GPS S1 01

Political Theory

(PART-A)

SEMESTER - 1

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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June, 2018

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Printed and published by Registrar on behalf of the Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University.

Headquarter : Patgaon, Rani Gate, Guwahati - 781017

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The University acknowledges with thanks the financial support provided by the **Distance Education Bureau**, **UGC** for the preparation of this study material.

BACHELOR OF ARTS

POLITICAL SCIENCE

CONTENTS

UNIT 8: Sovereignty **(Pages 97 to 109)**

Meaning of Sovereignty; Characteristics of Sovereignty; Types of Sovereignty

UNIT 9: Theories of Sovereignty **(Pages 110 to 121)**

Theories of Sovereignty: Austin's Theory of Sovereignty or the Legal-Monistic View; Pluralist Theory of Sovereignty

UNIT 10: Democracy **(Pages 122 to 136)**

Democracy: Meaning of Democracy, Types of Democracy, Conditions for the success of Democracy, Merits and Demerits of Democracy

UNIT 11: Power, Authority and Legitimacy **(Pages 141 to 156)**

Power: Meaning of Power, Characteristics of Power, Sources of Power, Forms of Power; Authority: Meaning of Authority, Characteristics of Authority, Sources of Authority, Basis of Authority; Legitimacy: Meaning of Legitimacy, Sources of Legitimacy, Types of Legitimacy; Relationship between Power, Authority and Legitimacy

UNIT 12: Concepts of Rights and Liberty **(Pages 157 to 169)**

Concept of Rights: Meaning of Rights, Types of Rights; Concept of Liberty: Meaning of Liberty, Types of Liberty

UNIT 13: Concepts of Justice and Equality **(Pages 170 to 181)**

Concept of Justice: Meaning of Justice, Types of Justice; Concept of Equality: Meaning of Equality, Types of Equality

UNIT 14: Concept of Citizenship **(Pages 182 to 192)**

Meaning of Citizenship; Origin of the Concept of Citizenship; Types of Citizenship; Qualities of a Good Citizen

UNIT 15: Individualism and Socialism **(Pages 193 to 208)**

Individualism: Meaning of Individualism, Features of Individualism, Merits of Individualism, Demerits of Individualism; Socialism: Meaning of Socialism, Features of Socialism, Merits of Socialism, Demerits of Socialism

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 2

This is the second block of the first course or paper of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's BA Programme in Political Science is titled Political Theory - Part B . The second block of this course contains eight units- (Units 8-15)

The Sixth Unit discusses the Social Contract theory regarding the origin of the state.

The Seventh Unit deals with another theory regarding the origin of the state, i.e. the Marxist theory.

The Eight Unit focuses on the meaning, nature and types of sovereignty.

The Ninth Unit discusses two important theories of sovereignty, namely, Austin's theory of sovereignty and Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

The Tenth Unit discusses the meaning, types , merits and demerits of Democracy.

The Eleventh Unit deals with some important subjects associated with the state , such as -Power, Authority and Legitimacy.

The Twelfth Unit discusses two important concepts of Political Science , those are- Rights and Liberty.

The Thirteenth Unit focuses on some other important concepts, such as Justice and Equality.

The Fouteenth Unit deals with the concept of Citizenship.

The Fifteenth Unit discusses two important theories related to the sphere of functions of the state - Individualism and Socialism.

While going through the units of the block, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Again, each unit carries certain *activities* after a particular section. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. You can then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. The section "FURTHER READING" in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are intereted in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called "MODEL QUESTIONS" is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 8: SOVEREIGNTY

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 Meaning of Sovereignty
8.4 Characteristics of Sovereignty
8.5 Types of Sovereignty
8.6 Let Us Sum Up
8.7 Further Reading
8.8 Answers To Check Your Progress
8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able-

- explain the meaning of the concept of sovereignty
- list out the characteristics of sovereignty
- describe the different kinds of sovereignty.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

We have already discussed that there are four essential elements of the state, such as population, territory, government and sovereignty and among them, sovereignty happens to be one of the most distinctive elements of the state and it makes the state politically free and independent. Sovereignty exclusively belongs to the state. It is by virtue of sovereignty of the state that its government exercises authority and makes and implements authoritative and binding laws and policies for its citizens. The study of sovereignty therefore assumes special significance in the field of Political Science. In this unit we shall discuss the meaning, characteristics and various types of sovereignty.

8.3 MEANING OF SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty is the most essential element of the state as there can be no state without it. The word "sovereignty" is derived from the Latin word "superannus" meaning supreme. French jurist and political philosopher *Jean Bodin,* who held Henry III, King of France, in high esteem, is acclaimed to be the first modern writer to formulate the concept of sovereignty in a systematic way. He discussed at length his idea of sovereignty in his work *The Six Books of the Republic* in 1576. ***Jean Bodin*** opined that sovereignty is the supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by the laws and this supreme power is characterized as perpetual, undelegated or delegated without conditions, inalienable and imperceptible. However, the idea of sovereignty was also common earlier. The father of Political Science, Aristotle spoke of the "supreme power" in the state and the Roman lawyers and many medieval thinkers also mentioned the "fullness of power" of the state. Thus, "sovereignty" or the supreme power of the state had always been discussed by different thinkers at different times. Different sections of scholars have defined sovereignty through their own perspectives. Some of these definitions can be mentioned as follows:



Jean Bodin: (1530-1996): He was a French Political Philospher and jurist.

According to the English jurist Blackstone, "sovereignty is the supreme irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the supreme legal power reside". (Gokhale, B.K.: *Political Science (Theory And Governmental Machinery)*, Himalaya Publishing House, Mumbai, 2007, page: 141)

In the words of former American President Wilson, "sovereignty is the daily operative power of framing and giving efficiency to law". (Gogoi, Purandar: *Degree Political Theory*, Banalata Publication, Dibrugarh, 2007, page:200)

Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius viewed sovereignty as the supreme political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be overridden. (Gogoi, Purandar: *Degree Political Theory*, Banalata Publication, Dibrugarh, 2007, page:200)

According to American scholar Burgess, “sovereignty is original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subjects and over all associations of subjects”. (Gogoi, Purandar: *Degree Political Theory*, Banalata Publication, Dibrugarh, 2007, page:200)

According to American scholar W.F. Willoughby, “sovereignty is the supreme will of the state”. (Gokhale, B.K.: *Political Science (Theory And Governmental Machinery)*, Himalaya Publishing House, Mumbai, 2007, page: 141)

By summing up all the above mentioned definitions it can be said that by the term sovereignty the political scientists refer to the absolute, supreme, unlimited, inalienable, indivisible and permanent power of a state. It means the supreme power of the state over all individuals and associations within its own territorial limits. This is *internal sovereignty* of the state whereby the state is the final authority to make laws, issue commands and take political decisions which are binding upon all individuals and associations within its jurisdiction. It has the power to command obedience to its laws and commands and to punish the offenders who violate the same. At the same time, sovereignty also involves the idea of freedom from foreign control, i.e., the independence of the state from the control or interference of any other state in the conduct of its international relations. This is what is called *external sovereignty* whereby a state has the power to independently determine its own foreign policy and has the right to declare war and make peace. At the same time, external sovereignty implies that each state, big or small, by virtue of its sovereign status is equal to every other state. It can command no other state and it cannot itself be commanded by any other state. Accordingly, sovereignty of the state has two aspects, namely, *internal* and *external* sovereignty.



LET US KNOW

Sovereignty is an essential element of the state and with every change in the conception of the state, the concept of sovereignty has also varied from age to age. The Greek philosopher Aristotle spoke of the "supreme power" of the state. The Roman jurists were also familiar with the notion. During the Middle Ages, the idea of sovereignty was associated either with the authority of the king or with the Pope.



ACTIVITY 8.1

You must have heard of India signing defence or trade agreements with other countries. What kind of sovereignty does this indicate?

.....

.....

8.4 CHARATERISTICS OF SOVEREIGNTY

There are many characteristics or attributes of sovereignty. These are discussed below :

- **Absoluteness:** Sovereignty is regarded as absolute. This means that neither within the state nor outside it, is there any power which is superior to the sovereign. The will of the sovereign reigns supreme in the state. It is not subordinate to any individual or association within the state. There is no other authority which can claim sovereignty inside the state and no outside authority can interfere in the matters of a sovereign state. The state exercises supreme power both inside and outside the state.
- **Permanence:** The sovereignty of a state is permanent. Sovereignty lasts as long as an independent state lasts. The death of a king or president or the overthrow of the government does not mean the

destruction of sovereignty as the ruler exercises sovereign power on behalf of the state and therefore, sovereignty lasts as long as the state lasts. Without sovereignty state cannot exist. Sovereignty must exist for the existence of the state.

- **Universality:** Another important feature of sovereignty is universality. Sovereignty is a universal, all-pervasive or all-comprehensive quality in the sense that it extends to all individuals, groups, areas and things within the state. The state exercises its sovereign power over its entire territory. No person or body of persons can claim exemption from it as matter of right. The immunity granted to diplomats from other countries is only a matter of international courtesy and not of compulsion.
- **Inalienability:** Sovereignty is inalienable. It means that the state cannot part with its sovereignty. The state as a sovereign institution ceases to exist, if it transfers its sovereignty to any other state. If sovereignty is separated or alienated from the state then there will be no state. They exist with one another.
- **Indivisibility:** As sovereignty is an absolute power, it cannot be divided between different sets of individuals or groups. In every state, sovereignty must be vested in a single legally competent body, to issue the final commands. Division of sovereignty is bound to give rise to conflicting and ambiguous commands. Division or fragmentation of sovereignty means destruction of sovereignty. Sovereignty exists in its entirety and not in division.
- **Impresciptibility:** This implies that sovereignty can neither be destroyed nor lost if it has not been exercised for a long period. A people may not have exercised sovereignty for sometime due to control by a foreign power. But non-exercise of sovereign power does not put an end to sovereignty itself. It can only shift to a new bearer.
- **Originality:** The most important characteristic of sovereignty is its original character. Sovereignty cannot be manufactured. Dependence on another for supreme power cannot make a state a

sovereign one. Sovereignty is in-built and grows automatically from within.

- **Exclusiveness:** It is another characteristic of sovereignty. Sovereignty is exclusive to the state. The state alone is in exclusive possession of sovereignty. It can be exercised only by the state. State and sovereignty go together. No other organization or individual can share this power with the state. Sovereign power rests only with the state.



LET US KNOW

The United Nations came into being on October 24, 1945, after the end of the Second World War (1939-1945). It is based on the principle of equality of all its member states. The United Nations Charter states that the United Nations "is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members." (source: www.un.org)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The word *sovereignty* is derived form the ..... word *superannus* meaning supreme. (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q.2: Who is the author of the book *The Six Books of the Republic* ?

.....

Q.3: What are the two aspects of sovereignty?

.....

Q.4: Write the definition of sovereignty provided by Wilson.

.....

Q.5: Write briefly about any two characteristics of sovereignty.

.....

.....

8.5 TYPES OF SOVEREIGNTY

Different kinds of sovereignty exist in the world. These are discussed below:

- **Titular and Real Sovereignty:**

  A titular sovereign is one who is sovereign only in name and not in reality. Although outwardly, the power is vested in one person, the real power is enjoyed by another. Such a situation prevails in parliamentary democracies. The King or Queen in England is the titular head and he/she does not enjoy any real power. Actual powers are enjoyed by 'King/Queen-in-Parliament' which constitutes the real sovereign. In case of India, the President of India is the titular sovereign and the real power lies in the hands of the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister which constitutes the real sovereign.

- **De facto and de jure Sovereign:**

  Sometimes, the existing regime in a state is overthrown through unconstitutional means, as in the case of a military takeover. In such a situation, until the new sovereign is legally established and recognised, there may exist two sovereigns-one in the legal sense, who has lost his real powers; the other in the practical sense who has not yet been legally established. The de-facto sovereign may not have any legal claim to obedience, but he is a practical sovereign whose authority is based on physical force or moral persuasion and the people are compelled to obey him. Under such circumstances, the legal or formal sovereign retains *de-jure* sovereignty while the actual sovereign is said to be the *de-facto* sovereign. In the present-day world there have been several instances where military generals have overthrown constitutionally elected governments, thereby usurping all powers of the state. Such a takeover makes the military general the *de-facto* or actual sovereign possessing real powers, while the dethroned regime, which still is the legal or formal sovereign, retains *de-jure* sovereignty. In course of time, the *de-*

facto sovereign, by securing the consent of the people through elections or otherwise, may become a *de-jure* sovereign. A classic example of *de-facto* sovereignty, in modern times, is noticed in the case of Spain under General Franco who captured the authority of the State by defeating the Republican Government of Spain. Though he began to rule by force, gradually he was trying to be a de-jure sovereign by winning the consent of the people. Historically too, there have been several examples of the emergence of *de facto* sovereignty in the earlier times. Some of these are: the authority exercised by ***Cromwell*** in England, by ***Napoleon*** in France and the ***Bolshevist*** group in Russia after 1917.



***Oliver Cromwell (25 April 1599–3 September 1658)*:** He was an English military and political leader.



***Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821)*:** He was a French military and political leader.



Bolshevists:
The Bolshevists were a centralised, disciplined party of professional revolutionaries led by Vladimir Lenin in Russia who seized power in that country in November 1917.



***Albert Venn Dicey (4 February 1835 – 7 April 1922)*:**
He was a British jurist and constitutional expert.

- **Legal and Political Sovereignty:**

The legal sovereign is the supreme law making body. In every independent state, there are some laws which must be obeyed by the people and there must be a power to issue and enforce these laws. The power which has the legal authority to issue and enforce these laws and final commands is the legal sovereign. It may vest in one person or a body of persons. It alone declares, in legal terms, the will of the state. Law is a command of the sovereign and he who violates it is liable to be punished. The King/Queen-in-Parliament is the legal sovereign in the UK.

Political sovereignty is vested in the electorate, public opinion and all other influences of the state which mould or shape public opinion. The political sovereign is represented by the electorate or the body of voters in the state. The electorate, that is, the political sovereign, elects the legal sovereign in the form of the members of the parliament. Accordingly, the political sovereign controls the legal sovereign. It lies behind the legal sovereign. According to British jurist ***A.V. Dicey***, "Behind the sovereign which the lawyer recognises there is another sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow".

- **Popular Sovereignty:**

The concept of popular sovereignty regards people as the source of all authority in the state. All organs of the government, whether it is the executive, the legislature or the judiciary, derive

their power and authority from the will of the people taken as a whole. Accordingly, the idea of popular sovereignty implies that the supreme power in the state rests with the people. The Preamble to the Constitution of India contains the idea of popular sovereignty. It begins with the phrase, "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,....." and ends with the phrase, "...HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT, AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION."



ACTIVITY 8.2

Read the Preamble to the Constitution of India and try to relate it to the idea of popular sovereignty.

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 6: The legal sovereign is the supreme law making body. (True/False)

.....

Q. 7: Who opined "Behind the sovereign which the lawyer recognises there is another sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow"?

.....

Q. 8: The de-facto sovereign is a legally established sovereign. (True/False)

.....

Q.9: Write briefly about titular sovereignty and real sovereignty.

.....

.....



8.6 LET US SUM UP

- Sovereignty is the most essential element of the state as there can be no state without it. The word "sovereignty" is derived form the Latin word "superannus" meaning supreme.

- Sovereignty refers to the absolute, supreme, unlimited, inalienable, indivisible and permanent power of a state.
- Sovereignty of the state has two aspects, namely, internal and external sovereignty. Internal sovereignty means the supreme power of the state over all individuals and associations within its own territorial limits. External sovereignty implies that a state has the power to independently determine its own foreign policy and has the right to declare war and make peace.
- Jean Bodin, is acclaimed to be the first modern writer to formulate the concept of sovereignty in a systematic way. He presented his views on sovereignty in his *The Six Books of the Republic*.
- The main characteristics of sovereignty include absoluteness, permanence, universality, inalienability, indivisibility, impresciptibility, exclusiveness and originality.
- The different kinds of sovereignty that exist in the world include titular and real sovereignty, de facto and de jure Sovereign, legal and political sovereignty, and, popular sovereignty.
- A titular sovereign is one who is sovereign only in name and not in reality. The real sovereign exercises the power of a sovereign authority in real.
- When the existing regime in a state is overthrown through unconstitutional means, the authority, which is overthrown, is called de jure sovereign and the authority which forcefully established control over the regime is called de facto sovereign.
- The power which has the legal authority to issue and enforce these laws and final commands within the state is the legal sovereign . Political sovereignty is vested in the electorate, public opinion and all other influences of the state which mould or shape public opinion.
- Popular sovereignty implies that the supreme power in the state rests with the people.



8.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Latin

Ans to Q No 2: Jean Bodin

Ans to Q No 3: Internal Sovereignty and External Sovereignty

Ans to Q No 4: Sovereignty is the daily operative power of framing and giving efficiency to law.

Ans to Q No 5: (i) Absoluteness: Sovereignty is regarded as absolute. This means that neither within the state nor outside it, is there any power which is superior to the sovereign. The will of the sovereign reigns supreme in the state. It is not subordinate to any individual or association within the state. There is no other authority which can claim sovereignty inside the state and no outside authority can interfere in the matters of a sovereign state. The state exercises supreme power both inside and outside the state.

(ii) Permanence: The sovereignty of a state is permanent. Sovereignty lasts as long as an independent state lasts. The death of a king or president or the overthrow of the government does not mean the destruction of sovereignty as the ruler exercises sovereign power on behalf of the state and therefore, sovereignty lasts as long as the state lasts. Without sovereignty state cannot exist. Sovereignty must exist for the existence of the state.

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: A.V. Dicey

Ans to Q No 8: False

Ans to Q No 9: A titular sovereign is one who is sovereign only in name and not in reality. Although outwardly, the power is vested in one person, the real power is enjoyed by another. Such a situation prevails in parliamentary democracies. The King or Queen in England is the Titular head and he/she does not enjoy any real power. Actual powers are enjoyed by 'King/Queen-in-Parliament' which constitutes the real sovereign. In case of India, the President of India is the titular sovereign and the real power lies in the hands of the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister which constitutes the real sovereign.



8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: State the meaning of originality as a characteristic of sovereignty

Q 2: State the meaning of popular sovereignty?

Q 3: State the definition of sovereignty provided by W.F. Willoughby.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on the meaning of sovereignty.

Q 2: Distinguish between legal sovereignty and political sovereignty.

Q 3: Distinguish between *de-facto* Sovereignty and *de-jure* sovereignty.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Describe the characteristics of sovereignty.

Q 2: Explain the different kinds of sovereignty.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 9: THEORIES OF SOVEREIGNTY

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Theories of Sovereignty

- 9.3.1 Austin's Theory of Sovereignty or the Legal-Monistic View
- 9.3.2 Pluralist Theory of Sovereignty

9.4 Let Us Sum Up

9.5 Further Reading

9.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.7 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss Austin's theory of sovereignty
- examine the criticisms levelled against Austin's theory of sovereignty
- discuss the Pluralist theory of sovereignty
- examine the criticisms of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

The concept of sovereignty has been discussed mainly from two theoretical perspectives. One such perspective is provided by John Austin through the Monistic theory. This theory is also known as Austin's theory of sovereignty. The other theory is the Pluralistic theory. The explanations of sovereignty by these two theories are opposed to one another. In this Unit we shall critically discuss these two theories of sovereignty.

9.3 THEORIES OF SOVEREIGNTY

The two theories of sovereignty, namely, Austin's theory of sovereignty and the Pluralist theory of sovereignty are discussed as follows :

9.3.1 Austin's Theory of Sovereignty or the Legal-Monistic View



John Austin (March3, 1790- December 1, 1859): He was an English Jurist and legal theorist whos lears on jurs prudence greatly influncel British and American Law.

In the modern times, the development of sovereignty as a theory coincided roughly with the growth of the state in terms of power, functions and prestige. In the nineteenth century, the theory of sovereignty as a legal concept (i.e. sovereignty expressed in terms of law) was perfected by ***John Austin***, an English jurist. He is regarded as the greatest exponent of the Monistic theory of sovereignty. This theory is based on the teachings of English philosopher Thomas Hobbes and Jeremy Bentham . It is called the Monistic theory of sovereignty because it envisages a single sovereign in the state. The sovereign may be a person or a body of persons. Furthermore, as sovereignty is considered to be a legal concept, the theory is called the Legal-Monistic theory of sovereignty. As the monistic explanation of sovereignty was properly made by John Austin, so this theory is also known as Austin's theory of sovereignty. John Austin, in his famous book, *Province of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832), stated his views on sovereignty in the following words: "If a determinate human superior not in the habit of obedience to a like superior receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society and that society (including the superior) is a society political and independent".On an analysis of the above definition, we could find the following implications:

Firstly, sovereignty must reside in a "determinate person" or in a "determinate body" which acts as the ultimate source of power in the state.

Secondly, the power of the determinate superior is unlimited and absolute. The sovereign authority can exact obedience from others but the sovereign authority never renders obedience to any other authority.

Thirdly, the obedience rendered by a people to an authority occasionally will not turn the authority into sovereign power.

Fourthly, obedience rendered to the sovereign authority must be voluntary and as such undisturbed and uninterrupted. Austin also points out that it is not necessary that all the inhabitants should render obedience to the superior. It is enough if the "bulk", i.e., the majority of a society renders habitual obedience to the determinate superior.

Fifthly, the sovereign is the supreme law maker. Laws are the commands of the sovereign which are binding upon all within the territorial jurisdiction of the state. Breach or violation of these commands leads to punishment from the sovereign.

Sixthly, sovereignty is one indivisible whole and as such incapable of division between two or more parties. There can be only one sovereign authority in a state.

From the analysis of Austin's theory of sovereignty, it can be said that this theory holds sovereignty as the supreme power in a state which is determinate, absolute, inalienable and all comprehensive.



LET US KNOW

According to Austin's theory of sovereignty, the state is a legal order in which there is a determinate authority acting as the ultimate source of power.

➢ **Critical Evaluation of Austin's Theory**

The theory of Austin has been strongly criticised by many writers like Sidgwick (English philosopher), Sir Henry Maine (British jurist and historian) and others. The main point of criticism against Austin's theory is that the theory is inconsistent with the modern idea of popular sovereignty. In his fascination for the legal aspect of sovereignty, Austin completely loses sight of popular sovereignty according to which the ultimate source of all authority is the people.

Another point of criticism is that Austin's theory of sovereignty may lead to the emergence of an all powerful ruler. The person or the group of persons who exercises sovereign power becomes very

powerful and remains responsible to none. This theory may give rise to an irresponsible government. The government can do anything that it wishes to do. It does not have to answer to anybody regarding its working. This way it may take decisions against the interest of the people.

It is also pointed out that sovereignty may not always be determinate. It is very difficult to locate the sovereign in a federal state. For example, in the federal state of USA, sovereignty resides neither with the President nor with the legislature, namely, the Congress. It resides with the people as expressed in the constitution. The same is the case in India.

Furthermore, Austin has been criticised for defining law as the command of the sovereign. But in many countries, customary laws are supreme and they are not issued in the form of commands. But such laws influence the conduct of even ***despots*** to a great extent. Sir Henry Maine cites the example of Ranjit Singh of Punjab who fits the Austinian concept of human superior. But even a despotic ruler like Ranjit Singh dared not to change the customary laws which regulated the conduct of his people.

Despots:
The single ruler exercising absolute power and authority in the state

Austin's theory of sovereignty has also been criticised because of its excessive emphasis on force. According to Austin people follow law due to the fear of punishment. But this is only partially correct. People follow law because it serves their needs. Again it can also be said that theory is also undemocratic as it gives no place to public opinion in the state. People have no right to raise their voice against the working of the government and have to follow what the government authorities decide.

According to the advocates of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty, the state is an association like various other associations. The Pluralists have said that sovereignty should not be vested in the hands of the state alone, rather different groups and associations should have equal sovereign power along with the state.

However, inspite of the criticisms levelled against the monistic view of sovereignty as propounded by John Austin, it must be mentioned that Austin is an exponent of absolute and unlimited sovereignty purely from the legal or formal point of view. Fundamentally, he does not prescribe for an irresponsible sovereign, but maintains that the sovereign cannot be formally made responsible to any authority similar to himself: His authority is legally superior to all individuals and groups within his jurisdiction. Austin has done a distinct service by clearly distinguishing the legal sovereign from the political sovereign.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: John Austin, is regarded as the greatest exponent of the Monistic theory of sovereignty.(True/False)

.....



According to Austin's theory of sovereignty, sovereignty is divisible.(True/False)

.....

Q.3: Name the book in which Austin stated his views on sovereignty.

.....

Q.4: According to Austin, the obedience rendered by a people to an authority must be occasional if the authority has to be turned into sovereign power. (True/False)

.....

Q.5: Why is the Monistic theory of sovereignty called so?

.....

Q.6: Point out two criticisms of the Austin's theory of sovereignty.

.....

.....

9.3.2 Pluralist Theory of Sovereignty

Pluralism or the Pluralist theory of sovereignty emerged as a reaction against the Monistic theory of sovereignty which we have discussed in the previous section. The Pluralist theory emerged in response to the undue emphasis on the power of the state as advocated by the monists. Some of the leading exponents of the Pluralist theory include Emile Durkheim (French sociologist), Otto von Gierke (German scholar), F.W. Maitland (English historian), G.D.H. Cole (English scholar), Sidney and Beatrice Webb (British economists), Miss M.P. Follet (American scholar) and Professor Harold Laski (British scholar). The Pluralist theory of sovereignty rejects the Monistic theory of sovereignty and denies that sovereignty is the absolute and indivisible supreme power of the state.



LET US KNOW

The pluralist challenge to state-sovereignty coincided with the conditions created by the First World War (1914-18). During war-time the state required its citizens to sacrifice everything including their near and dear ones and even their own lives for the sake of the state. Though the people made enormous sacrifices, yet the question began to be asked as to whether the state was entitled to make such huge demands. The Pluralistic theory found expression in the writings of the German jurist, Otto von Gierke and in England the theory was advocated by writers like Figgs, Maitland, Lindsay, Barker, Laski and MacIver. Moreover, the pluralist theory was considerably influenced by the formation of powerful economic organisations which emerged in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. These organisations demanded autonomy in their own spheres in order to protect their group interests. The state was faced with the problems of adjusting its relations with these groups.

➢ **Principles of Pluralism :**

o **Pluralistic Nature of Society :**

The Pluralist theory recognises the role of several associations in the society, formed by men in pursuance of their varied interests. Such associations include the church and other religious organisations, trade unions, cooperative societies, voluntary associations and the like. At best, the state is but one of these associations, standing side-by-side with them and not above them. The state is not distinct from these associations.

o **Role of the State as Coordinator :**

Just as an association coordinates the activities of its members, the state also coordinates the activities of the other associations in the society. The state is a means of resolving the conflicting claims of these associations. It does so by evolving a common basis of their functioning, not by imposing its own will on them but by way of harmonising and coordinating their several interests so as to secure the "common good" or the interest of the society at large.

o **The State must justify its claim to authority :**

The Pluralist theory maintains that the claim of the state to superior authority cannot be taken for granted. The state enjoys a privileged position in the sense that its jurisdiction is compulsory over all individuals and associations within its fold. It is equipped with ***coercive*** powers so that it can punish those who defy its commands. But the state must justify the exercise of its special powers. As an association of associations, the state must fulfil its moral obligation of harmonising the interests of all associations operating in the society, without letting itself be influenced by any "vested interests" while exercising its authority.



Coercive

Using force or threat.

o **Decentralisation of Authority:**

The Pluralists hold that the complexity of the economic and political relations of the modern world cannot be dealt with by a

monolithic view of the state. Therefore, the management and control of society must be shared by various associations in proportion to their contribution the social good. Accordingly, the pluralists stand for the decentralisation of authority so that all authority is not concentrated in the hands of the state.

- **Critical Evaluation of the Pluralist Theory :**

The pluralist theory of sovereignty is criticised on the ground that if sovereignty is divided among the various associations existing in the society, this division will lead to the destruction of sovereignty. It will no longer remain sovereign power and it will lose its own value. In fact it will lead to the disintegration of the state. If the state disintegrates then the whole society will suffer. A peaceful and secured life without the authority of the state is difficult to imagine.

Another criticism against this theory is that if sovereign power is exercised by the state and other organizations then there will be confusion. All will have the sovereign power and no one will listen to anyone. In such a situation, there will be a clash of interests where there will be none to coordinate the activities of other associations and organizations. There will only be anarchy in the society. Furthermore, some groups in the society may be more organised and vocal than other groups. In such situations, the interests of the dominant groups may prevail over the vulnerable sections of the society. Under such circumstances, the responsibility for protecting the common interests rests with the state, which has to harmonise the conflicting claims of different interest groups.

Critics are also of the view that the pluralistic theory is more destructive than constructive. Because sovereign power must reside only with one organisation and it should be the state. Only the state must have the power to make laws and to command obedience to the laws. If many organisations have the power to make laws then it will only destroy the society.

However, inspite of the criticisms levelled against the Pluralist theory of sovereignty, it must be mentioned that the pluralist theory

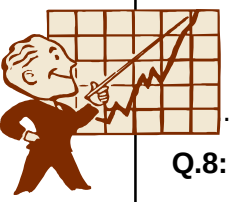
was a democratic reaction against state absolutism. It pointed out the limitations on the authority of the state while acknowledging the role and importance of various groups and associations in the society.

LET US KNOW



Harold J. Laski is the most ardent exponent of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty. In the 1920s, Laski criticised very strongly, the theory of state sovereignty. However, in the 1930s, he started evolving a balanced view of pluralism. He accepted the importance of sovereignty as an essential element of state power as the state was needed for regulating class-relations in the society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q.7: The Pluralist theory of sovereignty emerged as a reaction to ..... (Fill in the Blank)

.....

Q.8: Mention any two principles of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

.....

.....

Q.9: Mention the names of any two exponents of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

.....

.....

Q.10: The Pluralist theory of sovereignty rejects the principle that sovereignty is the absolute and indivisible supreme power of the state. (True/False)

.....

Q.11: Point out two crtiticisms of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

.....

.....



9.4 LET US SUM UP

- In the nineteenth century, the theory of sovereignty as a legal concept was perfected by John Austin, an English jurist. He is regarded as the greatest exponent of the Legal-Monistic theory of sovereignty. It is called the Monistic theory of sovereignty because it envisages a single sovereign in the state.
- Sovereignty is considered to be a legal concept, whereby the authority of the sovereign is legally superior to all individuals and groups within the sovereign's jurisdiction. John Austin gave his views on sovereignty in his famous book*, Province of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832).
- Pluralism or the Pluralist theory of sovereignty emerged as a reaction against the Monistic theory. The Pluralist theory recognises the role of several associations in the society. Such associations include religious organisations, trade unions, cooperative societies, voluntary associations and the like. At best, the state is but one of these associations, standing side-by-side with them and not above them.
- According to the pluralists, the state can only play the role of a coordinator whereby it coordinates the activities of the other associations in the society and tries to resolve the conflicting claims of these associations. The pluralists stand for the decentralisation of authority so that all authority is not concentrated in the hands of the state.
- Some eminent pluralists include Emile Durkheim, Otto von Gierke, F.W. Maitland, G.D.H. Cole, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Miss M.P. Follet and Professor Harold Laski.



9.5 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

9.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: False

Ans to Q No 3: "Province of Jurisprudence Determined"

Ans to Q No 4: False

Ans to Q No 5: It is called the Monistic theory of sovereignty because it envisages a single sovereign in the state.

Ans to Q No 6: (i) One important criticism against Austin's theory is that the theory is inconsistent with the modern idea of popular sovereignty. In his fascination for the legal aspect of sovereignty, Austin completely loses sight of popular sovereignty according to which the ultimate source of all authority is the people.

(ii) According to the advocates of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty, the state is an association like various other associations. The Pluralists have said that sovereignty should not be vested in the hands of the state alone, rather different groups and associations should have equal sovereign power along with the state.

Ans to Q No 7: The Monistic theory of sovereignty

Ans to Q No 8: (i) The pluralistic nature of society

(ii) The state must justify its claim to authority.

Ans to Q No 9: G.D. H. Cole and Professor Harold Laski.

Ans to Q No 10: True

Ans to Q No 11: (i) The Pluralist theory of sovereignty is criticised on the

ground that if sovereignty is divided among the various associations existing in the society, this division will lead to the destruction of sovereignty.

(ii) Another criticism against this theory is that if sovereign power is exercised by the state and other organisations then there will be confusion. All will have the sovereign power and no one will listen to any one. In such a situation there will be a clash of interests where there will be none to coordinate the activities of other associations and organisations.



9.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who is the author of the book, *Province of Jurisprudence Determined?*

Q.2: Mention the names of any two supporters of the Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

Q 3: Mention the two theories of sovereignty.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about any two implications of the Monistic theory of sovereignty.

Q.2: Write a short note on the distinctions between the Monistic theory of sovereignty and Pluralist theory of sovereignty.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically examine Austin's theory of sovereignty.

Q 2: Explain the principles of pluralism. Explain the criticisms levelled against the Pluralist theory of sovereignty?

*** ***** ***

UNIT 10: DEMOCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Democracy

- 10.3.1 Meaning of Democracy
- 10.3.2 Types of Democracy
- 10.3.3 Conditions for the success of Democracy
- 10.3.4 Merits and Demerits of Democracy

10.4 Let Us Sum Up

10.5 Further Reading

10.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.7 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- define the meaning of democracy
- describe the two types of democracy
- explain the conditions necessary for the success of democracy,
- list out the merits of democracy
- list out the demerits of democracy

10.2 INTRODUCTION

All of us use the word 'democracy' on different occasions. Knowingly or unknowingly we also experience and practice democracy in our life. For example, we participate in the Panchayat, Assembly and Parliamentary elections as voters and cast our votes; some of us participate in political campaigns; take part in discussions related to public transactions; raise voices against corrupt officials; some of us approach the court for justice if denied by government offices; Most of us also have heard about different communities like Dalits and tribal groups coming out on the streets

demanding political rights for them. We have also heard about strikes and other measures of agitation adopted by government employees. Everyday in the newspapers and also on television channels we find a lot of criticism against the government. We have also seen many a political leader coming to the people asking for votes on the eve of elections. But, all these activities are not possible in all countries. For example, in countries like North Korea which is currently under the rule of military leaders, people are not allowed to publicly express their views against the government. Why is it so? Why is it that in some countries people enjoy such freedom and not in some other countries? It is for the simple reason that some countries are democratic and some are not. As citizens of India, we enjoy various rights and freedoms like freedom of speech, equality in the matter of job, etc. This is possible because we are living in a democratic state with a democratic government. Democracy is a form of government which runs as per the consent of the people. Most modern political thinkers consider democracy to be a superior form of government. In this unit we shall discuss democracy as a form of government and examine its various aspects.

10.3 DEMOCRACY

We shall now discuss the various aspects of democracy as follows:

10.3.1 Meaning of Democracy

The term 'democracy' literally means 'rule by the people'. It is derived from two Greek words, namely, *demos* meaning 'people' and *kratos* meaning 'rule'. To the Greeks, democracy meant a government by many and Aristotle considered it as a perverted form of government. Modern writers do not regard democracy as a perverted form of government. Let us examine some of the definitions of democracy as given by some prominent thinkers:

- In the words of former American President Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a 'government of the people, by the people and for the people.' This is one of the most popular definitions and of democracy.

- According to British jurist Lord Bryce, 'Democracy is that form of Government in which the ruling power of a state is legally vested, not in any particular class or classes but in the members of the community as a whole'.
- According to British historian Sir John Seeley, 'Democracy is a form of government in which everybody has a share'.

All these definitions refer to a relationship between the people and the government. This relationship keeps people above the government and projects people as the real source of power. In short, democracy implies that form of government in which the ***sovereign power*** of the state is vested in the people as a whole and the government derives its ultimate authority from them. People are the ultimate source of the state power and they take part in the government directly or through their representatives so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people in order to achieve the common welfare of the people. Democracy is considered by the larger majority of the people around the world as a superior form of government compared to other forms in the modern times. It may be noted here that democracy is based on freedom, equality and social justice. The citizens in a democracy enjoy certain basic civil, political and legal rights and freedoms. At the same time, a democratic government must create equal opportunities for all in the socio-economic spheres. In other words, there should prevail social justice in a democracy whereby the vast inequalities of wealth are eliminated and distribution of wealth takes place in an equitable manner. In this context, democracy has been defined as a society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege. It has also been described as a system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities.



Sovereign power:
In every independent state, there is an ultimate authority exercising ultimate power which is called sovereign power

10.3.2 Types of Democracy- Direct and Indirect Democracy

As a form of government, there are two types of democracy– Pure or Direct Democracy and Indirect or Representative Democracy.

➢ **Pure or Direct Democracy :** The type of government in which the common citizens themselves directly exercise their control over the government and take decisions on public affairs is called pure or direct democracy. American political scientist Garner defines direct democracy as 'a form of government in which the will of the state is directly or immediately expressed through the people.' All the people assemble together in a mass meeting as often as required, wherein they directly take decisions on issues of governance and formulate laws regarding the same. The type of democracy which prevailed in the Greek ***city-states*** was pure or direct democracy. All the freemen met together in general assemblies, passed laws and executed them, received ambassadors and acted as jurymen. This type of democracy was revived in the medieval times by Italian city-states. In the modern world, the system of direct democracy is noticed in Switzerland in the form of the *landsgemeinde* or popular legislature that prevails in four Cantons of the country, viz., Appenzell, Uri, Unterwalden and Glarus. On a Sunday, in April or May, the adult male citizens in the Cantons assemble to consider in full open-air meetings the governmental affairs of the Canton. At such meetings, new laws are agreed upon and old laws changed, taxes levied, budgets adopted and officials chosen.

City-states: The several hundred more-or-less independent territorial units which together constituted Ancient Greece.

The modern direct democracy is practised through different means. Referendum is one of those means. Referendum is a vote through which the electorate can express a view on a particular issue of public policy. Switzerland still exercises popular control over the government through referendum.



LET US KNOW

In the modern world, the devices of Direct Democracy are four in number:

i. Initiative: A specific number of voters may draft a bill and send it to the government for its adoption by parliament.

ii. Referendum: A government may refer an important problem to the people for their opinion.

iii. Recall: The voters may bring back or recall a representative chosen by them in case they are dissatisfied with him.

iv. Plebiscite: It means a problem of great public importance may be referred to the people and the problem is solved as per the decision of the majority of the people revealed in the plebiscite.

- **Indirect or Representative Democracy:** Pure or direct democracy can exist and function only in small states with a limited, homogeneous population where people can conveniently meet and deliberate together. In large and complex societies, when the number of people is too large and the area of the state is too extensive, direct democracy is impracticable. So, what has developed as an alternative to it is representative or indirect democracy. Under representative or indirect democracy people elect their representatives to rule who take decisions on their behalf. Accordingly, the prevailing system of democracy in most countries is indirect or representative democracy. In other words, the responsibility of taking decisions on public affairs and issues of governance and administration as well as of formulating laws towards that end rests with not with the people themselves but with their representatives. The representatives are periodically elected by the people. For this purpose elections take place in democracies at certain intervals. In the UK and India, General Elections take place after every five years and in USA after every four years the Presidential elections take place in order to elect

the representatives. In both the UK and India, the representatives are designated as Members of Parliament. British scholar John Stuart Mill defines indirect or representative democracy as one in which “the whole people or some numerous portion of them, exercise the governing power through deputies periodically elected by themselves.”

To illustrate the case of indirect democracy let us take India as an example. India is country with more than 100 crore population today. India is also a diverse country in terms of culture, language, region, religion etc. Such a huge and diverse country cannot be ruled directly by the people themselves. Therefore, India has developed a representational system of government at various levels. All of you are aware of the fact that the Indian Constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government. Under a parliamentary form of government, people do not directly elect the government. Rather, they elect their representatives to the Parliament and the government is formed from within the representatives. India has a Parliament at the Union level;Legislative Assemblies at the State level and Panchayats at the grassroots. People elect their representatives to all these institutions at various levels to make laws on their behalf. To execute the laws enacted, we have the Union government, State governments and the Panchayats. For administering the tribal areas in the hills of North East India, a new form of representational government in the form of the District Council has been evolved. For example in the districts of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hills in Assam two District Councils are operating. For the Bodo community in Assam, a new form of representational system in the form of the Territorial Council has been evolved. The areas covered by district and territorial councils do not have the Panchayats. People elect their representatives to these institutions for a definite period

i.e. for five years and re-elect or reject them after five years depending on the performance of the representatives.

ACTIVITY 10.1

Find out the number of total number of representatives in the Assam Legislative Assembly.

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.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the two Greek words from which the word 'democracy' is derived.

.....

Q.2: Democracy has been defined as 'a government of the people, by the people, for the people' by ..... (Fill up the blank)

.....

Q.3: In the modern world, the system of direct democracy is noticed in Switzerland. (True/False)

.....

Q.4: Indirect democracy is also called ..... democracy. (Fill up the blank)

.....

Q.5: Describe direct democracy. (within 60 words)

.....

.....

10.3.4 Conditions for the success of Democracy

Democracy can be made a model form of government, if the following conditions are fulfilled:

- **Universal education:** An important condition for the success

of democracy is universal education. The citizens can develop necessary qualities and become aware of their rights and duties only when they are properly educated.

- **Political consciousness:** It is essential to inculcate political consciousness among the citizens to make democracy effective. Citizens must keep an eye on the government so that it does not grow authoritarian.
- **Presence of a strong public opinion:** An important condition of the success of democracy is the existence of a strong public opinion. Free, fearless and unfettered press contributes towards the process of shaping strong public opinion in the country.
- **Basic rights and freedom:** In a democracy, the citizens must be able to enjoy basic civic rights and freedom so that they can express and develop their personality. In a democracy people are given fundamental rights because in the absence of these rights the development of an individual is not possible. Fundamental rights have been granted to the people in their constitutions in India, Japan, USA, France and Italy.
- **Social, political and economic equality:** To make democracy successful, all kinds of social, economic and political inequalities must be removed. The people must be democratic-minded. On the political side, a democratic government ensures equality of men by giving every citizen the right to cast only one vote irrespective of status. Similarly, in the social and economic spheres too, a democratic government must create equal opportunities for all. In a democracy there can be no place for any discrimination based on caste, class, birth, religion or wealth. In other words, there should prevail social justice in a democracy. However, in order that there is real social justice in a democracy, a democratic state must try to eliminate vast inequalities of wealth and ensure equitable distribution of wealth.

- **Good leadership:** A democracy also depends on good leadership. Effective leadership is a must if democracy has to be successful.
- **Independence of judiciary:** In a democracy, the constitution guarantees basic rights and freedoms to the citizens. In a democracy, it is the responsibility of the judiciary to protect the fundamental rights of the people and stand as the guardian of the constitution. In order that the judiciary is able to do that, it must be independent of any political influence. Accordingly, Independence of Judiciary is another pre-condition for the success of democracy. In our country, the Supreme Court and the High Courts protect the Constitution and the fundamental rights of the people.



LET US KNOW

The Constitution of India under Article15 declares that the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. Accordingly, the Constitution of India seeks to establish social and political equality in the country.



ACTIVITY 10.2

Find out the fundamental rights as guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. Do you think they are indicative of a democratic state? To what extent do you think the conditions required for the success of democracy are fulfilled in India?

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10.3.4 Merits and Demerits of Democracy

➢ **Merits of democracy:** The following are some of the ***merits*** of democracy:

- ❍ In a democracy, the government is responsible to the people as democracy is a government by popular consent. The government is based on public opinion and is run according to the wishes of the people.
- ❍ Democracy is based on equality. It pays attention to the interests and welfare of all sections of people without any discrimination on the basis of class, caste, gender, race, etc.
- ❍ In a democracy, citizens have a sense of participation in the government, as the government is run by the representatives elected by the citizens themselves. It serves as a training ground for good citizenship as it generates a sense of national spirit and makes the citizens conscious of their rights and duties.
- ❍ A democratic society is not prone to revolutions. People can express their opinions freely and redress their grievances through peaceful and constitutional means.
- ❍ The position of every individual is recognized in a democracy. It ensures the all round development of the personality of every individual and infuses a sense of responsibility in the citizens.

➢ **Demerits of democracy:** Some of the ***demerits*** of democracy are listed as below:

- ❍ It is sometimes pointed out that democracy is a government by incompetent persons who are ignorant about the art of governance. Representatives are elected more on the basis of their popularity among the voters rather than on the basis of their experience and knowledge.

- Democracy hinders progress and fosters corruption. The political parties are more interested in grabbing political power. They pursue their own ends and neglect the interests of the state.
- Democratic government is very expensive. Every election involves huge expenditure. The numerous bodies of legislature and ministries are also very expensive.
- According to some, democracy is incapable of tackling emergency. It is difficult to take prompt decisions in a democracy and still more difficult to promptly enforce those decisions because of the involvement of several bodies and agencies.
- Some critics are of the view that as democracy is a rule of the majority, it might turn into tyranny of the majority over the minority. In such a case, the interests of the minority are totally ignored.



CHECK YOU PROGRESS

Q.6: List out two conditions for the success of democracy.

.....

.....

Q.7: List out two merits of democracy.

.....

.....

Q.8: List out two demerits of democracy.

.....

.....

Q.9: ..... of judiciary is an important pre-condition for the success of democracy. (Fill in the blank)

Q.10: ..... education is an important pre-condition for the success of democracy. (Fill in the blank)



10.4 LET US SUM UP

- The term 'democracy' literally means 'rule by the people' Accordingly, democracy implies that form of government in which the sovereign power of the state is vested in the people as a whole and the government derives its ultimate authority from them.
- As a form of government, there are two types of democracy: Pure or Direct Democracy and Indirect or Representative Democracy.
- The type of government in which the common citizens themselves directly exercise their control over the government and take decisions on public affairs is called pure or direct democracy.
- In the modern world, the system of direct democracy is noticed in Switzerland in the form of the *landsgemeinde* or popular legislature.
- The prevailing system of democracy in most countries is indirect or representative democracy. Under representative or indirect democracy people elect their representatives to rule, who in turn take decisions on behalf of the people.
- Democracy can be made a model form of government, if certain conditions are fulfilled. These include universal education, political consciousness, presence of a strong public opinion, basic rights and freedoms, social, economic and political equality, good leadership and independence of judiciary.



10.5 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R. C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K. K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur, A. C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V. D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



10.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1 : 'demos' and 'kratos'

Ans. to Q. No. 2 : Abraham Lincoln

Ans. to Q. No. 3 : True

Ans. to Q. No. 4 : Representative

Ans. to Q. No. 5 : The type of government in which the common citizens themselves directly exercise their control over the government and take decisions on public affairs is called pure or direct democracy. All the people assemble together in a mass meeting as often as required, wherein they directly take decisions on issues of governance and formulate laws regarding the same. The type of democracy which prevailed in the Greek city-states was pure or direct democracy. In the modern world, the system of direct democracy is noticed in Switzerland.

Ans. to Q. No. 6 : i) Political Consciousness: It is essential to inculcate political consciousness among the citizens. Citizens must keep an eye on the government so that it does not grow authoritarian.

ii) The presence of a strong public opinion: An important condition of democracy is the existence of a free, fearless and unfettered press, which vigilantly guards democracy.

Ans. to Q. No. 7 : Two merits of democracy:

i) Democracy is based on equality. It pays attention to the interests and welfare of all sections of people without any discrimination on the basis of class, caste, gender, race, etc.

ii) In a democracy, citizens have a sense of participation in the government. It serves as training ground for good citizenship as it generates a sense of national spirit and makes the citizens conscious of their rights and duties.

Ans. to Q. No. 8 : Two demerits of democracy:

i) It is sometimes pointed out that democracy is a government by incompetent persons who are ignorant about the art of governance. Representatives are elected more on the basis of their popularity among the voters rather than on the basis of their experience and knowledge.

ii) Democratic government is very expensive. Every election involves huge expenditure. The numerous bodies of legislature and ministries are also very expensive.

Ans. to Q. No. 9 : Independence

Ans. to Q. No. 10 : Universal



10.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1. Who said “Democracy is a form of government in which everybody has a share”?

Q.2. In the modern world, the system of direct democracy is noticed in which country ?

Q.3. State the definition of direct democracy provided by Garner.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1. Explain the meaning of democracy.

Q.2. What are the two types of democracy? Describe indirect or representative democracy.

Q.3. Point out four merits of democracy.

Q.4. Point out four demerits of democracy.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1. Describe democracy with reference to direct and indirect democracy.

Q.2. Explain the conditions for the success of democracy. What are the merits and demerits of democracy?

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UNIT 11: POWER, AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Power

- 11.3.1 Meaning of Power
- 11.3.2 Characteristics of Power
- 11.3.3 Sources of Power
- 11.3.4 Forms of Power

11.4 Authority

- 11.4.1 Meaning of Authority
- 11.4.2 Characteristics of Authority
- 11.4.3 Sources of Authority
- 11.4.4 Basis of Authority

11.5 Legitimacy

- 11.5.1 Meaning of Legitimacy
- 11.5.2 Sources of Legitimacy
- 11.5.3 Types of Legitimacy

11.6 Relationship between Power, Authority and Legitimacy

11.7 Let Us Sum Up

11.8 Further Reading

11.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.10 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning, characteristics, sources and basis of the concept of Power
- describe the meaning, characteristics, sources and basis of the concept of Authority

- explain the meaning, basis and types of Legitimacy
- examine the relationship between Power, Authority and Legitimacy.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous blocks, we discussed some key concepts such as the state, sovereignty and democracy. In this unit we shall deal with some other basic concepts, such as Power, Authority and Legitimacy, which are closely associated with the very notion of the state. Without legitimate authority, the state cannot exercise its power. So all these three concepts are interrelated. In this unit efforts will be made to have a detailed understanding of all these three concepts and the relation among them.

11.3 POWER

In the discipline of Political Science, power is one of the most important concepts. The concept of power has become a prime issue of fundamental enquiry in the subjects of local, national and international politics. In this section we will discuss the meaning, characteristics, sources and forms of power.

11.3.1 Meaning of Power

In general, power may be understood as the ability, strength or capacity to control others. Power is a type of behaviour which refers to the ability to do things and the capacity to produce effects within social interaction. Power is an attribute of individuals which is exercised over other individuals.

There are different viewpoints regarding the meaning of power. Scholars have expressed a number of definitions regarding the meaning of power. To understand the meaning of power it will be helpful for us to refer to these definitions. Some of the important definitions of power are as follows:

- British political philosopher and historian, Bertrand Russell in his book 'Power: A New Social Analysis' (1938) has defined power as 'one's ability to achieve goals'.
- According to American sociologists, Herbert Goldhamer and Edward A. Shills, 'Power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own intention'.
- American political scientist, David Easton defines power as the 'relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former's own ends'.
- In the words of political scientist, C.P. Schleicher, 'Power is the ability to exercise such control to make others do what they otherwise would not do, by rewarding or promising to reward them, or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value.'
- According to American political scientist, Robert A. Dahl, power is the "ability to shift the probability of outcomes".

By summing up all these definitions we can come to the conclusion that power is the capacity of an actor to affect the actions of others in accordance with his or her own intention. It implies a relationship. It is something that one can use against somebody else.

11.3.2 Characteristics of Power

The concept of power has certain peculiar characteristics which can be mentioned as follows:

- **Relational:** According to American political scientists Harold Lasswell and Morton Kaplan, power is always relational. It is not the property of a single individual. At least two actors are required, one who exercises power and the other upon whom the power is exercised. In the words of Frederick, 'Power is a kind of human relationship'. Power can only be exercised in relation to others.
- **Situational:** Power is situational because it depends on situation, circumstances and position. Depending on the situation and circumstances the degree of power may increase or decrease. For

example, a powerful officer may be able to increase his or her power during his or her service time, but after retirement he or she may not be able to gain that much of importance from his or her subordinates.

- **Dependent on use:** Power always depends on use. By effective use of power, a charismatic person can increase his or her power to the optimum level. For example, the President of India and the President of USA both have vast powers. But in practice the President of India does not use power due to his or her titular character. In contrast to that the President of USA exercises his or her powers in the real sense of the term.
- **Not absolute:** One of the important features of power is that it is something which is not absolute but relative only. It is relative in the sense that it can be exercised in relation to something. Along with the changing circumstances power-relations also get changed.
- **Capacity:** Power is considered to be the capacity of someone to influence the behaviour of others. Capacity or capability on the part of the individual or nation is very much important in maintaining power relationship. Power is the capacity of an individual to regulate the behaviour of others according to the former's desires.
- **Power must be backed by sanction:** Power must always be backed by sanction. Without sanction, power becomes corrupt and prone to malpractices. So it must be bestowed with some legal sanction so that the authority remains legitimate.

11.3.3 Sources of Power

The sources of power can be discussed as follows:

- **Knowledge:** Knowledge is the major source of power which helps every individual to overcome ignorance. Knowledge helps us in the development of our mind and soul. With the help of knowledge, a leader can develop his capacity in leadership.
- **Organization:** Organization is another important source of power. When a particular group of individuals work together in an organised way, they are able to gain more power. It is because organization

itself is a great source of power. In the political sphere, different political parties organise themselves in order to capture power.

- **Wealth:** Another source of power is wealth or economic status because it helps a person or a country to gain power. For example, a country with the help of its sound economic status can exercise power or influence over other countries in the affairs of international relations.
- **Authority:** One of the important sources of power is authority. In a democratic form of government, authority always symbolises legitimate power. When a particular person or an institution gains authoritative allocation legitimately to exercise power over others, automatically the concerned person or the institution becomes powerful.
- **Personality:** Personality of a person is also a great source of power in itself. The capacity to take quick and proper decision, organizational ability, wisdom, courage, etc., provide helpful impetus in developing the personality of a person. A great leader with his charisma can automatically become more effective and powerful than others.

11.3.4 Forms of Power

From the point of social analysis of power it has four major forms considering three factors, namely—*Political*, *Economic*, *Physical* and *Psychological*.

- **Political power:** Power is the key concept in political theory as well as in international politics. From the political point of view, power sharing game between different organs of the government is only because of the desire of all for holding power.
- **Economic power:** In the realm of political science, economic power is regarded as the ability to control the behaviour of other individuals or nations by having greater control over economic goods and services. Economic power increases the capacity of a nation to influence the activities of other countries.

- **Physical power:** Physical power refers to the military strength of a state. The government of any country enjoys its political power because of its military or physical power which always helps a country to maintain its sovereignty against foreign aggression. However, one important thing to be mentioned here is that military power of a country should be kept in a subordinate position to the political authority of that country, otherwise there might be a chance of military coup.
- **Psychological Power:** Psychological power refers to the power over public opinion. By this type of power an effort is made to control the actions of others through emotional appeal and propaganda. Every country uses psychological power very tactfully. For example, on the occasion of the Republic Day Parade in India, display of weapons and tanks, etc. on that day are meant to impress the world about the military strength of India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who is the author of the book "Power: A New Social Analysis"?

.....

Q.2: Mention two important characteristics of power.

.....

Q.3: Who defined power as "the ability to shift the probability of outcomes"?

.....

Q.4: Mention four sources of power.

.....

.....

11.4 AUTHORITY

Another important concept in the discipline of political science is Authority. Authority is always legitimate and backed by the power of law and

common consent. Legitimate power or influence is generally called authority. Authority being legitimate is always based on consent and thus commands respect. Therefore, authority is not itself power, rather it is the embodiment of reason. In simple words, we can say that we obey authority because it is legitimate and reasonable.

11.4.1 Meaning of Authority

The word 'Authority' is derived from the Latin words 'Auctor' or 'Auctoritas' which means right to rule. Without authority law becomes unworthy of obedience. Authority basically signifies the authorised power of a person or an organization which is legitimate in character. Regarding the meaning of Authority, scholars have given a number of definitions which can be mentioned as follows:

- According to German thinker, Carl Friedrich, "an authority is the embodiment of reason and depends on the capacity of reasoned elaboration".
- In the words of American political philosopher, Robert MacIver, "Authority is often defined as being power, the power to command obedience".
- The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defined authority "as the capacity innate or acquired for exercising ascendancy over a group. It is manifestation of power and implies obedience to it".

  From the above definitions we can say that when power or authority is legitimately exercised it is called authority. It is that kind of power which is based on consent of the people.

11.4.2 Characteristics of Authority

Authority carries a few peculiar features. Some of such characteristics are given below-

- **Legitimacy**: The most important feature of authority is that it must be legitimate. Sanction or approval of both the law and the people is the basic condition of authority. Legitimacy is very much essential for authority because it determines the effectiveness of authority.

- **Dominance**: Dominance is also an important characteristic of authority. The concept of authority has a co-relation with dominance. Those who have authority to exercise power, automatically become dominant over others. Authority is the command of the superior over the subordinates.
- **Informal**: Authority is always informal in character. Thus, authority lacks the main characteristics of power. In the words of German Philosopher Freidrich, 'Authority is not a power, but something that accompanies power'.
- **Responsibility or accountability**: Responsibility or accountability is one of the peculiar features of authority. In a democratic form of government the authoritative regime always needs to be accountable and responsible.
- **Reason**: Another characteristic of authority is reason. It is considered to be the basis of authority. Without rationality, authority loses its very basis.

11.4.3 Sources of Authority

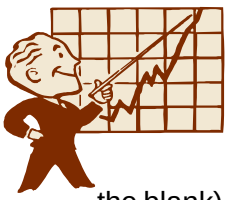
According to German sociologist Max Weber, there are three types of sources of authority— (i) *Traditional* authority, (ii) *Rational Legal* authority and (iii) *Charismatic* authority.

- *Traditional* Authority: Traditional authority commands obedience of the people on the basis of unwritten but internally binding rules and conventions that are customary, religious or historical in character.
- *Rational Legal* Authority: Rational Legal authority emerges from constitutional rules. People obey such an authority because it is based on certain rules and regulations. For example, a Deputy Commissioner, a Magistrate, an Income tax officer and all government officials exercise legal rational authority.
- *Charismatic* Authority: When authority is exercised in terms of personal quality, it can automatically be regarded as charismatic authority.

11.4.4 Basis of Authority

The basis of authority can be many, some of which are mentioned as follows:

- **Consent:** The principle of consent is necessary for the use of state authority. If there is consent of the people towards the state authority, coercive power does not need to be exercised by the authoritative body upon the people.
- **Force:** Force is one of the important bases of authority. With the help of force the authority becomes more capable to control the socio-economic and political system.
- **Co-operation:** Another important basis of authority is co-operation of the people. The success of government basically depends upon the co-operation on the part of the people towards government.
- **Social and Psychological Sanction:** There is a lot of social and psychological sanction behind authority which also forms the basis of authority. Individuals also accept authority due to the fear of society. People follow the rules and regulations provided by the authority due to the fear of facing criticism from the society. As such, people abide by the authoritative rules of the political regime.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The term authority is derived from ....words (Fill in the blank).

.....

Q.6: Mention the definition of authority provided by MacIver.

.....

.....

Q.7: What do you mean by Charismatic Authority?

.....

.....

Q.8: What are the bases of authority?

.....

.....

11.5 LEGITIMACY

The concept of Legitimacy has a close relationship with the concept of Authority. It is the backbone of authority. The effectiveness of authority depends upon the degree of legitimacy behind it. People always want to respect only the legitimate authority. It basically symbolises rightfulness or justness.

11.5.1 Meaning of Legitimacy

The term 'Legitimacy' is derived from the Latin word 'Legitimus' which means lawful. The concept of Legitimacy carries different meanings in modern times. It maintains a belief that the existing political system is the most appropriate and the people must regard it as sacred and worthy of respect and obey it unhesitatingly. Various scholars defined the term 'Legitimacy' from different perspectives which help a lot in understanding the meaning of Legitimacy. Let us briefly mention these:

- According to the American political sociologist S.M. Lipset, 'Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are most appropriate for the society'.
- In the words of French political scientist, Jean Blondel, 'Legitimacy can be defined as the extent to which the population accepts naturally without questioning the organization to which it belongs'.
- American political scientist Robert Dahl is of the view that the 'belief that the structures, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials or leaders of government possess the quality of rightness, propriety or moral goodness and should be accepted because of this quality

irrespective of the specified content of the particular act in question, is what we mean by legitimacy'.

From the analysis of the above definitions of Legitimacy, we can come to the conclusion that legitimacy means that the existing political system is based on law and reason. People obey any system only because it is legitimate or lawful.

11.5.2 Sources of Legitimacy

According to Max Weber there are three sources of legitimacy. Those can be mentioned as follows:

- **Tradition:** One of the important sources of legitimacy is the recognised traditions, customs of the society. That authority, which exercises power in accordance with the sanctioned customs and tradition of that society, is always considered legitimate. So the sanctioned traditions and customs are important sources of legitimacy.
- **Exceptional Personal Qualities:** According to Max Weber, another important source of legitimacy is the personal quality of the leader. Sometimes leaders with their charismatic personality exercise power in such a manner that it becomes a source of legitimate authority.
- **Legality:** We consider a system as legitimate only because it is legal. So legality is one of the most important sources and a basic condition of legitimacy.

11.5.3 Types of Legitimacy

Basically there are *two* types of legitimacy, namely- *legitimacy towards authority* and *legitimacy towards regime*. On the basis of sources and objects of legitimacy, David Easton refers to three types of legitimacy which are given below:

- **Ideological Legitimacy**: When the source of legitimacy is the ideology prevailing in the society it is called ideological legitimacy.

Every society has its own ideology, values and rules and these form the basis of ideological legitimacy. A political system is also an articulated source of ideals, ends and purposes which help the members of the system to interpret the past, explain the present and offer a vision of the future. The ideology describes the aims and objects of political system.

- **Structural Legitimacy**: Structural legitimacy is based on an independent belief in the validity of the structure and norms of regime. In any kind of system there are certain structured rules and regulations. Specifically in a democratic form of system the existence of a particular institutional framework (e.g. executive, legislature and judiciary) based on structured rules and regulations is noticed. With the help of a structured legitimate system, the authority holder exercises power over others.
- **Personal Legitimacy**: Legitimacy that is based on the personal qualities of the leaders is called personal legitimacy. Many times leaders with their charismatic personalities create a support-base among people and thus acquire legitimacy.

11.6 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWER, AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY

There is a close relationship between power, authority and legitimacy. Without legitimacy, power and authority become meaningless. Similarly, without power legitimate authority becomes meaningless. Power and legitimate authority are the ways of regulating social behaviour and conduct. The person with legitimate authority can maintain the system by virtue of his or her capacity for reasoned elaboration. So, there is an intimate connection between power, authority and legitimacy. A government with legitimate authority but without power may easily be overthrown by a handful of armed rebels.

Legitimacy is very much important for both power and authority. In simple words, legitimacy is the quality of a political system, particularly its

government, to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political system is the most appropriate and people must regard it as sacred and worthy of respect and obey it unhesitatingly. Therefore, without legitimate power, authority has no value. With the help of legitimacy, the authority-holder can exercise power and regulate public affairs. When there are fixed legitimate rules and regulations, the government can place itself in a better position to use power authoritatively.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: The term 'Legitimacy' is derived from ..... word. (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q.10: According to David Easton, there are three types of legitimacy. (True/False)

.....

Q.11: Mention the definition of legitimacy provided by S.M. Lipset.

.....

Q.12: Mention the three sources of legitimacy as expressed by Max Weber.

.....

.....



11.7 LET US SUM UP

- The concepts of power, authority and legitimacy are the fundamental issues in the whole discipline of Political Science.
- Power may be understood as the ability, strength or capacity to control others. Power is a type of behaviour which refers to the ability to do things and the capacity to produce effects within social interaction. Power is an attribute of individuals which is exercised over other individuals.
- The concept of "power" carries certain characteristics, such as-

power is always relational; power is situational; power always depends on use; power is not absolute but relative only; power is considered to be the capacity of someone to influence the behaviour of others, power must be backed by sanction, etc.

- There are various sources of power, such as- knowledge, organization, wealth, authority and personality.
- Basically there are three types of power, such as- Political, Economic and Ideological.
- The word Authority is derived from the Latin words 'Auctor' or 'Auctoritas' which means right to rule. Authority basically signifies the authorised power of a person or an organization which is legitimate in character. It is that kind of power which is based on consent of the people.
- The concept Authority has certain peculiar features, such as- .authority must be legitimate. Dominance is also an important characteristic of authority. Authority is the command of the superior over the subordinates. Authority is always informal in character. Responsibility or accountability is one of the peculiar features of authority. Another characteristic of authority is reason. It is considered to be the basis of authority.
- According to Max Weber, there are three types of sources of political authority—traditional, charismatic and rational-legal.
- There are some bases of authority which are- consent, force, co-operation and social and psychological sanction.
- The term 'Legitimacy' is derived from the Latin word 'Legitimus' which means lawful. It maintains a belief that the existing political system is the most appropriate and the people must regard it as sacred and worthy of respect and obey it unhesitatingly.
- According to Max Weber there are three sources of legitimacy, such as – tradition, personal quality and legality.
- David Easton refers to three types of legitimacy, namely- Ideological legitimacy, Structural legitimacy and Personal legitimacy.

- There is a close relationship between power, authority and legitimacy. Without legitimacy, power and authority become meaningless. Similarly without power legitimate authority becomes meaningless. Power and legitimate authority are the ways of regulating social behaviour and conduct.



11.8 FURTHER READING

1. Bhargava, Rajeev & Acharya, Ashok. (2011). *Political Theory: An Introduction.* New Delhi: Pearson.
2. Gauba, O. P. (2009). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publication.
3. Gogoi, Prof. Purandar. (2007). *Degree Political Theory*. Guwahati: Banalata Publication.
4. Mahajan, V.D. (2008). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand Publication.
5. Varma, S.P. (2007). *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.



11.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Bertrand Russell

Ans to Q No 2: (i) Power is always relational.

(ii) Power is situational because it depends on situation, circumstances and position.

Ans to Q No 3: Robert A. Dahl

Ans to Q No 4: Knowledge, Organization, Wealth, Authority

Ans to Q No 5: Latin

Ans to Q No 6: Authority is often defined as being power, the power to command obedience.

Ans to Q No 7: When authority is exercised in terms of personal quality, it can automatically be regarded as charismatic authority.

Ans to Q No 8: Consent, Force,Co-operation, Social and Psychological Sanction.

Ans to Q No 9: Latin

Ans to Q No 10: True

Ans to Q No 11: Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are most appropriate for the society.

Ans to Q No 12: Tradition, personal quality and legality.



11.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: From which term is the word “legitimacy” derived and what does it mean?

Q 2: State the definition of authority provided by the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

Q 3: What do you mean by psychological power?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the characteristics of authority.

Q 2: Write a short note about the types of legitimacy.

Q 3: Write about the sources of power.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300- 500 words)

Q 1: Write a note on the relationship between power, authority and legitimacy.

Q 2: What do you mean by power? Explain the characteristics of power.

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UNIT 12: CONCEPTS OF RIGHTS AND LIBERTY

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Concept of Rights

- 12.3.1 Meaning of Rights
- 12.3.2 Types of Rights

12.4 Concept of Liberty

- 12.4.1 Meaning of Liberty
- 12.4.2 Types of Liberty

12.5 Let Us Sum Up

12.6 Further Reading

12.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.8 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to

- define the concept of rights
- explain the different types of rights
- describe the concept of liberty
- discuss the different types of liberty.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In our day to day life we often use the terms like ‘rights’, and ‘liberty’. As a matter of fact, these terms constitute some of the very basic concepts of Political Science which may be termed as ‘key concepts’ in the study of political science. These concepts deal with certain basic questions that the discipline of political science has been trying to address from the time of its emergence. These two concepts, namely, rights, and liberty may be regarded as the pillars of a modern society as they establish a relationship between the state and the individual.

12.3 CONCEPT OF RIGHTS

In this section we shall make a detailed discussion of the concept of rights.

12.3.1 Meaning of Rights

As members of the society, every individual possesses certain rights. Without rights a man is said to be deprived of various opportunities. According to British political scientist Harold Laski, "State is known by the rights it maintains."(Agarwal, R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.181). He further says that, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man seeks to be himself, at his best."(ibid.,p.181). We all enjoy our rights in an organized society. Thus rights are recognized by a society. However while enjoying our rights we must ensure that our fellow beings also enjoy their respective rights in the society. It implies while enjoying our rights we must perform our duties also to. For example, while walking on the road we should not occupy the entire space so that our fellow citizens can also enjoy similar rights. Hence, every right has a corresponding duty and enjoyment of the right depends on the performance of everyone's duties. In his book *Grammar of Politics*, Laski states that, "He that will not perform functions cannot enjoy rights any more than he who will not work ought to enjoy food."

In the modern time, every state guarantees certain rights to its citizens. State also acts as the protector of these rights. In India also, the Constitution provides certain rights to its citizens. Among these rights guaranteed by the Constitution, some are described as fundamental without which no individual in a civil society can develop in a proper way. The rights of the citizens are also the conditions of social welfare. Therefore rights are necessary for proper development of human lives and to establish a just society.

The rights that we enjoy as individuals have certain characteristics also. Let us learn about the **characteristics** of our rights:

- The rights of the individuals should aim at fulfilling their needs in the society
- Rights are usually recognized by law and guaranteed by the authority of the land
- However, these rights are not absolute. Under certain circumstances the authority may put certain restrictions on the enjoyment of these rights by the individuals.
- Every right has a corresponding duty. While enjoying one's right he/she must ensure that others' rights are not hampered.

12.3.2 Types of Rights

There are different types of rights. They can be classified as follows:

- Natural Rights
- Moral Rights
- Legal Rights—-
  a) Civil Rights
  b) Political Rights
  c) Economic Rights

- **Natural Rights**: Natural rights are those rights which are endowed by nature. Therefore these rights are absolute and inherent in every individual. Natural rights consist of right to life, the right to liberty, the right to individual judgment, the right to carry out one's judgment etc. English philosopher John Locke and English-American political philosopher Thomas Paine are the main exponents of natural rights of individual. Locke firmly believed that all men are born free and rational. Hence they can not be compelled to obey orders from others. Hobbes and Locke believe that natural rights are those rights which the individuals enjoy in the state of nature. Rousseau also regarded these rights as ideal rights as it existed even before the state came

into being. Natural rights are of great significance and every modern state must guarantee these rights to its citizens.

- **Moral Rights**: Moral rights are based on the ethics and moral code of the individuals. A moral right may not be supported by the laws of the state. However, moral rights are recognized and sanctioned by the society. These rights are usually based on customs and beliefs and have a strong force of public opinion. Therefore, no state can afford to ignore the moral rights which are sanctioned by the society.
- **Legal Rights**: Legal rights are recognized and maintained by the laws of the state. Usually, the police and the court protect these rights of the individuals. The legal rights are equal and applicable to all without any distinction on caste, race, culture or religion.

The **legal rights** can further be divided into three categories - **civil, political** and **economic rights.**



LET US KNOW

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 has given universal recognition to human rights to all the individuals in the world. According to this declaration all individuals as human beings are entitled to certain rights which must be guaranteed by respective states. Article 1 of this declaration states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

a) Civil rights*:* Civil rights of the individuals are of great significance and every civilized state must guarantee these rights to its citizens. These rights are related to the protection and enjoyment of life and property by the individuals which are essential for the proper development of every individual. Therefore it can be said that civil rights are the key to the enjoyment of different other rights of the individuals. Among the various civil rights, right to life is the most important one which guarantees an individual protection from all

threats to life in a society. The civil rights also include the right to self defence, personal safety and freedom, right to have family life, freedom of speech and expression etc.

Thus the list of civil rights includes different rights of the individuals. The right to property is also included in this list. As a citizen every individual should be allowed to keep to himself his earnings. Do we as Indian citizens have the right to property? In India the Right to Property was earlier regarded as a Fundamental Right but later on it was deleted from the list of fundamental rights by the 44th amendment of the Indian Constitution. After that, the Right to Property has been categorized as a legal right in India. A modern state is the guarantor of civil rights and should safeguard it against violations by both the individuals and other associations.

(b) *Political rights*: Political rights are those rights which give the individuals an opportunity to take part in the affairs of the state. Do you enjoy any political right? Do you have the right to vote? If yes, you are enjoying political rights.

By exercising this right we can elect our representatives. Besides voting rights, political rights also include right to be elected to the legislature. In India for example, citizens enjoy the right to vote and also stand in the elections of central and state legislatures as well as of local bodies.

Besides, these political rights, the individuals should also enjoy the right to resist unjust and oppressive laws of the state. They should also enjoy right to petition. Through this right the individuals may bring to the notice of the authority the unjust actions of the state. In a democracy this right is of great relevance. Another important political right of the individuals is right to criticize. We often find that the common people criticize the government for its policies or activities. This right helps people to keep vigil on the functioning of the government. However, this right has no relevance in totalitarian states.

(c) *Economic rights*: These rights are very important in the modern societies without which political and civil rights become meaningless. There are three important economic rights. These are: the right to work, the right to adequate wages and the right to reasonable hours of work. However, it must be remembered that right to work does not entitle one to do any kind of work one likes. This right implies right to be occupied in producing a part of those goods and commodities which are useful for the society. Again, the right to adequate wage does not imply the right to equal wage. It means everyone should be given sufficient wage against his or her contribution to maintain himself or herself and his or her family. Right to reasonable hours of work implies some leisure hours for the workers. It believes that it is very difficult for a person to work in a similar environment for long hours continuously.



ACTIVITY 12.1

Make a list of civil rights of the Indian citizens. (Write more than five civil rights.)

.....

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who said "State is known by the rights it maintains"?

.....

Q 2: Civil right is a legal right (True/ False)

.....

Q 3: Right to life is a..... right (Fill in the blank)

Q 4: Who wrote the book *Grammar of Politics*?

.....

.....

Q 5: Write a short note on economic rights.

.....

.....

12.4 CONCEPT OF LIBERTY

In this section we shall discuss the meaning and types of liberty.

12.4.1 Meaning of Liberty

The concept of liberty also occupies a significant place in Political Science. The term “liberty” is derived from the Latin word “liber” which means free. Therefore liberty stands for freedom of the individuals in a society. We all require some kind of freedom to lead a life with dignity. Therefore, liberty is a fundamental necessity of every individual.

This concept has been defined by different political thinkers in different ways. Therefore American scholar Gilchrist holds the view that, “everyone has a vague notion of liberty of some kind and a desire for it, but among ten people using the word, perhaps no two will be able to say exactly what they mean, or, if they do say it, will agree with each other in their definition”. (Kapur, A.C. : *Principles of Political Science*, S.Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.346)

English scholar G.D.H Cole defines liberty as the freedom of the individual to express without external hindrances to personality. According to Laski, liberty is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have opportunity to be their best selves. Thus liberty essentially means absence of restraint and the freedom to do what one likes. However, liberty in the sense of a complete absence of all restraints is not possible. Thus, an individual enjoys liberty to the extent that he is able to develop his personality to the full without harming the interests of other members of the society.

The concept of liberty has developed mainly in modern times. It has evolved through various stages and took today's form after a long period. Greek philosopher Plato refused the idea of liberty which gave the individual the right to go against the state. In the medieval period, which was marked by the ideas of salvation and freedom of soul, there was no idea of liberty of the individual as such.

The ***Renaissance*** opened up a new phase in the history of political thought. After renaissance, liberty was viewed in a multidimensional way- like religious and political liberty. This phase believed liberty to be the absence of restraints which gave rise to the concept of negative liberty.



LET US KNOW

Liberty can also be categorized as positive and negative liberty. Negative liberty stands for absence of restraints by the state. Thus it regards state as the enemy of liberty. On the other hand, positive liberty emphasises the state's role in creating positive conditions which are necessary for the realization of liberty of the individuals.

English scholar J.S. Mill's view on liberty is considered to be of great significance. Mill divided the different spheres of human action into two parts: *self regarding* and *others-regarding actions*. The individual was free with regard to *self regarding* actions but was subject to the control of the government as regards *others-regarding actions*. Mill believes that, ''Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.''

Laski on the other hand believes that there is a very close relationship between rights and liberties. Laski refuses the idea that liberty is the absence of restraints. According to him, liberty can be classified into three parts: private, political and economic. Private liberty stands for freedom of choice in those areas which mainly

affects the concerned individual. Political liberty is the power to be active in the affairs of the state.

12.4.2 Types of Liberty

The different types of Liberty are discussed below:

- **Natural Liberty:** Natural liberty refers to the fact that man is by nature free. However, with the emergence of civilization, men have become subject to some kind of bondage in the society. Rousseau is the main advocate of natural liberty. According to him, 'Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains.' Thus, natural liberty stands for the freedom of the individuals that they enjoy naturally.
- **Personal Liberty**: Every individual likes to enjoy some kind of personal freedom. Mill was an advocate of personal freedom and he believed that the individuals should be free to experiment with their lives, as long as their actions do not affect others. Like Mill, Rousseau also supported personal liberty. He said that "to renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties."
- **National Liberty:** National liberty stands for freedom from the control of foreign nations which in turn helps in enjoying various other types of liberties in the fullest sense. Therefore liberty can be understood in terms of national independence also.
- **Constitutional Liberty**: Liberty is also understood as the establishment of democracy or popular government. In this sense liberty refers to the government elected by the people and responsible to the common masses. This form of liberty is known as ''Constitutional Liberty''.
- **Civil Liberty**: Civil liberty stands for liberty in the social life. Thus this is very comprehensive as it includes various rights and privileges guaranteed by the state like freedom of the person, equality before law, security of private property, freedom of opinion and expression and freedom of conscience. Civil liberty safeguards the individuals in the society against the encroachment of their rights.

- **Political Liberty**: Political liberty gives the individuals an opportunity to take part in the administration of the state. Therefore it stands for the rights like right to vote and the right to be elected to the legislature and to stand for public offices.
- **Economic Liberty**: Economic liberty ensures just reward or payment to the workers. Is also implies that every individual regardless of the distinction of caste, colour, religion and creed is able to earn his or her livelihood by fair means. This liberty of the individuals emphasizes on bringing an end to economic inequalities.
- **Moral Liberty**: All the above mentioned liberties are meaningless if an individual does not possess moral liberty which enables him or her to act according to his or her rational self.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6: The term 'liberty' is derived from the word "liber". (True/False)

.....

Q 7: Who said "Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign"?

.....

Q 8: Name two different types of liberty.

.....

Q 9: Mention the name of one advocate of personal liberty.

.....

Q 10: Write briefly about civil liberty.

.....

.....



12.5 LET US SUM UP

- Rights of individuals aim at fulfilling the basic needs of individuals in the society. While enjoying our rights we must ensure that our fellow beings

also enjoy their respective rights in the society. It implies while enjoying our rights we must perform our duties also

- Rights can be classified as Natural rights, Moral rights and Legal rights. Legal rights are further sub-divided into civil, political and economic rights.
- Liberty essentially means absence of restraint and the freedom to do what one likes. However, an individual enjoys liberty to the extent that he is able to develop his personality to the full without harming the interests of other members of the society.
- Liberty may be classified into Natural liberty, Personal liberty, National liberty, Constitutional liberty, Civil liberty, Political liberty, Economic liberty and Moral liberty.



12.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur, A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Harold Laski

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: civil

Ans to Q No 4: Laski

Ans to Q No 5: Economic rights are very important in the modern societies

without which political and civil rights become meaningless. There are three important economic rights. These are: the right to work, the right to adequate wages and the right to reasonable hours of work. However, it must be remembered that right to work does not entitle one to do any kind of work one likes. This right implies right to be occupied in producing a part of those goods and commodities which are useful for the society. Again, the right to adequate wage does not imply the right to equal wage. It means everyone should be given sufficient wage against his or her contribution to maintain himself or herself and his or her family. Right to reasonable hours of work implies some leisure hours for the workers. It believes that it is very difficult for a person to work in a similar environment for long hours continuously.

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: J.S.Mill

Ans to Q No 8: Natural and civil liberty.

Ans to Q No 9: Rousseau

Ans to Q No 10: Civil liberty stands for liberty in the social life. Thus this is very comprehensive as it includes various rights and privileges guaranteed by the state like freedom of the person, equality before law, security of private property, freedom of opinion and expression and freedom of conscience. Civil liberty safeguards the individuals in the society against the encroachment of their rights.



12.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Mention the names of two chief exponents of natural rights of individual.

Q.2: Write any two political liberties.

Q.3: State the definition of liberty provided by G.D.H Cole.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Write briefly about the meaning of rights.

Q.2: What are the characteristics of rights?

Q.3: Write a short note on the meaning of liberty.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Discuss the various categories of rights.

Q.2: Describe the different types of liberty.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 13: CONCEPTS OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Concept of Justice

13.3.1 Meaning of Justice

13.3.2 Types of Justice

13.4 Concept of Equality

13.4.1 Meaning of Equality

13.4.2 Types of Equality

13.5 Let Us Sum Up

13.6 Further Reading

13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.8 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- define the concept of justice
- list out different types of justice
- explain the concept of equality
- discuss the different kinds of equality

13.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we discussed two very important concepts, such as Rights and Liberty. Another two important concepts closely related with the discipline of Political Science are Justice and Equality. For every democratic country these two concepts are considered as the central elements. For developing individual capabilities and personalities these two principles are very important. In this unit, effort will be made to make a detailed discussion of the two concepts of Justice and Equality.

13.3 CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

In this section we shall discuss the meaning and different kinds of Justice.

13.3.1 Meaning of Justice

The concept of justice occupies a prime place in political science. The concept of justice implies what is right or reasonable. Therefore, this concept is basically a moral concept which speaks about being perfect or just.

The term ‘‘justice’’ is derived from Latin word “Jus” which means the idea of joining or fitting, the idea of bond or tie. It is mainly concerned with the adjustment of human relations. However, this concept has been used to denote different meanings in different periods. The Greeks were the first to discuss the concept of justice. Greek Philosopher Plato talked about idealist theory of justice and stressed on the moral element of justice. In his concept of ideal state, Plato mentioned about four virtues: wisdom, courage, temperance or self-control and justice. He also believes that justice is resided in the mind of every citizen. According to him justice is the virtue to be cultivated by the society through subordination of the irrational masses of producers to the brave class of warriors and the rational class of philosopher kings.

Another Greek Philosopher Aristotle, the disciple of Plato on the other hand believes that justice denotes an equality of proportion to the degrees to which individuals differ in relevant respects. According to the Romans positive laws conforming to higher laws was a perfect justice and of a rightful nature. The liberal view of justice on the other hand lays greater stress on its legal and political aspects. According to them, the rule of law is the first condition of justice. They also believed that the political system based on justice provide to its citizens civil and political rights and gives them an opportunity to take part in the political process.

In the medieval period, justice was viewed as implanted by God in every human mind and could be preserved through the authority of the Church.

Thus we can see that the modern concept of justice is different from traditional concept. The traditional concept of justice was mainly concerned with moral and ethical aspects and therefore with certain virtues relating to morality. On the other hand, the modern concept of justice emphasises the realisation of certain human values. It is mainly concerned with social justice.

13.3.2 Types of Justice

Justice can be broadly divided into Legal, Political, Social and Economic justice. These are discussed below:

- **Legal Justice:** Legal justice is mainly concerned with the process of law making and the judicial system. Under this system every individual is entitled to equal protection of laws and impartial justice. English political scientist Ernest Barker has viewed legal justice as laws according to justice. He has also made a distinction between positive law and natural law. Positive laws are particular laws while natural laws are defined as universal laws. The legal dimension of justice implies adherence to a set of declared rules.
- **Political Justice:** Political Justice mainly deals with the actual politics through which the political process attains the principle of justice. Every citizen must have the right to participate in the political process freely and should be able to enjoy the right to vote and contest in elections without any discrimination on the basis of caste, class, creed, sex, etc. Political justice prevails when the government in based on the will of the people and remains responsive to public opinion.
- **Social Justice:** Social justice refers to the elimination of all kinds of discrimination and privileges on the grounds of birth, race, caste, sex etc. In the positive sense social justice implies providing various social opportunities to all members of a society for their proper

development. It emphasises establishing social equality and social mobility. Social justice is closely related to political and economic justice as these two provide the ground for the enjoyment of social justice.

- **Economic Justice:** Economic justice has been interpreted in different ways by the Liberals and the Marxists. The liberals view economic justice as the satisfaction of all economic needs of the people in a society. For that they advocate free market and free competition. On the other hand, the Marxists believe that economic justice can be established only in a classless society. Therefore the Marxists advocate the abolition of private property and overthrowing of the capitalist state and establising a classless state. They also believe that economic justice cannot be established in a society divided into rich and poor or haves and have nots.



LET US KNOW

The Directive Principles of State Policy, incorporated in Part IV of the Indian Constitution aims at establishing social and economic justice in India. For that purpose, it includes various economic principles like adequate means of livelihood for all, equal pay for equal work etc. The social principles on the other hand stand for the uplift of the economically poor and the downtrodden sections of the society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Choose the right word:

The term “justice” is derived from a Latin/ Roman/ Greek word.

.....

Q. 2. According to Plato, justice resides in the ..... of every citizen. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 3: Name three different types of justice.

.....

.....

Q.4: Natural laws are defined as universal laws.(True/False)

.....

Q.5: Write briefly about social justice.

.....

.....

.....

Q.6: What is the view point of the liberals regarding economic justice?

.....

.....

.....

13.4 CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

In this section we shall make a detailed discussion of another fundamental concept of political science, i.e. Equality.

13.4.1 Meaning of Equality

Since the earliest of times, the problem of equality and inequality has been a dominant discourse in political thought. The modern concept of equality maintains that all human beings must be treated as equal. This does not mean that there are no differences among human beings. Human beings differ in terms of their physical, social, economic and other attributes and equality does not mean uniformity and differences does not mean inequality. However, despite the existence of differences among human beings, there is something common to all which is that all human beings are created equal by God and are endowed with the faculty of reason. The physical, emotional and intellectual needs of all men are similar. Accordingly, they are entitled to equal rights and adequate

opportunities for achieving the full development of their individual personalities. Equality is essential for social justice as political, social, economic and other types of inequality lead to injustice and exploitation of millions in the society.



LET US KNOW

The ideal of equality does not mean that all rights and opportunities are to be equally distributed among all members of the society. What it implies is that human beings are different in their physical and intellectual capacities and skills and aptitudes. As such each member in the society is entitled to enjoy such rights and opportunities as may enable him or her to develop his or her personal qualities and capacities. In this context, the issue that comes up is that whether equality allows discrimination on certain "reasonable" or "rational" grounds. Accordingly, in many modern political systems, one notices the principle of "affirmative action" or "preferential treatment" in favour of socio-economically deprived groups (for instance, in the matter of allocation of jobs and educational opportunities) so that they can come to the level of the more advanced groups. In the United States, such preferential treatment is noticed in favour of African-Americans and women. In India too, the policy of reservation has been adopted in favour of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other backward sections.

13.4.2 Types of Equality

The principle of equality is applicable to various spheres of social life covering legal, political and socio-economic dimensions. Let us examine the different types of equality:

- **Legal Equality:** The demand for legal equality was raised in the eighteenth century with a view to abolishing legal privileges enjoyed by aristocratic sections of the society. Legal equality basically means

equality before law and equal protection of law. As a matter of fact, it was not without a prolonged struggle in human society that the concept of legal equality was achieved in modern societies. In ancient societies, the concept of legal equality was not prevalent. For instance, Aristotle recommended differential punishments for the same offence for free men and slaves. Similarly, in the "Manusmriti", the ancient Hindu scripture, different grades of punishment have been recommended for the same offence as per the caste of the offender. The principle of legal equality constitutes the foundation of legal justice in the modern world. Legal equality essentially implies that everyone must have equal access to the law and none can be above the law, irrespective of one's social and economic background. It is therefore important that in order that legal equality can be realized in the true sense of the term, all forms of socio-economic disparities must be eradicated from the society.

- **Political Equality:** It was during the nineteenth century that the demand for political equality was raised. Political equality implies that every individual should have the right to vote, right to contest elections and have the equal right to public services irrespective of one's birth, caste, class, colour, sex, language and religion. There will be no privileged class in the society. The rulers will not favour any particular class at the expense of the common people. The principle of political equality is derived from the general belief that human beings are essentially rational beings capable of making political judgements irrespective of their physical and mental capacities, educational qualification, wealth, etc. In the present-day world, political equality primarily revolves around the issue of universal adult franchise (based on "one man, one vote" system) and representative government whereby all adult citizens of the country have the right to elect their representatives to form the government. It may be mentioned here that under the Indian Constitution, all adult citizens (not less than 18 years of age) have

the right to vote at the elections to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies.

- **Social Equality:** Social equality means that every citizen must get equal opportunity for the development of his personality, irrespective of his social and economic status, caste, colour, race, sex, language, religion, education and other artificial considerations. In the ancient times, the demand for social equality arose in the context of the struggle against aristocratic privileges, and against slavery. In the twentieth century, the demand for social equality has been demanded on the basis of gender, caste and colour. Women's struggle for equal voting rights raised the slogan of equality between the sexes. In the USA, Martin Luther King (Jr.) spearheaded the American Civil Rights movement aimed at ending the socio-political discrimination against the black population of the country. Similarly, South Africa witnessed a prolonged struggle against racial inequalities in the twentieth century. The Indian Constitution expressly prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth and abolishes the practice of untouchability in any form.
- **Economic Equality:** The concept of economic equality is perhaps the most important pre-requisite if legal equality, social equality and political equality are to be successful. Economic equality implies that there should be an equal distribution of wealth in the society so that every individual in the society can have access to the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter, employment and health care facilities. However, economic equality does not mean absolute economic equality. There will always be certain sections which will be economically richer and certain others which will be poorer, but what is important is to ensure that the gap between the rich and the poor in the society does not become so big that the poorer sections find themselves deprived of even the basic necessities of life. The state should take the initiative to remove economic inequalities in the society by progressively extending socio-economic benefits to the underprivileged sections.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Legal equality basically means equality before law and equal ..... of law. (Fill in the blank)

Q.8: In which ancient Hindu scripture, different grades of punishment have been recommended for the same offence as per the caste of the offender?

.....

Q.9: In the USA,..... spearheaded the American Civil Rights movement aimed at ending the socio-political discrimination against the black population of the country.(Fill in the blank)

Q.10: In the present-day world, political equality primarily revolves around the issue of universal adult franchise and representative government. (True/False)

.....

Q.11: The demand for legal equality was raised in the eighteenth century by aristocratic sections of the society. (True/False)

.....

Q.12: One of the issues on the basis of which the demand for social equality has been raised in the twentieth century is wealth. (True/False)

.....

Q.13: The concept of ..... equality is perhaps the most important pre-requisite if legal equality, social equality and economic equality are to be successful. (Fill in the blank)

Q.14: Write a short note on economic equality.

.....

.....

.....

.....



13.5 LET US SUM UP

- The concepts of justice and equality are considered to be the fundamental pillar of any democratic society.
- The concept of justice, traditionally, was mainly concerned with moral and ethical concepts while in the modern sense, it emphasizes the realization of certain human values including social justice.
- The term ‘‘justice’’ is derived from Latin word “Jus” which means the idea of joining or fitting, the idea of bond or tie.
- The various types of justice include Legal justice, Political justice, Social justice and Economic justice.
- The modern concept of equality maintains that all human beings must be treated as equal. All human beings are entitled to equal rights and adequate opportunities for achieving the full development of their individual personalities. Equality is essential for social justice as political, social, economic and other types of inequality lead to injustice and exploitation of millions in the society.
- There are various types of equality, such as Legal equality, Political equality, Social equality and Economic equality.



13.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur, A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Latin

Ans to Q No 2: mind

Ans to Q No 3: Legal, political and social justice

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: Social justice refers to the elimination of all kinds of discrimination and privileges on the grounds of birth, race, caste, sex etc. in the positive sense social justice implies providing various social opportunities to all members of a society for their proper development. It emphasizes on establishing social equality and social mobility. Social justice is closely related to political and economic justice as these two provide the ground for the enjoyment of social justice.

Ans to Q No 6: The liberals view economic justice as the satisfaction of all economic needs of the people in a society. For that they advocate free market and free competition.

Ans to Q No 7: Protection

Ans to Q No 8: Manusmriti

Ans to Q No 9: Martin Luther King (Jr.)

Ans to Q No 10: True

Ans to Q No 11: True

Ans to Q No 12: False

Ans to Q No 13: economic

Ans to Q No 14: Economic equality implies that there should be an equal distribution of wealth in the society so that every individual in the society can have access to the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter, employment and health care facilities. However, economic equality does not mean absolute economic equality. There will always be certain sections which will be economically richer and certain others which will be poorer, but what is important is to ensure that the gap between the rich and the poor in the society does not

become so big that the poorer sections find themselves deprived of even the basic necessities of life. The state should take the initiative to remove economic inequalities in the society by progressively extending socio-economic benefits to the underprivileged sections.



13.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: What are the four virtues of an ideal state as mentioned by Plato?

Q.2: What does political equality imply?

Q.3: What is the view point of the Marxists regarding economic justice?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Explain the meaning of the concept of justice.

Q.2: Write a short note on the meaning of equality.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q1: Describe the various forms of justice.

Q2: Discuss the different types of equality.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 14: CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives
14.2 Introduction
14.3 Meaning of Citizenship
13.4 Origin of the Concept of Citizenship
14.5 Types of Citizenship
14.6 Qualities of a Good Citizen
14.7 Let Us Sum Up
14.8 Further Reading
14.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
14.10 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of Citizenship
- examine the types of Citizenship
- discuss the methods of acquiring Citizenship,
- list out the ways to promote good Citizenship

14.2 INTRODUCTION

The concept of Citizenship is regarded as one of the basic issues in the study of Political Science from a very early period. We have already discussed concepts like Rights and Liberties of the individuals. These concepts are closely linked to the concept of citizenship since the citizens of a state are entitled to these rights and liberties. In this unit we shall discuss the concept of citizenship in a detailed manner.

14.3 MEANING OF CITIZENSHIP

The term “citizen” is derived from the Latin word *civis*. Citizenship implies a two-way relationship between the individual and the state. A citizen

is a person who owes allegiance to the state in terms of fulfilling his or her duties and obligations towards the state. The state, on its part grants the citizen some civil, political and social rights.

In different periods of history, different political thinkers have dealt with the question as to who a citizen is. Citizenship was viewed in a narrow sense in ancient times. Greek philosopher Aristotle opined that the person who is capable of taking part in the deliberative and judicial administration of a state is a citizen. Thus, through his concept of citizenship, Aristotle advocated aristocracy and excluded majority of the population who did not have the ability to take part in the administrative process.

In the modern nation states, the concept of citizenship has broader meanings. In the modern states it is not possible for all to take direct part in the administration. However, here citizenship is extended to all who respect the laws and basic ideals of the state. For example, India is a large country and it is not possible for more than 100 million people to take part in the administration of the country. But as we all know Indian citizenship can be enjoyed by all individuals residing in the territory of the country who are obliged to following the ideals of the state.

Citizenship, thus, refers to certain civil and political privileges enjoyed by the people of a state. However, it must be noted here that while enjoying those privileges as a citizen of a country, he or she should also perform certain duties to the state. In this connection we should note the distinction between a “subject” and a “citizen” and also between an “alien” and a “citizen”.

- **Distinction between a “subject” and “citizen”**

  A subject is usually subordinate to the state. The subject is at the mercy of the state. The right to rule is reserved by a privileged class of people who decides what rights the subjects would enjoy. In case of the concept of citizenship, citizens themselves constitute the state. It is the constitution of the country which guarantees certain fundamental rights to the citizens and also outlines their duties and responsibilities. While subjects are associated with monarchies, citizens are associated with modern democratic state systems.

- **Distinction between an "alien" and "citizen"**

The inhabitants of a state are broadly classified into "citizens" and "aliens". Citizens owe allegiance to their own state which provides them all civil and political rights. Aliens on the other hand owe allegiance to the state of their origin. They are temporary residents of the state they are visiting and they may come in different capacities- in the form of diplomats, businessmen, students, tourists, etc. Although aliens enjoy legal protection of the state in which they are temporarily residing, yet they do not enjoy any political rights such as voting, contesting in elections or applying for government posts in the state of their temporary residence. However, it is obligatory on the part of both citizens and aliens to obey the ordinary laws of the state in which they are residing. Further, aliens may be expelled from the state in which they are residing for misconduct and violation of the rules prescribed by the latter. Citizens, on the other hand, cannot be expelled from their own state.



LET US KNOW

The voting right in a country can only be exercised by the citizens of that country. However, there is a distinction between the voters and the citizens. While all voters are citizens, all citizens may not be voters of a country. A citizen becomes a voter only after attaining a particular age.

14.4 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

Tracing the genesis of citizenship, it is found that the concept of citizenship existed in the ancient Greek city states. However, in the ancient Greek city states only a small section of the inhabitants who enjoyed the status of "freemen" were considered as full citizens. This section belonged to the upper class and was entitled to managing the affairs of the state. The freemen enjoyed equal rights among themselves irrespective of their economic status. The rest of the community consisted of slaves, women,

aliens and manual workers who were denied any rights of citizenship. Thus, citizenship in ancient Greece was restricted to only the privileged class.

During the Roman Empire, citizenship was initially confined to the ruling class only. Later, the scope of citizenship was broadened to include the common people and those defeated in war. Accordingly, different categories of citizens emerged, each entitled to different kinds of rights. However, people belonging to the lower strata of the society and the womenfolk were denied citizenship rights.

During the medieval period, citizenship came to be associated with the rise of emerging nation states. Citizenship was thought of not in terms of rights and privileges that an individual enjoyed in relation to a ***lord*** or a ***count*** but in relation to the state.

The Glorious Revolution (1688) popularized the idea of citizenship. The revolution established the superiority of the Parliament over the Monarch and thus paved the way for development of the concept of popular sovereignty whereby ultimate authority of the state rests with the entire body of citizens collectively. The American War of Independence (1775–1783) and the French Revolution (1789) and the consequent Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen gave a range of rights to citizens even as the idea of citizenship assumed a universal character and the benefit of citizenship was extended to all individuals residing in the state based on the principles of equality and fraternity.

In the nineteenth century, with the advent of liberalism, citizenship was associated with the question of natural rights as propounded by thinkers like John Locke in England. According to John Locke, “right to life, liberty and property” constituted the natural rights. Accordingly, the state is bound to protect the citizen’s natural rights and citizens had the right to change the government if the latter failed to perform its basic duty of protecting the citizens’ natural rights. Subsequently, as the role of the state expanded to include welfare activities for the citizens, the scope of citizenship became more broad-based with citizens enjoying a wide range of rights and liberties. Today, all individuals irrespective of one’s religion, economic status,

educational qualification, gender, race, ethnicity, caste and other such artificial considerations are granted citizenship privileges by the modern state. At the same time, citizens, on their part, have to discharge certain duties and responsibilities towards the state. Thus, citizenship in the modern period is associated with democracy and positive liberalism whereby citizenship is no longer a narrow concept confined to only certain privileged sections but a broad concept which encompasses all sections of individuals (except aliens) within the territory of the state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The term “civis” is a Latin word. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: In the ancient Greek city states only a small section of the inhabitants who enjoyed the status of “freemen” were considered as full citizens. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: In the nineteenth century, with the advent of liberalism, citizenship was associated with the question of……..rights. (Fill in the blank).

Q.4: What is meant by citizenship?

.....

.....

Q.5: Distinguish between a “subject” and a “citizen”.

.....

.....

14.5 TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP

There are *two* categories of citizens, namely, *natural citizens* and *naturalized citizens*.

Natural citizens are citizens by birth. In case of citizenship by birth, there are two principles to be followed. One is *Jus Sanguinis* (rule of blood relation) and the other is *Jus Soli* (rule of the place of birth). *Jus Sanguinis*

is a Latin term meaning "right of blood". *Jus Soli* is also a Latin term meaning "right of soil". As per *Jus Sanguinis*, a child automatically acquires citizenship of its parents irrespective of where he is born. As per *Jus Soli*, a child acquires citizenship of the place where he is born irrespective of its parents' citizenship. Most countries today, including India, follow a mixture of the principles of *Jus Sanguinis* and *Jus Soli*. It may be mentioned here that generally the principle of *Jus Soli* does not apply to children born to foreign diplomats serving in the country.

Naturalized citizens are citizens by adoption. A foreigner living in a country becomes the citizen of the country if he or she fulfils certain conditions prescribed by that country and at the same time gives up his or her original citizenship.

Citizenship may also be lost under certain circumstances like accepting employment under a foreign government without following proper procedure, accepting foreign titles without seeking prior approval of one's own nation, prolonged absence, commission of serious offences, voluntary renunciation of one's citizenship, etc. The conditions and circumstances amounting to loss of citizenship vary from state to state. So, in other words, we can say that there are two methods of acquiring citizenship. An individual can attain his citizenship naturally by birth (natural citizenship). On the other hand, sometimes one may acquire citizenship of a country by the method of adoption (naturalised citizenship).



ACTIVITY 14.1

Mention the names of two important personalities of India who have attained citizenship of India through the process of naturalization.

.....

.....

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 6: What is meant by naturalised citizens?

.....

.....

Q. 7: Mention any two circumstances under which citizenship may be lost.

.....

.....

14.6 QUALITIES OF A GOOD CITIZEN

The state and the citizens are closely related. The functioning of a state depends on the qualities of its citizens. Good citizenship and good states are co-relative terms. It is the virtues of good citizens that make the state good. Similarly, a sound political system makes the citizens good. According to British scholar Lord Bryce, a good citizen has three qualities. They are –

a. Intelligence,

b. Self-control, and

c. Conscience.

By *intelligence* is meant a strong common sense on the part of the citizen and the capacity to understand properly the interests of the nation to which he belongs.

By *self-control* is meant the ability of the citizen to put the general interests of the society before his or her private interests.

However the basic quality that a citizen must have is *conscience* or devotion to duty. A citizen should be ready and willing to render every kind of service to his or her nation. He or she should discharge his or her duties honestly and be willing to defend his or her country at times of crisis. Conscience creates a sense of responsibility and service towards the nation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 8: Write three qualities of a good citizen.

.....

.....

.....

Q. 9: Mention two methods of acquiring citizenship.

.....

.....

.....

.....



14.7 LET US SUM UP

- Citizenship implies a two-way relationship between the individual and the state. A citizen is a person who owes allegiance to the state in terms of fulfilling his or her duties and obligations towards the state. The state on its part grants the citizen some civil, political and social rights.
- Ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle opined that the person who is capable of taking part in the deliberative and judicial administration of a state is a citizen.
- In the modern nation states, the concept of citizenship has broader meanings. Now, citizenship is extended to all who respect the laws and basic ideals of the state. Citizenship refers to certain civil and political privileges enjoyed by the people of a state.
- Originally, the concept of citizenship existed in the ancient Greek city states. In the ancient Greek city states only a small section of the inhabitants who enjoyed the status of “freemen” were considered as full citizens. In ancient Greece citizenship was restricted to only the privileged class.

- During the Roman Empire, citizenship was initially confined to the ruling class and in the later period, the scope of citizenship was broadened to include the common people and those defeated in war.
- During the medieval period, the concept of citizenship was considered as the relationship of the individual with the state.
- The Glorious Revolution (1688), American Revolution (1775–1783) and the French Revolution (1789) and the consequent Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen contributed to the emergence of the idea of citizenship. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen contributed to the growth of universal character of citizenship.
- In the 19th century, with the advent of liberalism the scope of citizenship became more broad-based with citizens enjoying a wide range of rights and liberties. In the contemporary time citizenship is associated with democracy and positive liberalism whereby citizenship is no longer a narrow concept confined to only certain privileged sections but a broad concept which encompasses all sections of individuals (except aliens) within the territory of the state.
- A state may have two types of citizens: natural and naturalised. Natural citizens are citizens by birth. Naturalized citizens are citizens by adoption.
- The functioning of a state depends on the qualities of its citizens. Lord Bryce has identified three qualities of a good citizen, such as - intelligence, self-control, and conscience.



14.8 FURTHER READING

1. Gauba, O.P. (2007). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd.
2. Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3. Srivastava, S (ed) (2012). *Fundamentals of Political Theory*. New Delhi: Pearson Publications.

14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: natural

Ans to Q No 4: Citizenship refers to certain civil and political privileges enjoyed by the people of a state. However, it must be noted here that while enjoying those privileges as a citizen of a country, a citizen should also perform certain duties to the state.

Ans to Q No 5: A subject is usually subordinate to the state. The subject is at the mercy of the state. The right to rule is reserved by a privileged class of people who decides what rights the subjects would enjoy. In case of the concept of citizenship, citizens themselves constitute the state. It is the constitution of the country which guarantees certain fundamental rights to the citizens and also outlines their duties and responsibilities. While subjects are associated with monarchies, citizens are associated with modern democratic state systems.

Ans to Q No 6: Naturalized citizens are citizens by adoption. A foreigner living in a country becomes the citizen of the country if he or she fulfils certain conditions prescribed by that country and at the same time gives up his or her original citizenship.

Ans to Q No 7: (i) Accepting employment under a foreign government, (ii) Accepting foreign titles without seeking prior approval of one's own nation.

Ans to Q No 8: Intelligence, Self-control and Conscience.

Ans to Q No 9: By birth and by naturalisation



14.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: From which term was the word citizen derived?

Q.2: Who identified three qualities of a good citizen?

Q.3: Mention the name of one exponent of natural rights.

Q.4: Who advocated aristocracy through his concept of citizenship?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: What do you mean by citizenship?

Q.2: Write a short note on the qualities of a good citizen.

Q.3: Write briefly about the distinction between an alien and a citizen.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Explain the origin of the concept of citizenship.

Q.2: Describe two types of citizenship.

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UNIT 15: INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Individualism

- 15.3.1 Meaning of Individualism
- 15.3.2 Features of Individualism
- 15.3.3 Merits of Individualism
- 15.3.4 Demerits of Individualism

15.4 Socialism

- 15.4.1 Meaning of Socialism
- 15.4.2 Features of Socialism
- 15.4.3 Merits of Socialism
- 15.4.4 Demerits of Socialism

15.5 Let Us Sum Up

15.6 Further Reading

15.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

15.8 Model Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of Individualism and Socialism
- describe the features of Individualism and Socialism
- discuss the merits and demerits of Individualism and Socialism.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

An important topic in the field of Political Science relates to the study of the functions of the state. There are mainly two theories regarding the functions of the state. One is known as Individualism and the other is Socialism. On the basis of these two theories we can discuss the spheres

of activity of the state. These two theories explain in different ways what the state should do and should not do. Thus, Individualism and Socialism are concerned with the activities of the state. In this unit, we shall discuss the meaning, features, merits and demerits of Individualism and Socialism.

15.3 INDIVIDUALISM

Now we shall discuss the meaning, features, merits and demerits of individualism.

15.3.1 Meaning of Individualism

One of the important theories regarding the functions of the state is Individualism or Individualistic theory. This theory maintains that the state should perform minimum functions. The functions of the state should be limited only to protection and maintenance of law and order. The state should not perform functions relating to promotion and development.

Individualism is also known as the 'Laissez Faire' theory of state activity. In French, 'Laissez Faire' means 'leave the individual alone'. This means that the state should not interfere in the matters of the individual. Individuals should be given maximum freedom. The main advocates of this theory were Jeremy Bentham (English philosopher and jurist), John Stuart Mill (English philosopher and political economist), Immanuel Kant (German philosopher), Herbert Spencer (English philosopher and anthropologist) and Adam Smith (Scottish philosopher and political economist). The advocates of Individualism defended it on various grounds. Thinkers like Kant and J.S. Mill defended it on ethical grounds. They held the view that state interference would harm the free development of individual abilities and faculties. Adam Smith defended Individualism on economic grounds and he believed that non-interference by the government in economic matters would result in the maximum production of economic wealth. Herbert Spencer favoured Individualism on

scientific grounds and believed in the theories of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. During the ancient period, Aristotle had defended Individualism on political grounds and was of the view that government interference in all matters of the individual would kill the individual initiative and hamper the progress of the state.

15.3.2 Features of Individualism

Individualism emphasizes the freedom of the individual to seek his own good without the interference of the state. Its main features are as follows:

- **Minimum state functions and maximum freedom of the individuals:** Individualism stands for minimum functions of the state. The state should perform only limited functions related to protection of life, liberty and property of the individuals and removal of restraints to individual freedom. Individualism believes in the maximum freedom of the individuals. The individuals should be left free to engage in any vocation of his or her own choice.
- **Non-Interference by the State:** Individualism believes that the state should undertake limited activities for the individuals to enjoy maximum freedom. The state should not interfere in the private matters of the individuals. It believes that individuals are capable of working for their own welfare. So, the state should not come in between.
- **State as a necessary evil:** Individualism regards the state as a necessary evil. According to it, state is a necessary but an evil institution as it restricts individual liberty. So, it does not advocate the abolition of the state, but believes in limiting its functions.
- **Opposed to the welfare concept of the state:** Individualism is opposed to the welfare concept of the state. It does not want the state to perform any welfare function. If the state performs these functions, then its functions will increase. This is not acceptable to individualism.

- **Private enterprises and free competition:** Individualism stands for private enterprise and free competition in the economic field. It believes that if individuals are given free hand in the economic field, then they will have incentives to invest and work more for economic gain. This will benefit the society.
- **State interference in personal matters is morally and ethically wrong:** Individualism also believes that the state interference in the personal matters of an individual is morally and ethically wrong. Because this will have an adverse impact upon the self-esteem and self-respect of an individual.

15.3.3 Merits of Individualism

Individualist thinkers and political philosophers have always stressed some obvious merits that stem from the idea of freedom inherent in the theory of individualism. Some of the **merits** of Individualism are mentioned below:

- Individualism emphasizes individual liberty. It believes that the individual should be allowed to enjoy maximum freedom so that he can work for his development.
- Individualism wants the state to perform minimum functions. This will not make the state overburdened. The state will perform its functions efficiently.
- Individualism believes in individual capability. It believes that if individuals are left free, then they would realize their own ability and capacity and would do their best. This will benefit the society.
- According to individualism, real development of an individual is possible only under an environment of freedom. The state interference in personal matters of an individual will destroy such a condition. Therefore, the state should perform only protective and defensive functions.
- Individualism encourages private enterprises and competitions in the economic field. This will improve the economic condition because enterprising individuals will find incentives to work more for economic gain.

15.3.4 Demerits of Individualism

Individualism suffers from some **demerits** which can be briefly summed up as follows:

- Individualism stands for individual interest. It does not give importance to social interest. It is harmful to the society.
- The belief of Individualism that the activities of the state are against individual liberty is wrong. Actually it is the state which facilitates individual liberty. Without the state all people in the society will not be able to enjoy liberty.
- Again, the state is not an evil institution. Rather, it is a positive good. For having peace and security in the society, the existence of the state is essential. An orderly and civilized life is possible only with the state.
- The activities of the state should not be restricted only to protective and defensive functions. Because all round development of all in the society can be ensured by the state alone. Therefore, the state should perform developmental and welfare functions also.
- Individualism wants free and unrestricted competition in the economic field. This will not improve the economic condition of the society as a whole. Only some people will gain and others will have to suffer.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1: What do you understand by Individualism?

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Q. 2: Name two advocates of Individualism.

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Q. 3: What is “Laissez Faire”?

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Q. 4: Mention any two features of Individualism.

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Q. 5: Write two merits of Individualism.

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Q. 6: Write two demerits of Individualism.

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15.4 SOCIALISM

In this section we shall discuss the meaning, features, merits and demerits of Socialism.

15.4.1 Meaning of Socialism

Another important theory regarding the functions of the state is Socialism. This theory may be said to be the reaction against Individualism. Socialism regards the state as an agency for promoting supreme good of the people. It believes that the state should perform maximum functions. According to Socialism, the functions of the state do not hinder the enjoyment of liberty by the people. Socialism regards the state as a positive good. It regards the state to be a good institution which works for welfare of all.

Socialism recognizes the supremacy of the society. It wants that the state should be the owner of land and capital in the society. It substitutes private ownership by state ownership. Socialism stands for co-operation instead of competition in the economic field. It wants to end inequalities and to establish equality and justice in the society.

The term 'socialism' is derived from the Greek word 'socias' which means 'society'. The word was first used in the early 1830s by the followers of Robert Owen (Welsh social reformer and political philosopher) in Britain and Saint Simon (French political philosopher and economist) in France. Socialist thought has different varieties,

such as Utopian Socialism, Collectivism, Fabian Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, Democratic Socialism and Scientific Socialism. While Robert Owen was an advocate of Utopian Socialism, Eduard Bernstein (German political philosopher and politician) advocated for Collectivism, G.D.H. Cole (English political philosopher and economist) for Guild Socialism, Sidney Webb (British political philosopher and economist) for Fabian Socialism and Karl Marx (German political philosopher and economist) is called the father of Scientific Socialism.

15.4.2 Features of Socialism

All the above mentioned forms of Socialism share certain common features. These can be discussed in the following way:

- **Supremacy of the society:** Socialism stands for the supremacy of the society. It believes that the welfare of the society is also the welfare of the individuals living in the society. Social interest is of greater importance than individual interest.
- **State ownership of land and capital:** Socialism believes in the state ownership of land and capital in the society. It says that capital should be socialized in the interest of all. It is against private capital and private ownership.
- **Equality and justice for all:** Socialism stands for equality and justice for all. It is against economic inequality and exploitation in the society. It wants to establish a new economic order where all will have economic security.
- **Welfare of all:** Socialism wants the state to take measures for the welfare of all. It must ensure that the essential needs of individuals are available to all. It must work as guardian of the interest & of the people in the society.
- **Co-operation and not competition :** Socialism is against competition in the economic field. On the contrary, it stands for co-operation so that economic well-being can be guaranteed to all. It believes that competition in the economic field increases the gap

between the rich and the poor in the society. So, competition should be abolished.

15.4.3 Merits of Socialism

The **merits** of Socialism can be discussed in the following way:

- Socialism stands for the welfare of all and not for the welfare of a few. It gives more importance to social interest than the interest of the individual persons. Individual interest is identified with the greater interest of the society.
- Socialism is realistic and it desires to make the best use of the state for collective good. It wants the state to perform maximum functions for the development of the society. It regards the state as a good institution.
- Socialism wants to protect economic interest of all. It is against private property and private ownership which result in economic disorder and economic inequalities in the society. It wants to eliminate unhealthy competition in the economic field.
- Socialism wants state control over the means of production and distribution so that all can have access to resources and capital of the society. It is opposed to the concentration of capital in the hands of a few which encourages economic deprivation.
- Socialism is close to democracy. It stands for democratic ideals of liberty, equality and justice for all. It wants to bring about positive changes in the society by peaceful means.

15.4.4 Demerits of Socialism

Apart from the merits the theory of Socialism also suffers from certain **demerits** which can be discussed in the following ways:

- Socialism makes the state all powerful by allowing it to perform maximum functions. It may lead to the rise of an authoritarian state. This is harmful for the common interest of the society.
- Socialism may make the state overburdened with work. The state enters almost every field of activity of the society. So, it may not be

able for it to perform any of its activities properly. It may lead to inefficiency on the part of the state.

- Socialism kills individual initiative. As the state takes responsibility for the all-round development of the society, the scope for undertaking individual initiatives for personal development and prosperity is limited. This may make the individuals idle and dependent.
- Socialism is also said to be against individual liberty. With the increase of state activity, the freedom of the individual becomes limited. The state interferes in every matter of individual activity.
- Socialism is also criticized because it abolishes private property. It is against the natural desire of individuals to acquire property by dint of their own labour and enterprise. Socialism will discourage individuals to work for better result in the economic field.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: What is Socialism?

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Q. 8: Mention any two features of Socialism.

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Q. 9: Mention four kinds of Socialism.

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Q. 10: Mention any two merits of Socialism.

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Q. 11: Mention any two demerits of Socialism.

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15.5 LET US SUM UP

- Individualism and Socialism are two theories regarding the functions of the state.
- Individualism says that the state should perform minimum functions and individuals should enjoy maximum freedom.
- Individualists hold the view that the increase in the functions of the state hinders the enjoyment of freedoms by individuals.
- Individualism has a number of features, such as- Individualism stands for minimum state functions; individualism believes in the maximum freedom of the individuals; individualism also believes that the state interference in the personal matters of an individual is morally and ethically wrong; individualism believes that state should undertake limited activities for the individuals to enjoy maximum freedom; individualism regards the state as a necessary evil. Individualism is opposed to the welfare concept of the state; individualism stands for private enterprises and free competition in the economic field.
- On the other hand, Socialism is just the opposite of Individualism. Socialism holds the view that the state should perform maximum functions.
- According to Socialism, functions of the state do not go against the freedom of individuals. It believes that the state is an agency which works for the development of all individuals in the society.
- Socialism has different forms, such as- Utopian Socialism, Collectivism, Fabian Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, Democratic Socialism and Scientific Socialism.
- Socialism has certain features, such as-Socialism stands for the supremacy of the society; socialism believes in the state ownership of land and capital in the society; socialism stands for equality and justice for all; socialism wants the state to take measures for welfare of all; socialism is against competition in the economic field and

stands for co-operation so that economic well-being can be guaranteed to all.

- Both Individualism and Socialism have their own merits and demerits.



15.6 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R. C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2. Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K. K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3. Kapur, A. C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4. Mahajan V. D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



15.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Individualism is one of the important theories regarding the functions of the state. This theory maintains that the state should perform minimum functions. The functions of the state should be limited to protection and restraints.

Ans to Q No 2: Jeremy Bentham and Herbert Spencer.

Ans to Q No 3: The French word, "Laissez Faire" means "leave the individual alone". Individualism wants that the state should not interfere in the matters of the individual. Individuals should be allowed to enjoy maximum freedom.

Ans to Q No 4: (i) Individualism believes in the maximum freedom of the individuals. Individuals should be left free to do whatever they like to do.

(ii) Individualism regards the state as a necessary evil. According to it, state is necessary but an evil institution. So, it does not advocate the abolition of the state.

Ans to Q No 5: (i) Individualism puts emphasis upon individual liberty. It believes that individuals should be allowed to enjoy maximum freedom so that he can work for his development.

(ii) Individualism wants the state to perform minimum functions. This will not make the state overburdened and the state will perform its functions more efficiently.

Ans to Q No 6: (i) Individualism stands for individual interest. It does not give importance to social interest. It is harmful to the society.

(ii) The belief of Individualism that the activities of the state are against individual liberty is wrong. Actually it is the state which facilitates individual liberty. Without the state all people in the society will not be able to enjoy liberty.

Ans to Q No 7: Socialism is a theory regarding the functions of the state. According to this theory, the state should perform maximum functions. It regards the state as an agency for promoting supreme good of the society.

Ans to Q No 8:(i) Socialism stands for the supremacy of the society. It believes that the welfare of the society is also the welfare of the individual living in the society. Social interest is of greater importance than that of individual interest.

(ii) Socialism believes in the state ownership of land and capital in the society. It says that capital should be socialized in the interest of all. It is against private capital and private ownership.

Answer to Q. No.9: Some kinds of Socialism are Utopian Socialism, Guild Socialism, Democratic Socialism and Scientific Socialism.

Answer to Q. No. 10: (i) Socialism stands for the welfare of all and not for the welfare of a few. It gives more importance to social interest than the interest of the individual persons. Individual interest is identified with greater interest of the society.

(ii) Socialism is realistic and it desires to make the best use of the state for collective good. It wants the state to perform maximum functions for the development of the society. It regards the state as a good institution.

Answer to Q. No. 11: (i) Socialism makes the state all powerful by allowing it to perform maximum functions. It may lead to the rise of an authoritarian state. This is harmful for the common interest of the society.

(ii) Socialism may make the state overburdened with work. The state enters almost every field of activity of the society. So, it may not be able to perform any of its activities properly. It may lead to inefficiency on the part of the state



15.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who defended Individualism on economic ground?

Q 2: What is the scientific ground for defending Individualism?

Q 3: Who is called the father of Scientific Socialism?

Q 4: From which word is 'socialism' derived?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the meaning of socialism.

Q 2: Write a short note on the meaning of Individualism.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the features of Individualism.

Q 2: Discuss the merits and demerits of Individualism.

Q 3: Examine the features of Socialism.

Q 4: Discuss the merits and demerits of Socialism.

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