative approaches. On the other hand modern political theorists widely used empirical approaches. But there is an overlapping use of normative and empirical approaches by traditional and modern political thinkers. Many traditional political theorists had used empirical methods and many modern political thinkers have not discarded normative approaches. Normative approach is value laden, whereas empirical approach is based on facts. During the twentieth century, this gave emergence to a great debate in the study of political theory - Values vs Facts. Both normative and empirical approaches have their own relevance to the study of political

theory. Both have their distinctive characteristics with some overlapping in each other. Both have their advantages as well as disadvantages. We cannot discard the importance of values in the study of political theory. Fact based empirical and scientific study cannot be fully applied to political science, having its limitations as a social science. There is great need to give due importance both to values and facts in the study of political theory in order to achieve reliable findings. Therefore, post- Behaviouralism during the 1960s brought a fine combination of Normativism and empiricism in the study of political theory.

2.9. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

2.9.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS:-

1. Define historical approach to political theory. Explain its characteristics.
2. Examines advantages and disadvantages of historical approach to political theory.
3. Define normative approach to political theory. Explain its characteristics,
4. Examines advantages and disadvantages of normative approach to political theory..
5. Define empirical approach to political theory. Explain its characteristics,
6. Examines advantages and disadvantages of empirical approach to political theory.
7. Make a comparative analysis of historical, normative and empirical approaches to political theory.
8. Critically examine the debate between normative and empirical approaches to political theory.

2.9.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is Political Theory?
2. Identify three advantages of historical approach to political theory.
3. Analyse three disadvantages of normative approach to political theory.
4. Explain three characteristics of empirical approach to political theory.

2.10. SUGGESTED READING

- O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Macmillan Publishers India Ltd, New Delhi: 2010
- J.C. Johari, *Contemporary Political Theory: New Dimensions, Basic Concepts & Major Trends*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi 2019
- J.C. Johari, *Principles of Political Science*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi: 2019
- Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2002
- S.P. Verma, *Modern Political Theory*, Vikas Publication House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 2018

BACHELOR ARTS

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY – II

**UNIT3:- RIGHTS AND DUTIES: DEFINITION AND TYPES OF RIGHTS,
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RIGHTS AND DUTIES**

STRUCTRE

3.0. Learning Objectives

3.1. Key Words

3.2. Introduction

3.3. Meaning of rights

3.3.1. Definitions of Rights

3.3.2. Main Elements of Rights

3.3.3. Kinds/Classification of Rights

3.3.4. Check Your Progress I

3.4. Duties

3.4.1. Meaning

3.4.2. Definition of Duties

3.4.3.1.1. Kinds of Duties

3.4.3.1.2. check your Progress II

3.5. Relationship Between Rights and Duties

3.6. Summary

3.7. Questions For Practice

3.7.1. Long Answer Questions

3.7.2. Short Answer Questions

3.8. Suggested Readings

3.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concepts of Rights and Duties.
- Know the meaning and definition of Rights and Duties.
- Discuss the main elements of Rights.
- Evaluate the various types of Rights and Duties.
- Examine the relationship between Rights and Duties.

3.1. KEY WORDS

Rights, Duties, Fundamental, Individual, Welfare, citizen

3.2. INTRODUCTION:

Rights are essential conditions for a good life in society. Man is a social animal. He cannot live without society. In order to live a peaceful and happy life and develop his personality, man needs some basic conditions of life and these conditions are called rights. Rights help in the all round development of people. Rights are those conditions of social life which man cannot be at his best or give of his best. A person can enjoy his Rights only within the state. It is said that every state is known by the rights it maintains for its citizens. The nature of the state has changed from police state to welfare state only because of change in rights of the individual. According to Harold J. Laski, -The state is known by the rights it maintains.¶

3.3. MEANING OF RIGHTS

A right is a claim of individual upon something. But every claim of a person cannot be defined as right. State is the first condition of civilized life. So rights are those conditions of social life without which no person can generally realize his best-self. The main aim of the state is to provide more facilities to its citizens and to improve the living standard and to make their lives more comfortable and happy.

3.3.1. DEFINITIONS OF RIGHTS

Some important definitions of Rights are as below:

1. According to H.J. Laski, -Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek to be himself at his best.
2. According to John Austin, -Rights mean one man's capacity of exacting from another or others acts of forbearances,¶
3. According to Holland, -Rights is one man's capacity of influencing the acts of another by means not of his own strength but of the opinion or the force of the society.¶
4. According to Bosanquet, -A right is a claim recognized by the society and enforced by the state.¶
5. According to T.H. Green, -Rights are those powers which are necessary to the fulfillment of man's vocation as moral rights.¶

6. According to Wilde, –A right is a reasonable claim to the freedom in the exercise of certain activities.l

3.3.2. MAIN ELEMENTS OF RIGHTS

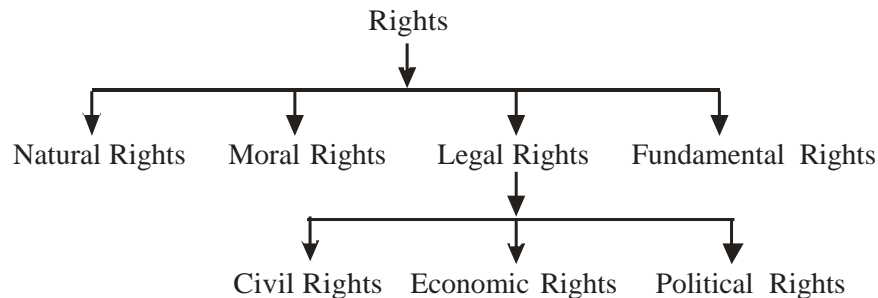
According to the above definitions there are some elements of rights which are as below:

1. **Claim of an Individual:** Rights are claim of an individual or a group so that they can get some facilities from the state. An individual wants to develop his capabilities to the fullest extent that he can realize himself and be happy. So, rights are claim by an Individual.
2. **Proper and Moral:** Rights should be more just and ethical from the point of view of society only those demands can ask for the rights of the person who is necessary for the mental and physical development of the person. No person can demand for play gambling and commit suicide openly because these demands are totally immoral.
3. **Possible only in Society:** No person can enjoy rights outside the society. A right is what an individual can have from others. So, rights exist only in society. They are always at aim of social good. A man living outside the society or acting against the social principles cannot have any rights.
4. **Recognition from Society:** Certain rights are the claims of individual but it should be noted that all claims of a person cannot become rights like gambling, eve teasing, theft; robbery, etc. cannot become rights of the individual. Society will not recognize such claims.
5. **Common for All:** Rights are common for all. Rights is a claim not a particular person but of all the persons. Those Rights which only for one class or a section of the society, should not be termed as rights. Right do not discriminate any person on the basis of caste colour, sex, religion, language, creed etc.
6. **Rights are Limited:** Rights are not unlimited. No right can be absolute because when one person enjoys his right and create problem or danger to the peaceful life of others in the state are restricted by the State. These restrictions should be reasonable. Like, Right to assembly will always be conditioned by peaceful ways.
7. **Welfare Character:** Rights should be welfare character. Rights remove hurdles of the society which come in the way of proper development of the members of the society.
8. **Protected by the State:** Rights are socially desirable conditions. Without proper protection, these Rights are meaningless. Rights are protected by the legal code of the state. No organ of the state/government is allowed to supersede the rights of the people.
9. **Rights and Duties are Correlated:** Rights and duties are two sides of the same coin. No right is possible without its corresponding duties. Right of one is the duty of another and duty of one ensures the rights of others.
10. **Dynamic Nature of Rights:** Rights are dynamic in nature. These are not permanent. They change according to the changing conditions of society. Rights are subject to change in accordance with the values and needs of the society.

From the above discussion, Rights are the claims of individual with their specific characteristics. Man has struggled a lot to achieve his rights which he enjoying today. Rights can never be absolute. They should also be based on reason and morality. No person or class should be discriminated against any ground.

3.3.3. KINDS/CLASSIFICATION OF RIGHTS

In order to live a peaceful and happy life man needs some basic conditions of life and these conditions are called Rights. Brief classifications of Rights are as given below:



1. NATURAL RIGHTS:

Natural rights mean those rights which were enjoyed by the people even before the origin of the state. The Theory of natural rights is considered to be the oldest theory of rights. The exponents of this theory are John Locke and Thomas Paine. According to Locke Individuals enjoyed the rights of life, liberty and property in the state of nature. According to Locke all men are born free and rational. God has given authority to no man can compel others to carry out his orders. So, this theory has played very important role in the history of human development. The concept of natural rights is indefensible in Modern era. Rights cannot be existed without society. State is a source of rights and without state individual cannot enjoy their rights. According to theory of natural rights, rights are possible without state but this is totally wrong. They keep on changing with the changing social needs. It is also believed that the natural rights are absolute in nature; but no right can be absolute. Each right has a corresponding duty.

2. MORAL RIGHTS:

Moral rights are based on the ethical feelings of men and moral code of society. Moral right is not guaranteed by any legal authority. People follow moral rights as they have social values and they are based on the moral code of the community. So, moral rights are those rights which have a bearing on our internal conduct and are more concerned with our inward. Since they are based on our old customs and are deep-rooted in our society. For example, Parents have the rights that they should be assisted by their children in their old age but they cannot seek the help of any law.

3. LEGAL RIGHTS:

These are the rights which are enforced by the state. According to Leacock, –A legal right is a privilege enjoyed by a citizen against his fellow citizens, granted by the sovereign power of the state and upheld by that power. A legal right is enforceable by a court of law against the government or other citizens. The violation of legal right leads to punishment by the government. Legal rights are classified as follow:

- (i) Civil or Social Rights
- (ii) Economic Rights
- (iii) Political Rights

4. CIVIL OR SOCIAL RIGHTS

Civil rights are essential for the primary existence of man. Man is a social animal and as a member of the society he enjoys rights. These rights are basic necessity of a man to have smooth and happy social life. The nature of the rights is changed according to time. Some of the essential civil rights are as below:

1. **Right to Life:** Right to life is the one of the most important civil right of individual. This is the basic right gives to each and every citizen. Without life and security we cannot dream of civilized society and the state. Man is agreed to accept the foundations of law and customs of the society only in order to see that his life never at stake. According to Gettell, –All rights depend upon life, for unless life is secure no rights are possible.
2. **Right to Freedom:** Every normal human being desires personal freedom. He wants to be able to plan his life in his own way. No individual or the authority in power should in any way stand in the way of personal freedom of the individuals. A person must be permitted to exercise his inner faculties without hindrance. Individual can enjoy those rights within the framework of the constitution and the society.
3. **Right to Property:** It enables the citizens to acquire, hold and dispose of property without any restriction. The right to property will have meaning only when it is related to the value of one's effort and nobody is allowed to collect unearned income in the form of rent, interest or profits. It also means that he is free to alienate property by way of gifts, exchange or will.
4. **Rights to Freedom of Religion:** Every person has right to freedom of conscience, practice and propagates his religion. However, this freedom can be restricted on the grounds like public order, morality, and health and to the fact that all persons are equally entitled to such freedom. State cannot impose any religion on any men one.
5. **Right to Family:** Each citizen should be given right to lead an independent family life without interference from any other source. He is given freedom to rear and bring up the children in the way he likes. So, state passes the laws for the protection of right to family.

These laws deal with polygamy, bigamy, marriage, divorce, property rights etc. of family members.

6. **Freedom of thought and Expression:** Freedom of thought and expression is the essential feature of democracy. Man is given the right to express his thoughts either orally or by writing. This right is important for the development of the individual. Every person has right to speech and expression. Person can give his views without any fear or favour. According to Laski, –Men who are prevented from expressing their thoughts –will soon cease to think and –men who cease to think –also to be in any genuine sense citizens.
7. **Right to Education:** Education is a health of democracy. Man can enjoy his rights and perform his duties only when he is aware of his rights. Education gives the knowledge of rights and duties to men. Educational opportunities are provided by the state to individual. According to this right, each and every citizen has right to get education without any discrimination. It is essential condition for the success of democracy. So, it becomes the duty of the state to provide not only right to education but also gives the financial aid to the poor and deserving students.
8. **Right to form Union and Association:** It means that people are free to form the union and association for the purpose of promotion of social, economic, and political life. They can hold public meetings without becoming a menace to peace and order. The only condition however that is the association and union should work within the constitutional and legal system.
9. **Right to Freedom of Movement:** The citizens of a state have the right to move freely without any restrictions throughout the state. According to Gilchrist, –Mere life without movement would be meaningless and without the exercise of human faculties. It would not rise above the level of that of animals.
10. **Right to Freedom of the choice of Profession:** Every citizen has right to choice of their profession for the fulfillment of their basic needs. So, every person has right to free choice of his profession, as well as the right to engage in enterprise and pursue other economic activities.
11. **Right to Equality before Law:** It means all are equal before the law. All persons should be treated equal according to the law. No person has been discriminated on the basis of caste, class, religion, race etc. Law is equal for all.
12. **Right to Freedom of Press:** Press is known as the guardian of human rights. Press is the only source which promotes understanding between the citizens and the government. This right enables the person to express, write and publish their views in newspapers and Media. This right is not absolute because to publish that matter which is libelous, obscene and seditious and against the integrity of state becomes an offence.
13. **Right to Freedom in Domestic Matter:** Every person has right to spend his domestic life according to their wish. Nobody has the right to interfere in the domestic affair of another

person. Under this right he has freedom to eat, drink, live, wear and have freedom in personal life.

5. ECONOMIC RIGHTS

In a socialist country, special attention is paid to economic rights. These rights enable the individual to earn a livelihood. These are the rights which are very important for the economic development of the individual. Some important economic rights are as below:

1. **Right to Work:** This right is very essential to earn one's livelihood. Employment is necessary for living a better life. This right emphasizes the he can fulfill the basic needs of the life. In some developed countries, constitution provides the right to work for their citizens. So it is the duty of the state to create a condition in society in which every person must get adequate opportunities to earn his livelihood.
2. **Right to Adequate Wages:** Every person, without any discrimination has right to adequate wages for his work. The wages of the workers must be enough to enable them to fulfill their basic needs i.e. food, clothe and shelter. According to Laski" A man has not only the right to work but he has the right to be paid adequate wages for his labour."
3. **Right to Leisure:** Everyone has the right to rest and leisure including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holiday with pay. Leisure should be claimed by citizen as a matter of right. Without leisure human mind cannot be proper explained.
4. **Right to Fixed Hours of Works:** Man is a living creature. He is not a machine which can work continuously. The hours of labour should be fixed for the healthy life. So the right to work and right to adequate wages automatically imply the right to fixed hours of works.
5. **Right to Economic Security:** Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to economic security. This is the duty of state to fulfill the basic need of the person. Some developed countries provide the economic security to their citizens like people who are too old to work and do not have adequate wages of livelihood are given old age pensions, provide for the treatment of the poor person.

6. POLITICAL RIGHTS

In addition to economic rights citizens alone have certain political rights. Political rights and civil rights are supplementary to each other. These are the rights which check the government from becoming automatic and despotic. Some political rights are as below:

1. **Right to Vote:** This is the most essential right which every adult citizen enjoys in a modern state. Every person who is in the age of 18 years and above 18 years, has right to vote. This is the direct participation of people to elect their own representatives. The age of right to vote is different from country to country. Like, In India, USA and Great Britain the voting

age is eighteen and other countries the voting age varies from twenty-one to twenty-five. This right helps to give free choice to citizens in choosing the government.

2. **Right to Contest Election:** In a democracy every citizen has not only the right to vote and choose his rulers, but also to contest elections. So, every citizen is free to contest in elections and get himself elected to the legislative bodies of the country. For example, In India, the age of right to contest election in Lok Sabha and Legislative assemblies is 25 and in Rajya Sabha it is 30 years.
3. **Right to Hold Government or Public Office:** Every citizen has not only a right to vote but to hold any public office to which he is either elected or nominated. This right provides equality of opportunities for all citizens to hold public offices without any discrimination on the basis of sex, caste, birth, race etc.
4. **Right to Freedom to Form Political Organization:** People are free to form associations or political organization without becoming a menace to peace and order. There can be no democracy without political parties. These are very essential for the working of a democratic government.
5. **Right to Petition:** People have right to petition against the executive and legislative authority for any unconstitutional action. It provides the people an opportunity to inform that in authority where exactly the shoe pinches. So people have right to prepare the list of grievances and submit to respective officers.
6. **Right to Criticize Government:** This right enables people to draw the attention of the government to the defects in its politics. The citizen has right to criticize the government when so ever they felt that it is going to the despotic and tyrannical. This right is implied in the civil right to freedom of speech and expression. In democratic countries, people have different types of opinion, so right of criticism is essential.

So, above all these rights are very essential for the success of democracy. These rights are the social of the democracy. No state can be ignored the rights of the citizens.

7. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

These are the rights which every citizen living in a state enjoys. Fundamental Rights have been provided in Part III of Indian constitution from Article 12 to 35. These rights have been inspired by American Bills of Rights. Fundamental Rights are very important for promoting the ideal of political democracy, rule of law, preventing the authoritarian tendencies of legislature, executive and upholding the dignity of the individual.

Originally the Indian constitution provided seven fold classifications of Fundamental Rights. These are:

1. Right to Equality Article 14 to 18
2. Right to Freedom Article 19 to 22
3. Rights against exploitation Article 23-24
4. Rights to Religious freedom Article 25-28

5. Cultural and Educational Rights Article 29 to 30
6. Right to Property. It has been deleted by 44th, 1978 Act which added article 300 (a). Now it is legal rights.
7. Right to constitutional Remedies Article 32.

Article 32 is the Rights of constitutional Remedies and also for the protection of fundamental rights. If there is a violation of above given 5 rights, the person can move directly to the Supreme Court. In every country of the world like USA, Russia, Japan, China etc. provides the fundamental rights to their citizens.

3.3.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Write a note Right to Property.

.....

2. Which part of Constitution deals with fundamental rights?

.....

3.4. DUTIES

3.4.1. MEANING

Duty can be described as an obligation to perform an act or a task. This act or task can be ethical, moral, cultural etc. in nature or either a compulsion by the state, omission of which will result in punishment. So, a duty means that a person has to do something or abstain from doing something in favor of another person. Like, a son is under a duty to feed his dependent parents. Duty is an obligation to do or omit to do something.

3.4.2. DEFINITION OF DUTIES

The different definitions of duties are below:

- According to Almond, -A duty is an obligatory act, that is to say, it is an opposite of which would be wrong; Duties and rights are correlatives."
- According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, -Obligatory tassels, conduct, service or functions that arise from one's position (as in life or in a group)."
- According to Legal language, a legal duty is an act that obliges to do something and act, the opposite of which would be a legal wrong. Whenever law ascribes duty to a person, a corresponding right also exists with the person on whom the duty is imposed.

3.4.3. KINDS OF DUTIES

Duties can be classified into three categories:

1. Moral Duties
2. Legal Duties
3. Fundamental Duties

1. Moral Duties

Moral duties are based on moral values of the society. So, moral duties are those obligations which we should observe but we are not legally bound to observe them. In other words, such duties are not enforced by law. It is our moral duty that we should serve our parents, teachers, brothers and sisters and relatives. It is our moral duty to help the poor and down-trodden.

• MORAL DUTIES TOWARDS SELF

Some Moral Duties Towards self are below:

1. **Character Building:** A good character helps you develop a winning personality. One needs to be honest. A good character is playing a vital role to the development of a nation.
2. **Self Control:** Self-control is the ability to regulate one's emotions, thoughts, desires and lusts.
3. **Good Health:** Healthy mind is a symbol of healthy body. So, one should take care of his health.
4. **Simple Living and High Thinking:** One should to promote the simple living and high thinking.
5. **To Receive Education:** Education leads to mental development of individual which is necessary for his social, spiritual, cultural and political development.
6. **To Earn Livelihood:** This is the duty of every citizen to do work for the fulfillment the needs of his family and his self.
7. **Ideal Routine Behaviour:** A person should have the ideal routine behaviour. Ideal routine behaviour is the creator of the life of a person. Our behaviour towards society is an identity of our citizenship.
8. **Progressing Thinking:** This is the duty of every citizen to adopt progressive thinking for the development of the society.

• MORAL DUTIES OF PARENTS TOWARDS FAMILY

The moral duties of parents towards family are gives below:

1. **Ideal Atmosphere in Home:** It is the moral duty of every citizen to contribute to making the environment of his home good so that his family can develop properly.
2. **Procreation of Children:** Procreation of children is necessary for the existence of human being. So, this is the duty of individual of rails or nurtures the child for the protection of the human race.

3. **Family Planning:** Too many children in the family make life more difficult. Because fulfillment of the basic needs of life is not possible in a large family. So planned family is the most important duty of all.
4. **To Take Care of Children's Health:** Health is a wealth. So, it is the duty of every parent to take care of his children's health and provide them a nutritious food.
5. **Education of Children:** This is the duty of every parent to provide the good education to their children. So, that they can become self-independent.
6. **Sound Economic Condition:** This is the duty of parents to do hard work and maintain the sound economic conditions and fulfill the desires of the family.
7. **Restraint from Bad Habits:** Parents are the first teacher of their children. So, this is the duty of the parents to provide the knowledge of good habits and aware them from bad habits.
8. **Savings:** Family can face any time an unforeseen emergency, so, this is the duty of parents to save the amount in their bank balance. It also helpful to tide over the crisis.
9. **To Bring Fame to the Family:** It is the duty of every individual to make his or her family's name famous with their good deeds and achievements.

- **MORAL DUTIES TOWARDS SOCIETY**

Man is a social animal. He cannot live without society. So there are some moral duties towards society are gives below:

1. **Social Service:** The person should be social worker. They should help the poor or helpless persons. They should instill the responsibility towards society in their children.
2. **To Eradicate Social Evils:** Social evils are the curse of the society. One should try to remove social evils from the society. Because social evils are the big hurdle of the path of development of society.
3. **Co-operation:** It is the duty of every individual to work with the members of society. It makes the society powerful.
4. **Arresting Criminals:** This is the duty of every person to arresting criminal is the society with this the filth of the society is cleansed.
5. **Sense of Love:** Our atmosphere is full of hatred and Jealousy. It is the duty of every human being to create a sense of love in the society.
6. **Cleanliness:** It is the duty of every citizen to take care of cleanliness in his home as well as the society.
7. **Co-operation in Development:** Development of villages and Cities are not possible without the cooperation of the persons in order to get rid of natural disaster, one has to help the society.

- **DUTIES TOWARDS HUMANITY**

Some of the duties towards humanities are given below:

1. **Love for Humanity:** Love for humanity is the duty of every person. He should not love only his nation he should also be love with the whole world. With this, there will be peace in the world.
2. **No-Discrimination:** No one has right to discriminate persons in any expects. One should do his work without any discrimination.
3. **Help to Poor:** There are many poor and needy people. This is the duty of every person to provide the maximum help to them.
4. **Sense of World Citizenship:** This is the duty of every person to remove the conservative thinking and promote the world citizenship.

- **MORAL DUTIES OF CHILDREN**

There are some moral duties of children towards their parents are given below:

1. **Obedience:** This is the moral duty of every child to obey their parents and teachers. This will help him to create a better character.
2. **To Hard Work:** This is the duty of every child that he should not waste money and do hard work and use for their needs.
3. **Service of Parents:** It is the duty of every child to serve his parents with all his heart.
4. **To Bring Fame:** It is the duty of every child to do good deeds or to enlighten the name of their parents and parents should feel proud them.

- **LEGAL DUTIES**

Legal duties are those which are capable of being enforced through the courts. It is important for the individual that he should obey the legal duties. Because punishment for those who fail to observe legal duties. It is a legal duty of every citizen to show obedience to the constitution, commands of law and pay taxes regularly. Some important legal duties are as under:

1. **Loyalty towards the State:** This is the basic duty of citizens to loyal towards the state. He must give his whole hearted loyalty to the state and nation. Loyalty towards the state means the supreme sacrifice of life in the time of nation's defense.
2. **Obedience of Law:** This is the duty of every citizen to obey the laws of state. Disobedience of laws by the citizen leads to anarchy.
3. **To do Military Service:** This is the duty of every healthy, citizen get ready to serve himself for the nation. Loyalty to the state involves willingness to defend the country in the emergency. Some states provide compulsory military service in the time of emergency for their citizens.
4. **Payment of Taxes:** This is the duty of every citizen to pay the tax regularly. If citizens don't pay taxes honestly the activities of the government will suffer. State discharges their functions for the welfare of society if citizens pay their taxes.

5. **Right to Vote:** Right to vote is the duty of every person who is eligible for this.
6. **Co-operation with the Government:** This is the duty of every citizen to co-operate with the public officer so that they can fulfill their duty. Citizens have also to help to remove the anti-social element from the society.
7. **Protection of Public Property:** Public property is state's property. Protection of public property is the duty of every person. If any person destroys or dismantles the public property then it is the right state to give the punishment of such a person.
8. **Respect of the Constitution:** Constitution is the supreme legal power of the nation. So, it is the duty of every citizen to respect of the constitution.
9. **Respect to the National Flag:** Every state has its own National flag. Every citizen has the duty to give the respect of its National flag. Give the disrespect to the National Flag is a crime.
10. **Respect Other's Rights:** This is the duty of every citizen to give respect other's right and protect the public property.
11. **Attending School:** Every child has right to education. It's the duty of every parent to provide the education of their children below the age of fourteen.

3. FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES

A duty means that some person has to do something or abstain from doing something in favour of another person. There are various aspects of man's life. He has performed number of duties in every aspect to make his life happy. For the development of individual and welfare of the society, constitution provides some duties for the citizens, which are known as fundamental duties.

Fundamental Duties are mentioned in Part IVA of Indian constitution. These duties are not in original constitution and have been added by 42nd Amendment Act, 1976 by Indian Gandhi government. These has been inspired by USSR and originally there were Eleven Fundamental duties and Eleventh duty has been added by 86th Amendment Act, 2002 i.e., Education from six to 14 years children.

The Fundamental Duties of the citizens are gives below:

1. To abide by the constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
2. To Cherish and follow the noble ideas which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
3. To uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
4. To defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

5. To promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
6. To value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
7. To protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife, and to have compassion for living creatures;
8. To develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
9. To safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
10. To strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement.
11. Parent or Guardian, to provide the opportunities of education to his child, or as the case may be ward between from the age of six to fourteen years.

The constitution has set out the duties towards society on individuals. These duties are non-justifiable in nature. It means there is neither provision in the constitution for direct enforcement of any of these duties nor for any section to prevent their violation.

3.4.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What do you mean by Duty?

.....

2. Through which amendment fundamental were added in the Indian Constitution?

.....

3.5. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Rights and duties are like the two sides of a coin. Rights are born in the world of duties and both are related with each other. A person cannot claim his rights without doing his duties. According to Dr. Beni Prasad, –Rights and Duties are interdependent. They are two aspects of the same thing. If one looks at them from one’s own stand point, they are rights. If one looks at them from the standpoint of others, they are duties. Both are social and both are conditions of rights living to be secured to all members of society.¶

The relationship between rights and duties are given below:

1. **Right is a Duty Itself:** Rights and duties are closely related with each other. Right is a duty itself. If the state gives the right to life to a citizen, it also imposes an obligation on him to not to expose his life to dangers, as well as to respect the life of others.
2. **Every Right has a Corresponding Duty:** Each right has a corresponding duty. Without duty there is no right. A citizen cannot claim rights without doing his duties. No right can command its security unless it is provided with some duties. If a person claim to his

protection of his life and property that can only be possible if he feels it's his duty to protect them. So, every right has a corresponding duty.

3. **Rights without Duties are not possible to enjoy:** It is impossible for the human being to enjoy rights without being obliged to obey certain duties. Right without duties is nothing but the shielded anarchism ready to establish the notion –might is right.
4. **Every Right has a Duty of its Proper Use:** State gives a several types of rights to its citizens. So it's the duty of a citizen to use these rights properly. For example, as a citizen, he is given a right which is very valuable and important, i.e. right to vote. While using this right one should see to it that only those who deserve get them and not others. While casting votes, he should not be guided by selfish or low ends.
5. **Every Right has a Related Social Welfare Duty:** There is a close relationship between society and human being. A person can enjoy his right only within the society. Without society rights are not possible. So, there are some duties of citizens towards the society. One of the most important duties of a citizen that he should use his rights for the welfare of the society.
6. **Duties towards the State:** State protects the rights of citizens. Citizen should be loyal towards state in thought, speech and action. He should obey all laws of the state. He should pay all taxes which are imposed by legitimate authority of the state. He should look after the welfare of all and sacrifice his own interests for collective welfare.

3.6. SUMMARY

So, it can be said that each democratic state gives certain rights to its citizens which they enjoys as members of society. But rights are not absolute but pre-requisite conditions for duties and as such both must go hand in hand. So, beyond society there are not rights at all. Each right has a clear corresponding duty. Without duty there will be no rights at all because rights and duties are reciprocal. Duties are social obligation thus necessary for smooth and harmonious social life.

- Duties and rights do not exist in the absence of each other.
- Rights are the laws, rules and regulation that are attested by the society and also contribute to the high moral well beings of the citizens.
- It is necessary for the rights to be legitimate and ethical. Rights can possible only within the society.
- There are many types of rights like Natural, Moral, Fundamental and legal rights. Legal rights can be divided into civil, economic and political rights.
- Indian constitution provides the six fundamental rights of every citizen under Articles 14 to 32. These are Right to equality, Right to Freedom, Right against exploitation, Right to freedom of religion, Cultural and educational right and Right to constitutional Remedies.
- A duty is an obligation. A duty means that some person has to do something or abstain from doing something in favour of another person.
- According to definitions duty is the binding and necessary preserve of something which is right in moral and legal form like moral and legal duties.

- There are three types of duties- Moral duty, Legal duty and Fundamental duty.
- The base of the moral duties is the moral values of the society like give respect to the parents, obey the order of the parents, responsibility towards the parents etc.
- A legal duty is one that is enjoined by the law of the land. Legal duty imposed by the state and punishment those who fail to observe legal duties like non-payment of taxes, disobey the rules of road side, destroy the public property etc.
- The importance of moral duty is to develop the personality of individual and social well-being.
- Indian constitution provides eleven fundamental duties for their citizens. But these duties are non-justifiable. These duties are depended upon the wish of the citizens.
- There are close relationship between rights and duties. They are like the two side of the coin. A citizen cannot claim his rights without doing his duties. A person who performs duties without enjoying rights is not a free citizen. So rights and duties go together.

3.7. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

3.7.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Describe the four main features of Rights.
2. Q4. Describe the main kinds of Rights.
3. Describe the Civil or Social Rights.
4. What do you know about duties? Discuss its kinds.
5. What is meant by Fundamental Duties? Describe
6. Critically evaluates the fundamental duties of Indian Constitution.
7. -Rights and Duties are co-related with each other. Explain.
8. Describe the moral duties of a person towards society.

3.7.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by Rights?
2. Give three definitions of Rights.
3. Write any four civil or social rights.
4. Write down four Political Rights.
5. Write down two Economic Rights.
6. What do you mean by Fundamental Rights?
7. What do you mean by moral duty?
8. What do you know about legal duty?
9. Describe the four moral duties of a person towards himself?
10. Discuss the four legal duties of a person?

3.8. SUGGESTED READINGS

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BACHELOR OF ARTS
SEMESTER- II
COURSE- POLITICAL THEORY –II

UNIT 4: LIBERTY: MEANING, DEFINITION, TYPES AND ITS SAFEGUARDS

STRUCTURE

4.0. Learning Objective

4.1. Keywords

4.2. Introduction

4.3. Meaning of the Concept

4.4. Definitions

4.5. Two Concepts of Liberty

4.5.1 Negative Liberty

4.5.2. Positive Liberty

4.6. Marxian Perspective

4.6.1. Check Your Progress I

4.7. The contemporary Discourse:

4.8. Liberty: Freedom as a Triadic Relation

4.9. Types of Liberty:

4.9.1. Check Your Progress II

4.10. Safeguards of Liberty

4.10.1. Check Your Progress III

4.11. Summary

4.12. Questions for Practice

4.12.1. Long Answer Questions

4.12.2. Short Answer Questions

4.13. Suggested Readings

4.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVE:

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to

- understand the meaning of liberty
- differentiate between two concepts of liberty
- describe the types of liberty
- analyze the safeguards of liberty

4.1. KEYWORDS: Liberalism, Marxism, Tyranny, Nation-State, Welfare State.

4.2. INTRODUCTION

Liberty as a concept has been considered as an important principle of political philosophy. The history of mankind is a testimony of unending struggles for liberty. Human life is unimaginable without it. Liberty is the product of rights which can be enjoyed in the state only. Of all the rights, which are considered basic for all round development of an individual, the right to liberty appears to be the most favourite and admired right. We speak of the freedom of religion, speech, writing, association and of participation in the political process. The thought has been broadened to cover demands for economic liberty, freedom from want and even national self-determination.

4.3. MEANING OF THE CONCEPT

The terms ‘liberty’ and ‘freedom’ are normally used interchangeably by Political and Social Scientists. Freedom is seen as the quality of human beings. Human beings are capable of freedom because they are different from other living beings or organisms. So freedom is more broader and concrete concept. Human beings’ capacity to gain scientific knowledge is the source of their freedom. When freedom is considered as the condition of human being, one enters the realm of liberty.

The word 'liberty' has been derived from the Latin word *-liber* which means free or absence of restraints. In this sense, liberty means freedom from restraints or no restraints. It means freedom to act as one likes or do whatever one might wish to do regardless of all the consequences. But this type of liberty is obviously impossible because freedom from restraints is available only to animals. Certainly, it is necessary to have some restraint on freedom. In a civilized society, no one can be permitted to act without restraints and liberty is possible only with restraints. So we can say that liberty is the absence of not all restraints but only those restraints which are held to be irrational.

4.4. DEFINITIONS

Different interpretations of liberty define how individuals relate to society/state, different political ideologies. The changing conception of the liberty thesis from Adam Smith to Hobhouse offers the best way to the understanding of the evolution of political thought. This shifting emphasis has been marked by a change from a negative to a positive concept of liberty i.e. from liberty as 'silence of laws' to freedom as 'the presence of socio-economic and political conditions'. Let us understand the views of various philosophers and see to what extent each of them views different notions of liberty.

4.5. TWO CONCEPTS OF LIBERTY

4.5.1 NEGATIVE LIBERTY

The concept that emerged from the writings of early liberalists is known as Negative Liberty. This concept found classical expression in the writings of John Locke, David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer, Bentham and J.S. Mill furthered by Michal Oakeshott, Milten Friedman, Henna Arent, F.A. Hayek and Robert Nozik. Negative liberty means absence of constraints or absence of interference or obstruction. This perspective considers man as rational, reasoned, and able to make his choices and knows his best.

This concept developed during 17th century in the wake of Industrial Revolution. It deliberately paved the way for the establishment of capitalism against the prevailing forces of feudalism. The absence of restraints economic, political, religious moral was regarded as a pre-condition for liberty of the individual. It sees liberty as a natural right and limits the authority of the state. It provides you the opportunity to act and it does not see whether you are able to do that

or not. In this form, liberty becomes a license. But we should remember one thing that when negative liberty is taken to mean as absence of restraints or constraints, the constraints are external, man made, and intentional.

According to Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), liberty or freedom signifies the absence of all impediments to action that are not contained in the nature and intrinsic quality of the agent. Hobbes defined liberty as *dependent on the silence of law*. With John Locke also, the sovereign coercive power was considered suspect and it is law which must restrain it like all other arbitrariness. Lock's moral framework is based on the laws of Nature of which equality is a central tenant. He says, *man is free to act without subject to arbitrary will of another within allowance of moral law*. The exercise liberty should not be at the cost of equality. G.D.H Cole also gave negative aspect of liberty when he defined it as *the freedom of the individual to express without external hindrances to his personality*.

J.S. Mill in his famous essay On Liberty (1859) also deliberated upon the negative aspect of liberty. Mills views on liberty are based on his understanding of utility, in the largest sense grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being.' The sphere of non-intervention in an individual's life is demarcated by drawing a distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding activities. Self-regarding actions are actions over which the individual is sovereign. Whether an action is other-regarding or is of concern to others depends upon whether such action is harmful to others. According to seelay, *liberty is the opposition of over-government*. After the above discussion, we can summarize the concept of negative liberty as:

- Negative liberty is usually attributed to individual agents.
- Negative liberty represents the early liberal assumptions regarding man, society and the state.
- Rights are more important than duties.
- The state has a minimal role to play. The state cannot decide ends and purposes for the individual.
- The concept of negative liberty proved instrumental in the establishment of Capitalist System in Europe.

4.5.2. POSITIVE LIBERTY

As you know Negative Liberty is taken to mean as absence of restraints. Such a meaning of liberty can never be accepted in a civil society. In this way, this type of conception of liberty stands rejected. In contemporary times, positive liberty is possible. Positive liberty means liberty under the rational, necessary and required restraints imposed by law. These restraints are considered essential for ensuring the enjoyment of liberty by all the people. The changed perception about the individual and state that came out of the critique of negative liberalism by a number of thinkers like T.H. Green, Laski, Berlin Hegel Marx, John Rawls and Amartya Sen are important names in this context.

Political thought of the early advocates of positive liberty is associated the Welfare State thesis which first appeared in England and then spread to other parts of the world. This perspective supports community life and also expands the role of the state. Here liberty does not mean the absence of restraints but absence of any irrational and arbitrary restraints. Positive liberty does mean equal and adequate opportunities for all to enjoy their rights.

First of all we can take the name of Kant who says true freedom obedience to the moral law duty. T.H Green postulated a theory of rights and asks the state to play positive role in creating conditions under which moral freedom is there. He described true freedom is act of –Good Will. It is a positive power of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying moral freedom. Rousseau (1712-1778) considered freedom as a collective venture. Unlike Hobbes and Locke, liberty is not a natural right for Rousseau. Positive liberty supports community life because freedom is participation in collective activity and obeying law reflecting general will of society.

While discussing the role of the state we can say that a state may interfere with equality and negative liberty. The individuals may be rightfully forced to act in a certain way. State has to create a positive atmosphere for the all round development of a man. To create such a positive atmosphere, state has to put some restraints. Laski observes it as is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunities to be their best selves.

As Mckechnie observes liberty is not the absence of restraints, rather the substitution of rational ones for the irrational. Hegel (1770-1831) also opines same when he says from ‘abstract’ concept of freedom, linked to a single individual will, to a ‘concrete freedom’ actualised in a political

community as a rational system of wills. Positive liberty means enjoying things of worth and doing things worth of work.

4.6. MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE

Marxism has been an heir to a wider and richer view of freedom originating from such sources as Spinoza, Kant and Hegel who conceived of freedom as self-determination, self realization, self development, self fulfillment and self creativeness. Marx and Marxism tend to see freedom in terms of removal of obstacles to human emancipation. He views that freedom is the full development of human mastery over the forces of nature and humanity's own nature. In the same way, Huberman and Sweezy views, freedom means living life to the fullest the economic ability to satisfy the needs of the body in regard to adequate food, clothing, shelter and effective opportunity to cultivate the mind, develop one's personality and access ones individuality.

Like liberalism, Marxism also believes that freedom implies absence of restraints but it disagrees with liberalism regarding the quality of restraints. It believes that apart from the restraints of law and the state, there are restraints of long hours of work, arduous, dull and unrewarding job, lack of good food and living conditions and above all constraints of finding work. Marx and Engels believed that by socializing the means of production, the individual can enjoy a freedom which he had never enjoyed i.e. freedom from exploitation of labour, by the institution of Socialism, real beginning for the achievement of a free society can be made. To achieve such a freedom, not only more effective forms of democratic control of rulers be introduced but social reactions must also be changed.

Marx criticized bourgeois and Liberalism by saying that liberalism has wrongly equated political emancipation with human emancipation. The masses, the wage earners without property continued to be dependent upon the Bourgeois which owned the means of production. Marx opined that in a society based upon competitive market, man's relations to other men become exchange relations and quite impersonal and they behave with each other as agents of market exchange. In such circumstances, they are not free. The Marxist concept of freedom is absolute in the sense that man ought to be freed from all kinds of _alienation, necessities, oppression,

exploitation and domination'. So we can brief the concept of positive liberty by saying that it means:

- Not the absence of all restraints but that is irrational and arbitrary.
- Very important for individual's material and moral development.
- Collective approach allows greater state authority and individuals are considered as members of given collectivities.
- Self control, self realization, collective actions to remove constraints, help one to realize ones' goal.
- 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.
- May give rise to paternalism and authoritarianism.

4.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Define the term Liberty.

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2. What is the difference between freedom and liberty?

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4.7. THE CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSE

Positive liberty is now regarded as an essential complement of negative liberty in all modern States. However some of the present liberal thinkers, known as supporters of libertarianism, seek to reestablish emphasis upon negative liberty. Some of these proponents are Isaiah Berlin, F.A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Robert Nozick. Isaiah Berlin criticizes the negative liberty by saying that it is meaningless for people lacking basic necessities of life. What is the area within which the subject a person or group of persons is or should be left to do or be what he is able to do or be, without interference by other persons? Another liberal thinker who seeks to oppose the principle of equality in strong terms is Robert Nozick.

While determining the functions of the state, as he follows Locke's perspective, he believes that individuals have certain rights in the state of nature. He also believes that because state has come into existence for the performance of limited functions, so inequalities at the level of production should not be sought to be rectified at the level of distribution. F.A. Hayek in his work *Constitution of Liberty* (1960) provides the meaning of liberty by saying that a man possesses liberty or freedom when he is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another. He contrasts individual freedom with three other meanings of freedom which speak for 'political freedom', 'inner freedom' and 'freedom as power' respectively. Hayek recognizes freedom as, freedom from constraints of the state. He is of the view that state should minimize the use of coercive powers of government and should encourage competitiveness. He further suggests that -the state should ensure minimum income to each individual or family, but should not make market itself an instrument of distributive justice.

F.A. Hayek further provides his view against equality on two grounds. At the first, he supposes that liberty consists in 'absence of coercion' in the realm of individual activity by other individuals or the state. In the second place, he perceives that individuals differ in their abilities and their equality before the law is certain to generate inequality in their actual position in terms of their material status. So any effort to create material equality among different people is bound to involve 'coercion' which could deprive them of their freedom. In short, we can say that the cake of freedom as maintained by Hayek, is not to be divided on the basis of 'equal shares for all' but on the basis of each individual's contribution to progress. Since each individual has unknown potential of making contribution to progress, it is difficult to ascertain each individual's entitlement to different amounts of freedom. Milton Friedman defines freedom as 'the absence of coercion of a man by his fellow man'. He suggests that 'a free private enterprise exchange economy' or 'competitive capitalism' is both a direct component of freedom and a necessary though not a sufficient condition of political freedom. Friedman's contempt for equality is inherent in his very concept of freedom. He argues that in order to maximize this freedom governments should be allowed handle only those matters which cannot be handled through the market at all and while handling political channels may be preferable. This would mean government moving out of almost all its welfare and regulatory functions.

4.8. LIBERTY: FREEDOM AS A TRIADIC RELATION

In 1967, Gerald MacCallum revealed that there is no simple dichotomy between positive and negative liberty. He explained liberty as a triadic relationship: X is free from Y to do or become (or not to do or become) Z. He further explained that a subject, or agent, is free from certain constraints, or to preventing conditions, to do or become certain things. Freedom is therefore, a triadic relation that is, a relation between three things: an agent, certain preventing conditions and certain doings or becoming of the agent. Any statement about freedom or unfreedom can be translated in a statement of the above form by specifying what is free or un-free. Any claim about the presence or absence of freedom in a given situation will, therefore, make certain assumptions about what counts as an agent, what counts as a constraint or limitation on freedom and what counts as a purpose that the agent can be described as either free or unfree to carry out. So MacCallum's basic concept of freedom is: a subject, or agent, is free from certain constraints preventing conditions, to do or become certain things. Freedom, a triadic relation, is a relation between three things: an agent, certain preventing conditions and certain doings or becoming of the agent.

4.9. TYPES OF LIBERTY:

The concept of liberty and its importance has been so strong that its supporters and critics both agree to the fact that liberty is the essence of political, economic and social relationships. Harold J. Laski talks about three kinds of liberty i.e. Private Liberty, Political Liberty and Economic Liberty. In order to identify the proper sphere of activities we will try to understand three and other different types of liberty.

1. NATURAL LIBERTY:

First of all we can talk about *Natural* liberty. It is believed that man has inherited the right to liberty from nature. Natural reason is the basis of liberty. Traditionally, the concept has been made popular by contractualists. Natural liberty means the enjoyment of unrestrained natural freedom. Contractualists like Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau justified it on the ground that since man is born free; he is to enjoy freedom as he wills. As Rousseau once said, –Man is born free, but is in chains everywhere. Proponents of natural liberty talk about complete freedom from the individual to do whatever he or she wants to do. As Hobbes described this type of state of nature,

National liberty is the absolute rights of men in the state of nature to all things including the right to kill other men. However, the concept of liberty is now considered to be an imaginary one. Unrestrained freedom can create anarchy. There can be no real freedom in a state of nature. National liberty as described by Hobbes can lead to a living on the Principle of Might is Right. Existence of such liberty came to an end after the establishment of civil society. It is only an orderly society characterized by essential restraints on laws and rule that real liberty can be possible. The rational and necessary restraints are considered essential for ensuring the enjoyment of liberty by all the people.

Natural liberty condemns the presence of restraints of any kind. *Civil Liberty* justifies the presence of some rational restraints imposed by the state and society. Civil liberty means liberty under law. These are legal instruments of protection of the individual from arbitrary acts of government. It is manifested in concrete terms in right to freedom, speech and expression, property, associations etc. State guarantees civil liberty. Law creates necessary conditions for it. Law imposes only reasonable restraints that are necessary for the achievement of liberty by all the citizens. Civil liberty includes Personal Freedom. It means the existence of conditions in which an individual can act as he pleases without any arbitrary or illegal control. Protection of civil liberties is regarded as an essential feature of liberal democracy.

2. POLITICAL LIBERTY:

Political Liberty is the freedom to participate in the political life and affairs of the state. Political liberty is closely connected with democracy because state cannot be democrat without political liberty. Without political liberty, citizens cannot enjoy full civil liberties. When people have the freedom to participate in political process, it is said that they are enjoying political freedom. It means the freedom to exercise the right to vote, to contest elections, right to hold public office, right to criticize and oppose the policies of the government. Education and free press are the two essential conditions which are necessary for the existence of political liberty. As Laski says, political liberty means *the power to be active the affairs of the state*. Political liberty is the right to form political parties, interest groups and pressure groups and most important of all the right to change the government through constitutional means. It is concerned with whether people live in a society that respects their basic human rights.

3. ECONOMIC LIBERTY:

Economic Liberty is said to be the mother of all liberties. In the absence of economic liberty, all liberties are meaningless. It means the basic necessities of life should reach to everyone. It also means absence of economic disparities, exploitation, inequity, unemployment, starvation, hunger and destitution. It means the availability of the right to work and adequate opportunities for earning one's livelihood. Economic liberty can be secured by defining economic rights of the people by guaranteeing the individuals the right to work, by providing minimum wages, by providing adequate leisure and shielding workers from the woes of unemployment, sickness and old age. Therefore, civil and political liberty is meaningless in the absence of economic liberty.

4. NATIONAL LIBERTY:

National Liberty means liberty or independence of the Nation State. It exists where the nation is independent and sovereign. It also means people have a constitution of their own. National Liberty means freedom from external control. The Nation State is free to solve its problems according to its will without any interference. So long as we are governed by the concept of sovereign nation-states, freedom from the control of other states' is essential to the concept of National Liberty. If the nation is under the control of others, no cultural, social economic, political development is possible. The state should be free to adopt policies and programmes according to its need and desire. It must be kept in mind that this liberty is not absolute and can be exercised by the states through various channels like propaganda.

5. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:

Religious liberty means the freedom of faith and worship and non-intervention of state in religious affairs of the people. Nobody can tolerate any interference in religious affairs so the freedom is to profess or not to profess any religion. In most of the nation states, it is considered as a fundamental human right. Like other liberties, Religious Liberty is also not without limits. Some religious beliefs and practices clash with or conflict with laws like compulsory education laws animal protection laws and anti-dowry laws. In these cases, states have to step in to accommodate the things. *Moral liberty* suggests the right of an individual to act according to his conscious. It stands for the liberty to work for receiving moral self-perfection. It means the freedom of an individual to act as rational being. Freedom to pursue moral values is moral

freedom. Moral liberty is not concerned with the state but with our own self. Plato, Aristotle, Bradley, Hegel and T.H. Green interpreted moral liberty in an idealistic manner. The individual should be morally free and the state such create such environment that is desired to ensure moral liberty to everyone.

6. INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY:

Individual liberty means the freedom to act according to one's desires and interests as a person. But this is too kept in mind that these acts should not clash with the desires or interests of others. Many kinds of freedom come under it: the freedom of speech and expression, freedom of residence, freedom of movement, and freedom of conscious, freedom to choose any profession, right to personal property, freedom to profess or not to profess any religion. Citizens should enjoy these freedoms in such a way that it does not hinder the freedoms of his co-members of the society as does not violate public order, health and morality.

4.9.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Mention any two kinds of Liberty.

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1. Is there Religious Liberty in your Country?

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4.10. SAFEGUARDS OF LIBERTY

For safeguarding liberty of the people democratic form of government is the best one. There can be no real *democracy* without the right to liberty. In monarchy and dictatorship, power is centralized in the hands of one person or a group of persons. But in democracies people get due chance to criticize the government. If the representatives fail to perform according to the expectations of the people, people resist or withdraw their loyalties in other ways and can remove them. The government must be responsible to the people. In order to check the government from becoming absolute, the powers of executive legislative and judiciary should be

separated. The *separation of powers* in a democracy is to prevent the misuse of power and safeguard the liberty. In this system, tasks of the state are divided into three branches legislative, executive and judicial in such a way that they can check each other's.

1. RULE OF LAW:

The main objective behind the inclusion of *fundamental rights* in the constitution is to maintain the rule of law, so that individual liberty can be preserved. By incorporating a character of fundamental rights and freedoms in the constitution of the state, people can be conversant with their rights. Fundamental Rights limit the authority of the State. Judicial protection is also necessary for the full attainment of fundamental rights. Laski believes that there cannot be liberty where the right of some depends upon the pleasure of others. So liberty can be enjoyed only in the presence of rights. Rights become the guarantee of a minimum biasness between citizens. Because the greatest values of human life is best represented in the recognition of fundamental rights.

2. INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY:

Independence of judiciary is the keystone of democracy. If the keystone is removed, the whole structure comes under the danger of disintegration and destruction. Independent judiciary is the guardian of true liberty. Rights of individuals would be without value if no legal system is able to play an active role in their protection. The independence of judiciary is the key factor that allows the members of the judiciary to be outspoken. If Judges are allowed to work independently, the rights and freedoms of people can be protected in a better way. Without independence, the possibility of despotism increases and the suspicion of the power of the judiciary expand and citizen's freedoms would have no meaning. The independence strengthens the effectiveness of the courts and enhances the judiciary's role in the realization of justice and in the restoration of human rights.

3. ABSENCE OF SPECIAL PRIVILEGES :

Real freedom cannot be realized in the absence of special privileges. The presence of privileges would have negative impact on the liberty of others. It would lead to frustration and loss of creativity. Laski opines that special privilege is incompatible with freedom because the later quality belongs to all alike in their character as human beings. So for safeguarding liberty, there should be no class of privileged persons in society. Granting special rights to any class is against

the will and spirit of liberty. Liberty is possible only on the condition of equality i.e. equal rights and opportunities for development for all classes without any discrimination.

4. POSITIVE ROLE OF MEDIA

Media can play a major role in protecting and safeguarding liberty. It makes people aware of the fact that liberties are of eternal value to humankind. It also helps in exposing violations and turns the attention of the people towards areas and issues in need of the protection. It also educates the people about their rights and liberties. Media also plays an important link between the state and the public

c. If press is free and is performing its sacred duty, people's liberties will be safeguarded for sure.

5. POLITICAL PARTIES:

Political Parties serve as a critical watchdog for the public. They are the key actors in democratic societies. To protect and safeguard the liberties, well organized and healthy party system is needed. Burke laid stress on the national character of the party. A Political Party should serve the national interest not sectional interest. Political Parties may participate (directly or indirectly) in the ruling of the government. Parties may denounce human rights violations or highlight liberty related issues. It helps in the protection of human rights and liberties.

6. TRANSPARENT AND RESPONSIBLE ADMINISTRATION:

The administration must be responsible, transparent and accountable. It is also essential that the power of the government especially executive branch of the government should be placed at all the three levels of government local, regional and national. People should be aware of their rights and duties. They should have firm faith in the government but they should also be committed towards their liberties. People should have full alertness against any encroachment of their liberty because liberty needs continuous efforts by the citizens to defend it.

4.10.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. Mention any pre-conditions which are essential for Individual Freedom.

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2. What is the relation between Fundamental Rights and Liberty?

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4.11. SUMMARY:

The quest for freedom is continuous process. Classical liberalism put forward the definition of liberty as absence of constraints or restraints. Market forces are seen as the regulatory mechanism for the mutual adjustment of citizens. It was expected that state should restrict itself to the minimum function. But with the passage of time, welfare state was seen as necessary agent of freedom. It was felt that market is not a smooth and humane agency for the adjustment of human relations. Marxists viewed the state as an instrument of ‘dominant class’ and predicted ‘withering away of the state’. It was seen as an instrument of liberty and emancipation. In contemporary societies, it is felt that a genuine urge for emancipation will go a long way in establishing a new social order. In this new social order, man will not become a slave to technology and capitalism. Freedom and liberty would prevail supreme. In this regard, democratic form of government, provision of fundamental rights, separation of powers, role of press, media, rule of law, and decentralization of powers, aware and vigilant citizens will help creating a healthy atmosphere for freedom.

4.12. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

4.12.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Explain in your own words —what freedom means.
2. Write a critical essay on the positive and negative concept of liberty.
3. Write a detailed note on the kinds of liberty.
4. Analyze the important safeguards of liberty.

4.12.2. SHORT ANSWERS QUESTIONS

1. What is Negative Liberty?
2. Is liberty absolute?
3. Do you feel you have a lack of Liberty?
4. What extra liberties would you like?
5. Why should Individual Liberty be curtailed?
6. What role do Media play in safeguarding Liberty of the people?

4.13. SUGGESTED READINGS

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BACHELOR OF ARTS
SEMESTER- II
COURSE- POLITICAL THEORY –II

**UNIT 5:- EQUALITY: MEANING, DEFINITION, TYPES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP
WITH LIBERTY**

STRUCTURE

5.0. Learning Objectives

5.1. Key Words

5.2. Introduction

5.3. Definition

5. 4. Significance

5.4.1 Check Your Progress I

5.5. Types of Equality

5.5.1. Political Equality

5.5.2. Formal or Legal Equality

5.5.3. Social Equality

5.5.4. Economic Equality

5.5.5. Check Your Progress II

5.6. Certain Conceptions against Equality

5.7. Equality and its relationship with Liberty

5.8. Summary

5.9. Questions for Practice

5.9.1. Long Answer Questions

5.9.2. Short Answer Questions

5.10. Suggested Readings

5.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to

- Comprehend the meaning, definition and types of equality.
- Understand the concept of equality
- Define the concept of equality
- Explain significance of conception of equality
- Study certain objections to the concept of equality
- Discuss the relationship between equality and liberty

5.1. Key Words: Liberty, Equality, right, freedom

5.2. INTRODUCTION

Equality is very important ideal or concept in the field of political science. In fact, it is the aspiration of all people to be treated equally. The dream to bring equality has inspired millions of people across the world from time immemorial. Different religions around the world preached that all human beings are equal in the eyes of God. Guru Nanak has also sermon that the whole universe has born from One Light, i.e. God. Therefore, all human beings residing in this world are equal. So, the argument in support of equality has a long history. The human beings aptly consider that they are essentially equal and have equal worth in all aspects of life.

Human being demands equal treatment from others to live respectful life. The flip side of call for equality means that human beings are treated unequally. They are being discriminated against on the basis of caste, race, colour, sexes, birth, class, religion, etc. They are considered as inferior or superior on the basis of above mentioned ascriptive identities, i.e. identities with which we are born. It means, inequality is very much part of our social and economic systems. What do we mean, then, when we say all human beings are equal?

5.3 .DEFINITION OF EQUALITY

Defining equality in modern times, one may say that all humans have equal worth; irrespective of their differences on the basis of caste, race, colour, sexes, birth, class, religion, etc. Secondly, all human beings are entitled to equal rights, freedoms and opportunities, in spite of, divergent ascriptive identities.

5.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF EQUALITY

Across the globe, individuals and collectives – including communities and nations – have organised themselves around the slogan of equality. Long struggles have been fought against the political, social and economic systems and institutions that promoted inequalities. In recent history, the slogan of ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’ became the rallying point for struggle against the institutions of feudal aristocracy and the monarchy. These slogans became the rallying point during French revolution in 1789. Indian freedom struggle against British colonial regime was a fight against their treatment as a subject, i.e. less than equal human beings. It means equality cannot be materialized without political freedom. The stated purpose of political freedom is to bring social and economic equality.

That is why, the right to equality is one of the fundamental rights enshrined in Indian Constitution. It includes equality before law (Art. 14), prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Art. 15), equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Art. 16), abolition of untouchability (Art. 17) and abolitions of titles (Art. 18). The Constitution makers assured people of India; especially the marginalised sections like Dalits, women, religious minorities that they would be treated with equal respect and dignity in an independent country. However, we witness grave inequalities in all the spheres of life around the world including our own country. A very small section of our society lives in palatial houses but large majority either lives in slums or totally homeless. Dharavi slum located in Mumbai is Asia’s largest slum with a population of more than ten lakhs.

Due to these inequalities, we need to understand what one means by equality? How to make a distinction between differences and inequality? Are we intended to eliminate all the differences and trying to make everybody equal? How we should treat all so that the notion of equality is implemented in its true spirit? What types of policies the government should formulate to bring equality into all aspects of human life? When we attempt to answer these questions, one should be clear that equality does not mean treating everybody equal by ignoring existing inequalities among them.

One cannot bring equality by treating everyone equally in an unequal society. This kind of treatment may lead to further inequalities. Analysing Indian Constitution, its makers came to an agreement that broadly equality means equal treatment by law and other institutions of the state, fulfil basic needs of all without any discrimination, providing equality in opportunities for all to develop, and eradicating the practices of discrimination and exploitation and abolishing any privilege positions in society. To explain further, as a citizen of India everyone must be treated equally by the law. The law should not discriminate on the basis of our ascriptive identities like class, caste and religion etc. The unequal treatment by the law will not bring justice to them. There must be equal treatment to all with regard to fulfilling the fundamental needs of every human being. No one must be deprived of bare minimum wants so that the people direct their energies to explore their talents and capabilities.

Fulfilling basic needs is a very important aspect of the right to equality of opportunities. It means human beings may have different goals and ambitions in a society and possess different talents, abilities and capacities. They all must have equal chances to attain their desired goals. As their goals and talents are different they will differ in success and achieving end objectives. But this inequality is not violating the principle of equality because the unequal status, wealth or privileges are not due to lack of equal opportunities to achieve the stated aims. It is due to the fact that we all are born with different capacities, which are often defined as natural inequalities.

These so-called natural inequalities are different from inequalities generated by our social, economic and political conditions. Though one may argue that one of the important reasons for different dreams and capacities of human beings are due to their different social and economic positions in society. The majority poor may not dream of getting jobs by doing higher studies. The majority of marginalised sections are suppressed to an extent that they are unable to become aware of their talents. So, in order to make everyone capable enough to avail opportunities, the government may provide special treatment in the form of reservations or other means to the underprivileged section/s of society. These measures are called either 'positive discrimination' or 'affirmative actions'. So, we need equality for fair treatment to all. The notion of equality teaches us to respect each other as equal human beings and provide infrastructure to develop our talents.

5.4.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. What are the provisions written in Indian Constitution related with equality?

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2. Write a short note on equality of opportunity?

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5.5. TYPES OF EQUALITY

The notion of equality has different features and types based upon various dimensions of a given society. All the aspects are related to each other in a manner that absence of one may lead to denial of other aspects of equality. Talking about equality usually includes four dimensions: (1) political equality, (2) formal equality, (3) social equality, and (4) economic equality. We shall discuss these in some detail here.

5.5.1. POLITICAL EQUALITY

It is a very significant dimension of equality as it demands political freedom for all to elect their own representatives who will formulate laws, rules and policies for the welfare of people. It is best possible in a democratic form of government in which periodic elections are held through universal adult franchise. To achieve this, the first step is to gain political freedom and become independent nation-state. Secondly, to recognise all the members of state as equal citizens. Every citizen above certain age has right to vote irrespective of caste, sex, birth, religious and class differences. In India, citizen of eighteen years old and above has a right to vote and to contest elections the age must be twenty-five and above. The elections are held periodically and citizens are free to elect a candidate in two-party or multi-party democracy. They may reject or accept a candidate or party in these elections.

The right to political equality enables citizens to participate in the decision-making process of the government. It is called as people's participation in governance of country and society. The Indian freedom struggle was fundamentally to attain political freedom to become citizen of free country from subjects of colonial rule. They believed that social and economic development would take place after achieving political equality. As a citizen, people acquire certain rights such as right to vote; freedom of movement, speech, expression and association; freedom of belief, etc. Though, it is a very basic right for people to progress, but our experience shows that independent countries with political rights to citizens have grave inequalities in all aspects of life. It means, political equality in itself would not bring social and economic equalities, which are very important to live with respect and avail opportunities to achieve one's goals.

5.5.2. FORMAL OR LEGAL EQUALITY

This notion of equality derives from the fact that all human beings should be treated equally before the law. In other words, it is the equal subjection of everyone to the law and equal right of all to avail legal protection against violation of their rights and liberties. It rests on the notion of

supremacy of rule of law or no human being is above law irrespective of social and economic hierarchies. It is a significant part of political equality and independent judicial system of democratic regimes. But political and legal equalities make less sense amidst glaring social and economic inequalities.

Dr. B R Ambedkar in his speech in Constituent Assembly (elected body to form Indian Constitution) on 25th November 1949 said that after independence India is going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reasons of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value.'

5.5.3. SOCIAL EQUALITY

It is primarily concerned with the state or conditions of our society and the direction in which it is moving. The important question with regard to social equality is what is our social worth? Whether we treat each other in our everyday lives with respect? Or still hierarchies determine our social behaviour and access to opportunities? The political equality is necessary for all sections of society to make government accountable and responsible to bring social equality. The exclusion of section/s from right to vote would result in worsening social and economic conditions as they will not matter in the game of electoral politics. The principle of social equality means that people are not denied access to available social goods. In other words, people must have fair and equal opportunities to attain them.

For the progress of our lives we demand better facilities like housing, food, water, education, health, etc. Social equality demands equal access for all to these basic amenities without discrimination on the basis of our ascriptive identities. The continuation of discrimination – in accessibility to the above-mentioned basic needs – on the basis of caste, class, gender, religion, etc. would further increase social inequalities. In our society, women are paid less than men for doing same nature of jobs in various sectors. During the time of birth son or boy is preferred than daughter or girl. These practices are the result of a social structure which is called patriarchy.

In a patriarchal society, women face numbers of other discriminations that lead to inaccessibility of social goods for them. In our society caste is another hierarchical order. We consider individuals and communities as 'inferior' and 'superior' on the basis of caste in which they took birth. As per census 2011, only 5.8% marriages in India are inter-caste, which means large majority still do arrange marriages with in one's own caste. The discrimination and exploitation on the basis of caste deprive Dalits of fair and equal access to the opportunities to live better life. It is the responsibility of the government, communities and social groups to eradicate above discussed and other wide range of inequalities to bring social equality.

5.5.4. ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Poverty also results in denial of accessibility to opportunities for large poor masses in India. It is the result of unequal distribution of wealth, which is related to the accessibility of resources to earn. An NGO called Oxfam in its report in 2020 stated that one per cent of India's rich owns 43 per cent of total national wealth. On the other hand, the bottom more than 50 per cent owns meagerly 2.8 per cent of national wealth. According to Indian Express newspaper report on 8th April 2021, 'India has the third-highest number of billionaires in the world after US and China' consists of '140 billionaires in 2021'. Another report published in *Down to Earth* on 27th January 2020 stated that nine Indian billionaires own as much as 65 crore people. The international organisations like United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has evolved other criteria to measure poverty, called multidimensional poverty index (MPI). This index includes ten indicators of poverty, which can be clubbed together into three: health, education and standard of living. It has broadened the dimension of poverty from merely the level of income to other basic sectors. The extent of economic inequality has direct relationship with social structure and development policies of the government. The social inequalities would reduce the availability of opportunities for getting better education or health facilities. It would result in diminishing the chances of acquiring appropriate know-how and skills to get better paid jobs and they will remain poor. Another factor of rise in prices of essential goods can push certain sections of society into poverty.

The neglect of governments in providing employment also increase poverty. The lack of employment either drive large section of population into poverty or people would remain poor due to unemployment. The less wages for work, which is very common phenomenon, increase scale of poverty among masses. The unstable, insecure or casual labour makes difficult to arrange a single day meal. The large section of urban population is involved in these kinds of work and unable to lift them out of poverty. The majority of this section consist of migrated rural poor population that has come to cities with a dream of attaining decent livelihood opportunities. The model of development adopted by the governments also result in either increase or decrease of poverty among masses.

The adoption of welfare policies, like secure and better income employment, making education and health affordable to all irrespective of income status and providing financial assistances to the needy will reduce mass poverty. The neglect of rural areas for last many decades have ruined agriculture and shrunk all other occupations. It has plunged large rural population into abject poverty, as a result increase in number of suicides among peasantry and labour. The massive displacement of tribal population from their original habitat in the forest due to governments' policies of acquiring forests for mining, constructions of big dam, etc. have

pushed them into vicious cycle of poverty. So, to make society more egalitarian economic inequalities must be dealt with.

5.5.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What is Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)?

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2. What is the relation between political and social equality?

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5.6. CERTAIN CONCEPTIONS AGAINST EQUALITY

A set of scholarship is critical regarding the principle of equality and considered it unsustainable. They argue that inequality is very much part of our society as we possess different abilities and talents. Individuals must have right to acquire any amount of property or resource through ‘just’ and ‘fair’ means. For the libertarians, such as Robert Nozick, taxing the individuals by the state to collect revenue is equal to committing theft. Because state is stealing their hard-earned wealth through law. These thinkers are against the welfare policies promoted by the state. They argued that state should not help those who are not helping themselves. The spending on the poor through welfare schemes by taking away money from rich (in form of taxes) will lessen the zeal for entrepreneurship among individuals. It is against the notion of individual freedom and liberty. For Friedrich Von Hayek, socialism –an ideology committed to welfare of masses–is a road to serfdom.

On the other hand, the thinkers such as John Rawls also accept the unequal status of individuals in a society. He favored the intervention of state in distribution of goods and services. The state, as per his argument, should formulate welfare policies for the betterment of society. He proposed that there must be equality of opportunities for all to attain offices and positions. Further, he argued that the best principle for unequal society is to arrange social and economic inequalities in a manner of greatest benefits to the least advantaged. It is called as ‘difference principle’. So, he justified the inequalities in case everybody gets equal opportunities and distribution is taking place in accordance with benefiting the downtrodden.

5.7. EQUALITY AND ITS RELATION WITH LIBERTY

In common understanding liberty and equality are regarded as antithetical to each other. The principle of liberty is understood as freedom of individuals to express themselves without constraints. In other words, it is considered as the absence of restraints or removal of

hindrances in choices and actions of individuals. The practices of bondage, slavery, imprisonment, confinement and restrictions imposed by laws may be called as absence of liberty. The constraints on liberty restrict individuals' freedom of choice according to libertarian thinkers. According to this thought, people must have freedom or liberty to make their own economic choices. They must be free to choose in the marketplace as consumers and buyers. There must be freedom for workers to seek employment or profession of their own choice in the market.

The understanding about liberty based on these characteristics is called negative conception of liberty. But the unrestrained conception of liberty serves no purpose as it may cause more harm to the society. The principle of equality of opportunities at surface level may appear as against liberty but it will enable freedom for every human being to explore its talents and abilities. Though, it may restrain certain acts of individuals but may provide others certain chances to make progress in their lives. It means both liberty and equality make the political regime responsible and accountable to provide freedom and equal opportunity for all.

The notion of equal protection of law or legal equality put some reasonable restrictions on absolute freedom of all. The restrictions are either imposed by law and/or society. A group of scholars argue that rule of law enables and protects those spaces where individuals can act freely without facing the threat of interference in their actions by few others. The existence of 'lawful' restrictions on absolute liberty or freedom may facilitate human progress. In some cases, individuals place restrictions on themselves, which may be called as self-restraints. These restrictions may contribute positively in realising egalitarian society. Some scholars address this in terms of 'equal liberty'. Hence, liberty and equality are two very fundamental and compatible elements of democratic living.

5.8. SUMMARY:

This unit attempts to explain the concept of equality. The study of this concept is important to understand the existing inequalities and its various dimensions. It also facilitates us to explain the need to bring equality for the betterment of society. It elucidates the significance of the interconnections between political, social and economic dimensions. It evaluates the arguments of certain scholars against equality. In the end, the unit discusses the relationship between equality and liberty and concludes that both are very important democratic society.

5.9. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

5.9.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

- 1 Treating everyone equal in an unequal society creates further inequalities? Do you agree?
- 2 The reservations are given to different sections of the society to uplift their social status. Comment.

- 3 Do you agree with the view of Robert Nozick that equality disrespects individuals?
4. What is the relationship between equality and liberty?
5. Discuss various dimension of Equality.

5.9.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Define negative liberty?
- 2 What is Positive Liberty?
3. What do you mean by Economic Equality?
4. Briefly explain social equality.

5.10. SUGGESTED READINGS

- Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, Pearson: New Delhi, 2008.
- David Held (ed.), *Political Theory Today*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1991.
- John Hoffman and Paul Graham, *Introduction to Political Concepts*, Pearson Education: England, 2006.

BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER- II

COURSE- POLITICAL THEORY –II

UNIT 6:- JUSTICE: MEANING AND ITS VARIOUS DIMENSIONS

STRUCTUR

6.0. Learning Objective

6.1. Key words

6.2. Introduction

6.2.1. Etymological Meaning of Justice

6.3. Definitions of Justice

6.4. Characteristics of Justice

6.5 Basic Postulates of Justice

6.5.1. Check Your Progress I

6.6. Various Dimensions of Justice

6.6.1. Legal Dimension of Justice or Legal Justice

6.6.2. Social Dimensions Of Justice or Social Justice

6.6.3. Economic Dimension of Justice or Economic Justice

6.6.4. Check Your Progress II

6.7. Summary

6.8. Questions for Practice

6.8.1. Long Answer Questions

6.8.2 Short Answer Questions

6.9. Suggested Readings

6.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to

- Understand the concept of justice
- Examine the basic postulates of justice
- know the different dimensions of justice

6.1. KEY WORDS: Justice, System, Values, Discrimination, Impartial

6.2. INTRODUCTION

The notion of justice is as old as the Political Science or Political Theory and at the same time it is disputed and dubious topic of political sphere. The political philosophers beginning from Plato right up to the 21st century, the theory of justice has been defined in various ways. Concept of justice is one of the most important concepts of the study of political system. Every society is at its aim to give justice to all its members. This is related to the all aspects of human life. Justice may differ from one to another society as well with the change of values of society. The main base of the justice is known as a value.

6.2.1. ETYMOLOGICAL MEANING OF JUSTICE

The word justice has been derived from Latin word '*Jus*' which means bound or tie. This means that Justice is a system in which men are tied in close relationship. This relationship has few rights and duties attached to it. When a man enjoying his rights and duties then he is said to be doing Justice.

6.3. DEFINITIONS OF JUSTICE

Some of the important definitions of justice are as under:

1. According to **Salmond**, -Justice means to provide everybody his share.||
2. According to **Messian**, -Justice consists in a system of understanding and procedures through which he is gives that is agreed upon as fair.||
3. According to **Bann and Peter**", to act justly is to treat all men alike except where there are relevant differences among them " .
4. According to **J.S. Mill**, -Justice is the name of certain classes of moral values which concern the essential of human well-being more clearly and are, therefore, of more absolute obligation than any other rules for guidance of life.||
5. According to **Sabine**, -Justice is the bond which holds a society together in a harmonious union of individuals each of whom has found his life work in accordance with his natural fitness and training.||
6. According to **Robert C. Tucker**, -The idea of justice connects a rightful balance in a situation where two or more parties or principles are in conflict.||

From the above definitions, the concept of justice is moral legitimacy is the base of justice. The thing which is according to the morality and values is called Justice.

6.4. CHARACTERISTICS OF JUSTICE -:

1. **Human Welfare:** Human Welfare is the first characteristics of justice because the main aim of justice is public welfare. So, any system which is based on general welfare is just.

2. **Lack of Unanimity with Regard to the Meaning of Justice:** There is no single meaning of the word justice. Every thinker has its own ideology regarding the justice. The sophists in ancient Greece had defined it as the interest of the stronger. The idealist theory of justice by *Plato* emphasized on the moral element in justice. The liberal concept of justice emphasizes its legal and political dimensions.

3. **Related to Recognized Values:** The concept of justice is related to the recognized values. Values are changed time to time and new values are born and these values are related to justice. So, the concept of justice is not an absolute idea and its implications vary from society to society.

4. **Ethical Concept:** The concept of justice is known as an ethical concept. This concept is related to the rationality and legitimacy. If all the members are allowed to enjoy their legitimate rights and they have to perform their duties in a good manner, then justice can be realized in the society.

5. **Fulfillment of Duties:** The concept of justice is related to the fulfillment of duties. Every human being has to play many roles in his life. Many duties are assigned with these roles. If a person does not perform his or her duties, then they cannot perform their respective roles. In such situation justice may not be exist. Justice can be achieved only when the person fulfill his or her definite duties.

6. **Multi-dimensional Concept:** The influence and relation of justice is with every aspect of life. So, there are multi-dimensional aspects of justice. Like political, economic, social and legal etc.

6.5. BASIC POSTULATES OF JUSTICE

The basic postulates of justice are as below:

1. **Equality before Law:** All are equal before the law. There is no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, colour, sex, place of birth etc. Special privileges should not be given to any section of the society. All citizens should get equal opportunities for their growth and development.

2. **Freedom or Liberty:** Freedom is an essential attribute of the concept of justice. Negative liberty is not possible in the society. For justice there is existence of positive liberty, in which every person ought to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of education, and economic freedom etc. Proper balance in authority, freedom and power of the state is a symbol of justice.

3. **Equality:** Equality plays an important role in to ensure justice in society. Justice

demands that every person should have equal opportunity of development. There is no discrimination on the bases of caste, religion, creed, language, status, property etc. All are equal on the bases of social, economic, political, and legal aspects. The notion of equality must be there in any theory of justice.

4. **Rights:** If there are no rights for the people, there can be no justice in the society. Rights are the fundamental normative rules about what is allowed to people or owed to people according to legal system. There should not be any discrimination with any person under the law of rights and all persons get equal rights.

5. **Impartiality:** Impartiality means no discrimination is allowed among men. According to Benn and Peter, -Do not let your judgment be influenced by relationship or let enmity, fear, greed or ambition.

6. **Fulfillment of Basic Needs:** Fulfillment of basic needs of all the people is basic postulates of concept of justice. Food, clothing and shelter are the universally accepted basic needs or requirements of a person. So, this is the main principle of the justice to fulfill these basic needs of individual.

7. **Universally Recognized Values:** Peace, liberty, social development, equal rights and human dignity are universally recognized values. No society accepts that person who violates these human values. So, this concept is the basic attribute of justice.

6.5.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What is etymological meaning of justice?

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2. What is equality before law?

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6.6. VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF JUSTICE

The concept of justice is multi-dimensional. This is concerned not only with the legal and judicial procedures but it has social, economic and political aspects too. The most popular dimensions of the justice are:

- Legal dimension
- Social dimension
- Economic dimension
- Political dimension
-

6.6.1. LEGAL DIMENSION OF JUSTICE OR LEGAL JUSTICE

The legal dimension of justice means every person should get justice according to law. Justice can be delivered according to the Law. Law defines and explains the rights and obligation of individuals and groups in a community. There is equal distribution of justice according to law without any discrimination. According to *Barker*, –A law has validity and I am legally obliged to obey it, if it is declared, recognized, and enforced as law by the authority of the legally organized community acting in its capacity of state. A law has value and I am bound to obey it not only legally and not only by an outward compulsion, but also morally and by an inward force if it has the inherent quality of justice.¶

- **ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS FOR LEGAL JUSTICE**

The essential conditions for legal justice are followings:

1. **Law should be based on Justice:** This means the law should be based on the rituals, customs and values prevailing in the society. It must also be legal and logical.

2. **Equality before Law:** To sit up the legal proceedings of law it is necessary that all are equal before the law without any discrimination on the bases of caste, religion, race, language, status and property.

3. **Uniform Legal System:** To establish the legal justice more faithfully, it is necessary that law should be equal for any class and section of the society. If there will be different laws for different class and citizens then it is not legal justice. Law must be equal for all.

4. **Free and Impartial Judiciary:** Judiciary should be impartial and free. Judiciary should not be under control of any other organ of the government. The appointment and service of judges should not be under the control of political parties but it should have on merit basis.

5. **Inexpensive Judicial System:** Judicial system should be inexpensive and economical for everyone. The fees of courts should be lower, so, the poor person is cannot be deprived of justice due to lack of money. This is the duty of the courts to take decisions quickly to save the time and money of the citizen.

6. **Base of Legislative Bodies should be Democratic:** It is an essential feature that law making body should be based on democratic principles because these bodies are the true mirror of the public opinion. This is possible only when the members of the legislature are elected by the people on the democratic basis. The elected representatives must be responsible towards the people then they can provide fair and legal justice.

6.6.2. SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF JUSTICE OR SOCIAL JUSTICE

The meaning of social justice is that all should enjoy equal status in the society irrespective of any discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, religion, language, status, sex, property etc. in the society. Everyone should have equal rights. No one should be deprived of those social

conditions which are essential for their development in society. Social justice includes the following things:

1. **Equality before Law:** Equality before law means there should be absence of any kind of discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, creed, race, language etc. in the society. Laws are equal for everyone.

2. **Absence of Special Privileges:** Social justice has been defined as a concept which eliminates all kinds of discrimination and special privileges based on place of birth, race, creed, sex, caste. Social roles ought not to be determined by status but by capacity. Social justice is possible when special privileges are not extended to any section of the society.

3. **End of Caste System:** System of caste hierarchy should not have any room in the society. Caste system is the big hurdle in social justice in India. Government should make strict laws to eliminate caste system in the society.

4. **Just Distribution of Wealth:** Social justice implies the equitable distribution of wealth. Basic necessities of life must be available to all. State can follow the policy of distribution of essential goods to the poor at fore of cost. To ensure the social justice in the society, unjust distribution of wealth should be eliminated.

5. **Democratic System:** Democratic system is necessary to implement the social justice. In democratic system, no discrimination allowed on the basis of caste, creed, sex, language, colour etc. In this system, people have right to choose their own representatives and they can also their vote without any discrimination.

6. **Abolition of Superstitions and Social Evils:** The society is infested with superstitions and social evils are big obstacle in the execution of social justice. Social evils like child marriage, dowry system etc. are hurdles in the way of social justice. So, to achieve or realize social justice these evils and superstitions must be abolished.

6.6.3. ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF JUSTICE OR ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Economic justice means non-discrimination on any ground which means no-discrimination between man and man on the economic basis. According to *Setalvad*, -Economic justice is the provision of equal opportunities to the citizens to acquire wealth and use it for their living, it implies that those persons who are disabled or old or unemployed and therefore, not in a position to acquire wealth, should be helped by society to live.¶

- **ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE**

Some essential conditions for economic justice are following:

1. **Right to Work:** Economic justice demands that every person have right to work. It also requires that adequate payment for work should be provided. If the government ensures right to work of every person and make the laws, only then unemployment can be reduced and economic justice can be established.

2. **Equal Pay for Equal Work:** Equal pay for equal work is the important dimension of economic justice. Every person must be paid according to his ability without any discrimination. One must have the same ways to get the same job.

3. **Economic Security:** It is the duty of the state to provide the economic security to its people. Under the economic security, this is the duty of state to provide the allowances and pensions to unemployed, disabled and old age persons. State should launch welfare scheme of the poor persons.

4. **Just Distribution of Wealth:** Concentration of wealth in a few hands becomes the root cause of economic injustice. No violent means should be adopted for the purpose of good distribution of wealth of the society. Economic justice means, production in few hands should not be allowed. To achieve the goal, there should be nationalization of means of production.

5. **Protection of the Interest of the Workers:** In society, there should be no place for the exploitation of the weaker sections and workers. It is the duty of the state to provide necessary provisions for the workers, so, that they can fulfill their basic needs i.e. food, cloth, and shelter. State should grant some necessary economic rights to the workers such as right to adequate wages, right to leisure, right to good working conditions etc.

6. **Welfare State:** Welfare state is a tool for the attainment of economic justice. Welfare state plays significant role to reduce poverty, unemployment, economic inequalities and exploitation. That is why, in modern time, the welfare state is necessary to achieve the economic justice.

6.6.4. POLITICAL DIMENSION OF JUSTICE OR POLITICAL JUSTICE

Political justice means granting the political rights to all the citizens without any discrimination. No one can be discriminated on the grounds of caste, religion, race, language, sex, states, and property etc. Everyone should get equal opportunity to get political positions. Every person has right to equal participation in political process. Nobody should be denied of political rights and to provide equal political rights is called Political Justice.

- **ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS FOR POLITICAL JUSTICE**

Political justice consists of the following elements:

1. **Democratic System:** A democratic government is the only government that can ensure political justice. In democratic system, there is no discrimination on the grounds of caste, creed, religion, sex, language etc. Everyone enjoys equal political rights.

2. **Political Right:** For political justice everyone has some political rights i.e.:

- (i) Right to vote
- (ii) Right to contest election
- (iii) Right to form political parties
- (iv) Right to criticize government

- (v) Right to petition
- (vi) Right to hold public office.

3. **Periodical Elections:** In order to achieve political justice, it is necessary to have fixed periodical elections. Every citizen should be free to offer himself as a candidate in election. If elections are not held for a long time, then people will not get political justice.

4. **Special Provision for Backward Castes or Tribes:** The notion of political justice requires that state has to protect and preserve the rights of backward castes or tribes. If backward castes and tribes are not satisfied with the provisions of government, the cause of political justice may suffer. So, political justice demands that special provisions for the protection and promotion of the interests of backward castes and tribes should be made.

5. **Right to Protest:** Citizen should have right to express their views and protest against wrong policies of the government. Political parties help in protecting the human interests. So, it can be said that to enjoy the rights, political rights are on top which leads all type of justice and play important role to for a just and equitable society..

6.6.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. How can we achieve political justice?

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2. What do you mean by welfare state?

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6.7. SUMMARY

In the end, we can say that human being has struggled a lot to achieve justice from the very beginning and he is still struggling to achieve it in total. Justice consists of both rights and duties. In every society people enjoys some rights and they are expected to perform certain kind of duties. The concept of justice is at aim of maximum welfare of the people to all sections or class of the society. Justice is dynamic by nature which means it changes with change in values of the society. Justice is related to every aspect of human life. Justice is that condition in which there is proper system and coordination in personal and social relations. The concept of justice is based on morality. It is related to logic and impartiality. Justice has a law of legitimacy. The things which are according to the values are considered as justice. According to the legal aspect of justice, every person should be treated equally. For the establishment of legal justice law has to be justifying with equality before law, equal protection of law, independent judiciary, cheap judicial system, etc. Elimination of caste system, just distribution of wealth, democratic system

are some necessary steps to be taken for the establishment of social justice are. The concept of economic justice is associated with the basic needs of people i.e. food, clothing and shelter. There should not be wide economic disparities and the principle of equal wages for equal work should prevail. Every person should be provided with adequate means to earn his livelihood. Right to work, right to adequate wages, and right to reasonable hours of work, economic security and democratic state are the essential postulates of economic justice. Citizens should not be discriminated on the grounds of caste, sex, religion, language, colour, creed etc. Everyone have political rights like right to vote, right to contest elections, right to hold public office, right to petition, right to criticize the government, right to form political parties etc. Democratic system should be required to protect these Rights.

6.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

6.8.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the concept of justice? Discuss the various dimensions of justice.
2. Define justice? What are the features of social and economic justice?
3. Discuss the social and political dimensions of justice?
4. What are the main provisions of social justice?

6.8.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is Justice?
3. Give the definitions of justice?
4. Discuss the main features of justice.
5. What are the various dimensions of justice?
6. What do you meant by the legal aspect of justice?
7. Discuss the main provision of legal justice.
8. What do you know about social justice?
9. What do you mean by economic justice?
10. What are the main provisions of economic justice?
12. What do you mean by political justice?
13. What are the political rights of the person?

6.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

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BACHELOR ARTS

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY – II

UNIT7:- DEMOCRACY: MEANING, CHARACTERISTICS, LIBERAL AND MARXIST THEORIES

STRUCTURE

7.0. Learning Objectives

7.1. Key Words

7.2. Introduction

7.3. Definitions

7.3.1. Check Your Progress I

7.4. Characteristics

7.4.1. Check your progress II

7. 5. Liberal Theory of Democracy

7.5.1. Check Your Progress III

7.6. Marxist Theory of Democracy

7.6.1. Check your progress IV

7.7. Summary

7.8. Questions for Practice

7.8.1. Long Answer Questions

7.8.2. Short Answer Questions

7.9. Suggested Reading

7.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to know:

- What is democracy?
- Why should we choose Democracy?
- How do democratic forms of governments emerge, take root and develop?

- Analyze Liberal and Marxist perspectives of Democracy

7.1. KEY WORDS: Sovereignty, Rule of Law, Majority Rule, Supremacy of the Judiciary, Separation of Powers

7.2. INTRODUCTION:

Democracy is essentially a contested concept. It has numerous connotations: to some, it is a system of government while for others it is a way of life. It is also considered as self government, government of the poorest, more educative, more responsive, and more responsible and more people- friendly. Its foundation lies on the basis of equality, liberty and welfarism and the most important thing is that it is less prone to revolution and violence. It thrives on the attitudes that are democratic, scientific, flexible and open. Democracy works towards human development. It is almost universally regarded in a favorable light. Its ethical conceptions are individuality, Liberty, equality and fraternity.

The word ‘democracy’ comes from the ancient Greek word ‘Demos’ meaning the citizens within a city state and ‘Kratos’, mean power to rule. The term was used to describe the practice of Greek City-States. The Greek City States practised direct democracy. More specialized and time-consuming tasks were allocated to a smaller number of office holders. The office holders themselves were subject to regular rotation, chosen by lot by the rest of the community. Jury Service was also a feature of Greek City States. Each citizen was equally entitled to attend, vote and speak at gatherings of the assembly, which decided all the major issues in the City- State by simple majority vote. In actual fact, direct democracy was possible precisely because a considerable number of people most notably women, slaves and foreigners were excluded. All major decisions were made by the Assembly to which all citizens belonged. It ensured a high level of political accountability and political activity of the citizens. Republican Rome shared some features of Athenian democracy; i.e., the notion of popular participation in civic life, the idea of public good and civic virtue as being of higher value than private individual interests.

For much of its history, Democracy has been regarded in a negative light mainly by Greek philosophers- Plato and Aristotle. It was argued that democracy was synonymous with mob rule and was a perverted form of government. It was regarded as the least bad of the three ‘deviant’ forms of rule: democracy, tyranny and oligarchy. In 18th century, both the French and American revolutions proclaimed democracy as one of their goals. The writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau have made an important contribution to turn the tides. The founding fathers of the US Constitution, keen to get rid of the monarchy, set up a directly elected legislature, the House of Representatives. But at the same time check it by separating the powers between House of Representatives and the Senate, the Executive branch and the judiciary. By the 19th Century, democracy was beginning to take on more

popular connotations implications in theory and practice. The utilitarian theory of democracy (Jeremy Bentham and James Mill) was very influential in theoretical context. This gave rise to liberal democracy which was based on liberal principles associated with the industrial middle class. Despite the rise of labor party in England, there was no great move towards a socialist political program. The classical Marxism emphasized that main power lies in the economic base and the political realm is a major reflection of it. It is difficult to achieve greater political equality in an economically unequal society. In the final quarter of the 20th century, there was an enormous expansion of regimes introducing competitive elections and proclaiming themselves democratic. The classical theory associated with participation and citizen involvement in decision making was regarded as unrealistic in the post 1945 period, the elite theory held sway. The elite theory began to be challenged in the 1960s by the participationists who wanted to show the development possibilities of greater citizen involvement. The development theory has been built upon by exponents of deliberative democracy who considered political discussion necessary and accepts that political debate and argument leads to rational and more legitimate decision making.

7.3. DEFINITIONS

Democracy is the rule of the people. The political aspect of democracy emphasizes everyone's share in the government. Its economic aspect demands abolition of exploitation and inequalities. The social aspect seeks to eliminate all distinctions. It is about popular rule or the rule of the people. It can be interpreted *as a form of government under which majority opinion determines legislation.*

In this definition Dicey (1905 in his famous work *Law and Opinion in England*) has tried to demonstrate elaborately the relation of legislation to the prevailing public opinion. Here Dicey has provided rather a conservative view of democracy.

James Bryce hints at a more liberalized definition of democracy. He defined it as *the rule of the people expressing their sovereign will through votes.* Bryce does not consider democracy as a panacea for all ills of the society. He prefers it because it has given better government in comparison to the past.

MacIver's definition of democracy, highlighting the representative system, says it is not as much as the way of governing as is a *way of determining who shall rule and how.* In the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, *democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people.*

The Webster New Encyclopedic Dictionary defines democracy *as a government in which supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representation. It is a system of government where people choose their government in a peaceful manner without revolution.*

Sartori says that a democratic political system is one that makes the government responsive and accountable and its effectiveness depends first and foremost on the efficiency and skill of its leadership.

In a nutshell, it is said that democracy, as a system of government, has four key elements: a system for selecting and replacing the government through free and fair elections; where active participation of the people is there, as citizens, in politics and civic life; safeguarding human rights of all citizens; and a rule of law in which laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens. Democracy has two main categories: Direct and Representative type of democracy. In a direct democracy, citizens without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials can participate in making public decisions. This type of system is successful where small number of people is there in a community or in an organization. The second major type of democracy is referred as representative democracy. It is an indirect democracy where sovereignty is held by the representatives of the citizens. There are two sub components of the representative type: the parliamentary system and the presidential system.

7.3.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Where did the idea of democracy come from?

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2. Whose rule is Democracy considered to be?

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3. With whom does the final decision making power rest in a Democracy?

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7.4. CHARACTERISTICS

Democracy is not static, it is evolutionary. It needs compromises, co-operation and coordination among all citizens. Popular sovereignty is an important feature where people have the power to elect their representatives and if the government is not working properly, people have the power to change the government. Democracy is based upon the principle of majority. The quality of decision making is improved when the candidates are selected by the voters and the selected candidates are elected as representatives of a democratic government. They become the voice of the people who have elected them. They bring into notice their problems and aspirations and help try to solve them. It also enhances the dignity of the individual when every voter has the right to cast his vote. In the selection process,

there is no discrimination on the basis of religion, gender or any other differences. The rulers are elected by the people on the principle of one person one vote. The final decision making power rests with those elected by the people.

The main objective of democracy is to preserve the human rights of every citizen. The most important fundamental rights include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of assembly and the right to equal protection before the law. All the rights are protected by the judiciary. Judiciary is free and not under the control of executive. Free judiciary means more democratic resolution of disputes. Democratic States should have an independent Judiciary system to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens. The Judiciary also keeps a check on the government. Judiciary is regarded as the protector, the interpreter and the guardian of the constitution and of fundamental rights of the citizens. This independence does not mean that judges can make decisions on personal preferences rather they are free to make lawful decisions.

To keep a check on the government, an organized opposition party is a dire need in democracy. Opposition parties and candidates enjoy the liberties like assembly, speech and movement. Political competitors tolerate each other and acknowledge that everyone has a legitimate and important role to play in the system. The opposition should be loyal but not to the specific policies of that government. It should be loyal to the fundamental legitimacy of the state and to the democratic process itself. The constitution plays a significant role in deciding the aspirations and purposes for ensuring the common welfare of all the citizens. All the citizens of a nation- state including its representatives are subject to the country's constitution. The constitution stands as the supreme law of the nation-state. All the laws should be written in accordance with the constitution. In a democratic state, an independent judiciary allows citizens to challenge the laws they think unfair.

The role of media in this regard also attains significance because it informs and educates the citizens in many ways. From the traditional means like radio, newspapers, television, books, and magazines etc. to a new media like satellite, television, internet and social media, it allows us to be critical. The independence of media is one of the most significant characteristic of democracy. It serves as a watchdog upon various institutions and government. It plays an active role in the public debates by editorials and investigative reporting. Media also plays a crucial role in setting the agenda. To make wise decisions about the public policy, citizens need accurate, timely and unbiased information. Media also helps audiences to have a wide range of viewpoints or opinions. Its role becomes extremely important at the time of elections. It helps keeping a check on the government and officials and holds them accountable for their actions.

Citizens in a democracy have not only rights but also the responsibilities to participate in the political system. Democracy does not consist of a universally applied single unique set of institutions. The particular form that democracy takes in a country is largely determined by the existing political, economic and social circumstances. It is also greatly influenced by historical, traditional and cultural factors. The diverse groups in a

democracy, some local and some national, play a mediating role between citizens and societies' complex social and governmental institutions. In authoritarian societies, such organizations are controlled or crushed but in democracy, private organizations are free of government control. In this kind of atmosphere, democracy provides a method to solve the conflict in a peaceful and justified manner. Many conflicts and contrasts arise within the country and even with the states. Democracy provides a platform for every individual and every state to raise its concerns and solve the disputes peacefully. Citizens explore the possibilities of peaceful settlement and responsibilities of belonging to a community.

Constitution plays a significant role in deciding the aspirations and purposes for ensuring the common welfare of all the citizens. The Constitution puts fundamental obligations and limitations on the State Power. Federalism and unitary administrations are the two ways of government. In federalism, power is shared at the local, regional, state and national levels. The rights of the minorities are protected because democratic laws and Institutions protect the rights of all citizens. Gender equality is acknowledged as a foundational feature of democracy. The concept 'democratic deficits' has been used to explain those governmental authorities where women do not contribute, participate and share equally in public decision making. It is true that the number of women holding political office has increased.

7.4.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Why should we value democracy?

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2. Explain any two characteristics of Democracy?

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As discussed above, democracy means rule by the people. While defining democracy, it raises many questions like what constitutes 'people', what is the meaning of 'rule', what is scope and extent of participation, what are the favorable conditions of participation and many more. Many theories have been developed to answer these questions: Liberal theory, Elitist theory, Pluralist theory, Participatory democracy and Marxist theory of democracy etc. Now we shall discuss liberal and Marxist theory of democracy.

7. 5. LIBERAL THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

It is viewed that liberal democracy which lead to capitalism has been the champion of present era. It is seen as most appropriate system for present and for future. The history of modern liberal democracy can be classified into three categories: The early modern liberal

democracy, liberal democracy 18th and 19th century; and the 20th and the liberal democratic 21st century. The early period describes (the medieval and before 18th century) the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The liberal democracy during 18th to 19th century can be described as the power of the British Empire into a laboratory liberal democracy from the mid 19th century onwards.

During 20th and 21st century liberal democracies, as the elections were free and fair and plural society won in most of the areas around the world. The ideas about democracy can be found in the early English writers' writings like Thomas Moore and Winstanley. After the birth of the social contract theory, it is maintained that the real birth of democracy happened. Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* contended that government is created by the people through social contract. John Locke maintained that government must be by the people and aim for their good only. Adam Smith's free market model also talked about freedom for all to produce, buy and sell. Bentham and Mill also supported democracy on utilitarian lines i.e., greatest happiness of the greatest numbers. The best way to getting this happiness is through representative democracy, constitutional government, regular elections, secret ballot, healthy competition among parties and rule by the majority vote etc. Mill saw democracy as a means to achieve moral self development and growth of individual capacities.

The liberal state was forced to accommodate democratic principles to save its own existence. This amalgamation appeared in the form of liberal democracy. The ideas of liberty, equality, rights, secularism and justice became the foundational stone for liberalism and democracy became a means to achieve these. Thomas Hobbs' *leviathan* developed the idea that government must be formed by the people and aim only at their good. Locke's idea was further elaborated by Adam Smith in economic field. Montesquieu enhanced the theory of separation of powers. The Utilitarian's Bentham and J. S. Mill justified democracy on Utilitarian grounds. To achieve greatest happiness of the greatest number, Bentham saw democratic franchise as essential. J. S. Mill added in it another dimension i.e., the moral worth of democracy for the improvement and development of mankind as a whole (human development). We can have more views of classical-liberal democracy in the writings of T. H. Green, Hobhouse, Lindsey, Barker, Laski and Willison etc.

In this form of government, the political sovereignty resides at the level of the individual. Power and authority is taken from the consent of the people. No one individual can claim absolute sovereign power, but on behalf of citizens some representatives have lesser or greater political power relative to other representatives. It is not a divine or hereditary but a general right that is dispersed with in a political community. Individual is the basic unit of democratic model. It considers human being as rational, ethical, active and self interested. An informed, committed and developed citizenry can be developed by participating in political life. Democracy would serve as a means of intellectual, emotional and moral education leading to all round development. Leaders are elected through fair and free elections. Political pluralism is respected. To guide the country, and to set up a system

of checks and balances, liberal democracy functions through liberal democratic constitution. It is a kind of representative democracy where elected members make decisions on behalf of the citizens. These decisions are guided and governed by the constitution which describes that the Civil liberties and rights should not be crushed. It advocated representative government with elected leadership, regular elections, secret ballot independent Judiciary, individual rights and civil liberties. Democracy is a worthy political goal. It is an effective system of governance for gathering political preferences. This is a kind of system which gives clear indication of majority preference and a clear determination of the best course of action. It believed in competitive market economy, private possession and control over the means of production and laissez faire economy. Democracy is to maximize the liberty of citizens and above all their property and the working of the capitalist economy. Liberal democracy strengthened the state and capitalist society. High level of civic engagement is required to achieve success. The individuals who are engaged in collective action for common good make a strong democratic society. Liberal democracy is based on the negative conception of freedom (absence of restraints). Democracy is a way to bridge the gap between state and society.

In democracy, majority rule means in the entire decision making bodies, the issues are resolved by voting. There will be no privileged sections in the society and political equality is secured. The principle of majority rule does not mean the suppression of minorities. The challenge of accommodating and promoting the rights of ethnic, religious and other minorities tends to emerge in 21st century. In modern Nation-States, many racial, religious, linguistic or cultural minorities fear discrimination. Legal awareness in this regard is essential to protect from violation. As Albert Camus said, ‘Democracy is not the law of the majority but the protection of the minority’. Democracy is weakened when divisions are constructed between ethnic, cultural, linguistic and or religious grounds. Democracy is a government by the consent of the people. Free discussion is necessary to achieve the national consent. The discussion on major issues is essential. It can have two levels: one with the representatives of the people in legislative assemblies and another at public level. Channels of mass media play an important role in this regard. They are an important source of connection between the leadership, government and the people.

Liberal democracy always remains answerable to the people, so people should be constantly vigilant. J.S. Mill was of the view that, if liberty and democracy are taken together, they can create –human excellencell. Rousseau wanted that political system should draw a line to separate legislative and executive’s functions. It is also said that, –the ignorance of one voter in a democracy impairs the security of all (John F. Kennedy). Democracy requires public acknowledgement, understanding and deliberation. It’s not just about voting or formal democratic electoral process but also includes a wide range of other political and non political activities. Liberal thinkers have recommended democracy as the best way of realizing, Liberty, equality, rights, secularism and Justice. Democracy was seen as a natural way of governing the masses after the freedom from the shackles of feudal

Lords. Equality amongst citizens is a democratic ideal. But in reality, this equality may be limited to complete or in adequate. It is believed that sovereignty and equality are not enough in a democracy. It requires a set of norms, values and rules that proclaim its position in society.

7.5.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. Is Liberal Democracy the best form of Democracy?

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2. Is a free market necessary for Democracy?

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7.6. MARXIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is not the monopoly of the western liberal world. The concept of democracy was equally accepted by Marx, Engles and the succeeding Marxist writers, but with different connotations. Marxism correlated democracy with the dictatorship of the Proletariat or People's democracy and the construction of a socialist society. In the higher state of communism, it would abolish ultimately. Marx was assured that only democracy could help in establishing a state on rational basis. He attacked on aristocratic, hereditary and property qualification for franchise. He also condemned non-democratic bureaucracy. Marx wrote 12 essays to express the principle belief of his democratic convictions. He was also the editor of the journal named, ‘_Organ of Democracy’’. Marx was still to develop the class concept of democracy but his commitment to Communism was quite clear i.e., it was to be classless and based upon the absence of exploitation of man by man. A series of uprisings that exploded across the major cities of Europe in 1848 led them to reject the thinking that communism and democracy were synonyms. The democrats wanted to overthrow feudalism and establish representative Institutions within the capitalist society; they were not ready to allow power to defend to the working class. The meaning of the democracy was not different from that of liberal notion i.e., constitutionalism, civil liberties, representative Institutions and universal adult franchise. Marx criticized it by saying that the selfish and corrupt politicians misused democratic structure for their own personal ends. According to Marx and Engels, bourgeois democracy was not real democracy. They maintained that this kind of democracy could be used by working class to organize itself i.e. to raise the level of political consciousness and to achieve the level of proletarian revolution. Both (Marx and Engels) saw the revolutionary and parliamentary path not as opposed but complementary to each other. Parliamentary tactics is one part of class

struggle. Genuine democracy can come into existence only after the proletarian revolution. After the seizure of power by the workers of the Paris Commune, Marx further elaborated the concept of democracy. 'The Dictatorship of the Proletariat' was used to signify the different forms of proletarian governments. Marx and Engels were sure that at the time of socialist revolution, the proletariat would be in majority. The dictatorship of the proletariat meant to be the rule of the majority and for the majority. Revolution could be violent or peaceful depending upon the presence of democratic political possibilities and whether peaceful or not, the socialist revolution must be democratic. For Marx, there was no possibility of bringing any social change through peaceful parliamentary means, but at the time of Communist Manifesto, he declared that the first task after the revolution would be to raise the working class to the level of democracy. Marx and Engels anticipated the possibility that socialism could be introduced peacefully by parliamentary means in countries like England and United States.

Democracy as a state institution must be established on the basis of economy. Marx was of the opinion that in the classic society, democracy is nothing but political shape to achieve the classic services and benefits. Actually democracy is a way to rule between the classes. Marx believed that one cannot separate democracy and dictatorship. Democracy becomes the ruling technique for ruling class. Democracy must defend the political interests of the ruling class. Once the interest has been threatened, the governing authority must deprive the political rights of the ruled class without any delay. Human sovereignty is an important feature of democratic republic state. Marx is firm on the view that capitalistic democratic politics is a political mask that is always suitable to capitalism private ownership. This kind of democracy is a kind of hypocrisy, exploitation and operation. Democracy is a product of long development of human society and finally it would also expire along with the state. The private ownership and class would also be destroyed. The democracy of a state should also be in league with history because the state is a history category.

The Marxist concept of democracy as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as developed by Lenin and Stalin, and the establishment of people's democracies in USSR and other communist countries introduced major variations in the original concept. Lenin made it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be exercised in either by the proletariat class as a whole by the mass proletariat organization but only through its vanguard- the party, on behalf of the proletariat. Bourgeois democracy is the democracy for the rich where the capital class controls not only the political institutions but also other structures to grab the overall control on the society. Because it does not serve the interests of working class so it has to be replaced by a radically different form of state, by a different set of Institutions to serve proletarian interests. Stalin gave new turn to the theory of revolution when the party was converted into a centralized and all powerful bureaucracy. Dictatorship of the proletariat meant further centralization of power and greater use of repressive and arbitrary power. Whereas Lenin reduced Dictatorship of the Proletariat to dictatorship of the party,

Stalin reduced the dictatorship of the party to the dictatorship of one person. The Western concept of democracy believes that the socialist transformation in the advanced capitalist societies can only be brought about by using the democratic institutions. Socialism can be brought about by peaceful means. Democratic attributes is not the copyright of the bourgeois regimes but a part of the enlightenment tradition of the Western Civilization. The revolutionary techniques of capturing power by the proletariat are not possible in the advanced capitalist societies.

7.6.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS IV

1. Who was the editor of the Journal, —Organ of Democracy?|?

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2. What is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

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7.7. SUMMARY

The two schools of thought liberalism and Marxism have deep impacts on political, sociological and economic theory. They are normally considered as opposite and rival approaches. One of the greatest bones of contention between them is the issue of democracy. There is a rift around the question of political versus economic democracy. Liberals are of the view that economic democracy is a non realistic thing or concept and is difficult to perceive. For Marxists, political democracy without economic democracy is baseless. It is proved that neither the state nor the market alone can manage the development of modern societies. There is much difference in theory and practice. Democracy set limitations on certain freedoms e.g., anti-democratic speech and attempts to violet human rights. The critics argue that it does not respect the will of the people, and freedom is also restricted by the constitution. However, the best can be achieved if Marxists and liberals leave the zero-sum attitude between them. Rather, they should be busy in a more constructive dialogue through which the means is not to defeat each other but to reach deep insights.

7.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE:

7.8.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Explain the characteristics of democracy?
2. Compare the Marxist and Liberal Perspectives on Democracy?
3. What are the main problems democracies facing today?

7.8.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is Democracy?
2. What is meant by direct democracy?
3. Any two principles of Marxist Democracy.

7.9. SUGGESTED READING

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BACHELOR ARTS

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY – II

UNIT 8:- POLITICAL SOCIALISATION: MEANING, DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND ITS AGENCIES

STRUCTURE

8.0. Learning Objectives

8.1.Key Words

8.2.Introduction

8.3.Meaning of Political Socialisation

8.4.Nature of Political Socialisation

8.5.Types of Political Socialisation

8.5.1. Direct or Manifest.

8.5.2. Indirect or Latent

8.5.3. Check Your Progress I

8.6. Agents of Political Socialisation

8.7. Significance of Political Socialisation

8.8. Shortcomings of the Concept

8.8.1. Check Your Progress II

8.9. Summary

8.10. Questions for Practice

8.10.1. Long Answer Questions

8.10.2. Short Answer Question

8.11. Suggested Readings

8.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the Completion of this unit, you will be able to

- To analyses the process of socialization
- Learn that the process of socialisation is highly helpful in maintaining the stability of political system.
- To explore the manner in which this concept has been understood in various strands of modern political analysis
- Analyse how it serves as tool for understanding the stability of political system, modern state and society.

8.1. KEY WORDS: Socialisation, modernization, orientation, attitudes

8.2. INTRODUCTION

Political culture is a sociological concept on the other hand political socialization is a psychological concept. If modernization is a state of mind and to a student of empirical politics it seems that a political system can be operated effectively only by the people who shared the lively and rational ingredients of the modern outlook, the task of political development thus boils down to the blunt need to change the attitudes and feelings of the people. According to this view point, the argument about how best to facilitate development is again a relatively simple: introduce the essential structure and performance changes- by Persuasion if possible, arbitrarily if necessary- and the people will in time make the appropriate changes in attitudes. Evidence can be cited to show that once people have been placed in a developed context, they can readily adapt their mind and spirit and thus there is little need to show excessive concern over such murky matters as the psychic state of affairs of transitional individuals.¹

Political socialization concerns itself with the orientation of individuals towards political objects and could be studied in the elite, the mass, the deviant groups and social movements. If their attitudes, orientations and values change through time they bring about a change in the political culture also. Since the individual is continually being influenced in the shaping of his political attitudes, orientations and values the process of socialization goes throughout his life. While the process of political socialization is going on all the time there is a possibility of it's getting accelerated through major crisis. For example, a country going through war or inflation or political instability coming in the wake of inefficiency and corruption on the part of the political leaders may bring about radical changes in the attitudes of the people almost overnight. The politics of Imperial powers towards their subject in the colonies- incidents like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in India in 1919 and attack on Harmandir Sahib during Operation Blue Star in 1984 for example have provoked millions of people into radical political action. The Vietnam War brought about almost civil competition in the United States in the late sixties under the pressure of events loyalists turn into rebels and rebels into loyalists, Friends into Enemies and Enemies into friends, attitudes of aggression are converted into those of cooperation and of

¹ Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development*, Little Brown, Boston, 1966, p. 89.

cooperation into those of aggression. If the process of political socialization is slow the waters of the political culture will run smoothly, and a political system smoothly adjusted with the political culture of the country will be able to function effectively. Too Rapid a process of political socialization on the other hand is likely to through everything out of gear.² The term ‘Political Socialization’ is coined by H.H. Hyman.

8.3. MEANING AND DEFINITION

According to Rush, political socialisation is a process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political systems which determines his reaction to political phenomena. It involves the impact of social, economic or cultural environment of society upon the individual and upon his political attitudes and values.

The definition given by David Easton and Jack Dennis includes various factors of political socialisation. They define political socialisation simply as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientation and pattern of behaviour.

For Almond and Verba, political socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Political culture is a sociological concept, whereas political socialization is a psychological concept. Political socialisation concerns itself with the orientation towards political objects. It can be studied in the elite, the masses, the deviant groups and social movements. As their attitudes, orientations and values change through time, they bring about a change in political culture as well.

Political socialisation is a learning process and goes on throughout life. Through this process norms and behaviour acceptable to a well-running political system, are transmitted from one generation to another. It seeks to train or develop individuals in a way that they become well-functioning members of a political community.

This learning process is a gradual and imperceptible one. It works without being noticed Political values are not simply acquired during active political participation, but also in the period before an individual engages in any explicit political activity. In this sense, political socialisation includes all formal, deliberate or unplanned learning at every stage of the life cycle.

Further, the process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level and at the community level and passed on from one generation to another is called political socialisation. The political culture which an individual or community comes to have is a matter of learned behaviour, though not necessarily a conscious process. This learning process involving an internalization of the existing cultural pattern is called socialisation. But when this process acquires a political context, it is known as

² S.P. Verma, *Modern Political Theory*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 297-98.

political socialisation.

8.4. NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialization is the process by which political culture are maintained and changed. Through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed.³ In other words it refers to the learning process by which norms and behaviour are acceptable to a well learning political system are transmitted from one generation to another. Thus, the aim of this concept is to train or develop the individuals in a way that they become well-functioning members of political community. The process of political socialization generally acts in a casual or imperceptible manner. That is, it operates in a quiet or smooth manner without peoples being aware of it. The people take the norms for granted without questioning their legitimacy. Thus, the subject matter of this concept is the process by which people acquire political values not simply during active political participation but also in the period before they engage in an explicit political activity.⁴

The principle emphasis on concept of political socialization is on the transmission of political values from one generation to another. The stability of a social or political system depends on the political socialization of its members. On account of the fact that a well-functioning citizen is one who accept societies political norms and who will then transmit them to future generations, for example, the members of a stable democratic system as a operating in Britain are trained and made habitual of adopting constitutional means to effect changes rather than resorting to the techniques of taking the matter to the streets creating conditions of a violent upheaval. Political socialization thus covers the whole process by which an individual born with behaviour potentials of immense range is led to develop actual behaviour which is confirmed with a much narrower range- the range of which is customary and acceptable for him according to the students of his groups.⁵

Political socialization desires to achieve the goal of political stabilization. It stands on the premise that a political system cannot function smoothly unless the process of the internalization of legal norms and values is at work simultaneously. As in the case of an individual organism, so in the case of body politic, nothing but maintenance of survival is needed. And survival means nothing else than stabilization. Political socialization is the most important link between social and political systems but may vary considerably from one system to another. From a political point of view, political socialization is extremely important as a process by which individuals become involved in varying degrees in the political system-- in

³ Gabriel Almond and G. B. Powel, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Little Brown, Boston, 1966, p. 64.

⁴ Stephen L. Wasby, *Political Science: The Discipline and its Dimensions: An Introduction*, Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta, 1970, p.333.

⁵ Irwin L Child, –Socialization|| in G Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Mass, Camb, Vol. 2, 1975, p. 655.

political participation.⁶

8.5. TYPES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

8.5.1. Direct or Manifest.

8.5.2. Indirect or Latent.

8.5.1. DIRECTOR MANIFEST POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

This refers to the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or attitudes is clearly political. For example, an individual under the influence of family, teachers or some other agencies like the peer group or occupational group, learns in clear terms, the pattern and functions of the government. Further, he learns the views of a political party or gets convinced of the superiority of a particular ideology. Since the objects of his orientations are specifically political, these are instances of direct or manifest political socialisation.

8.5.2. INDIRECT OR LATENT POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

As a result of his relationship with parents, teachers, or some other socialising agencies, an individual may develop an attitude to authority in general. Subsequently, this attitude may be directed to political authority in particular. Thus, the orientation with a Non- Political object is ultimately transformed into a political orientation. This is an example of indirect or latent political socialisation. This includes the transmission of non-political orientations that ultimately affect objects.

It is wrong to think that manifest socialisation is intentional and latent socialisation unintentional. Actually both manifest and latent political socialisation may be intentional as well as unintentional depending upon the context. For instance, when a school teacher urges his students to be public spirited and law abiding citizens, he is promoting intentional manifest political socialisation, but when a child starts fearing a policeman by watching how a member of his family has been mercilessly beaten up by him, there occurs an unintentional transmission of political orientation. Again, when a child is taught that good boy is one who obeys his elders, intentional latent socialisation is being intended. But when a child begins to learn the necessity of rules by participating for the first time in children's sports, there occurs unintentional latent socialisation.

⁶ Michael Philippe and Phillip Althoff, *An Introduction to Political Sociology*, Nelson, London, 1971, pp. 13-14.

8.5.3. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. What is socialisation?

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2. What is Latent Political Socialisation?

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8.6. AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

The family, peer, groups, educational institutions, secondary groups, the mass media, political system and party agencies are regarded as chief agents of political socialisation which is a lifelong process is effected through them. Among these agents, the family comes first.

Family:

Family plays a key role in the socialising process. It transmits political culture from one generation to the next. Major part of an individual's personality is shaped by his family influences (from the age of 3 to 15). Many studies on political socialisation have revealed that what an individual acquires from his family out lasts the influences flowing from other socialising agents in his later life. In the United States, three-fourths of the children share the party preferences of their parents. This is so despite the two generations having been kept in quite different socio-economic environment.

Family's key role in the socialisation process may be explained by several factors. These are summarised as follows:

Family holds a crucial position in the life of the child because it is the only agency during one's formative years. For a fairly long period, it meets one's emotional and physical needs. It provides the child both love and approval. He is also given a status by the family. In this way, child has to depend on his family for both moral and material needs. In the process he comes to subscribe to the political beliefs and attitudes of his family. Similarly, he readily accepts the parental version of what is right and wrong, good and bad, or proper and improper.

Child learns through imitation. There is a natural tendency in a child to imitate his parents. In most cases, the ideal role model for a son is his father and for a daughter is her mother. But the influence of this parental model diminishes as the child grows older. He begins drawing new models for himself from the wider social sphere where he then moves about. However, the memory of the parental model does not totally

disappear with age. It remains very much intact especially in persons not endowed with high intelligence and not receiving higher education.

All family members live in the same environment. They are influenced by the same neighbours and neighbourhoods. They have the same circle of friends, who usually share with the family such social characteristics as class, religion and ethnicity. They are further influenced by the same economic forces of the area and of the father's occupations. The family members read the same news papers and listen to the same preacher and other local opinion leaders. Further, they gather the same gossip and hear the same stories. All this tends to give a family, a marked uniformity of thinking and belief. As a result, the children are likely to share the political orientation of their parents.

This does not mean that individual sticks to these parental political orientations and never abandons some of them in later life. In fact, he tries to test their validity in terms of his own experiences of society and politics which he acquires later in his life. In this process, he changes many of the political orientations of his parents which he might have acquired from his family. But in spite of these changes, some prominent traces of the family influences till persist in him till the last.

Invariably it has been noticed that political socialisation which takes place within the family is essentially conservative in character. A family has an inherent tendency to preserve and perpetuate traditional practices and ideas. As a result, political socialisation performed through family tends to slow down the process of change in political change. This cultural lag in political system leads to condition which social scientists have called '*Anomic*' (Following Durkheim).

It is usually noticed that while political institutions of a society undergo change, families continue transmitting political attitudes to the next generation which are not appropriate to the changed political order. These transmitted political orientations are appropriate to situations prior to this change. This phenomenon is frequently observed in the modern developing societies aim in gat vital changes in the social and political order. This aspect of the political socialisation through family is essentially retrogressive. In this context, family works as an obstacle to rapid and widespread changes in the social and political orientations of the people who are members of a political system.

Peer Groups:

Childhood play groups, friendship, cliques, small work groups, brothers and sisters, married couples and like are some of the examples of the peer groups. Like the family these groups are also based on primary relationship. But they differ from family in their structure and in the character of the *intra-relationships*. Despite the

fact that intercourse among the members of a family rests on a highly intimate and personal relationship, yet all of them are not given an equal status. The parent-child relationship is always hierarchical. In fact, family contains at least two separate generations. Thus, members of a family, namely, parents and the child, naturally have different status positions within their family circles.

On the contrary, peer groups consist of members of about the same age. The members can, therefore, afford to enjoy an equal status in their relations with each other. In short, they can afford to be non-hierarchical. This does not mean that peer groups have no leaders. But they are not given rigidly defined roles as in case of families.

Political socialisation within the family, fulfils a major function, that of establishing a child's basic political orientations and knowledge. But family influence starts diminishing when a child reaches adolescence. Then one longs for becoming a more autonomous human being. He wants to function independent of family guidance. Political socialisation, however, at this stage, assumes new dimensions. An individual then is confronted with the problem of interpretation of and adjustment to political changes. He had to prepare himself for participating in specifically political roles. In this way, peer groups supplement the socialising functions of the family by preparing the individual for more specific political experiences.

In modern complex society peer groups as socialising agents, perform very useful function. They prepare a child to a full and political status. They enable them to participate in the complex and depersonalized social and political cultures of modern societies. Further, peer group is in force of political orientations acquired from in family as *a socialiser*. Thus, it does not always work in conflict with the family. In fact, the more static the society the less this peer group will probably conflict politically with family.

Members of a peer group have free access and exposure to each other. There is to be found an easy flow of interactions among its members. Its members have relations which are usually of a highly intimated and personal nature. A peer group receives a very high degree of attention from its members. This is why peer groups play a vital role in the extra socialisation process.

Like the family, the peer group is characterized by personalize as well as emotive extra relationships. These tend to facilitate the task of socialising its members. The extent to which a peer group is capable of replacing the family as an agent of political socialisation, however, varies with the degree of parental control. In countries like India, France, Germany and Belgium, the family maintains its control over the adolescent's life for a much longer period. However, this is not so in case of the United

States and Britain. This is why the peer group plays a crucial role as an agent of political socialisation in the lives of people of the former countries rather than those of the latter.

The extent to which a peer group may perform the role of political socialisation would largely depend on how far politics happens to influence it. For example, in the U.S.A. youth groups generally are not much concerned about politics. Hence, a group of this sort cannot be expected to be an important agent of political socialisation.

Educational Institutions:

Educational institutions are close rivals to the family as major agent of political socialisation. As a person grows older and is initiated into formal education, schools, colleges and universities start working as important socialising agents. All governments try to set up schools or help in founding them because they are very effective medium of transmitting such political values and beliefs are congenial for their working.

The schools are apt to provide most effective channel for shaping the citizen's political attitude and behaviour while they are young and pliable. They socialise both directly and indirectly. For instance; if the school curriculum is imbued with national patriotism and obedience to law, which governments are likely to instill among their citizens, direct socialisation's said to have been the result. Again a student becomes politically socialised not only through what the formal curriculum deliberately teaches him but also by the inference he derives from his school experiences.

Thus, a process of latent political socialisation is at work at the school level. There is to be seen a particular pattern of authoritative decision-making in a school. All the students are subjected to it. In the light of this experience, they may develop a particular type of attitude to political authority. Similarly, participatory process in a school orients an individual not only in modes of participation but also determines his general attitude towards liberal democratic values and institutions. This is more applicable to the colleges and universities than schools. The former may instill among most citizen's new values and lead to the formation of more radical political attitudes.

Thus, formal education is certainly powerful in developing children's political selves. Most educated people are found to have the strongest sense of political efficiency. They are found to be the most politically interested and informed and take the most important roles in political affair. For many social scientists, educationist the last and best hope for curing social evils. War will never disappear until people are educated to recognize its futility and horror. Likewise, racism will not end until white people are educated to recognize blacks as full equals, and so on. But formal education is not the only opinion forming agency for a child or in case of an adult. When children hear one thing in school and quite another at home or from

their classmates, there is no reason to believe that they will believe teachers and text books rather their parents and peers.

It will be much better if schools and families do not work at cross-purposes with each other, but work in harmony, to effect a smooth transition of one political culture to another.

In recent times, student power has emerged on the campuses of the Indian universities. Colleges and universities have been found to have fostered among certain students a political attitude and a love for confrontation with authorities. The student movement in Gujarat and Bihar at J.P.'s call contributed to strong political socialisation of the student's community. The opposition of a large number of American students to the Vietnam War is another example of educational institutions acting as agents of the political socialisation.

Secondary Groups

The importance of a secondary group as agents of political socialisation cannot be over emphasized. It varies with one society to another. The more highly developed and complex a society is, the greater will be the number of secondary groups, and their role in the process of political socialisation is likely to be a major one. Membership of a secondary group equips new skill, information and predispositions that are found very useful in the context of political participation. It provides a very good apprenticeship for meeting the challenges in the political world.

Political scientists identify three types of secondary groups which undertake political socialisation. They are as follows:

These are secondary groups with a distinctive political characters, political parties, pressure or interest groups come in this category. They aim at disseminating political values, mobilizing political action and recruiting political leaders. Evidently groups perform functions which are called international manifest political socialisation.

This category comprises those groups which are instituted for non-political purposes. These are found to carry on political education and mobilization along with their other activities. A labour union is a typical example. While a labour union is basically engaged in the task of collective bargaining and looking after material well-being of its members, yet at the same time, it equally tries to involve the main political action, thereby enhancing their political consciousness. This may also be viewed as a direct international socialisation.

In this category are included those secondary groups which do not have any

political character. They never try to impart political education to their members. But the members develop orientations that have political relevance by mere participation in the routine affairs. For example, a cricket club is not directly an agent of political socialisation, but its activities result in a process of unintentional political socialisation. This is evident from the fact that while participating in its matters are equipped for participation in the political sphere.

Mass Media

Mass media include, radio, television, newspapers, magazines and the like. They provide a good deal of information to the members of political system. They often add their own perception and interpretation of the things they inform about. Hence, their role in political socialisation of citizens is very important. In recent years, the mass media have greatly developed. It is due to advance in technology that the apparatus of mass media has become an effective agent of political socialisation.

In most cases, the mass media are not the actual origin at or of the messages they transmit, but their interpreter. The social setting determines not only the type of mass media likely to attract a particular people, but also the way in which the latter would interpret and react to the performance by the mass media. Since messages generally originate at the level of government officials and political leaders, secondary groups as also the mass media transmit them to the people. From this point of view mass media strictly speaking, are not themselves the agents of political socialisation. Indeed, they are only used as an instrument by other socialising agents to perform the task of political socialisation.

Further, the mass media do not generally have a direct impact on the people. The mass media go through two way flows. Initially, the messages they transmit reach only to a small number of opinion leaders like parents, teacher's community, activists etc. It is they who then pass on these messages to those over whom they have influence.

Obviously, mass media is not the primary socialiser. They serve the function of reinforcing the already established orientation. More often, the messages transmitted by the mass media are intended to support the existing arrangements. They inform and interpret in order to maintain the status quo or property relation. In this way, they become more an agent of reinforcement rather than an agent of change. A corollary of this is that the attitude to the receiver has direct link with this reinforcement function people's relation are likely to be quite favorable when the messages passed on by the media are in agreement with their established ideas.

8.5. SIGNIFICANCE AND ROLE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialisation includes both political learning and non-political learning of politically relevant issues. It also involves the acquisition of politically relevant personality traits. Political learning has a clear bearing on the later behaviour of men who are exposed to socializing influences, including the political system. Most commonly, socialisation seems to have conservative consequences for existing political arrangements. These conservative effects are not necessarily in the direction of encouraging political stability. Nonetheless, they are likely to maintain existing patterns both in stable and non-stable systems.

In a way, socialisation may prove to be a potential source of change. It's possible that the link may be broken in the attempt to transmit one generation's values and beliefs to the next. And since the training of the young is in part future oriented, one generation may deliberately transmit the next generation such values as may differ from its own. Further, wherever different generations are exposed to different experiences the needs of change are present.

Thus, political socialisation not only shapes and transmits a society's political culture but also maintains, transforms and sometimes creates the political culture of the people. Under stable conditions, the task of maintenance, that is, of transmitting a society's political culture successfully from one generation to next receives greater importance. But stable conditions are a rare phenomenon in the modern world. Most nations are seen struggling to transform the old order or to erect new political structures with new social arrangements. It is here that political socialisation assumes the transforming role. Some countries, especially the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa, are often found striving for completely new political order; a new political socialization becomes highly significant in such countries.

In this way, political socialization has three distinct roles. Like, maintaining existing political culture, transforming existing political culture and Creating new political culture.

So, it can be said the process of political socialization in every society involves a combination of all these three roles, that of maintenance, transformation and creation of political culture.

8.6. SHORTCOMINGS OF THE CONCEPT

The study of political socialization seems to be one of the most promising approaches to understand political stability and development, even though this concept has its own weaknesses.

- First of all, the concept of political socialization may be accused of being conservative.

As the entire concept of political development is an exercise for defending and preserving the status quo, the concept of political socialization on account of the very fact of being a derivative of the same may be accused of in a similar vein.

- The concept of political socialization may not serve the purpose of those who subscribe to the school of Marxism-Leninism, nor can it fully satisfy those who are in search of a real alternative to the school of scientific socialism. The Marxist openly declared that the philosophers have so far interpreted the word the problem is how to change it. For this reason, they reject any concept of an open society like that of political socialization as another ingenious gift of bourgeois mind.
- The new generation of American political scientists has found many faults with the pattern variables and an empirical specification not only in regard to their application to the developing countries of the Third World but to their own countries so terrible caught up in the problems like those of inflation, unemployment and war all assuming threatening postures to the survival of their own political systems.
- A study of political development of countries belonging to the Third World reveals that the model of political socialization, as given by many distinguished American writers, may hardly applied to them in the midst of too many Armies, too much bureaucratic parasitism, too much unequal distribution and not in a production, too much concentration on display of projects and neglect of infrastructure, too much articulation of conflicts between communities, in short, too much politics for the elites not enough authentic participation for the masses. For anything but in the very long run, the Western model began to be regarded as unattainable, especially given the absolute character of the values and goals of many third world leaders.⁷

8.8.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Family plays key role in Political Socialisation. Explain.

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2. How political socialisation is helpful to preserve the political culture?

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8.9. SUMMARY:

Political socialization desires to achieve the goal of political stabilization. It stands on the

⁷ J.P. Nettl, -Strategies in Study of Political Development in Colin Leys (ed.), Politics and Change in Developing Culture, Cambridge University Press, London, 1969, p. 19.

premise that a political system cannot function smoothly unless the process of the internalization of legal norms and values is at work simultaneously. In this way, political socialization has three distinct roles. Like, maintaining existing political culture, transforming existing political culture and Creating new political culture. So, it can be said the process of political socialization in every society involves a combination of all these three roles, that of maintenance, transformation and creation of political culture.

8.10. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

8.10.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the nature of Political Socialisation.
2. What are the types of Political Socialisation?
3. Discuss the agents of Political Socialisation.
4. How the concept of Political Socialisation is significant even today?
5. Critically evaluate the concept of Political Socialisation.

8.10.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Give two definitions of political socialisation.
2. What do you mean by Political Socialisation?
3. Write the name of three agents of political socialisation.
4. Give Three Shortcomings of political socialisation.

8.11. SUGGESTED READING

- R. Ball, *Modern Politics and Government*, Macmillan Publishers, 1971
- Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, Palgrave Foundations, Hampshire, 2003
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BACHELOR ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY – II

UNIT9:- POLITICAL CULTURE: MEANING, DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND IT'S TYPES

STRUCTURE

9.0. Learning Objectives

9.1. Introduction

9.2. What is Culture?

9.3. Meaning of Political Culture

9.4. Roots of Political Culture

9.5. Secularisation of Political Culture

9.6. Types of Political Culture

9.6.1 Check Your Progress I

9.7. Marxian Perspective of Political Culture

9.8. Significance of Political Culture

9.9. Shortcomings of the Concept

9.9.1. Check Your Progress II

9.10. Summary

9.11. Questions for Practice

9.11.1. Long Answer Questions

9.11.2. Short Answer Questions

9.12. Suggested Readings

9.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of political culture.
- Analyse the role of political culture.

- Examine the People's beliefs, symbols and values structure both their attitude to political process, and, crucially, their view of the regime in which they live- most particularly, whether or not they regard their rights as rightful or legitimate.
- Understand and explore the manner in which this concept has been understood in various strands of modern political analysis and how it serves as tool for understanding modern state and society.

9.1. INTRODUCTION

Politics is a social activity. Politics is about 'power' politics occurs when there are differentials in power or authority. Power occurs in all societies and if we equate politics with power relations then politics also is endemic to social life. Political arrangements depend upon social organization and cultural values. So the roots of politics always find in the social setup and the culture of that particular region. This trend was commenced during the behavioural revolution particularly under the impression of sociology. One political system is distinguished from another, the system theorists point out, not only its structures but also by the political culture in which the structures are rooted. Despite the fact that developing countries adopted political Institutions like parliamentary democracy or party system from countries where they had been developed through several centuries. It became clear very soon that they did not generally function in the same way. This could only be explained by the fact that the working of the political system is very much affected by the political culture in which it functions. So the political scientist especially Europeans and Americans had enthusiastically started to look at the layers of different cultures and examined the interaction between society and politics. It is for this reason that Walter Bagehot, Alex de Tocqueville, Max Weber and Dicey and regarded as seminal theorists whose works signify the important role played by ideas, sentiments, symbols and values in the Politics of English, French, German and American countries. We may take note of the fact that great thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Kant, Burke, Green and Bryce attached great importance to the inculcation of public sentiments and values appropriate to an ideal or best possible political system.

Political culture of a country, in the sense, is like its general culture. Just as countries differ in their critical norms, they differ in their political cultures also. Political culture provides structures and meaning to the political sphere in the same manner as culture in general gives coherence and integration to social life. It relates to emotions, rational considerations and ethical values. To understand the term political culture, it is essential to first know what we mean by culture.

9.2. WHAT IS CULTURE?

Culture is defined by UNESCO as the set of distinctive spiritual intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group. Culture involves values symbols meanings and Expectations. It tells us who we are and what is important to us and how we should

behave.⁸ According to Merriam-Webster dictionary⁹ culture is the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group; the set of values, conventions, or social practices associated with a particular field, activity, or societal Characteristic; the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations.

In other words, culture is the central human characteristic expressing our essence as aware social beings. Unlike nature (with which it is often contrasted) culture involves values, symbols, meanings, and expectations. It tells us who we are, what is important to us and how we should behave. The people of a society share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. This common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, though with greater or lesser modifications and thus constitute the general culture of a society. Certain aspects of general culture of a society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This aspect of culture we call political culture."¹⁰

9.3. POLITICAL CULTURE: MEANING

A definition of political culture flows from this account of culture. The term refers to the overall pattern in society of beliefs, attitudes and values towards the political system. There are many and also varied definitions of the term 'political culture' that also suggest its nature. It has been described as the commonly accepted rules.¹¹ Dahl has suggested political culture as a 'factor explaining different patterns of political opposition.' According to him, the salient elements of the political culture are¹²:

1. Orientations to problem-solving: are they pragmatic or rationalistic?
2. Orientation to collective action: are they co-operative or non-cooperative?
3. Orientations to the political system: are they allegiant or alienated?
4. Orientations to other people; are they trustful or mistrustful?

In other words, political culture "is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and political issues."¹³ It is defined as "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards political among the members of the political system. It is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a

⁸ UNESCO, Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 2002, <http://unesco.org>, accessed 12 June, 2021.

⁹ Merriam-Webster dictionary, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture>, accessed 9 June, 2021.

¹⁰ Beer and Ulam, *Patterns of Government*, Random House, New York, 1962, p. 32.

¹¹ Roy C. Macridis "Interest Groups in Comparative Analysis" in *Journal of Politics*, Vol. XXXIII, 1961, p. 40.

¹² Robert A. Dahl (ed.), *Political Opposition in Western Democracies*, Yale University Press, 1966, pp. 352-55.

¹³ A. R. Ball, *Modern Politics and Government*, Macmillan Publishers, 1971, p. 56.

political process and that provides the underlying assumption and rules that govern behaviour in the political system."¹⁴

Culture in its broadest sense, is the way of life of a people. Sociologists and anthropologists tend to distinguish between ‘_culture’ and ‘_nature’, the former encompassing that it is passed on from one generation to the next by learning, rather than through biological inheritance. Political scientists, however, use the term in a narrower sense to refer to a people's psychological orientation, political culture being the pattern of orientation to political objects such as party, government, the constitution, expressed in beliefs, symbols and values. Political culture differs from public opinion in that it is fashioned out of long-term values rather than simply peoples reaction to specific policies and problems.

9.4. ROOTS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

A political culture hinging on the fact of people's attitude and beliefs towards the political system, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous, is a product of several inter-related factors importantly:

- (a) Historical;
- (b) Geographical;
- (c) and socio economical

Let us discuss these three factors that constitute the foundations of the political culture.

(A) Historical factors:

A study of history offers ample authentic evidence to prove the continuity or discontinuity of a political system behind which the foundations of a political culture can be found out. The importance of political continuity in a country like Britain, for example, lies in the fact that their older values have been allowed to merge with the modern attitudes undisturbed by violent internal strife or domination by foreign power.¹⁵ They borrowed a lot from glorious revolution of 1688. France offers a sharp contrast in the chain of historical development. While the revolution of 1789 and a violently overthrew the existing structures and subsequent events showed the highly emotional attitudes of the French people, the English leader expressed their shock at the events of 1789 and the leading parliamentary like Edmund Burke could successfully draw the attention of his countrymen towards the horror of such a violent upheaval. Such a political culture had its impact upon the fate of the colonies as well. Thus, the Indians learnt from their British Masters the value of parliamentary democracy and efficacy of the Constitutional means.

(B) Geographical factors:

Geography has its own part in laying the foundations of political culture. The insular character of the British Isles protected the country from foreign invasion and also from the massive influx

¹⁴ Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development*, Little Brown, Boston, p. 104.

¹⁵ A. R Ball, *op.cit.*, p. 58.

of foreign races that could have created the problem of ethnic differences. Different from this, the limitless frontiers of a country like India opened the ways for the foreigners to invade and even stay here with the result that we developed the values of independent egalitarianism in the midst of Sharp ethnic differences. Instances can be gathered to show that in case the ethnic differences are allowed to develop in the direction of hostile political cultures, national integration suffers heavily and different people in the name of their different nationalities struggle for their separate sovereign states. Thus, the Government of Kenya, for instance, has to wage a relentless fight against its Somali tribesmen demanding their Union with Somalia. The factor of political Geography engage our attention when we find that the rebellious tribesmen very much thrive on the support of the alien enemies Nations as the Nagas and mizos of India, on the people of country like West Germany are forced to accept the existing critical structures of a neighbouring state like that of East Germany- virtually an integral part of their own- because of the geographical compulsions and also because of the competing International Alliances led by the United States and the Soviet Union. Apart from this, our neighbouring country Bangladesh's separation from the Pakistan was also because of geographical factors.

(C) Socio-economic factors:

A predominately urban Industrial society is a more Complex society, putting a premium on Rapid communications. Educational standards are higher, group proliferate and participation in the decision-making process is, by necessity wider. Rural societies are not geared to change and innovation, and states with the predominantly peasant population are more conservative.¹⁶ Developments in the field of science and technology have their impact on the growth of agriculture and industry; they also have their impact on the process of transportation and communications, migrations and immigrations, imports and exports, revolutions and warfare.

9.5. SECULARISATION OF POLITICAL CULTURE

The concept of political culture is not static, it is dynamic and thus responds to the needs generated within the political system or imported or imposed from outside. Secularization of the political culture is another extension of this concept. It has two attributes

- (i) Pragmatic and empirical orientation
- (ii) Movement from diffuseness to specificity of cultural orientations.

Times change and so change the beliefs and values of the people. This change should, however, be in a pragmatic and empirical direction and that too to in a way from diffuseness to specificity. That is, the political beliefs and values of the people must change from a parochial to a mundane variety, the people must learn more and more the meaning of political participation and political recruitment and their knowledge of political involvement should grow so that they

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 61.

may grasp the implications of the idea of political legitimacy. Thus, the process of secularisation of political culture means:

- increasing political Awareness of the people
- enabling masses to have a growing information about their political system
- Peoples' role as a political actor in the political system
- increasing participation of peoples' in the process decision making

It is through the secularisation of political culture that these rigid, ascribed and diffuse customs of social interaction come to be over-ridden by a set of codified, specially political and universalistic rules. By the same token, it is in the secularization process that bargaining and accommodative political actions become a common feature of the society, and that the development of special structures such as interest groups and parties become meaningful.¹⁷

9.6. TYPES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Through studies undertaken in the political cultures of different countries, the concept has been refined considerably. It is now widely realised that there is no society today which can claim us single uniform political culture. Within each political culture there are differences with regard to its structure and configurations. In all political systems we find a fundamental difference between what might be called the culture of the rulers, or the elite, and culture of the ruled or the masses. The relationship between the elite culture and the mass culture again is an important factor in determining the nature of political system. In some Countries there may be a wide gulf between two cultures. In others, as Myron Weiner has pointed out in case of India, there may be a continuous process of urbanizing the rural culture which might ultimately lead to some kind of reconciliation between the two kinds of cultures. Patterns of culture change also differ from country to country in some countries modernization might not completely cut itself adrift from tradition where as in other tradition may have too strong a foundation to yield place to even small degrees of modernity. The place of tradition in the changing political culture of a country, it may be reiterated, plays a very important role in the shaping of the political system. Almond and Verba set out to identify the political culture that most effectively upheld democratic politics. They identified three general type of political culture: participant culture, subject culture, and parochial culture.

- A participant political culture is one in which citizens pay close attention to politics and regard popular participation as both desirable and effective.
- A subjective political culture is characterized by more passivity among citizens, and the recognition that they have only a very limited capacity to influence government.
- A parochial political culture is marked by the absence of a sense of citizenship, with people identifying with their locality rather than the nation and having neither the Desire nor the ability to participate in politics.

¹⁷G. A. Almond and Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Little Brown, Boston, 1966, p. 60

Although Almond and Verba accepted that a participant culture came closer to the democratic ideal, they argued that the Civic culture is the blend of all three in that it reconciles the participation of citizens in the political process with the vital necessity for government to govern. Democratic stability, in their view, is underpinned by a political culture that is characterized by a blend of activity and passivity on the part of citizens and the balance between obligation and performance on the part of government.

Efforts have also been made to study the content of political culture. Political cultures, it has been pointed out, differ from each other in the degree of trust or distrust that prevails in the society, in the emphasis on hierarchy or equality, in the importance given to liberty on the one side or tolerance of coercion on the other hand, and, finally, in the fact whether the liability and commitment of the people are towards the nation as a whole or to smaller groups like the family or the clan. One also comes across reference in these studies to the existence of various subcultures within a society's political culture, which could be in harmony with each other as well as with the national culture. Cultures could, thus, be termed as homogeneous or heterogeneous.

9.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. What is Culture according to UNESCO?

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.....

2. Discuss the historical factor of culture.

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9.7. MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICAL CULTURE

A very different view of the role and nature of political culture has been developed within the Marxist tradition. Although Marx portrayed capitalism as a system of class exploitation and oppression operating through the ownership of the means of production, he also acknowledged the power of ideas, values and beliefs. As Marx and Engels emphasized that the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is ruling material force of society, is at the same time the ruling intellect force. In Marx's view, ideas and culture are part of a -superstructure that is conditioned or determined by the economic _base', the mode of production. These ideas have provided Marxism with two theories of culture. The first suggests that culture is essential class-specific: as members of a class share the same experiences and have a common economic position and interests, they are likely to have broadly similar ideas, values and beliefs. In Marx's words, it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. Proletarian culture and ideas can

therefore be expected to differ markedly from Bourgeois ones. The second theory of culture emphasizes the degree to which the ideas of the ruling class pervade society and become the ‘ruling ideas’ of the age. In this view, political culture, or even civic culture is thus nothing more than bourgeois ideology. What is the important about this view is that it sees culture, values and beliefs as a form of power. From the Marxist prospective, the function of ideology is to reconcile subordinate classes to their exploitation and oppression by propagating myths, delusions and falsehoods (in Engels‘ words false consciousnesses). Later Marxists have understood this process in the terms of bourgeois hegemony.

9.8. SIGNIFICANCE

The concept of political culture has made a highly significant contribution to the development of modern political theory. Since the advent of the behavioural revolution the attention of the political scientist was becoming more and more concentrated on the study of the individual political behaviour, and political science was a rapidly becoming identified with psychology. Even with the development of the systems approach, attention was being riveted mainly on the single act or the decision as a unit of political analysis. It was the decision maker, the leader, the voter or the opinion holder, who was the focus of political analysis. The concept of political culture focussed their attention on the study of the political community or society as a dynamic collective entity, as distinct from the individual and, thus, on the total political system.

The study of the Dynamics of continuity and change in political systems, which the political culture approach demanded, involved a combination of micro as well as macro studies. The political culture approach, therefore, made political science a more complete social science through its insistence on the combined micro- macro approach. The political culture approach helped the process of broadening the scope of political science in one other way. The processes of political socialization involved not only the political factors but also the non-political dimensions of life, the social and economic parameters, so to say. Political culture approach, therefore, encouraged political scientist to take up the study of the social and cultural factors which were responsible for giving a political culture of a country its broad shape. The political culture approach also helps us in combining the study of the rational factors, which shape the actions of individuals, to a large extent, with the more latent, the irrational, determinants of behaviour. The concept of national character, which was more or less static in its approach, was now found to be inadequate to deal with the political behaviour of societies, on which battle light could be thrown through a study of political culture, could be subjected to empirical research, at least to some extent. Finally, it was the political culture approach which helped us to understand why different political societies inevitably moved in different directions of political development, or, may be, find themselves suffering from severe constraints, socio economic as well as political, which force them to move towards political decay.¹⁸In any case, it has now become clear in the light of our discovery that political cultures bear an important role in the

¹⁸S. P. Verma, *Modern Political Theory*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, p. 297.

shaping of political development in a country, why some societies take more easily to democratic institutions and other find it more convenient to authoritarian ways.

9.9. SHORTCOMINGS OF THE CONCEPT

However, the political culture approach has some weaknesses .J. C. Johari pointed out these weaknesses as under

- This approach is not progressive but reactionary in character. It suffers from stigma of conservatism and reaction. Even Almond and Powell have realised that this approach cannot be taken as a correct barometer of individual behaviour. They affirm that a careful analysis of Political culture still provides no sure guide, perhaps at best a probabilistic one, for the prediction of individual behaviour in a given case.
- The political culture approach cannot be described as a very precise variable for presenting a morphological study of modern political systems. The terms coined by the protagonists of this approach are neither very clear nor very precise as a result of which a student of comparative politics is often confronted with a confusing situation. Thus, it has been pointed out that the concept of political culture is an attempt to find one rubric to include what in the past have been variously described as attitudes to politics, political values, ideologies, National character and cultural ethos etc. None of these terms are sufficiently broad provides a basis for classifying political systems, though each one of them separately is relevant to the study of comparative politics but each one is vague and ambiguous and, as such, has only a source of confusion for those attempting to compare political systems methodologically.¹⁹
- If political culture is nothing else than a set of beliefs and sentiments about politics as embodied in the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the people and depending upon the specific content of the notion of ‘political development’, it is bound to be conducive for antagonistic to it. The problem arises when there is a measure of difference between the political culture of the rulers and that of the ruled in such a situation the question would arise as to which of these different cultures may be considered more relevant to political development.²⁰
- Diversity of political culture may be seen even in the community of the ruling class. One party may come into power after replacing another with its own set of political notions, beliefs and commitments. If so, it would have its own effect on the pace of political development and political modernization of the country. The problem, in fact, compounded as political culture itself is a subsystem of the culture in general. Or if it be objected that there is no such thing as culture in general but rather cultures as differentiated with respect to particular domains, the problem may be reformulated and

¹⁹Davis and Lewis, *Models of Political System*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1971, p. 114.

²⁰Daya Krishna, *Political Development: A Critical Perspective*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1979, p. 151.

articulated in terms of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the culture obtained in the political domain with those obtained in other domains.²¹

9.9.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence. What it means?

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2. According to J.C. Johari, this approach is not progressive but reactionary in character. Explain

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.....

9.10. SUMMARY

In crux it can be said that the protagonists of the political culture approach claim that it has made a highly significant contribution of the development of modern political theory. It is said that is "may provide us with valuable conceptual tools by means of which we can bridge the micro gap in political theory. It enhances our ability to describe and analyse the interactions between political system and its culture. By distinguishing between behaviour and attitudes, we are able to explicate differences in performance across political systems and that the operation of the legislative process at the Union level as well as at State level "reinforces the Union predominance in the legislative field".

9.11. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

9.11.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the various types of political culture.
2. Write a note on the significance of political culture.
3. Critically evaluate the concept of political culture

9.11.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. How political culture is different from culture?
2. What do you mean by the process of –secularisation of political culture?
3. Write any two definitions of Political Culture.

9.12. SUGGESTED READINGS

- R. Ball, *Modern Politics and Government*, Macmillan Publishers, 1971

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 152.

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BACHELOR ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)

SEMESTER –II

COURSE: - POLITICAL THEORY – II

UNIT10:- POLITICAL SYSTEM: MEANING, DEFINITION CHARACTERISTICS, FUNCTIONS & ITS DISTINCTION FROM STATE

STRUCTURE

10.0 Learning Objective

10.1. Key Words

10.2. Introduction

10.3. Meaning of Political System

10.3.1. Characteristics of System

10.4. Definitions of Political System

10.5. Characteristics of Political System

10.6. Structures of Political System

10.7. Environment of Political System

10.8. Functions of Political System

10.9. David Easton's Model of Political System

10.10. Functions of Political System According To Almond

10.10.1 Check Your Progress I

10.11. The State and Political System

10.12. Differences between State and Political System

10.12.1. Check Your Progress II

10.13. Summary

10.14. Questions for Practice

10.14.1. Long Answers Questions

10.14.2. Short Answer Questions

10.15. Suggested Readings

10.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to

- Understand the meaning of Political System
- Analyze the Characteristics of Political System
- Know the functions of Political System
- Understand the difference between State and Political System

10.1. KEY WORDS: System, Force, Universal, Limitations, Environment, adaptability

10.2. INTRODUCTION

There are number of approaches and concepts have been developed by various political scientists since the inception of political science as an independent discipline. The concept of political system was introduced by the famous American theorist **David Easton**, whose book '**The Political System**' was published in 1953. The traditional political thinkers commonly used the terms state, government, legislature, judiciary etc in place of words political system. As such their study was confined or restricted only to the legal, formal and organizational aspects. On the contrary, the protagonist supporters of the modern viewpoint regard it as more appropriate to use the comprehensive term 'political system'. They include in their study both, the formal and informal organizations and also the direct as well as indirect political activities which being of political nature, notwithstanding their different forms and have widened the scope of political science, and made its study' real and empirical.

10.3. MEANING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

The term political system is a compound of two words-'political' and 'system' and the knowledge of the different meanings of these two words make this concept of political system absolutely clear.

MEANING OF POLITICAL:

The word 'political' refers to power' and 'authority'. **Aristotle**, the father of political science, regards political association as the 'most sovereign and inclusive association.' The very possession of sovereignty marks it out from all other associations. **Robert A. Dahl** observes, Ever since Aristotle's time the notion has been widely shared that a political relationship in some way involves authority, rule or power. **Almond and Powell** call this attribute of political association Legitimate physical coercive power. In **Max Webber's** estimate, an association can only be called political, if and in so far as the enforcement of its orders is carried out continuously within a given territorial area by the application and three of physical force on the part of administrative staff,

Thereafter going through these views, we arrive at the conclusion that the term political is related to power, rule and authority and an organization possessing these attributes can claim to be as political.

MEANING OF SYSTEM:

According to **Almond and Powell** observe A system implies interdependence of parts and boundary of some kind between it and environment.

Oxford Dictionary defines it, ‘When we speak of political system, we include all interactions which affect the use of or/the threat of legitimate coercion.’

According to Collin Cherry, ‘System is a whole which is compounded of many parts.’ The analysis of the aforesaid definitions summarizes that system is a complete entity or identity or an identifiable unit comprising of distinct parts which apart from being interdependent also influence one another. For example, human organism is a system. Its different organs are interdependent, and they also influence one another.

10.3.1. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SYSTEM

- a. Unity
- b. Wholeness
- c. Organization
- d. Mutual interdependence
- e. Boundaries
- f. Comprehensiveness
- g. Existence of sub-systems.

After reading the views written above, we come to the conclusion that if we obey the orders of an organization because of the fear of authority of power such an organization can be called Political System.

10.4. DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Robert A. Dahl observes, ‘A political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority.’

Almond and Powell defines, ‘When we speak of political system, we include all interactions which affect the use of or threat of legitimate coercion.’ **Almond and Powell** highlights the two main characteristics of political system-first, the use of legitimate power, second, the existence of interactions.

According to **David Easton**, ‘Political system is a set of interactions abstracted from the totality of social behaviour, through which authoritative values are allocated for a society.’

David Easton believes that political system is a set of interactions. It is a part of the social system and it possesses authority by which it can enforce its will on others.

According to **J.C. Plano and Robert E Riggs**, Political system is distinguished from other social systems by five characteristics

- a. It is universal in its reach extending for all members of society.
- b. It claims ultimate control over the use of physical coercion.
- c. Its right to make binding decisions is accepted as legitimate.
- d. Its decisions are authoritative bearing the force of legitimacy.
- e. A substantial probability of compliance.

Lasswell and Kaplin observe, ‘Political system is a process of collecting policies with the help of (actual or threatened) severe deprivation.’

On the basis of the above definitions, we come to the conclusion that political system is a vast concept. It includes all interactions, structures and activities which are related to the taking of authoritative decisions and their implementation. Only political system has control over the legitimate physical coercive authority and its decisions are binding and everybody is bound to obey the same. If any group or a person violates or disobeys the decisions of political system, he is liable to be punished. It is this characteristic of political system which distinguishes it from other systems.

10.5. CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Following are the characteristics of Political System;

1. Persistent pattern of human Relationship: Political System, according to Robert A. Dahl, is a persistent pattern of human relationship. Power, rule or authority and influence are the bases of this human relationship. Though in it, each individual actor plays his own distinctive role, yet viewed as a whole it is the gross total of their roles.

2. Legitimate Force: Every political system is vested with legitimate force which makes its decisions binding and influential. It is this peculiar characteristic of political system which marks it out from the social and economic systems. Legitimate force, as a matter of fact, penetrates all political activities.

3. Comprehensiveness: Comprehensiveness is one of the essential ingredients of political system. It does not include only government structures e.g. legislature, executive and judiciary, but all those formal and non-formal organizations also, which in any form influence the political processes, in which kinship, caste-groups, murders, riots, processions, political parties and pressure groups, religious and cultural organizations are included.

4. Universality of Political System: Universality is also one of the characteristic of political system. It implies that every society, however, backward, has a political system, because the probability or existence of political system does not only signify a civilized society, though in its form it may vary from society to society.

5. Universality of Political Structures: Every political system has different structures which perform their different roles. The earlier traditional viewpoint regarded only the legislature, executive and judiciary as political structures. But the modern viewpoint includes each formal and non-formal or among the political structures which directly or indirectly influences the functioning of political system

6. Universality of Political Functions: Every Political system whichever its form performs both, the input and output functions

- **Input Functions:**

1. Political socialization and recruitment
2. Interest articulation

3. Interest aggregation 4. Political communication

- **Output Functions:**

1. Rule making 2. Rule application 3. Rule adjudication functions

7. Sub-Systems and their Dependence: Every political system is a blend of numerous sub-systems. The sub-systems depend on the influence of one another. Change in one sub-system invariably influences the other sub-systems. For example, if the people elect the capable legislators to the legislature the executive will naturally become efficient and responsible.

8. Existence of Boundaries: Almond and Powell are of the opinion political system has boundaries which distinguish it from the other systems e.g. economic system and social system. These boundaries related to the functional rather to the territorial aspect, and they continue changing from time to time. During war time, the boundaries become greatly extended as large number of men is recruited into military service, as business firms subjected to regulations and as internal security measures are taken. In this way, change in the functional boundaries is a common phenomenon in political system.

9. Adaptability: Political system is prone to change according to the situations. During the emergency, for example in India, the nature of the political system instantly gets transformed from the usual one to a different one. But when the emergency is over, it again undergoes a change. Any political system lacking in this quality will not remain stable.

10. Multi-functionality of Political Structures: Each political structure does not perform only one type of function rather performs various kinds of functions. For example, Legislature does not only legislate, but it also exercises control on executive and the national exchequer. Similarly, we note the multi-functionality of the political parties contesting the election, forming the government, criticizing the government and acting as a link between the government and the people.

11. Mixed character of Political Systems: Generally political systems are of a mixed character. For example the Indian Political System is a mixture of eastern and western institutions and values. Similarly, if we make the ideological evaluation of different Political Systems none of these are completely traditional nor completely modern rather these are the mixture of traditional and modern. For example, though the British Political System is modern, yet we find in it the monarchical system of middle age. This we call the mixed character of political systems.

12. Environment and its impact on Political System: David Easton is of the opinion that each political system operates within an environment and it is also affected by that environment. David Easton divides the environment of political system into two parts.

I. Intra-Societal Environment.

II. Extra-Societal Environment.

In the intra-societal environment, he includes political, economic, social and cultural life in which the political system works and in the extra-societal environment, he includes international organizations, international laws and international politics etc.

10.6. STRUCTURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

The structures of Political System can be divided into two categories;

1. Formal Structures: Every state has a formal constitution which makes the provision of formal structures such as legislature, executive and judiciary etc. These formal structures do the functions fixed by law and the constitution. These formal structures convert inputs into outputs in a political system and whatever may be the nature of political system, these formal structures are found in every political system.

2. Informal Structures: According to Almond and Powell, 'The political system includes not only governmental institutions such as legislature, courts and administrative agencies but all structures in their political aspect.' This statement of **Almond and Powell** is very clear that apart from formal structures, all those informal structures which in any way affect the working of political system are also included in the structures of Political System. We know it fully that political parties, pressure groups, Interest groups etc. influence in a big way the working of political system and these can be termed as Informal structures of political system and without understanding their interaction with political system, we cannot understand the working of a political system.

10.7. ENVIRONMENT OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

According to David Easton, the environment which influences political system or in which political system operates or functions, may be classified into two broad categories;

1. Intra-Societal Environment: By Intra-societal environment, we mean that in each society, there are many such factors which influence the working of the political system. For example, wide spread poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, casteism, communalism, violence and corruption etc factors have greatly affected the working of the Indian political system. Besides this, many other caste groups, religious groups, economic groups and many more such pressure groups and interests groups and political parties etc also influence the working the political system and the commutation of all these is known as intra-societal environment.

2. Extra-Societal Environment: International organization, international law and the other constitutional systems constitute the extra-societal environment. It also exercise Influence on the political systems. Now-a-days, in fact, no political system can remain Immune from the influence of the extra-societal environment.

10.8. FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

David Easton's Model of Functions of Political System or Political System as Input and Output Process

Political system, according to David Easton, converts Inputs into Outputs;

Meaning of Inputs: David Easton, with the help of an illustration of the sugar mill which requires sugarcane, electricity, oil, water etc as raw material for its operational process, presents the case of political system. Inputs act as the requisites or raw material in the functioning of political system. David Easton classifies the inputs into two-categories;

- (a) Inputs in the form of demands
- (b) Inputs in the form of support

INPUTS IN THE FORM OF DEMANDS: Every individual expects the fulfillment of some of his demands from the political system, which we call inputs in the form of demands. These demands may be of four types;

1. Demands for the allocation of goods and Services: Every individual expects that the political system should ensure reasonable wages, fixed hours of work, educational opportunities, recreational facilities, the promotion of the means of transport etc. David Easton calls them demands in the form of allocation of goods and services.

2. Demand for the regularization of Behaviour: For the proper regulation of social life every individual demands that the political system should make rules for the safety of human life, to regulate marriages and divorces and public health and sanitation etc.

3. Demand for participation in Political System: The people demand for participation in political system such as the right to vote, right to public or government services, right to petition, right to form association etc.

4. Demand for Communication and Information: David Easton includes in it, demand for communication and information and framing of ideology, seeking decision making information from elites, display of authority by the political system at the official or ceremonial occasions etc.

INPUTS IN THE FORM OF SUPPORT:

David Easton is of the view that for the smooth functioning of the political system apart from Inputs in the form of demands, inputs in the form of support are also necessary. They provide capability to the political system to meet challenge of demands. They may be of four types;

1. Material Support: Payment of taxes, performance of public duty, recruitment to military services etc are covered under material support

2. Obedience Support: Obedience of laws framed by political system for the purpose of the regularization of public life is known as inputs support.

3. Participatory Support: In the category of participatory support, David Easton includes, voting, taking part in political debate and discussion and the other similar political activities

4. Attention and Respect Support: Attention and respect support means attention and respect for public information, public authority, symbols, formal ceremonies etc. **David Easton** further states that the political system and the elites operating in it will have to seek support from the other systems as well as from the people for the effective implementation of the demands.

Conversion Process: Every political system is furnished with Input Demands and Input Support as its raw material which it converts into decisions or policies in the form of outputs, and this whole process is called conversion process. It may not be possible to convert every input into output. It depends on the efficiency and resources of the political system to convert the inputs into outputs. That is why all the demands presented or represented to the political system by the people are not accepted.

MEANING OF OUTPUT:

The decisions or policies which are made keeping in view the Input Demand, Input Support, are called Outputs by **David Easton**. These decisions may be favourable or unfavourable in respect of demands. Much depends on the nature of political system. Outputs may be of the following types

1. Extraction: We have read above that the outputs may be or may not be according to the demands. All the demands which we put before the political system are seldom fulfilled. Sometimes the political system makes certain decisions which are absolutely inconsistent to the demands of the people. But since the political system has the legitimate coercive authority, it can get such decisions obeyed. According to **David Easton**, such decisions can be in the form of Tribute, Booty, Taxes or Personal Services.

2. Regulation of Behaviour: According to David Easton, the second form of output is to regulate the behaviour. It is always essential to make some rules and regulations to regulate the behaviour of the people living in an organized society. In case this is not done the situation of anarchy and "might is right is going to prevail. So, the political system makes certain rules and regulations to regulate the behaviour of the people.

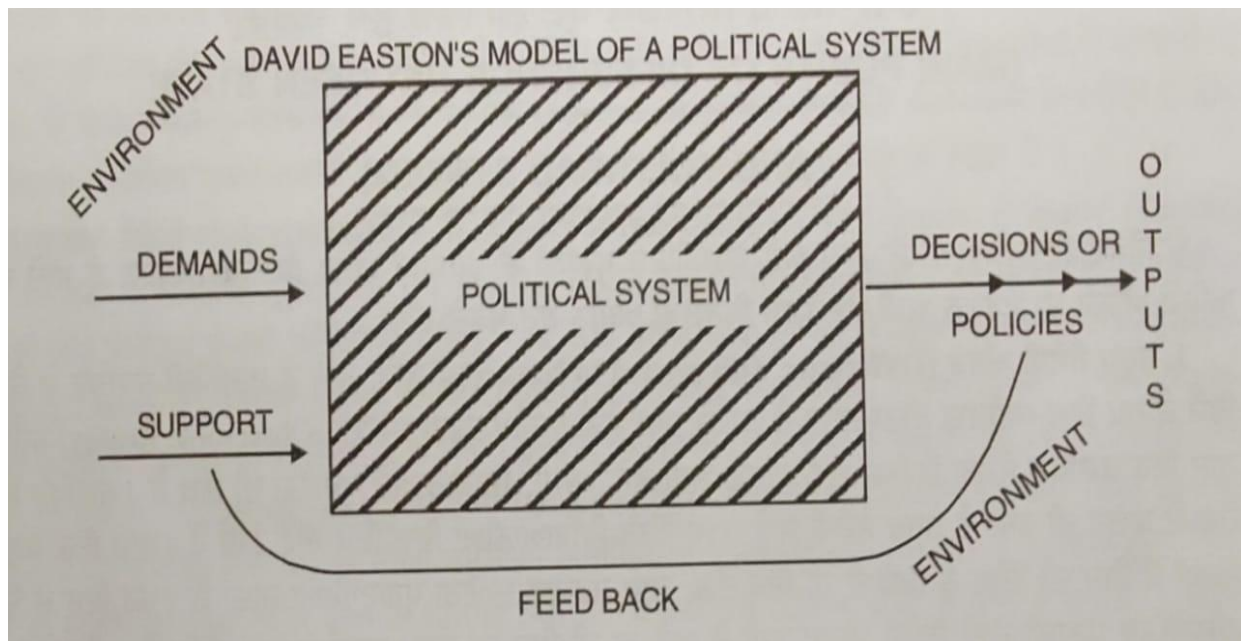
3. Allocation of Goods and Services: Every political system wants to provide wide range of social services to its people and wants to meet their needs of food, cloth and shelter in these days, the state which provides wide range of social services, is considered Good **David Easton** calls this output function of the political system as the allocation of goods and services.

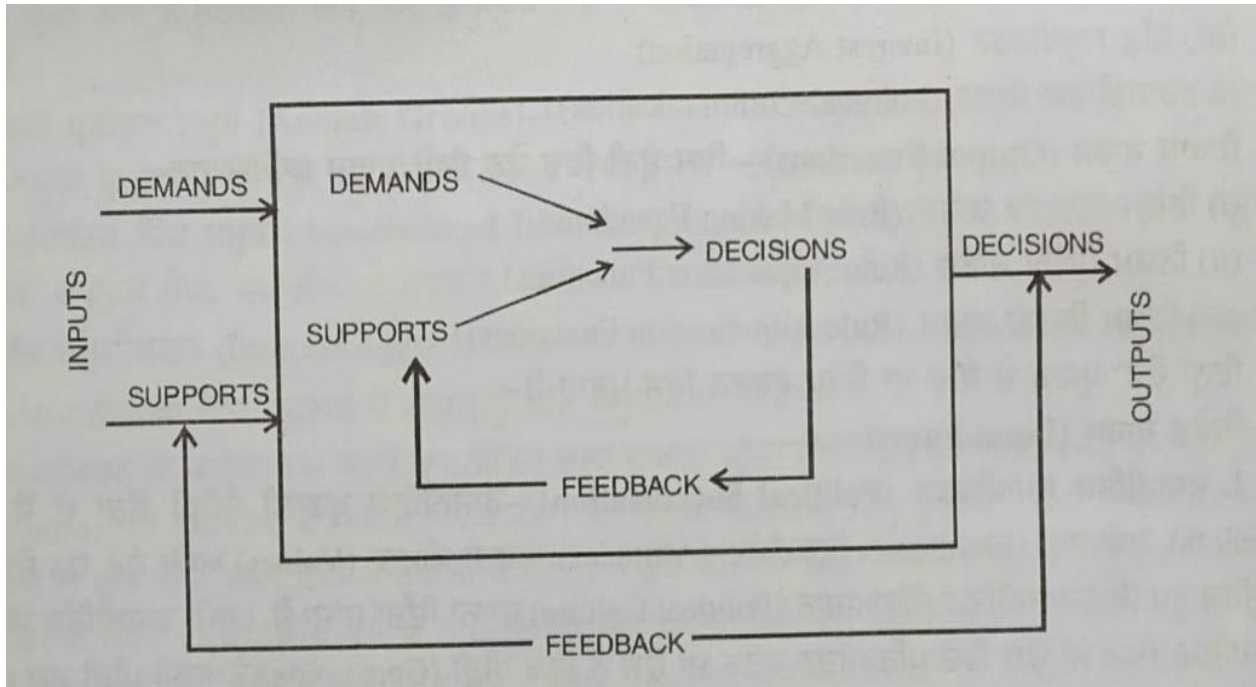
4. Symbolic Output: Every political system is based on some special ideology and values which are expressed by the political system with the display of symbols, and declaration of policies and interests etc. For example, we read written on buses etc that 'India is one though religions are many' The political system demands from the people the affirmation of these values and **David Easton** gives the name of, symbolic output, to this function of political system.

10.9. DAVID EASTON'S MODEL OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

According to **David Easton**, there is a close relationship between Inputs and Outputs. Whichever the decisions are taken by the political system in the form of outputs, they further take the shape of raw material and become inputs. In this way, the conversion process goes on continuously. **David Easton** calls it, 'Feed Back Loop Mechanism'—the illustration of which is given as under in Easton's model of a Political System.

EASTON'S MODEL OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM





10.10. FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO ALMOND

The functions of political system can be divided into two main categories;

A. Input Functions:

1. Political Socialization and Recruitment
2. Interest Articulation
3. Interest Aggregation
4. Political Communication

B. Output Functions:

1. Rule-making Function
2. Rule Application
3. Rule Adjudication

ALMOND'S MODEL ON THE FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

(A) INPUT FUNCTIONS:

Input functions are performed by non-government structures viz. political parties, pressure groups, newspapers, magazines etc. We can classify these in the following four types;

Input Functions		Out Put Functions
1. Political Socialization and Recruitment 2. Interest Articulation 3. Inter Aggregation 4. Political Socialisation	Political System	1. Rule-making Function 2. Rule Application 3. Rule Adjudication

- 1. Political Socialisation and Recruitment:** Political socialisation is that process by which the values and beliefs of the people are formulated and they are incorporated into the state's political culture. According to **Almond and Powell**, 'Political socialisation is that process by which political culture is maintained as well as changed.'

Political socialisation is a regular process which goes on continuously. Political culture undergoes a change in accordance with the situations, as a result of which the process of political socialisation continues. The political parties, pressure groups, newspapers and the other similar organisations continue to keep the people well informed about the achievements and failures of the government through their forums and expressions by way of which political socialisation continues to take place.

The pace of political socialisation, however, depends on the types of government. There is a greater degree of political socialisation in a democratic government because a democratic government affords a larger measure of freedom for the expression of views and for forming of political organisations or associations. On the contrary, the pace of political socialisation in dictatorship or totalitarianism is comparatively slow because the people don't have political freedom in dictatorship. But it does not mean that there is no political socialisation in dictatorship at all. Political socialisation is universal though it varies in degree. It may be fast, somewhere and slow elsewhere, respectively.

Along with, political socialisation, recruitment also continues to take place in political system. It implies assigning of different roles for different purposes. New incumbents are recruited or inducted in, to fill in the vacancies caused by resignation, retirements, deaths, removals or transfers of the persons formerly holding the offices. **Almond and Powell** observe. 'We use the political recruitment or refer to the function by means of which the roles of political

system are filled.' Political recruitment is made on the basis of Interest, capability, ideology, popularity, charismatic personality, influence, caste, religion, heredity, force etc.

2. Interest Articulation: In every political system, the people have some demands, interests or goals. The process for presenting them to the Decision Making Power, inter alia, government is called Interest articulation. This is a very important function of political system, because the decision making function of the government is performed keeping in view these demands or interests otherwise these interests will not be genuinely taken care of and fulfilled. For the smooth process of interest articulation it is required that all the different opportunities and forums are provided, and no suppression is allowed. If the people are denied constitutional methods they are bound to resort to revolutionary methods which will prove harmful. We can, in no way, keep the interest articulation suppressed for a long period. In dictatorship, interest articulation is kept suppressed. The results, there are greater chances of revolt in dictatorship.

Means of Interest Articulation-Interest articulation finds its outlets in written petitions, political meetings, newspapers and magazines, protest meetings, strikes etc. Sometimes in the process of Interest articulation, violent methods such as damaging or setting to flame public property, taking out violent demonstrations, killing of political leaders etc are resorted to.

3. Interest Aggregation: The different interest groups claim upon the political system different demands, for their fulfillment. As such the process by which all such different demands are combined or aggregated and common policies for their realisation are evolved is known as interest aggregation. **Almond and Powell** observed, 'The function of converting demands into general policy alternatives is called interest aggregation.'

Interest aggregation occupies an important place in political system, because without aggregation of the different interests, the suitable common policy cannot be framed. In this process, political parties play a significant role. They frame out a general acceptable programme keeping in view the different interests of the various castes, communities and sections. Legislature as well as executive also promotes interest aggregation.

4. Political Communication: By political communication, we mean to transmit information. Political system has to rely on interest articulation for the purpose of policy framing. A healthy interest articulation is only possible when the suitable means of political communication are available. Political communication inter-links the various parts of the political system as well as the other non-governmental system. As a result of it, the proper information regarding the activities and demands of one or the other group also exist. In this way, political communication proves helpful to the political system in the policy framing. If this political communication is snapped, it results in dangerous consequences. In such a situation, the government will lose touch with the genuine public interests and the communication gap will go on widening, which at any time can take the form of revolution.

Political Communication is a Two-Way Process-

Political communication is a two way process. On the one hand, the government wants to know what the people actually want; on the other hand, it wants to communicate to the people the policies framed by it for the promotion and fulfillment of their interests.

With its formal as well as informal means the process of political communication goes on continuously. The people also wish to know what goods the government is delivering to them, and the government equally wants to know what the people expect. Radio, television, newspapers, magazines, discussions, political leaders etc play a significant role in this process. Political communication has gained so much Importance that even the states which have governments with unlimited powers, cannot ignore it. Even in these states notwithstanding the state control on the means of communication the government through its secret agencies continues to assess the public feelings and tries to communicate to the people its policies.

B. OUTPUT FUNCTIONS:

These are the functions of the government. The output functions of political system are viz. rule-making, rule-application and rule adjudication. According to **Almond**, political system performs the following three output functions.

1. Rule Making Function: Rules are necessary to determine the relationship among the individuals; without them anarchy will prevail in society.

The first important function of political system is, thus, rule making. New rules are framed to cope with the changing situations and needs, and also if need arises, the old rules are repealed. According to the traditional viewpoint, it was known as Law making or Legislative function and this was performed by parliament or legislature. Almond regards it as more appropriate to make use of the term, Rule Making in place to Law-Making, because the Law Making function restricts the function of political system to a specific extent whereas, the term Rule Making function widens the scope of political system.

2. Rule Application Function: Rules, however good, lose their utility if they are not properly implemented. Political System, therefore, not only discharges the function of rule-making, but also of rule application. The function of rule application is carried out by the civil servants inter alia, bureaucracy. The traditionalists regarded the rule application function as executive function. Proper structures are, thus, necessary in political system for the purpose of rule application, because these structures prove helpful in maintaining the impact of political system.

3. Rule Adjudication Function: The rules may, however, be good or stringent, but there remains the possibility of their breach. If the adequate mechanism to punish the violation of rules

does not exist, each individual will violate the rules and will also interpret them according to his personal convenience. Political system, thus, performs the function of rule adjudication. Rules are firstly interpreted, and those who violate them are punished. Here it is necessary to examine before awarding punishment that particular rule has been infringed: and it ever infringed, whether it has been infringed intentionally or accidentally. After arrived at this fact an individual is awarded reasonable punishment. Besides, there arises sometimes a dispute over the meanings of rules, and in such a situation the rules have to be interpreted clearly. According to the traditional viewpoint, this was regarded as the judicial function. There may be a provision of punishment for the rule violators within the framework of rule, even then it is necessary to examine as to which extent the rules have been violated. This function is performed by judiciary. In order to obtain fair and impartial justice, independent Judiciary is set up so that the people may have faith in judiciary.

10.10.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Briefly describe the meaning of Political System.

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2. Write the functions of Political system according to David Easton.

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3. Write input functions of Political system according to Almond.

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10.11. THE STATE AND POLITICAL SYSTEM

According to traditional viewpoint, the state was considered central to the study of political science whereas the protagonists of the modern viewpoint they prefer to make use of the word political system in place of the state and Government and they also make distinction between the State and the Political System. But before making distinction between these two terms, we must know the meaning of both.

Meaning of the State: The state is supreme and sovereign institution. According to **Prof. Gettell,** _The state is a community of persons permanently occupying a definite territory, legally Independent of external control and possessing an organised government which creates and administer law over all persons and groups within its jurisdiction._

The definitions given above make it very clear that the population, fixed territory, government and sovereignty are the four essential elements of the state and whichever association has these four elements can be called the state.

Meaning of Political System: The concept of political system is central to the study of modern viewpoint of political science and is the result of the behavioural revolution which came in the study of political science in the beginning of 20th century. According to **Almond and Powell**, ‘When we speak of political system we include all interactions which affect the use of or threat of legitimate coercion.’

In brief, we can say that political system is combination of interactions and structures which have final control over the legitimate physical coercive power and the decision made by it are backed by legal sanctions.

10.12. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATE AND POLITICAL SYSTEM

After knowing the meaning of state and political system, we find the following differences between the two;

1. State is an Abstract Concept, whereas Political System is a Reality: Notwithstanding the fact that each individual recognises the existence of state, nevertheless is an abstract concept which is thought and felt, but is not visible in physical form. This is the reason that there are different views regarding the origin and nature of state. On the other hand, there are no such fixed elements of the political system rather political system is the sum total of formal and informal institutions and their roles and the use of legitimate physical coercive power is the special characteristic of political system which distinguishes it from other systems

2. Difference in their Constituent Elements: The state consists of four elements viz., population, territory, government and sovereignty. These four elements are essential to constitute the state and even if one element out of these is absent, the state cannot come into existence. Political System comprises of political processes, political behaviour, political institutions and political goals. According to **Almond and Powell**, ‘One of the basic units of the political system, then, is the political role.’

3. Difference in their Boundaries: There is a difference between the boundaries of both the state and Political System. The boundaries of the state are territorial and are generally permanent. On the basis of these, we measure the territories of different states. On the other side, the boundaries of the Political System are fixed according to the roles of different individuals and institutions which keep on changing according to time and situations,

4. The State consists of People whereas Political System consists of their Political Relations and Political Roles: According to Garner, the state is a community of persons and when these people organise themselves politically and settle permanently on a particular portion of territory, have their government and are free from internal and external control that constitutes a state. In comparison to it, the political system is a persistent pattern of human relationship that includes

their political roles and political activities which one way or the other influence the working of political system.

5. Difference in their Functions: There is a specific difference in the functions of State and Political System. The modern state apart from providing security to the individual's life, goods and property also tries to provide amenities to the individual to make his life more and more comfortable. The present day state is a welfare state and today the state which performs the maximum number of functions is considered a good state. On the contrary according to **Almond**, Political System performs the function of converting the inputs into outputs and this process continues ceaselessly.

6. All States are alike whereas Political System can be of different kinds: All states are alike in form irrespective of the size-vast or small; irrespective of the population big or small, irrespective of the content of the people-rich or poor; irrespective of the natural resources scarce or plentiful. Only the four elements are compulsory in the formation of state. On the contrary, political systems are of different kinds in the different states. Whereas in England there is liberal democracy, in China there is totalitarian political system. Though India like Great Britain has also adopted liberal democratic system, yet there is a wide difference between the working of the political systems in both the countries and this is the case with the political systems of all the countries.

7. There is Inter-dependence of Parts in Political System, but no such thing in the State: Inter-dependence of parts is the basis of political system. **Almond and Powell** are of the opinion that political system implies their dependence of parts and existence of some kind of boundaries. Inter-dependence of parts implies that whenever a change occurs in one part, it influences the political system as a whole. On the contrary, state is an abstract concept on which neither the Interdependence of parts nor the change in boundaries cause any influence.

8. Difference in respect of the element of Sovereignty: Internal and external Sovereignty is an important characteristic of the state which means that the state is free from all type of internal and external control. But in political system, there is no significance of the concept of sovereignty. The modern political thinkers believe that the political system gets influenced by intra-societal and extra-societal environment. Yet, they believe that the political system has legitimate physical coercive power with the use of which it gets its orders obeyed from others.

9. State is Permanent, Political System keeps on Changing: State is a permanent institution and continues to exist as long as it possesses the four elements. In the states only the governments change and the change of government in no way affects the state. But on the other side, the Political System keeps changing and with the change in social, economic, cultural, intellectual and political situations, the changes also take place in Political System.

10. State is an explanatory concept, Political System is an analytical Concept: State is an explanatory concept which can be explained away in detail, but cannot be analysed. On the contrary, political system is an analytical concept which can be tested.

11. Political Socialisation and Political Culture have special importance in Political System, not for the State: In the concept of political system, importance is attached to the concept of

political socialisation and Political Culture because these activities keep on influencing Political System regularly, as a result of which, there occur changes in Political System. On the other hand, no special importance is given to political socialisation as well as political culture in the state.

12. State includes only Formal and Legal Institutions, whereas Political System includes both Formal and Informal Organisations: In state, only formal legal institutions viz., legislature, executive and judiciary are included whereas in political system both, the formal and informal organisations are included. Whichever institution that is of political nature and influences the political system, falls in the sphere of political system.

13. State is an old concept, whereas Political System is a Modern Concept: The state is an old concept and according to the traditional thinkers of Political Science, it is central to the study of Political Science. According to famous thinker **Garner**, ‘Political Science begins and ends with the state.’ But with the passage of time, change took place in the nature and the functions of the state. In comparison to it, the concept of Political System is a modern concept and is the outcome of the behavioural revolution which came in the study of Political Science in the beginning of 20th century. With the purpose to make the subject of Political Science a living subject, the modern political thinkers developed the concept of political system and thus, have widened the scope of the study of Political Science.

10.12.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. State is an old concept, whereas Political System is a Modern Concept. Explain

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2. Is sovereignty an essential element of political system?

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10.13. SUMMARY:

After going through the views as described above, we arrive at the conclusion that state is a narrow concept whereas political system is comprehensive concept. Ever since its origin, a great change has taken place in the subject matter of political science and this concept of Political System is gaining popularity day-by-day. Sovereignty is an important characteristic of the state which distinguishes it from other associations and provides supremacy to the state whereas the chief characteristic of the political system is the use of legitimate physical coercive power with the use of which the political system gets its orders obeyed from the people and other associations.

10.14. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

10.14.1. LONG ANSWERS TYPE QUESTIONS:

1. Describe in brief the meaning of Political System.
2. Define Political System. Explain its main characteristics.
3. Define Political system according to David Easton and discuss its functions.
4. Define Political system according to Almond and discuss its functions.
5. Describe the input and output functions of Political System.
6. Describe the differences between State and Political System.

10.14.2. SHORT ANSWERS TYPE QUESTIONS:

1. Define Political System.
2. Discuss three characteristics of Political System.
3. Discuss David Easton's model of Political System.
4. What are Inputs?
5. What are Outputs?
6. What do you know about the environment of Political System?

10.15. SUGGESTED READINGS

- S.P. Verma, Political Theory, Geetanjali Publishing House, New Delhi.
- M.P. Jain, Political Theory, Authors Guild Publication, New Delhi.
- David Easton, the Political System, Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta.
- D.C. Bhattacharya, Political Theory, Vijay Publishing House, Calcutta.
- O.P. Gauba, An Introduction to Political Theory, Macmillan India Ltd. New Delhi.